

THE
PROGRESS
OF
RELIGIOUS IDEAS,
1075
Through Successive Ages.

Hydra BY *(Francis)*
L. MARIA CHILD.

God sends his teachers unto every age,
To every clime, and every race of men,
With revelations fitted to their growth
And shape of mind, nor gives the realm of TRUTH
Into the selfish rule of one sole race:
Therefore, each form of worship that hath swayed
The life of man, and given it to grasp
The master-key of knowledge, REVERENCE,
Enfolds some germs of goodness and of right.

J. R. LOWELL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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P R E F A C E .

I WOULD candidly advise persons who are conscious of bigoted attachment to any creed, or theory, not to purchase this book. Whether they are bigoted Christians, or bigoted infidels, its tone will be likely to displease them.

My motive in writing has been a very simple one. I wished to show that *theology* is not *religion*; with the hope that I might help to break down partition walls; to ameliorate what the eloquent Bushnell calls "baptized hatreds of the human race." In order to do this, I have endeavoured to give a concise and comprehensive account of religions, in the liberal spirit of the motto on my title page. The period embraced in my plan extends from the most ancient Hindoo records, to the complete establishment of the Catholic church.

While my mind was yet in its youth, I was offended by the manner in which Christian writers usually describe other religions; for I observed that they habitually covered apparent contradictions and absurdities, in Jewish or Christian writings, with a veil of allegories and mystical interpretation, while the records of all other religions were unscrupulously analyzed, or contemptuously described as "childish fables," or "filthy superstitions." I was well aware that this was done unconsciously, under the influence of habitual reverence for early teaching; and I was still more displeased with the scoffing tone of sceptical writers, who regarded all religions as founded on imposture. Either way, the one-sidedness of the representation troubled my strong sense of justice. I recollect wishing, long ago, that I could become acquainted with some good, intelligent Bramin, or Mohammedan, that I might learn, in some degree, how their religions appeared to *them*. This feeling expanded within me, until it took form in this book. The facts it contains are very old; the novelty it claims is the point of view from which those facts are seen and presented. I

have treated all religions with reverence, and shown no more favour to one than to another. I have exhibited each one in the light of its own Sacred Books ; and in giving quotations, I have aimed in every case to present impartially the beauties and the blemishes. I have honestly tried never to exaggerate merits, or conceal defects. I have not declared that any system was true, or that any one was false. I have even avoided the use of the word heathen ; for though harmless in its original signification, it is used in a way that implies condescension, or contempt ; and such a tone is inconsistent with the perfect impartiality I have wished to observe. I have tried to place each form of worship in its own light ; that is, as it appeared to those who sincerely believed it to be of divine origin. But even this candid method must necessarily produce a very imperfect picture, drawn as it is by a modern mind, so foreign to ancient habits of thought, and separated from them by the lapse of ages. The process has been exceedingly interesting ; for the history of the religious sentiment, struggling through theological mazes, furnishes the most curious chapter in the strange history of mankind.

I offer the results of my investigations with extreme timidity. Not because I am afraid of public opinion ; for I have learned to place exceedingly little value on anything the world can give, or take away. But I have been oppressed with anxiety, lest I should not perform the important task I had undertaken in the right spirit and the most judicious manner. I have conscientiously tried to do it with great care, fearless truthfulness, perfect candour, reverence toward God, and tenderness for human nature. I have sought out facts diligently, and stated them plainly ; leaving the reader to draw his own conclusions freely, uninfluenced by suggestions from me. The inferences deduced from my statements will vary according to the predominance of the reverential, or the rationalistic element in character. I have contented myself with patiently digging out information from books old and new, and presenting it with all the clearness and all the honesty of which I am capable. To write with the unbiassed justice at which I aimed, I was obliged to trample under my feet the theological underbrush, which always tangles and obstructs the path, when the soul strives to be guided only by the mild bright star of religious sentiment. It is never pleasant to walk directly through and over the opinions of the age in which one lives. I have not done it sarcastically, as if I despised them ; because such is not my feeling. I have done it in a straight-forward quiet way, as if I were unconscious of their existence. I foresee that many good and conscientious people will consider it a great risk to treat religious history in this manner. If I

could have avoided giving them pain, and at the same time have written with complete impartiality, I would most gladly have done so. For myself, I have firm faith that plain statements of truth can never eventually prove injurious, on *any* subject.

Milton has expressed this conviction with rare eloquence: "Though all the winds of doctrine be let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously to doubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple. Who ever knew Truth put to the worse by a free and open encounter? Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle muing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous flocking birds, with those also who love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisma. What would ye do then? Should ye suppress all this flowery crop of knowledge, sprung up, and yet daily springing up? Should ye set an oligarchy of twenty engrossers over it, to bring a famine upon our minds again, when we shall know nothing but what is measured to us by *their* bushel? Believe it, they who counsel you to such suppressing, do as good as bid you to suppress yourselves."

If scholars should read this book, they may perchance smile at its extreme simplicity of style. But I have written for the popular mind, not for the learned. I have therefore aimed principally at conciseness and clearness. I have recorded dates, and explained phrases, supposed to be generally understood, because I know there are many intelligent readers not familiar with such dates and phrases, and who cannot conveniently refer to cyclopedias, or lexicons. I am aware of having inserted very many things, which are perfectly well known to everybody. But this was unavoidable, in order to present a continuous whole, from the same point of view. Doubtless, a learned person could have performed the task far better, in many respects; but on some accounts, my want of learning is an advantage. Thoughts do not range so freely, when the store-room of the brain is overloaded with furniture. In the course of my investigations, I have frequently observed that a great amount of erudition becomes a veil of thick clouds between the subject and the reader. Moreover, learned men can rarely have such freedom from any sectarian bias, as the circumstances of my life have produced in me.

It is now more than eight years since I first began this task. Had I

foreseen how far my little boat would carry me out to sea, I certainly should not have undertaken the voyage. Unexpected impediments interrupted the labour during three years; but even then my thoughts and my reading were continually directed toward it. I have been diligent and patient in procuring and comparing facts, from sources deemed perfectly authentic, and I have been scrupulously conscientious in the statement of them. I may have made mistakes; for it is not easy to arrive at the exact truth amid a mass of obscure and often contradictory statements. But I have done my best; and if there are errors, they have not proceeded from intention, or from carelessness. I have not asked any person *what* I should say, or *how* I should say it. My natural love of freedom resisted such procedure; and foreseeing that I might incur unpopularity, I was unwilling to implicate others. I have, therefore, merely stated to learned men, and women, that I wished for information on specified subjects, and inquired of them what were the best books to be consulted. I have sometimes condensed quotations, for the sake of brevity, but I have never misquoted, or misrepresented.

I am not aware that any one, who truly revered the spirit of Christianity, has ever before tried the experiment of placing it precisely on a level with other religions, so far as the manner of representation is concerned. Even wise and candid men, more or less unconsciously, adopt a system of withholding evidence on one side, and accumulating it on the other; as the most honest lawyers do, when pleading a cause. The followers of all religions practise self-deception of this kind. They forget that most human beings would seem great and holy, in comparison with others, if all the weaknesses were carefully concealed on one side, and protruded into prominence on the other; if all the excellences were rendered conspicuous on one side, and kept out of sight on the other. I have tried to avoid this tendency. I have given beautiful extracts from Platonic philosophers, and from Christian Fathers. I have portrayed the benevolence of bishops, without veiling their ambition, or intolerance. I have not eulogized any doctrines as true, or stigmatized any as false. I have simply said so it was argued, and thus it was decided. I knew of no other method by which complete impartiality could be attained.

Some may consider the sketches of Apollonius, Philo, Cerinthus, Plotinus, and others, as irrelevant to the history of Christianity. But in order to trace the progress of religious ideas, it was necessary to describe the prominent characters, and external influences, which modified their growth; for the surrounding spiritual atmosphere affects the formation of all opinions. I have therefore endeavoured to show what

degree of preparation there was, in the Jewish and Gentile world, for the coming of Christianity, and then what kind of resistance it met, internally and externally. I may have misunderstood some theological statements; for it is not easy to draw a continuous thread from the tangled skein of polemical controversy; which constantly reminds me of the Scotch definition of metaphysics: "It is ane mon expleening to anither what he dinna weel understand himsel."

The perfect openness with which I have revealed many particulars generally kept in the back ground, will trouble some devotional people, whose feelings I would not willingly wound. But I place great reliance on sincerity, and have strong faith in the power of genuine Christianity to stand on its own internal merits, unaided by concealment. My own mind has long been desirous to ascertain the plain unvarnished truth on all these subjects; and having sought it out, I felt prompted to impart it to those who were in a similar state. Those who wish to obtain candid information, without caring whether it does, or does not, sustain any favourite theory of their own, may perhaps thank me for saving them the trouble of searching through large and learned volumes for scattered items of information; and if they complain of want of profoundness, they may perchance be willing to accept simplicity and clearness in exchange for depth. In order to do justice to the book, if read at all, it ought not to be glanced at here and there, but read carefully from the beginning to the end; because the links of a continuous chain are preserved throughout.

Constant reference to authorities would have loaded the pages with notes, and unpleasantly interrupted the reading. I have therefore given, at the end of the volume, a list of the principal books I have used, which can be examined by any one who doubts the accuracy of my statements.

Sustained by conscious integrity of purpose, and having executed my task faithfully, according to the best of my ability, I quietly leave the book to its fate, whether it be neglect, censure, or praise.

PROGRESS

OF

RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

HINDOSTAN, OR INDIA.

"The countries of the far East had also their age of glory. At their fire was lighted a torch, which passing from the hands of Egyptians to the hands of Jews, and from the hands of Jews to the hands of Christians, still casts its gleams upon the earth."

THE name of this country was derived from one of its principal rivers. Stan signifies land; hence it came to be called Indus-Stan, land of the Indus. Hindoos themselves called it by a name signifying "The Central Land;" sometimes it was designated as "The Land of Righteousness." Within the last century their literature has attracted much attention, and the careful investigations of Oriental scholars prove them to have been a civilized people at a period extremely remote. In times coeval with the earliest authentic records, they could calculate eclipses, and were venerated for their attainments in several arts and sciences. Some of their very ancient buildings contain the twelve signs of the zodiac, represented by almost precisely the same emblems now in use among us. According to the learned astronomer, M. Bailly, their observations of the heavenly

bodies may be dated as far back as four thousand nine hundred and fifty years. The Sanscrit language, in which their Sacred Books are written, is of such remote antiquity, that no tradition remains of any people by whom it was originally spoken; and their mythological sculptures, covering immense masses of rock, are said to be "works which make the pyramids of Egypt seem young."

The Hindoos believed themselves to have been the first inhabitants of this earth; and their traditions place the creation of the world many millions of years farther back than we do. First, there was an age of purity, called the Satya Yug, when men lived to an immense age, and were more than thirty feet high. They were too innocent to have need of government, and so unselfish that all the goods of life were equally distributed.

"Delightful times! because
Nature then reigned, and Nature's laws;
And this grand truth from none was hidden,
What pleaseth hath no law forbidden."

A great Deluge swept away all the memorials of this age. In the second age, called Treta Yug, men began to be vicious. The term of their existence was much shortened, and Brahma gave them rajahs, or princes, to rule over them. In the third age, called the Dwapar Yug, vice and virtue became equally mingled, and the lives of men were again shortened one third. The fourth age, called the Cali Yug, though much shorter than the others in duration, is to embrace a term of four hundred and thirty-two thousand years. According to their Sacred Books, it commenced about five thousand years ago, when there was a remarkable conjunction of the planets. In this age, the longest term of man's life is limited to one hundred years, and his stature, already greatly diminished, will be gradually reduced to pigmy size. Wickedness will more and more abound till the end comes.

Hindoos have no history to sustain these dates, comprising such enormous intervals of time. Lists of kings,

preserved in various parts of the country, have been calculated to go back between four and five thousand years.

It is a recognized fact that some individuals have temperaments more inclined than others to veneration and mysticism; and the remark is equally applicable to nations. The Hindoos are peculiarly ardent and susceptible, and as usual with such organizations, they have strong devotional tendencies. We find their wise men of ancient time neglecting historical records, and paying comparatively slight attention to the external sciences, but meditating earnestly, in the loneliness of stately forests, on the origin and destiny of the human soul. Ecstatic delight in nature, exuberant wealth of imagination, a pervading reverence for the supernatural, characterize every department of their literature. The same religious impress is on their history. They have been patient and docile under every foreign yoke, so long as they were unmolested in usages deemed sacred; but the moment there was any interference with devotional practices, they were roused at once, and defended them with the ferocity of tigers.

The first question which perplexed the old sages of India, standing as they did on the threshold of time, was one which no subtilty of human intellect has yet been able to solve. They asked, Whence came Evil? Conceiving, as we do, that the Great First Cause of all things *must* be good, they knew not how to account for disease and wickedness. They did not ascribe them to a Bad Spirit, almost as powerful as God himself; but they supposed that Matter was Evil, and that the union of Spirit with Matter was the origin of all sin, sickness, and sorrow. This visible world, including mortal bodies, they regarded as mere phantasmagoria, without any reality; a magic-lantern show, by which the Divine Mind, for inscrutable purposes, deludes us into the belief that we are independent existences, and that the things around us are real. Hence they called creation *Maya*, or Illusion.

This theological theory, acting on temperaments naturally plaintive and poetic, produced melancholy views of

life, and a strong inclination toward religious ecstasy; while at the same time warmth of climate and facility of procuring sustenance predisposed to lassitude and gentle reverie. In times ancient beyond conjecture, there were men among them who withdrew altogether from the labours and pleasures of the world, and in solitary places devoted themselves entirely to religious contemplation. This lonely existence on the silent mountains, or amid the darkness of immense forests, infested by serpents and wild beasts, and as they believed by Evil Spirits also, greatly excited popular imagination. The human soul, unsatisfied in its cage of finite limitation, is always aspiring after the good and the true, always eagerly hoping for messengers from above, and therefore prone to believe in them. Thus these saintly hermits came to be objects of extreme veneration among the people. Men travelled far to inquire of them how sins might be expiated, or diseases cured; for it was believed that in thus devoting themselves to a life beyond the tumult of the passions, occupied solely with penance and prayer, they approached very near to God, and received direct revelations of his divine wisdom.

In the beginning, these anchorites were doubtless influenced by sincere devotion, and made honest efforts to attain what seemed to them the highest standard of purity and holiness. Their mode of life was simple and austere in the extreme. They lived in caverns, or under the shelter of a few boughs, which they twisted together in the shadow of some great tree. Their furniture consisted merely of an antelope skin to sleep on, a vase to receive alms, a pitcher for water, a basket to gather roots and wild berries, a hatchet to cut wood for sacrifices, a staff to help them through the forest, and a rosary made of lotus seeds, to assist in repeating their numerous prayers. The beard and nails were suffered to grow, and to avoid trouble with their hair, it was twisted into peculiar knots, resembling the close curls of an African. In later times, they shaved their heads, probably from motives of cleanliness. However high might have been their caste in the society

of the world, they retained no ornament, or badge of distinction. They wore simply a coarse yellowish red garment made of the fibres of bark. Their food consisted of wild roots, fruit, and grain; and of these they must eat merely enough to sustain life. They might receive food as alms, or even ask for it, in cases of extreme necessity; but they must strive to attain such a state of indifference, that they felt no regret if refused, and no pleasure if they received it. They were bound to the most rigid chastity, in thought as well as deed. So far as they coveted the slightest pleasure from any of the senses, so far were they from their standard of perfect sanctity. Some made a vow of continual silence, and kept a skull before them to remind them constantly of death. Their occupations were to cut wood for sacrifices by fire; to gather roots and berries for daily food, deducting a portion to be offered on the altars; to recite prayers three times a day, morning, noon, and evening, always preceded by ablution; to repeat sacred sentences; to go through daily ceremonies for the spirits of departed ancestors; to offer sacrifices at the new moon and full moon, at morning and evening twilight.

In addition to this routine, they prescribed to themselves tasks more or less severe, according to the degree of holiness they wished to attain, or had courage to pursue. Some fasted to the very verge of dissolution. In summer they exposed themselves to the scorching sun, or surrounded themselves with fires. In winter they wore wet garments, or stood up to the chin in water. They went forth uncovered amid frightful tempests. They stood for hours and days on the point of their toes, with arms stretched upward, motionless as a tree. They sat on their heels, closing their ears tight with their thumbs, their eyes with the forefingers, their nostrils with the middle fingers, and their lips with the little fingers; in this attitude they remained holding their breath till they often fell into a swoon.

These terrible self-torments resulted from their belief that this life was merely intended for expiation; that the

body was an incumbrance, and the senses entirely evil; that relations to outward things entangled the soul in temptation and sin; that man's great object should be to withdraw himself entirely from Nature, and thus become completely absorbed in the eternal Soul of the Universe, from which his own soul originally emanated.

Penances undertaken for *sins* committed were supposed to procure no other advantage than the remission of future punishment for those sins; but sufferings *voluntarily* incurred, merely to annihilate the body, and attain nearness to the divine nature, were believed to extort miraculous gifts from supernatural beings, and ultimately enable man to become God.

Aiming at this state of perfection, they gradually attained complete indifference to all external things. They no longer experienced desire or disappointment, hope or fear, joy or sorrow. Some of them went entirely naked, and were reputed to subsist merely on water. The world was to them as though it did not exist. In this state the words they uttered were considered divine revelations. They were believed to know everything by intuition; to read the mysteries of past, present, and future; to perceive the thoughts of whoever came into their presence; to move from one place to another by simply willing to do so; to cure diseases, and even raise the dead. Some of this marvellous power was supposed to be imparted even to the garments they wore, and the staffs with which they walked. The Hindoo Sacred Writings are filled with all manner of miracles performed by these saints. There are traditions that some of them were taken up alive to heaven; and impressions on the rocks are shown, said to be footprints they left when they ascended. By extraordinary purification and suffering, some were reputed to have obtained such power, even over the gods, that they could compel them to grant whatever they asked. For this reason it was supposed the deities were not well pleased when a hermit vowed himself to remarkable efforts; and they strove to seduce him from his purpose

by all manner of temptations. Hindoo poems abound with legends of beautiful nymphs sent on such missions, and often proving successful. The holy hermit Visvamitra was so fascinated by the nymph Menaka, that five years passed in her society seemed to him but a single moment. "Alas!" exclaimed he, "what has become of my wisdom, my penitence, my firm resolution? Behold all destroyed at once by a woman! Seduced by the sin which pleased Indra, I see myself deprived of the advantages I had gained by all my austerities."

But the mission of these nymphs was a dangerous one for themselves also; for if the holy recluse did withstand their attractions, and pronounce a curse upon them, his words must inevitably take effect, however terrible they might be. Thus the nymph Rambha, striving to seduce Visvamitra, was, by the force of his imprecations, changed to a pillar of stone for a thousand years. The most powerful kings feared the malediction of these highly sanctified mortals, and sought their blessing as the greatest earthly good. One of the sacred legends thus describes the reception given to some of these celebrated anchorites, by the king of Lilipa:—"Penetrated with inexpressible joy and reverence, he bowed his face to the earth before them. Having caused them to be seated, he washed their feet, drank a portion of the water, and poured the remainder on his head. Joining his hands upon his forehead, he made a profound obeisance, and thus addressed them:—"The happiness I this day enjoy can only be in reward for some good works I have performed in a previous state of existence. I possess all desirable good in seeing your sacred feet. My body is now perfectly pure, since I have had the happiness to behold you. You are the gods whom I serve. I recognize no others but you. Henceforth, I am as pure as the waters of Ganges."

The site chosen for hermitages was usually in the midst of picturesque scenery, on the side of mountains commanding an extensive prospect, or amid the cool shadows of majestic groves. It was considered peculiarly desirable

to be near the meeting of two sacred rivers, for the performance of prescribed ablutions and ceremonies. A very ancient sacred poem, called *The Mahabharata*, contains the following description of a traveller in the forest approaching one of these holy places:—"The distant cry of deer, the song of birds, the hum of bees, resounded gently in his ear, and conveyed to his soul an inexpressible feeling of calm happiness. Graceful trees bent under the weight of fruits and flowers. Their flexible branches balanced themselves to the breath of the breeze, which, in passing, took from them the sweetest fragrance, and spread it through the atmosphere. On the enamelled turf, troops of Gandharvas* and Asparas,† brilliant with youth, pursued each other in frolicsome play, gliding from space to space, as light shadows. He was bewildered with delight under the immense bowers of verdure, through which quivering rays of the sun penetrated with gentle light, and gave only warmth enough to temper the freshness of their deep shadows. Plunged in soothing reverie, his uncertain steps wandered toward a spot where all the beauties of the scene united. The river Malini rippled and played with many couples of brilliantly white swans, and on its borders he perceived a sacred grove, which he conjectured might be the retreat of some holy personage. This happy corner of the earth did in fact enclose a peaceful hermitage within its bosom."

These hermits, in obedience to the injunctions of Hindoo religion, imparted freely of all they had to men and animals. Thus their places of retreat came to be considered open asylums for the poor, and for travellers. The saints were gradually classified into different orders, bearing various names, indicating progressive degrees of sanctity; such as, "the dweller in the forest," "the man vowed to contemplation," "the man who has subdued himself," "the man who is absorbed into the Divine Soul." The

* Musicians of the air, the Spirits of Singing Stars.

† Nymphs who dance and sing in Paradise.

more a hermit was renowned for holiness, the greater number of disciples he attracted toward him; till in many places his solitary grotto, or hut, came to be surrounded by a small village of rude huts. Younger men, who sought him for instruction, were bound to treat him with unlimited reverence, and implicitly obey all his injunctions. Thus something resembling monasteries, or theological schools, was established in the forests of Hindostan, at a very remote period of antiquity. Seven of the most ancient of these hermits, peculiarly renowned for wisdom and holiness, transmitted their privileges to descendants, and thus became the germ of seven classes in an hereditary priesthood still existing under the name of Brahmins.

There were many hermits not vowed to their ascetic vocation for life. It was common for men who had committed crimes to retire into the forest for a certain number of months, or years, and undergo painful penances, to escape future punishment for their faults, and be restored to society with renovated character. Sometimes kings, who had been dethroned by conquest, or merchants who had lost their wealth, retired from the world and performed sacrifices to regain their lost fortune. This course was respected as pious and meritorious; but it was deemed a great sin for such men to represent themselves as belonging to the class of voluntary saints. They often became so attached to their secluded life, that they were reluctant to return to the world, when the period of their vow had expired. One of them is represented as thus bidding farewell to his retreat:—"Oh, mountain, perpetual asylum of holy hermits, who have given themselves up to the meditation of virtue, and the practice of pure works! Oh, king of mountains, rich in purifying streams, adieu! I have passed happy days upon thy heights. I have nourished myself with the delicious fruits thou hast produced, and have quenched my thirst with the clear waters that flow from thy summit. Oh, mountain pure from sin! Like unto a living child happy on the breast of his father, have I enjoyed myself upon thy bosom, peopled with groups

A*

of Nymphs, and resounding with praises of Brahma."

The most spiritual portion of the Hindoo Sacred Books teach the existence of one invisible God, whom they call Brahm. They make no images of him, and build no temples for his worship. His name is never uttered by a pious Hindoo. None of their traditions represent him as incarnated in any form; because they believe him to be entirely above human comprehension, and altogether incapable of the slightest change in his existence. Nature is the inferior, passive portion of him. "Brahm and Nature are one, as the soul and body of man are one. All things emanate from him, all is he, and all returns to him. As plants grow out of the earth and return to it again, so does everything in the universe emanate from this divine essence, subsist continually by it, and finally return to it."

This law of alternate emanation and absorption governs all things, from a musquito up to planets, and celestial Spirits. Their vast divisions of time, called Yugs, are founded on the apparent revolution of the fixed stars. Four of these Yugs, including millions of our years, form their Great Astronomical Year. When this period is completed, their Sacred Books declare that the god Siva, with ten Spirits of Dissolution, will roll a comet under the moon, set the earth on fire, and reduce it all to ashes. After a time the elements will resume their order, and the world, restored to pristine beauty, will again pass through a similar succession of Yugs. One thousand of these great cycles form only a single day in the life of Brahma, the Creator, who was the first Spirit that emanated from Brahm. At the end of this long day, he falls asleep; and then not only this earth, but all things in the universe, dissolve into their original elements. His night is of the same immense duration as his day. When he wakes up the universe is renewed, to travel through a similar course, and again arrive at universal dissolution. Thirty such days make one month of Brahma; twelve months his year; a hundred such years his age; of which they assert fifty have already elapsed. When the other half of this

destined term is completed, he himself will be again absorbed in Brahm; Matter will be totally annihilated, and the invisible Supreme Being, called Brahm, will alone exist. After another vast period there will commence a new series of emanations of gods, subordinate spirits, worlds, men, and inferior existences.

This idea of God in all things, and all things in God, is called Pantheism, from Greek words signifying God in All. When the mind is strongly impressed with this belief, and conscientiously acts upon it, the effect is great tenderness toward animals, and reverence for Nature; because the minutest form of being is regarded as a portion of Deity. Thus the Hindoo saint extends hospitality alike to friends and enemies. When he eats, he shares his food with whatever creature presents itself. He refrains from honey, from reluctance to deprive bees of their nourishment. He will not eat flesh, because he shrinks from causing the death of any animal. He avoids lighting a candle at night lest insects should be drawn into the flame; and he filters the water he drinks, lest he should incautiously swallow some creature. He will not even pluck fruit with violence, but eats only such as falls of itself, because in trees and bushes also he beholds living beings, portions of the Universal Soul.

They believe that all life, whether in essence or form, proceeds constantly from Brahm, through a variety of mediums. If any creature imagines for a moment that he has existence in himself, out of the Divinity, it is the effect of magical illusion, by which Brahma himself, for incomprehensible reasons, takes captive his senses.

The action of Brahm upon Nature, and upon human souls, is through a variety of Spirits, presiding over the planets, the elements, and all the forces of Nature. All in the scale of being are emanations from him, in successive gradations. The highest of these emanations are Brahma, the Creator, Vishnu, the Preserver, and Siva, the Destroyer, who is likewise the Reproducer of forms. Brahma is represented in poetry, and in painted sculpture,

as a golden-coloured human figure, with three heads and four arms. He is never described as assuming the form of any of the inferior orders of beings, or as living upon the earth in a visible body. His name is held in exceeding reverence, and none but the Brahmins utter it. They make daily invocations to him, and sometimes offer him a flower. No sect of worshippers bears his name, and no temples or festivals are appropriated to him. This may be because his high rank inspires awe, and seems to carry him beyond the range of human sympathies; or it may be that his work as Creator being finished, mortals do not feel the need of his interference. He is represented as inhabiting a magnificent temple, called Dheira, near the Sea of Milk, in the upper celestial regions. Thither Vishnu, and other deities, repair in emergencies, to consult his oracle; but the response becomes audible only after days of devotion and prayer. All seems to indicate that Brahma was the expression of a more spiritual idea, than the other deities.

Poets and sculptors represent Vishnu as a handsome young man of blue complexion, with four arms. One holds a shell, another a lotus blossom, another a mace, another a ring, which radiates a stream of light. He is clothed in yellow, with a jewelled crown, and a necklace of gems. When asleep, he floats on the surface of the ocean, cradled in the folds of the huge star-covered serpent Seshanaga, whose thousand heads serve him for a pillow. He has a multitude of names, and is represented in a great variety of ways. He seems much nearer to the human heart than Brahma; for his power and mercy are supposed to be constantly exerted to uphold the universe, to prevent calamity, and relieve distress. He is revered as a household god, and is invoked to avert family misfortunes, or to obtain blessings when about to occupy a new dwelling. He is believed to have been repeatedly incarnated on earth, for beneficent purposes. His beautiful wife Lacshmi on such occasions assumes a female form and accompanies him among mortals, till his mission is com-

pleted. No bloody sacrifices are offered to him, but oblations of fruit, flowers, water, clarified butter, sweetmeats, rich garments, and jewels.

Siva has a vast variety of titles, among which the most common is Maha Deva, the Great God. The sculptures represent him in many different ways; but he may always be known by certain symbols that belong to him. He is sometimes painted red, sometimes silver-coloured: seated on a tiger's skin, and clothed with an elephant's hide. Sometimes he rides on a white bull, his eyes inflamed with intoxication. Sometimes he is painted with one head, sometimes with five; always with three eyes, one in the middle of his forehead. Sometimes he is represented as half man and half woman. As the reproducer of forms, he is usually accompanied by the male Emblem of Generation. As a personification of time, the Destroyer, he is a dusky youth, with red garments, a chaplet of skulls about his neck, and a trident in his hand. Because he reproduces forms, as well as destroys them, he is often painted with the venomous serpent Cobra de Capello, emblem of death, in one hand, and a Lotus and Pomegranate, emblems of renovation, in the other.

Hindoos, accustomed to the pomp and retinue of their earthly princes, assigned a vast number of agents to superior deities. Indra, God of the Firmament, is represented as a beautiful youth, whose garment is covered with eyes, to represent the all-seeing Spirits of the Stars. He rides on a white elephant, and is armed with a thunderbolt. Three hundred and thirty-two millions of Spirits, divided into classes, of various ranks and employments, acknowledge him as their leader. Poets and painters represent Surya, God of the Sun, in a golden car, drawn by seven green horses, with the Dawn for charioteer, followed by Spirits of Singing Stars chanting his praises. There are various legends of his descending to earth in a human shape, and becoming the father of a numerous progeny. Two of his sons are always painted as Twins, said to have been born of a mare impregnated by sunbeams. The

Moon is a male deity, sometimes called Soma, but more frequently Chandra. Their most ancient sovereigns were called Surya-bans and Chandra-bans, Children of the Sun and Moon, to imply a descent nearer to the gods than that of other mortals. Genesa, God of Wisdom, is greatly revered. They never build a house, or commence any important business, without offering him flowers, or sprinkling his image with oil. They do not even write a letter, or open a book, without uttering a brief invocation to him. He is painted with an elephant's head, and is always attended by a rat, which they consider a very sagacious and prudent animal. Nareda, God of Music, who invented the vina, or Hindoo lute, is not only a musician of admirable skill, but also a wise legislator, an eloquent messenger of the gods, and renowned in arts and arms. Parvati, Goddess of Enchantments, was born of the foam of the sea. Her son Cama, God of Love, is painted riding on a parrot, attended by dancing nymphs, the foremost of whom carries his flag, a fish painted on a red ground. His bow is made of sugar-cane, his string is made of bees, and his five arrows (the senses) are each pointed with some heating plant. His wife is Reti, Goddess of Affection. Pavana is God of the Winds; Agnee of fire; Varuna of the Waters. In their state of astronomical knowledge, the luminaries named by us Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus and Saturn, were considered the seven planets. Successive days were set apart to offer sacrifices to the presiding Spirits of these orbs; each of which is supposed to have particular superintendence over the day assigned to him. Each sign of the Zodiac has its deity, with various subordinates. There are genii of the hours, and even of the minutes. Every mountain and river has its guardian Spirit. One god is the protector of soldiers, another of travellers. One is prayed to for a happy marriage, another for the preservation of health. The dark goddess Cali, wife of Siva the Destroyer, is the chosen patron of robbers and murderers.

Their most ancient Sacred Books mention but few

Spirits, and command sacrifices to be offered to each, without neglecting any. This was perhaps intended to prevent any one of them from becoming elevated above the idea of a mere symbol, or instrument, of the Supreme Being. Poets afterwards indulged in great luxuriance of imagination, and a long train of deities were added, whose adventures came to be regarded as sacred history.

Among the innumerable Intelligences emanating from Brahm in successive gradations, they believe that some fell into lower spheres, because they turned away their minds from contemplating the Supreme One. Through the intercession of Spirits, who had not fallen from their original state, this world was created as a place of probation for these wandering souls, and mortal bodies were provided for them to enter. Through this penance, if faithfully performed, they might work their way upward to the primeval condition from which they fell. But if they sinned without making due atonement for their offences, they must fall still lower in the scale of being, and thus their penance might be renewed and prolonged through indefinite ages.

A legion of Evil Spirits, called Rakshasas, had a prince named Ravana. Numerous classes of Good and Evil Spirits, called Sooras and Assooras, are represented as step-brothers in perpetual hostility, to illustrate the supposed antagonism between Spirit and Matter. Wicked Spirits are generally described as giants, and are often said to have a Great Serpent for their leader. They were continually aiming to do injury to mankind, and fought desperate battles with Indra, and his Spirits of Light. They would have taken his Paradise by storm, and subverted the whole order of the universe if Brahma had not sent Vishnu to circumvent their plans. To perform this mission successfully, he assumed various forms at different times, and was twice incarnated in a human body, and dwelt among mortals.

The wonderful and universal power of light and heat have caused the Sun to be worshipped as a visible emblem

of deity in the infancy of nearly all nations. Water, which cleanses from pollution, and performs such an important part in sustaining animal and vegetable life, is recognized as another obvious symbol of divine influence. Hence the sacred rivers, fountains, and wells, abounding in Hindostan. The Air is likewise to them a consecrated emblem. Invisible, pervading all space, and necessary to the life of all creatures, it naturally suggests the spirit of God. Nearly all languages describe the soul by some phrase similar in signification to "the *breath* of life." Brahm is sometimes called Alma, or the Breathing Soul. Regarding the air as his breath, it forms part of their religious exercises to retain it in their lungs as long as possible, as one means of prolonging contact with the Universal Soul.

Other emblems deemed sacred by Hindoos, and worshipped in their temples, have brought upon them the charge of gross indecency. But if it be true at the present time, it probably was not so in the beginning. When the world was in its infancy, people spoke and acted with more of the simplicity and directness of little children, than they do at present. In the individual child, and in the childhood of society, whatever is incomprehensible produces religious awe. As the reflective faculties develop man is solemnly impressed with the wonders of creation, in the midst of which his soul wakes up, as it were, from a dream. And what so miraculous as the advent of this conscious soul into the marvellous mechanism of a human body? If Light, with its grand revealings, and Heat making the earth fruitful with beauty, excited wonder and worship in the first inhabitants of our world, is it strange that they likewise regarded with reverence the great mystery of human Birth? Were *they* impure thus to regard it? Or are *we* impure that we do *not* so regard it? We have travelled far, and unclean have been the paths, since those old anchorites first spoke of God and the soul in the solemn depths of their forest sanctuaries. Let us not smile at their mode of tracing the

Infinite and Incomprehensible Cause throughout all the mysteries of Nature, lest by so doing we cast the shadow of our own grossness on their patriarchal simplicity.

From time immemorial, an emblem has been worshipped in Hindostan as the type of creation, or the origin of life. It is the most common symbol of Siva, and is universally connected with his worship. To understand the original intention of this custom, we should remember that Siva was not merely the reproducer of human forms; he represented the Fructifying Principle, the Generating Power that pervades the universe, producing sun, moon, stars, men, animals, and plants. The symbol to which we have alluded is always in his temples. It is usually placed in the inmost recess, or sanctuary, sculptured in granite, marble, or ivory, often crowned with flowers, and surmounted by a golden star. Lamps are kept burning before it, and on festival occasions it is illuminated by a lamp with seven branches, supposed to represent the planets. Small images of this emblem, carved in ivory, gold, or crystal, are often worn as ornaments about the neck. The pious use them in their prayers, and often have them buried with them. Devotees of Siva have it written on their foreheads in the form of a perpendicular mark. The maternal emblem is likewise a religious type, and worshippers of Vishnu represent it on their foreheads by a horizontal mark, with three short perpendicular lines.

The serious impression made on the minds of ancient devotees by the great mysteries of conception and birth, is everywhere observable in the metaphysical theories and religious ceremonies of Hindostan. They suppose that Brahm comprised within himself both the masculine and feminine principle, therefore his name is in the neuter gender. By thought he separated the two, and produced Brahma, who is often called the "First Male of the Universe." His wife is Sereswaty, Goddess of Imagination and Invention, from whom proceeded first music, then language, literature, and the arts. By her aid Brahma formed the mun-

dane egg, which produced our world. Every masculine deity has a feminine companion, through whose agency new forms of being are produced. Lacsami, Goddess of Abundance, who presides over harvests, is mate of Vishnu, the Preserver. Siva has numerous wives, according to his various titles in the multifarious departments of destruction or change. Under the name of Iswara, he is wedded to Isa, or Isi, supposed to represent Nature, which in all languages is metaphorically called she. As changer of the seasons, and promoter of germination, he unites with Parvati, Goddess of Illusions or Enchantments. As Time, the Destroyer, his mate is the dark goddess Cali, with four hands, full of deadly weapons, a necklace of human skulls, and a girdle of slaughtered giants' hands.

There is a very striking difference in the habits of the Asiatic and European mind with regard to ideas deemed by us indelicate. Hindoo Sacred Writings abound with metaphors drawn from sexual love, to illustrate the intimate and fruitful union of God with Nature. So completely do they mingle natural and spiritual ideas on this subject, that even voluptuous scenes in their amorous poetry are often allegorical descriptions of the blessed absorption of a sanctified human soul into the Divine Soul of the Universe. Sir William Jones remarks:—"It never seems to have entered the heads of Hindoo legislators, or people, that anything natural could be offensively obscene; a singularity which pervades all their writing and conversation, but is no proof of the depravity of their morals."

Hindoo theology teaches that there exists an eternal unchangeable relation of mutual dependence between all things in the universe. The gods cannot exist without offerings from men, and men cannot subsist without gifts from the gods. Their Sacred Books declare that "the virtuous guide the sun by their truth, and sustain the earth by their holy sacrifices." Departed souls are dependent on the good offices of those who survive them; therefore it is enjoined that sacrifices be performed for the

souls of ancestors as far back as the third generation. There must be daily offerings of water, with prescribed prayers; and on the first day of every new moon more elaborate ceremonies and prayers. It is supposed that these help to abridge the term of punishment for sins committed in the body. If neglected, the desolate spirit may be left to hover about the grave of its buried form, or linger long in some inferior animal, or suffer torment in the infernal regions.

The division of society into castes is a part of their system of regular gradation and mutual dependence. They consider their own nation set apart from others, a pre-eminently pure race, to whom the laws of divine wisdom have been peculiarly intrusted. They regard other nations as barbarian, and consider it pollution to intermingle with them by marriage, or even by eating with them. Foreigners are not allowed to read their Holy Books, or approach their consecrated groves and fountains. Sir James Forbes speaks of a Mahometan who, bathing in one of their sacred pools, unconscious of prohibition, had both his hands cut off. If a member of any other nation happens to enter the hut of one of his Hindoo servants, the furniture is tossed out of doors, because it is deemed polluted by his presence. Bishop Heber says:—"We came to a shed where a man with his wife and children were cooking their supper. The man called out to us for heaven's sake not to come near them, for he was a Bramin, and our approach would oblige him to fling away his food."

Among themselves, they are divided into four great castes, and these again are subdivided into several branches. The highest are the Bramins, or priests, supposed to have issued from the mouth of Brahma, to pray, read, and instruct. The second are Cshatriyas, princes and warriors, sprung from the arms of Brahma, to fight and govern. The third are Vaisyas, from his belly and thighs, to supply the necessities of human life by agriculture and commerce. The fourth are Soodras, from his feet, to serve as

mechanics and labourers. Numerous inferior classes have sprung up from unlawful intermixtures. The lowest and most degraded of all these are the Pariahs, who now constitute about one-fifth of the population. They are obliged to bury the corpses of criminals, and are allowed to hold no property but dogs and asses. They are forbidden to enter the temples, or dwellings of any of the other castes; to eat in their presence, or even to drink from their wells. The Code of Menu says: "Let no man who regards his duty, religious or civil, hold any intercourse with them." Each caste is perpetually separated from another by the strictest prohibitions. One must never presume to perform any business or duty that has been appropriated to another. It is a disgrace and a sin to intermarry or intermingle. They are not even allowed to eat with each other. It is a heavy punishment to be degraded into a lower caste; for it involves a social stigma, banishment from family and friends, and transmission of disgrace to posterity. No degree of talent or merit can regain the position forfeited by an ancestor's fault.

The Bramins, above all others, are endowed with exclusive privileges. Religious ceremonies, public or private, can be performed only by their ministry. They offer sacrifices and prayers for themselves and for others. Every important epoch in human life, and every national emergency, require their aid. The civil law is all contained in the Sacred Books, which they alone are allowed to study and explain; consequently, they are the only lawyers and judges. All knowledge of medicine is derived from the same volumes; and sickness being considered a punishment for transgression, penances and religious ceremonies are imposed as remedies; therefore they are the only physicians. Astronomy, of which astrology forms an important portion, is also revealed in their Holy Books; hence the priests are relied upon to make astronomical calculations, and predict future events by the stars. This exclusive possession of such knowledge as exists, has, of course, been a source of perpetual emolument.

Every Hindoo priest is a Bramin; but all the Bramins are not priests. Those who expound the Sacred Books take precedence of other Bramins. The highest order of this powerful hierarchy are called Guroos. At stated seasons, these princely Pontiffs travel through their respective districts, to examine seminaries, visit inferior priests, attend great festivals, administer prescribed rites in the temples, or perform solemn ceremonies in the sacred groves. Their retinue and equipage are very magnificent. Pioneers precede the splendid procession, to level high places in the roads, and fill up ravines. The lower castes retire to a distance while they pass by, lest their shadows should happen to touch them, or the consecrated air be polluted by inferior breath. The most sanctified among these priests are not only venerated, but absolutely worshipped with low prostration, when they appear in public. Some of them are believed to be incarnated deities. The rajahs, or princes, belong to the warrior caste; but they are restrained and regulated by the High Priests, whom they treat with profoundest reverence. Princes who become holy devotees acquire spiritual rank in addition to their hereditary dignity; but even under such circumstances, they are bound to treat Bramins with deferential humility. It is deemed an act of the highest piety to defend the priesthood from any danger, to bestow alms upon them, or make them heirs of worldly wealth. They are exempted from taxes and from corporeal punishment. To kill a Bramin intentionally is an inexpiable crime, and even to kill one by accident requires to be atoned for by terrible penances. The funeral pile for them must be lighted, as it is for the holiest sacrifices, with fire obtained by the friction of wood from the sacred groves. The obsequies must be solemnized with sacrifices to the Sun and the Planets, consisting of a ram, or a he-goat, without blemish. These ceremonies must be performed in a place previously consecrated by prayer, and sprinkled with holy water.

Soodras, and the castes below them, are expressly for-

bidden to devote themselves to a life of religious contemplation, to read the Sacred Books, or hear them read. The inequality of laws resulting from these lines of demarcation in society may be easily conjectured. If a Bramin kill one of his own caste, it is ordained that he perform severe penances in the forest during twelve years. If a Cshatriya involuntarily kills a Bramin, his term of penance is twenty-four years; if a Vaisya does the same, it is thirty-six years; if a Soodra, it is forty-eight years.

The education of a Bramin, if conducted with strictness, is somewhat arduous. In his youth, he is bound to be scrupulously chaste, to learn Sanscrit, study the Sacred Books, which are very voluminous, and treat his spiritual teachers with the most implicit obedience, however severe their requirements may be. In manhood, it is his duty to marry and rear up children to succeed him in his holy office. As he may contract pollution by the approach of a foreigner, or coming near any dead body, or touching any vessel or garment that has been used by one of inferior caste, or having an insect get crushed in the folds of his priestly robes, it is necessary to spend a great deal of time in performing ablutions and ceremonies of purification. He is forbidden to cause the death of any creature except for sacrifice, and therefore eats no flesh except that of victims. Wine and strong drinks are forbidden. He is required to be strictly virtuous, modest in conversation and manners, benevolent in his social relations, and faithful in the discharge of religious functions. If a Bramin has obeyed these rules, he may, if he chooses, transfer the duties of his sacerdotal office, and retire into the forest, to devote himself to a life of spiritual contemplation. If he intends to do this, he makes a feast for friends and relatives, and bestows farewell presents on them. The priests perform a great variety of ceremonies and recite prayers. He lays down the triple cord, which he has always worn as the external sign of his superior caste, assumes the hermit's coarse garment of woven bark, and bids adieu to the world. If his wife and children choose to accompany him,

in order to render his solitary life more comfortable by their attentions, it is considered a mark of great devotion on their part. But whether his family are with him or not, the hermit must live perfectly chaste, and devote himself entirely to religious meditation and sacrifices. If, after years of fasting, mortification, and prayer, he should break his vow of chastity, he loses all the fruit of his past labours. If he aims at being one of the highest order of saints, he must become still more ascetic. He must renounce his family, give up every species of property, sleep on the ground, and annihilate his body by such self-torments as ingenuity can devise. By this process he may finally attain absorption into The Divine Soul, which is the great object of devotional efforts among the Hindoos. They describe it as by no means a state of deadness, but as peaceful, free, and happy; serenely independent of all the world can give or take away; a state of unchangeable beatitude, which can only be understood by those who have experienced it. Arrived at this stage in the spiritual pilgrimage, there is no more need to offer sacrifices or study the Vedas. Truth constantly reveals itself by its own inward light, and the divine fire continually burning within the soul is sufficient worship.

This complete abstraction of the soul from the body, by solitude, prolonged fasts, and physical torture, may well be supposed to occasion strange states of nervous irritability and exaltation; but the promised bliss, the miraculous power, and the saintly renown, are so much coveted, that devotees usually endure their sufferings with great courage and perseverance. One of them told the Abbé Dubois: "Every day my spiritual master obliged me to gaze fixedly at the firmament, without changing my posture or winking my eyes. This gave me a terrible headache. I thought I saw sparkles of fire, flaming globes, and other meteors. My teacher had himself become blind of one eye by these exercises."

Another said: "I was ordered to keep awake most of the night, striving not to think of any thing at all. I was

instructed to hold my breath as long as nature could possibly endure it. Once at midday, I found myself surrounded by thick darkness; at another time, I saw a very clear moon that appeared to move. My master congratulated me upon my progress, and prescribed more painful exertions. But I became fatigued, and returned to my former mode of life."

One of those hermit-schools in the forest, where pilgrims resorted, and saints served their noviciate, is thus described in the ancient poem Mahabharata, believed to have been written more than a thousand years before Christ:—"The king advanced toward the sacred grove, image of celestial regions. The river was filled with pilgrims, while the air resounded with voices of pious men repeating portions of the sacred writings. Followed by his minister of state and his grand priest, he advanced toward the hermitage, animated with desire to see the holy man, inexhaustible treasure of religious knowledge. He heard mysterious sentences, extracts from the Vedas, pronounced with rhythmic cadence by priests most learned in sacred maxims and religious ceremonies. This place was radiant with glory from the presence of a certain number of Bramins skilful in the preparation of sacrifices; while others of exemplary life chanted portions of the Vedas. All were men of cultivated intelligence and imposing exterior; men who possessed the principles of morality, and the science of the cultivation of the soul; men skilful to reconcile sacred texts, which do not agree together; men versed in grammar, poetry, logic, and chronology; men who understood causes and effects, who had penetrated the essence of matter, of movement, and of quality; who had studied the language of birds and bees [for omens]; who reposed their faith upon the works of Vyasa, and offered models of study from books of sacred origin. These places resemble the dwelling of Brahma."

The most ancient writings of the Hindoos teach the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration through various forms of being. Man is taught to consider the

numerous evils which afflict him in this life as the inevitable consequences of sins committed, either in his present form of existence, or in some previous state. He was sent into the world again to expiate them by penances and good works. The duties of his caste are a portion of his penance, and if he performs them faithfully, he will have a certain degree of reward thereunto belonging. If he accomplishes meritorious works in addition to these, his account will stand still more favourably, and when he is born into the world again, it may be into a higher caste. If he commits sins, instead of performing duties, he must make haste to expiate them by painful penances here, lest he receive the appropriate punishment in hell, and when that is finished, his soul be sent back to earth, to dwell in a lower caste or a barbarian nation, perhaps even in the form of a woman or an animal. The highest Bramin may gradually sink himself lower and lower, by sins and neglect of duty, until he is condemned to reappear in the world as a Pariah, or a reptile. But the desired good can be attained sooner or later by all, though it may be through manifold progressive changes. If the Soodra performs faithfully the duties of his station, he may return to earth as a Vaisya. If he fulfil this mission conscientiously, and adds meritorious works according to his knowledge, his soul may enjoy Paradise for a season, and when the recompense is completed, he may perhaps be born into the favoured caste of Bramins, bringing with him the accumulated wisdom and goodness acquired by his past experiences on earth or in Paradise. The Soodra, thus elevated to a Bramin, may finally, by annihilating his senses, and devoting himself entirely to religious contemplation, attain to complete absorption into the Universal Soul, and enjoy immortal beatitude, without any further necessity of submitting to birth or death.

One of their sacred poems represents the Supreme Being as saying : "Those who seek refuge near me shall not perish. Though they be born of ignoble parents, though they be women, or Vaisyas, or Soodras, they are upon the road to

supreme felicity ; much more the pure Bramins and pious royal sages."

They believe that every man is accompanied from birth to death by two attendant Spirits, one of whom keeps record of his good actions, the other of his sins. That within the external mortal body is a subtile invisible body, the seat of the spiritual faculties, the mediator between the soul and the senses. At death, this interior body is not laid aside with the material form. It accompanies the human soul through all its transmigrations, until the soul is finally absorbed into the Supreme Being, from whom it emanated. This invisible interior body, after successive sojourns on earth, in paradise, or hell, for ages, is finally cast off by the soul's complete absorption into Brahm.

Then the spiritual body returns to be again born on earth, and the organization of the external body it takes depends on the character of the soul it had previously accompanied. It is a common assertion among Hindoos that "Brahma inscribes the destiny of every mortal on his scull, and the gods themselves cannot avert it."

However, man is not entirely a passive machine in the hands of fate. Various spiritual influences act upon him while he is in the body. Some will lead him into the illusions of the passions, some into the shadows of ignorance and lethargy, and some to the calm regions of truth and virtue. By resolute efforts, they say, man can turn away from the shadows and illusions, and follow the real and unchangeable.

The Sacred Books describe fourteen spheres, the abodes of souls, many of whom have fallen from their original glory, and are returning to their primeval home, more or less slowly, through manifold transmigrations. This earth is one of the scenes of expiation and progress. It has six spheres above it, successive gradations of Paradise, and seven spheres below it, successive gradations of punishment, for purposes of purification. These abodes are dreary and dark, each more horrible than the other. In some, the ground is composed of deep mud, in others it is made of

hot copper, or planted thick with thorns, or crowded with venomous reptiles, such as serpents and vipers. The cruel are to be tormented by snakes; drunkards thrown into baths of liquid fire; seducers embraced by images of red-hot iron; the inhospitable are to have their eyes torn out by vultures; and despisers of Bramins are to stick fast in filthy mire with their heads downward. The seventh and deepest pit is of red-hot charcoal. Evil Spirits come up thence to receive the souls of wicked men. When souls come into the presence of Yama, Judge of the Dead, two attendants place before him the records of their lives; one of which enumerates their good deeds, the other their sins. If wicked thoughts and actions predominate, Yama delivers the trembling souls to Evil Spirits with orders to scourge them, or drag them over rocky paths, or expose them to be torn by awful beasts, or gnawed by fiery worms, or plunged into pits of flame. These abodes of suffering are always described as situated in the South, and the blessed regions in the North.

The first sphere above this earth is the Paradise of Indra, appropriated to those who have been charitable to the poor and zealous in the performance of religious ceremonies. Above this, are successive ascending spheres, for men of greater and greater degrees of holiness. Those who have died martyrs for religion, or performed very extraordinary acts of piety, inhabit the Paradise of Vishnu, in the fifth sphere. The sixth and highest is the Paradise of Brahma, reserved for men who never uttered a falsehood, and for women who burn themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, a *voluntary* self-sacrifice, to expiate the sins of the deceased.

Indra's Paradise is more frequently described than the higher ones, perhaps because it is more generally hoped for, being attained by the easiest process. His resplendent palace, called *Vajjayanta*, is in the midst of blooming gardens, where grows the celestial fruit *Amrita*, which confers immortality on whoever tastes it. Ever-playing fountains preserve perpetual verdure. There is *Camada*, the cow of

abundance, the sacred horse Sajah, and the white elephant Airavata. Indra and his wife are seated on a throne of gold, blazing with gems. They are surrounded by Spirits of Singing Stars, called Gandharvas, and by the Genii of Musical Instruments, called Ginarers, who make celestial harmony with the voices of dancing nymphs, called Asparas; and as they sing, the air is perfumed with their fragrant breath. They mingle together in dances, and delight the eye with graceful evolutions.

Kalaisa, the palace of Siva, is on a silver mountain above the lofty peaks of Himalaya. "It is surrounded by an infinite variety of trees, which yield delicious fruit all the year round. Roses and other flowers fill the air with fragrance. The lake at the foot of the mountain is enclosed with pleasant groves of umbrageous trees. Peacocks and beautiful women delight the eye, and birds charm the ear with multifarious melody. The surrounding woods are filled with saints, who spend their time in contemplation and sacrifices to the gods. They are fair to look upon, with long white beards and graceful drapery. Round about the mountain are seven ladders, by which you ascend to a spacious plain, over which hangs a silver bell, self-sustained in the air, and a table too brilliant for mortal sight, with nine precious stones of various colours. Upon this table lies a silver rose, which contains two women, bright and fair as pearls. In the centre of the rose is the Sacred Triangle, that mysterious emblem, of which no mortal tongue may declare the significance."

The Mahabharata describes the Paradise of Vishnu as "eighty thousand miles in circumference, and formed of pure gold. The pillars of his palace, Vaicuntha, are entire gems; its architraves and pediments blaze with jewels. On a throne, radiant as the meridian sun, sits Vishnu, with his wife Lashmi, reposing on lotus-blossoms. The goddess shines like a continued blaze of lightning, and her beautiful form exhales a fragrance which is diffused through Paradise. Lovely lakes surround the palace, and on their surface float myriads of red, blue, and white water-lilies.

The praises of Brahma are continually chanted by beautiful spirits, and the gods sometimes unite their voices with the worshippers. Garuda, the eagle god, guards the door."

The Hindoos, endowed by nature with keen susceptibility to pleasure, are eager to arrive at these paradisaical regions, where life is not for penance, and enjoyment is no sin. To obtain the promised rewards, they go through an immense number of religious ceremonies and severe penances. Almost every event of human life, and every portion of the day, has some prescribed prayer or sacrifice. They attribute an inherent value to acts of devotion, entirely independent of the spiritual state of those who perform them. If not accomplished exactly according to prescription, the desired effects will not follow. Even if this happen by some unavoidable accident, the reward will be lost, whatever might have been the purity of intention. But if the ceremony be performed strictly according to rule in every particular, the gods are unable to prevent the recompense thereunto belonging, however wicked the petitioner may be, or however bad his purpose in the power he wishes to acquire. An eternal necessity binds every act to its effect, which must manifest itself sooner or later. Their Sacred Books declare: "If fire is touched without thinking of fire, it burns him who touches it; poison will kill, though taken by accident; thus the name of God contains in itself essentially the virtue to consume sins." But each effort has its limited consequences, and can receive no more than belongs to it. When two giants asked Brahma for immortality, as a reward for terrible self-inflictions, he replied: "Your object in undertaking these penitential enterprises was to rule over three worlds. You have secured that object; but immortality cannot be granted you."

The three attributes of Brahm, called Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, are indicated by letters corresponding to our A. U. M., generally pronounced Om. This mystic Word is never uttered except in prayer, and the sign which represents it in their temples is an object of profound adoration. Their

Sacred Books declare it to be the first Word uttered by Brahma, and call it "the first-born of the Creator." "Like the pure ether, it encloses in itself all the qualities, all the elements of Brahma. It is the name and the body of Brahma. It is consequently infinite, like him, and is the Creator and Ruler of all things." "Brahma, meditating upon this Divine Word, found therein primitive water." "All ordained rites, such as oblation to fire, and solemn offerings, pass away; but A. U. M. passes not away; since it is a symbol of the Most High, the Lord of all created things." In the Sacred Books called Vedas, The Word utters a soliloquy, in which he praises himself as "the Universal Soul."

There is likewise a prayer in the Vedas, called Gayatree, which consists of three measured lines, and is considered the holiest and most efficacious of all their religious forms. Sir William Jones translates it thus: "Let us adore the supremacy of that Spiritual Sun, the godhead, who illuminates all, who re-creates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return; whom we invoke to direct our undertakings aright in our progress toward his holy seat." He gives the following paraphrase as expressive of the meaning it conveys to a devout Hindoo: "What the *sun* and *light* are to this visible world, the Supreme *good* and *truth* are to the intellectual and invisible universe; and as our corporeal eyes have a distinct perception of objects enlightened by the sun, thus our souls acquire certain knowledge, by meditating on the light of *truth*, which emanates from the Being of beings. That is the light, by which alone our minds can be directed in the path of beatitude." One of the celebrated Hindoo saints thus expounds the Gayatree: "We meditate on the Supreme, Omnipresent, Internal Spirit of this splendid sun, who is earnestly sought for by such as dread further mortal birth; who resides in every body, as the all-pervading soul and controller of the mind, and constantly directs our intellect toward the acquisition of virtue, wealth, physical enjoyment, and final beatitude."

This prayer should be pronounced with Om at the beginning, and Om at the end. If omitted at the beginning, the desired reward will fail; if at the end, the reward will be of short duration. Their commentators affirm that "whoever repeats these once, or ten times, or a hundred times, shall obtain bliss in a proportionate degree. After the repetition let him meditate on him who is One only, and all-pervading; thereby all religious observances, though not performed, shall have been virtually performed." According to their Sacred Books, "whoever repeats them every day for three years, without negligence, shall approach the Most High God, become free as air, and after death acquire an ethereal essence." This form of worship is deemed so holy that it shocks a Bramin to hear it uttered by a foreigner, or one of inferior caste. An English gentleman, who had learned the Gayatree in Sanscrit, began to repeat it, unconscious of doing harm, in the presence of a pious Bramin, who, with terrified aspect, instantly stopped his ears, and hurried from the room. No people in the world manifest greater veneration for religious subjects than the Hindoos. A learned Bramin, reading a sacred poem to Sir William Jones, omitted the portions relating to Brahma, because it was deemed profanation to make them known to any but priests; and so sincere were his devout feelings, that his voice was often interrupted by tears.

The most ancient and honoured of all their Sacred Books are the Vedas; a name signifying Laws, or Ordinances, and derived from a root meaning Light, Fire. They believe them to have existed in the mind of Brahma himself, before the creation, and that the first man received them directly from his mouth. They are divided into four books, called the Rig Veda, the Yajur Veda, the Sama Veda, and the Atharva Veda. Portions of the last contain fewer obsolete terms than the other volumes, and are therefore supposed to be less ancient. Few, even of the most learned Bramins, can read all passages in the three oldest Vedas. Copies of the original manuscripts are now

exceedingly scarce. Numerous commentaries have been written upon them, from time immemorial, called *Shastras*; a common designation for all their Sacred Writings.

The Vedas are written in Sanscrit, which means The Perfect; it is likewise called *Deva Nagara*, or the Divine Language. Scholars pronounce it the most copious and excellent of all the ancient tongues; and this fact is a plain indication that it was formed by a people considerably advanced in civilization, who had many ideas to express. But its origin extends too far back into the darkness of antiquity to be traced by history. The people who spoke it passed away from the face of the earth such a very long time ago, that it has been a dead language beyond the memory or the records of man. The knowledge of it was confined to learned Bramins, until it attracted the attention and employed the industry of European scholars, in the last century.

The Hindoos believe that the Vedas are as old as the creation of the world. Learned Bramins profess to find traces of their existence as far back as two hundred and sixty years after our date of the Deluge; that is, two thousand and eighty-eight years before the Christian era. Sir William Jones says: "That the Vedas were actually written before the Flood, I shall never believe; but they are very ancient, and far older than other Sanscrit compositions." He thinks the *Yajur Veda* can be traced as far as one thousand five hundred and eighty years before Christ; that is, one hundred years before the birth of Moses. He arrived at this conclusion from certain astronomical statements therein contained. The learned Heeren says: "There is no reliable data by which to ascertain the precise period, either when the separate parts were written, or when they were arranged in their present order. Their origin is involved in deepest obscurity. They are without doubt the oldest works composed in Sanscrit. This is sufficiently attested by the obsolete idiom in which they are written. Another proof is derived from the fact that all the Sanscrit writings, even the most ancient, allude to the

Vedas as already in existence, and cite numerous passages from them, at almost every page." The various Hindoo sects all profess to find authority for their doctrines in these Sacred Oracles; but the Vedas themselves give no indications of separation into sects. They do not even allude to the great sects of Siva, and of the two incarnations of Vishnu, called Rama and Crishna, though Hindoo monuments prove them to be of extreme antiquity.

The manuscripts of the Vedas made forty-two volumes, folio. On account of their great bulk, the obsolete expressions, and the metaphorical obscurity of style, they were condensed and arranged in their present form, by a learned Bramin. This collection is called the Vedanta, or Substance of the Vedas, and is generally received as of equal authority with the original. There is no certain evidence when this compilation was made; but Oriental scholars agree that it must have been more than two thousand years ago. The work is attributed to Vyasa, which is a common term applied to all compilers. Heeren says:—"Vyasa had numerous disciples, who instructed others in their turn. At last, the variations in the manner of reading and reciting the text are said to have given rise to no less than one thousand one hundred different schools. These alterations would, for the most part, only concern outward forms of pronunciation; and they must have been made many centuries ago; for the numerous quotations in the oldest writings agree with the modern copies of the Vedas."

Nothing can exceed the reverence paid to these Sacred Writings. It is not allowable to bring them into contact with animal substances, such as leather or woollen. He who uses them must first perform prescribed ablutions and other religious ceremonies. It is deemed sacrilege to read them in the presence of a wicked man, or within the sound of whipping, or in a place through which a corpse is carried. Bramins alone may study or explain them; and they have always had it in their power to communicate to other castes as much, or as little, as they pleased. The

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next caste, comprising princes and nobles, are allowed to hear them expounded, and even to read portions, under the superintendence of Bramins. The third caste, of merchants, who are generally correct grammarians, and often good poets, are permitted to hear only such parts as relate to medicine. The lower castes are rigorously excluded from all knowledge of them. The Code of Menu ordains: "If a Soodra reads the Vedas to either of the three other castes, or if he listens to them, heated oil, wax, and melted tin shall be poured into his ears, and the orifice stopped up; and if he learns the Vedas by heart, he shall be put to death." But "the Bramin, who knows all the Vedas by heart, and recites them three times with devotion, will be delivered from all sin. He would incur no punishment, though he had eaten food from the most unclean hands, or even if he had killed the inhabitants of three worlds." Devout men, who have thus read and recited the Vedas, are called "twice born," in allusion to a new spiritual birth, in addition to their natural birth.

Inherent sacredness and supernatural power are ascribed to the identical Sanscrit words, and it is considered sacrilege to make the slightest alteration in the arrangement of the sentences. Hence, the Bramins have evinced an almost insurmountable reluctance to have them translated into foreign languages. Probably no one of them would have dared to show the manuscripts for such a purpose, had it not been for their hopeless conviction that everything is going to predestined destruction in this present Cali Yug, and therefore it matters little what is done with anything this perishable world contains. But though this view has reconciled some to imparting a knowledge of their religion to foreigners, the stricter sort have always regarded translations of their Sacred Books with mingled feelings of terror and sadness.

The Vedas are collections of detached pieces, by different authors, whose names are therein cited. They purport to be the utterance of certain very ancient and celebrated saints, called Rishis, who received them directly from Di-

vine Beings. Some of these authors were Bramins, and some were royal personages, who had attained to complete sanctity. They are represented as holy anchorites in the forest, a circumstance which indicates the extreme antiquity of that mode of life in India. Heeren says: "The worship prescribed concerns a religious system, which, according to the unanimous opinion of all who have studied the subject, has for its foundation the belief in One God. This Divinity, however, was manifested in the grand phenomena of Nature, which were themselves separately invoked as deities. In this sense, we might consider it a kind of natural religion, but it is interwoven with a tissue of refined speculations on the infinite, on the origin of things, the emanation of beings, and their absorption into the Godhead; and this constitutes their peculiarity." The names of Vishnu and Siva are only mentioned two or three times; but the "One Immutable Being" is mentioned much more frequently. The prayers are mostly addressed to Sun, Moon, Fire, Air, Water, and other forces of Nature, whose presiding Spirits are supposed to be subordinate agents of the Supreme, and different manifestations of his being. The Vedas contain civil laws, moral precepts, treatises on medicine, astronomy, astrology, and divination, dialogues concerning God and the soul, and a prescribed ritual for external worship. Each Veda is divided into two parts. The first part, called the Sanhita, contains hymns, prayers, invocations, rules concerning sacrifices to be offered to Spirits of the Planets and of the Elements, and to the souls of departed ancestors; and various other things connected with the ceremonials of religion. The second portion is called the Upanishad, which signifies The Knowledge of God, or the Science of God. These portions contain moral precepts, and dialogues between the Rishis and the Deities, concerning the existence of God, the origin and destiny of the soul, and other kindred topics. They teach the existence of One Invisible Being, and urge subjugation of the senses, and devout contemplation, as the means of obtaining from above intuitive perceptions, which they call

"science," by whose divine agency the human soul is brought into perfect and blessed union with the Supreme One.

In the first two Vedas, there is but a small proportion of this spiritual teaching. The third comprises the most detailed and abstract researches of that description; and even in the fourth, which is not so highly esteemed by European scholars, they occupy more than half the whole book. The Sanhita, or Liturgy, of the first and second Vedas, contains hymns and prayers to be recited at sacrifices, festivals, the consecration of Bramins, the inauguration of kings, and other public ceremonies. Some of them are said to be composed by the ancient Rishis, others are ascribed to various Deities. The hymns of the third Veda are exclusively intended for chanting. The fourth contains more than seven hundred and sixty hymns and prayers. A large proportion are forms of imprecation, for the punishment of the wicked and the destruction of enemies. There are also numerous invocations to the Spirit of the Sun, of the Air, of Water, and of other forces of Nature, to procure rain and good harvests, or to avert sickness and calamity.

The following extracts will serve to give some idea of the more spiritual portions of the Vedas. Where the word *science* occurs, it must be remembered that the writers intended thereby to express perceptions of divine truth, obtained by immediate revelations from God to the soul.

"Any place where the mind of man can be undisturbed, is suitable for the worship of the Supreme Being."

"The vulgar look for their gods in water; the ignorant think they reside in wood, bricks, and stones; men of more extended knowledge seek them in celestial orbs; but wise men worship the Universal Soul."

"There is One living and true God; everlasting, without parts or passion; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker and Preserver of all things."

"What and how the Supreme Being is, cannot be ascertained. We can only describe him by his effects and

works. In like manner as we, not knowing the real nature of the sun, explain him to be the cause of the succession of days and epochs."

"That Spirit, who is distinct from Matter, and from all beings contained in Matter, is not various. He is One, and he is beyond description; whose glory is so great, there can be no image of him. He is the incomprehensible Spirit, who illuminates all, and delights all; from whom all proceed, by whom they live after they are born, and to whom all must return. Nothing but the Supreme Being should be adored by a wise man."

"He overspreads all creatures. He is merely Spirit, without the form either of a minute body, or an extended one, which is liable to impression or organization. He is the ruler of the intellect, self-existent, pure, perfect, omniscient, and omnipresent. He has from all eternity been assigning to all creatures their respective purposes. No vision can approach him, no language describe him, no intellectual power can comprehend him."

"Heaven is his head, the sun and moon are his eyes, the earth is his feet, space is his ears, air is his breath, the Vedas are his speech, and the visible creation is his intellect; for he is The Soul of the Universe."

"He by whom the birth, the existence, and the annihilation of the world are regulated is The Supreme Soul. The sun and all the luminaries borrow their light from him."

"As a thousand rays emanate from one flame, thus do all souls emanate from The One Eternal Soul, and return to him."

"As the web proceeds from the spider and is absorbed again by her, as vegetables proceed from the earth, as hair and nails grow from animate beings, so is the universe evolved from the One Eternal Supreme Soul."

"The Supreme Soul dwells in the form of four-footed animals, and in another place he is full of glory. He lives in the form of the slave, he is smaller than the grain of barley. He is the smallest of the small, and the greatest of the great; yet he is neither small nor great."

“Without hand or foot, he runs rapidly, and grasps firmly; without eyes, he sees all; without ears, he hears all. He knows whatever can be known; but there is none who knows him. The wise call him the Great, Supreme, Pervading Spirit.”

“From him emanates the firmament, illustrated by the sun and moon; the moon accumulates clouds in the sky; the clouds descend in rain, which brings forth vegetables from the earth; the essence derived from the nourishment of these vegetables, man imparts to woman; through these progressive physical causes, numerous offspring proceed from the omnipresent Supreme Soul.”

“He who considers all beings as existing in the Supreme Spirit, and the Supreme Spirit as pervading all beings, cannot view with contempt any creature whatsoever.”

“God has created the senses to be directed toward external objects. They can perceive only these objects, and not the Eternal Spirit. The sage, who desires an immortal life, withdraws his senses from their natural course, and perceives the Supreme Being everywhere present.”

“This body formed of bones, skin, and nerves, filled with fat and flesh, is a great evil, and without reality. It ought to perish. Of what use then is it for the soul to seek corporeal pleasures?”

“The inhabitants of this body are cupidity, anger, desire for wealth, error, anxiety, envy, sadness, discord, disappointment, affliction, hunger, thirst, disease, old age, death. Of what use is it then to seek the pleasures of this body?”

“Through strict veracity, uniform control of mind and senses, abstinence from sexual indulgence, and ideas derived from spiritual teachers, man should approach God, who, full of glory and perfection, works in the heart, and to whom only votaries freed from passion and desire can approximate.”

“Material objects have no duration. As the fruits of the trees grow and perish, so do these objects. What is there in them worthy to be acquired? Great things and small, commanders of powerful armies, kings who govern

the earth, have relinquished their riches and passed into the other world. Nothing could save them. They were men, and they could not escape death. The Gandharvas, the Sooras, the stars themselves, do not endure forever. The seas will one day be dried up, the high mountains will fall, even the polar star will change its place, the earth will be swallowed in the waves. Such is the world! Of what avail is it to seek its pleasures? One may perform meritorious works, from self-interested motives, during his whole life, he may enjoy all pleasures, still he must come back into the world. He can only continue passing from one world to another. There is nothing desirable, except the science of God. Out of this, there is no tranquillity and no freedom. To be attached to material things is to be chained; to be without attachment is to be free."

"May this soul of mine, which is a ray of perfect wisdom, pure intellect, and permanent existence, which is the unextinguishable light fixed within created bodies, without which no good act is performed, be united by devout meditation with the Spirit supremely blest and supremely intelligent."

"O thou, who givest sustenance to the world, unveil that face of the *true* sun, which is now hidden by a veil of golden light! so that we may see the *truth*, and know our whole duty."

"He who inwardly rules the sun is the same immortal Spirit who inwardly rules thee."

"That All-pervading Spirit, which gives light to the visible sun, even the same in *kind* am I, though infinitely distant in *degree*. Let my soul return to the immortal Spirit of God, and then let my body return to dust."

"I am in this world like a frog in a dry well. Thou only, O Lord, art my refuge; Thou only art my refuge."

"By one Supreme Ruler is this universe pervaded; even every world in the whole circle of Nature. Enjoy pure delight, O man, by abandoning all thoughts of this perishable world; and covet not the wealth of any creature existing."

"God, who is perfect wisdom and perfect happiness, is the final refuge of the man who has liberally bestowed his wealth, who has been firm in virtue, and who knows and adores the Great One."

"To those regions where Evil Spirits dwell, and which utter darkness involves, surely go after death all such men as destroy the purity of their own souls."

"Preserve thyself from self-sufficiency, and do not covet property belonging to another."

"The way to eternal beatitude is open to him who without omission speaketh truth."

"If any one assumes the garb of the religious, without doing their works, he is not of the religious. Whatever garments he wears, if his works are pure, he belongs to the order of pure men. If he wears the dress of a penitent, and does not lead the life of a penitent, he belongs to the men of the world; but if he is in the world, and practises penitential works, he ought to be regarded as a penitent."

"Those who observe religious rites, but attend only to the worship of the sacred fire, or offerings to saints, or sacrifices to the souls of departed ancestors, or to men and other creatures, without attending to the worship of the celestial gods, enter into the region of shadows. But those who habitually adore the celestial gods only, neglecting the worship of the sacred fire, offerings to the saints, to the souls of ancestors, to men and other creatures, enter into regions of still deeper shadow."

"Hold the breath, remain without movement, repeat inwardly A. U. M. twelve times, thinking that the soul is one with God; draw in a full supply of breath, and hold it while inwardly repeating A. U. M. twenty-four times; afterward, hold the breath while inwardly repeating the same as many times as possible, thinking meanwhile of God as perfect Being, which can be revealed only by its own light. Continue this exercise three months, without fear and without idleness. In the fourth month, good Spirits will appear to you; in the fifth, you will acquire the qualities of good Spirits; in the sixth, you will become God."

“He who offers sacrifices, at the prescribed times, is by them transported to the Paradise of Indra. His offerings make entrance for him into this heaven, and say to him: It is the summit of the heavens; there is the fruit of thy good works.”

“All works ought to be regarded merely as means of purifying the intelligence, as means to guide the traveller to his home.”

“No man can acquire knowledge of the soul without abstaining from evil acts, and having control over the senses and the mind. Nor can he gain it, though with a firm mind, if he is actuated by desire for reward. But man may obtain knowledge of the soul by contemplation of God.”

“The science of God, leading to absorption in him, is one thing; rites, which procure enjoyments, are another. Divine science, and rewards belonging to the observance of rites, both present themselves to the choice of man. He who prefers faith, and despises reward, is endowed with wisdom. Little wisdom has he who devotes himself to rites for the sake of reward, and thus excludes himself from the enjoyment of eternal beatitude. The wisest comprehend that the science of God and the practice of works are altogether opposite to each other.”

“The ignorant suppose that the digging of wells, and other good works recommended in the Vedas, and the sacrifices therein prescribed, are the most meritorious. They have no idea of the science of God, which is the only source of true happiness. By excessive desire for reward, they are deprived of this knowledge. They will assuredly obtain the objects they seek by the practice of works and ceremonies; but when the period of their recompense in Paradise has expired, they must descend to the world again, subjecting themselves to new transmigrations, into the forms of men, or animals, or plants; liable to birth, sorrow, disease, and death. These foolish ones, plunged in ignorance, believing themselves wise, resemble the blind leading the blind. But men who have maturely considered

the perishable nature of all advantages that works can procure, hermits who live in the forest upon alms, fathers of families, endowed with wisdom, worshipping Brahma, practising austerities, subduing the senses, these are delivered from all sin, and ascend to the highest heaven, where reigns the immortal Brahma, as ancient as the world."

"Though man finds pleasure in that which he sees, hears, smells, tastes, and touches, he derives no benefit from the pleasure, because the soul, in attaching itself to external objects, forgets its high origin, which is The Universal Soul."

"It is the nature of the soul to identify itself with the object of its tendency. If it tend toward the world, it becomes the world. If it tend toward God, it becomes God."

"Men endowed with penetrating insight, with a spirit full of wisdom, having withdrawn their senses inward, annihilate them. They annihilate the interior senses, by subjecting them to the control of intelligence; they annihilate intelligence, by submitting it to the soul; they annihilate the soul in the collection of souls; and the collection of souls in the One Universal Soul."

"Saints wise and firm, exempt from passion, assured of the soul's divine origin, satisfied solely with the science of God, have seen God everywhere present with them, and after death have been absorbed in him; even as the air within a jar, by the destruction of the jar, returns to universal space."

"The science of God is not acquired by study of the Vedas, nor through retentive memory, nor yet by constant hearing of spiritual instruction; but he who seeks to obtain it, finds it. The soul renders itself manifest to him."

"When man has withdrawn heart, soul, and senses, from external things, and keeps himself without impulse toward them, it is the great degree of union. Then man will not fall into error by mistake or negligence. He watches incessantly to preserve himself from it. If all do not see the soul, it is because their soul turns the senses

from her, and makes them tend outward; for the soul is the true controller, and does all she wills."

"When the sage perceives the Eternal Cause everywhere present, then abandoning the consequences of good works and of bad works, he becomes perfect, and obtains complete absorption. The sage who recognizes that God resides in all creatures, forgets all idea of duality. He is convinced that there is only One real existence, and that is God. He directs all his senses toward God only, the origin of his own consciousness. He concentrates upon him all his love, detaches his spirit from all earthly objects, by fixing his soul continually upon God. A person thus devoted to God is esteemed the most perfect among the adorers of the Divinity."

"To know that God *is*, and that *all* is God, this is the substance of the Vedas. When one attains to this, there is no more need of reading, or of works; they are but the bark, the straw, the envelope. No more need of them when one has the seed, the substance, the Creator. When one knows Him by science, he may abandon science, as the torch which has conducted him to the end."

The following is one of the numerous prayers contained in the Vedas: "Where they who know the Great One go, through holy rites and through piety, thither may fire raise me. May fire receive my sacrifices. Mysterious praise to Fire! May air waft me thither. May air increase my spirits. Mysterious praise to Air! May the sun draw me thither. May the sun enlighten my eye. Mysterious praise to the Sun! May the moon bear me thither. May the moon receive my mind. Mysterious praise to the Moon! May the plant Soma lead me thither. May Soma bestow on me its hallowed milk. Mysterious praise to Soma! May Indra carry me thither. May Indra give me strength. Mysterious praise to Indra! May water lead me thither. May water bring me the stream of immortality. Mysterious praise to the Waters! Where they who know the Great One go, through holy rites and through piety, thither may Brahma conduct me. May Brahma

lead me to the Great One. Mysterious praise to Brahma!"

The Code of Menu is next in antiquity to the Vedas, and ranks the next highest as sacred authority. It is called Menu Dherma Shastra, which signifies Ordinances of God. Sir William Jones dates its existence one thousand two hundred and eighty years before Christ; about three hundred years later than his date of the Yajur Veda. This Code embraces political regulations as well as religious, and up to the present day it forms the basis of the whole civil policy of Hindostan. It rests everywhere on the authority of the Vedas, quotes them at every page, and is regarded with similar reverence. When India came under the government of Great Britain, it was very desirable to have an English translation of their Sacred Laws, that the administration might avoid unnecessary interference with the ancient customs of the people. But the Bramin, who read them to Sir William Jones, earnestly begged to have his name concealed; so great was the offence of making those holy words known to a foreigner. On no account would he read them on a forbidden day of the moon, or without first performing the ceremonies prescribed in the Vedas, previous to reading the Sacred Writing. When the English obtained leave to translate this Code, they were required to promise that it should be bound in silk, or velvet, and by no means in any kind of leather, which, being the skin of an animal, was deemed unclean. The Bramins at Benares positively and unanimously refused to assist in the translation.

The book takes its title from Menu Satyavrata, called likewise Vaivaswata, or Child of the Sun, also Grandson of Brahma, whom Hindoos believe to have escaped from a great deluge, and reigned over the whole world in the earliest ages of their chronology. He is represented as saying: "Brahma, having created this code of laws, himself taught it fully to me in the beginning. Afterward, I taught it to Marishi and the nine other holy sages."

He thus describes creation:—"This world was all darkness, undiscernible, undistinguishable altogether, as in a

profound sleep, till the self-existing, invisible God, making it manifest with five elements, and other glorious forms, perfectly dispelled the gloom. Having willed to produce various beings from his own divine essence, he first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed. This seed became a golden egg blazing like a thousand suns. In this egg he was himself born in the form of Brahma, the great Father of all Spirits. The Great Power remained inactive in the egg a whole year, at the close of which he caused the egg to divide itself, and from its two divisions he framed the heavens above and the earth beneath. In the midst he placed the subtile ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of waters. From the Supreme Soul he drew forth Mind, existing substantially, though immaterial, and unperceived by sense." Vishnu is described as assisting in the creation of the world, under the name of Narayana, "The Spirit Moving on the Waters." In common with other Asiatic nations, they suppose creation to have taken place in six successive periods, and that man and woman were formed last.

The following extracts will serve to give some idea of the Code of Menu :

"To patriarchs, to deities, and to mankind, the Scripture is an eye giving constant light. The Veda Shastra could not be made by human faculties, nor can it be measured by human reason."

"The birth which man derives from his parents is merely human; that which the Vedas procure for him is the true birth, exempt from age or death."

"To a man contaminated by sensuality, neither the Vedas, nor liberality, nor sacrifices, nor strict observances, nor pious austerities, will procure felicity."

"A wise man must faithfully discharge all moral duties, even though he does not constantly perform the ceremonies of religion. He will fall very low, if he performs ceremonial acts only, and fails to discharge his moral duties."

"By honouring his father, mother, and sister, a man effec-

tually does whatever ought to be done. This is the highest duty, and every other is subordinate. All duties are performed by him who completely honours these three; but to him by whom they are dishonoured, all other acts are fruitless."

"Whatever oblations a man actuated by strong faith piously offers, as the sacred laws have directed, become a perpetual unperishable gratification to his ancestors in the other world."

"Those rulers of the earth, who, desirous of defending each other, exert their utmost strength in battle, without ever averting their faces, ascend after death directly to Paradise."

"He whose sins are mostly corporeal, will assume after death a vegetable or mineral form; for sins mostly verbal, he will assume the form of a bird or beast; for sins merely mental, he will again assume a human form, but in some of its lower conditions. An unauthorized teacher of the Sacred Books will return into a dumb body. He who steals a lamp, will be born blind."

"A Bramin who drinks spirituous liquors, shall migrate into the form of a worm, or a fly feeding on ordure, or of some ravenous animal."

"Any twice-born man, who has intentionally drank spirit of rice, through perverse delusion of mind, ought to swallow more spirit in flame, and thus atone for his offence by severely burning his body."

"Should a Bramin, who has once tasted the holy juice of the Moon-plant, so much as smell the breath of a man who drinks intoxicating spirits, he must remove the taint by thrice repeating the Gayatree, while he suppresses his breath in water; and by eating clarified butter after that ceremony."

"He who explains the Law to a man of servile caste, and instructs him in the mode of expiating sin, (except by the aid of the Bramins,) sinks with that man into the hell called Asamorita."

"A Soodra, though emancipated by his master, is not re-

leased from a state of servitude; for such a man was created by the Supreme Being for the purpose of serving Bramins. No superfluous collection of wealth may be made by a Soodra, even though he have power to make it; since a servile man who has amassed riches becomes proud, and gives pain even to the Bramins."

"If a wife speak unkindly to her husband, she may be superseded by another without delay."

"A woman is never fit for independence."

"A man untainted with covetousness may be sole witness, and may have more weight than many women; because the female understanding is apt to waver."

"Whatever exists in the universe is all, in effect, though not in form, the wealth of the Bramin; since he is entitled to it by his primogeniture and eminence in rank."

"He who mentions a Bramin with contumely should have an iron style, ten fingers long, thrust red-hot into his mouth. He who, through pride, attempts to give instructions to the Bramins concerning their duty, should have hot oil dropped into his mouth and ears."

"Let not the king, though in the greatest distress, provoke the Bramins to anger; for, if once enraged, they could, by sacrifices and imprecations, immediately destroy him, with his troops, elephants, horses, and chariots."

"No greater crime is known on earth than killing a Bramin. The king must not even form in his own mind the idea of slaying a priest. He must never put a Bramin to death, though convicted of all possible crimes. He may banish the offender from his realm, but with all his property secure, and his body uninjured."

"Let the murderer of a Bramin voluntarily stand as a mark for the most skilful archers; or throw himself into the fire three times, his whole length; or walk a hundred leagues reciting a Veda, eating little, and keeping all his senses subdued; or make a pilgrimage to the source of the Sarawasti, nourishing himself only on wild seeds; or recite the collection of Vedas three times, without taking nourishment; or expose his life to save a cow, or a Bramin.

Thus may he expiate the unintentional murder of a Bramin; but if the crime be committed with premeditation, there is no way in which it *can* be expiated."

"He who has committed incest, ought to walk constantly in a south-west direction, till he falls dead from exhaustion; or embrace a red-hot statue; or lie on a burning fire; thus will he be purified by death."

"He who, having committed a sin, makes parade of penances and meritorious acts, concealing his crime under an appearance of sanctity, thus deceiving women and servants, such Bramins are accursed in this life, and after death, by all those who pronounce the name of Brahma." [That is, by Bramins.]

"Let no father, who knows the law, receive a gratuity, however small, for giving his daughter in marriage. The man, who through avarice takes a gratuity for that purpose, is a seller of his offspring."

"Let a widow emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruit. When her lord is deceased, let her not even pronounce the name of another man. Let her continue till death forgiving all injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding every pleasure of the senses, and cheerfully practising the incomparable rules of virtue, which have been followed by such women as were devoted only to one husband. Many thousands of Bramins, having avoided sensuality from early youth, though they have left no issue in their families, have nevertheless ascended to heaven. And, like those abstemious men, a virtuous wife ascends to heaven, though she have no child, if, after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity. But a widow, who, from a wish to bear children, slights her deceased husband by marrying again, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord."

"The Bramin who has not caused the least fear to any creature whatsoever, has nothing to fear after he has quitted his body."

"In whatever occupation Brahma first employed any

vital soul, to that occupation the same soul attaches itself spontaneously, when it receives a new body, again and again. Whatever quality, noxious or innocent, harsh or mild, just or unjust, false or true, conferred on any being at its creation, the same quality enters it of course on its future births."

"The sacrifice required of Bramins is to gain knowledge and instruct others; of the Cshatriyas, that they protect others; of the Vaisyas, that they supply wants by commerce; of the Soodras, that they serve others."

"Some make sacrifice of their breath, by instructing others of God; some make sacrifice of their speech, by meditating upon God in silence. In speech and breath, thus employed, they perceive the imperishable fruits of true sacrificial offerings."

"Thoughts, words, the actions of the body, produce fruits happy or pernicious. From these result the superior, middling, and inferior transmigrations of men."

"By overcoming the senses, by suppressing joy and hate, man obtains immortality. Let the anchorite not rejoice to die, or wish to live; but wait for death as a day-laborer waits for him who assigned his task. Let him endure injuries, and despise no person. Let him be careful to commit no hostile action, out of care for his own preservation. Let him not be offended with those who are angry with him, but reply gently to those who curse him. Finding his pleasure in the contemplation of the Supreme Spirit, let him attach himself to nothing; but seek happiness in communion with himself."

"Like a tree carried far from the river which saw its birth, like a bird that flies from the branch where it rested, man ought to free himself from the body; for thus will he see himself delivered from the devouring monster of this world. Leaving the reward of good works to those who value it, and to his enemies the weight of his faults, he passes from contemplation to the bosom of eternal divinity."

"The soul itself is its own witness and its own refuge.

Offend not thy conscious soul, the supreme internal witness of men ! The sinful have said in their hearts, None see us. Yet the gods distinctly see them, and so does the Spirit within their own breasts. The guardian deities of the firmament, of the earth, of the waters, of the human heart, of the moon, of the sun, and of fire, of punishment after death, of the winds, of night, of both twilights, and of justice, perfectly know the state of all spirits clothed with bodies. Oh, friend to virtue ! that Supreme Spirit, which thou believest one and the same with thyself, resides in thy own bosom perpetually, and is an all-knowing inspector of thy goodness or thy wickedness. If, by speaking falsely, thou art not at variance with Yama the subduer of all, with Vaivaswata the punisher, with that Great Divinity that dwells in thy own breast, go not on a pilgrimage to the river Ganges, nor to the plains of Curu ; for thou hast no need of expiation."

Next to the Vedas, and the Code of Menu, the most ancient and the most venerated of the Sacred Books are two epic poems, called The Ramayana, and The Mahabharata. The extreme antiquity of both is proved by sculptures on exceedingly ancient temples, carved in solid rock. The subject of the Ramayana is the victory of the divine hero Rama, over Ravana, prince of the wicked genii, called Rakshasas. Evil Spirits came near gaining ascendancy over the benevolent Deities, because the latter had bound themselves by a promise to make their adversaries invulnerable, and they could not violate their word. Therefore, no one but a mortal could subdue the Prince of Evil ; and it must be a mortal of superhuman endowments. In this emergency, the gods besought Vishnu to become a man. He accordingly divided himself into four parts, and assumed the mortal shape of four brothers, of whom Rama was chief. But all the time that he was on earth in a human body, he remained the same Vishnu in celestial regions. In the course of his adventures in this world, he was banished by the king, and retired into a forest with his brother Lakshman and his wife Sita. There they all led the

life of holy penitents, and became renowned for miracles. After various contests with Evil Spirits, the god-man at last destroyed their prince Ravana, and brought them all into subjection. He then returned in glory to his celestial abode, taking with him those who had assisted his labors on earth.

The Ramayana is principally occupied with the battles and miracles of Rama, but moral maxims and theological doctrines are occasionally interspersed. The following precept is an antique gem:—"The sacrifice of a thousand horses has been put in the balance with one true word, and the one true word weighed down the thousand sacrifices. No virtue surpasses that of veracity. It is by truth alone that men attain to the highest mansions of bliss. Men faithless to the truth, however much they may seek supreme happiness, will not obtain it, even though they offer a thousand sacrifices. There are two roads which conduct to perfect virtue; to be true, and to do no evil to any creature."

The primitive city, founded by Menu, the first ruler of mankind, is thus described in the Ramayana: "It abounded with merchants of all sorts, male and female dancers, elephants, horses, and chariots. It was filled with riches, decorated with precious stones, abundantly supplied with all manner of provisions, beautified with temples and palaces, whose lofty summits equalled the mountains, adorned with baths and gardens, and thickly planted with mango trees. The air was fragrant with the perfume of flowers, with incense, and the sweet-smelling savour of sacrificial offerings. It was inhabited by twice-born men [the regenerated], who were profoundly learned in the Vedas, endowed with excellent qualities, full of sincerity, zeal, and compassion, and perfectly masters of their passions and desires. There was no covetous person in the city, no liar, no deceiver, no one of an evil or implacable disposition. None of the inhabitants lived less than one thousand years, and all left a numerous offspring. None of them went without ear-rings, necklaces, garlands, perfumes, and rich-

ly ornamented garments. No one gave the Bramins less than one thousand rupees; and none flinched from performing the duties appropriate to their respective situations."

The Mahabharata commemorates a later incarnation of Vishnu in the form of Crishna, and is supposed to be somewhat less ancient in date. Bramins attribute it to Vyasa, and say it was written before their era, the commencement of the Cali Yug; consequently more than five thousand years ago. Wilkins, the learned Oriental scholar, thinks there is satisfactory evidence of its being four thousand years old. Sir William Jones places it seven hundred years later. Sculptures on the old rock temples prove that they have not assigned too great antiquity to either of these poems. They abound with the adventures of gods, goddesses, and heroes, described with the vast accumulation of incidents and glittering redundancy of metaphor characteristic of Asiatic writings. The veneration in which they were held introduced many new ceremonies into worship, and greatly complicated theological machinery. Heeren says: "The Vedas were the real source of Hindoo religion; but their *mythology* came from later epic poems." The subject of the Mahabharata is the contest between two branches of the royal family, the Coros and the Pandos; during which Crishna sustains his relatives, the Pandos. This event is as famous in their ancient traditions, as was the Trojan war among the Greeks. The poem contains a celebrated episode, called the Bhagavat Geeta, from which extracts will be given in the following pages. It relates the history and conversations of Vishnu, while on earth in the form of Crishna. The subjugation of the passions and desires, as a means of attaining to complete holiness, forms its moral system. Heeren observes that "the poetry of no other nation exhibits the didactic character in such a striking manner as that of the Hindoos; for no other people were so thoroughly imbued with the persuasion that to give and receive instruction was the sole ultimate object of life."

There is a set of less ancient Sacred Books, called *Pouranas*, which means Old Legends. They consist principally of traditions concerning gods and men; such as the history of the Deluge, of their holy city Benares, the adventures of Siva, and the various incarnations of Vishnu. These books form the basis of modern popular theology in India. They have nearly superseded the Vedas, and being far less spiritual, they indicate the degeneracy which they have rapidly hastened. Sir William Jones gives a list of eighteen; believed to have been composed by holy men, who, through devout contemplation and self-annihilating practices, received inspiration directly from the Divine Source. They contain internal evidence of being written at different epochs, but there are no means of arriving at correct dates. Oriental scholars suppose they were not collected together until after the time of Alexander the Great, who was born three hundred and fifty-six years before Christ. Some of them ascribe more honour to Vishnu, others to Siva, whose adventures are described with the wildest range of imagination. The ancient doctrine of One Invisible God is almost entirely lost sight of. Large portions of them are filled with rules for external ceremonies; but in some of the dialogues such questions as these are started:

“What are the Three Principal Powers? How came Brahma into existence? How did he create the world? How is the soul united to the body? How is it absorbed into the Godhead? What are the various forms assumed by Vishnu? What is holiness? What are good works? What is the object of all these things?”

Father Bouchet, in his “*Letters from Hindostan*,” quotes the following account from one of the *Pouranas*:

“The inferior Spirits, who, ever since creation, have been multiplying themselves almost to infinity, did not at first enjoy the privilege of immortality. After numberless efforts to procure it, they had recourse to a Tree, which grew in Paradise, and by eating its fruit they became immortal. A Serpent, called Chien, appointed to guard the Tree of

Life, was so exasperated by their proceedings, that he poured out a great quantity of poison. The whole earth felt the terrible effects of it; and not one mortal would have escaped, had not the god Chiven taken pity on the human race, revealed himself under the shape of a man, and swallowed the poison." In their old sacred places, this tradition is commemorated by representations of a Tree, a Serpent, and human figures eating of the fruit.

Menu Satyavrata, author of the Code of Menu, is represented as a saint who attained to such extreme spirituality, that he subsisted entirely on water. The following account of his escape from the Deluge is taken from the Bhagavat Geeta:—"One day, when Brahma was inclined to slumber, the giant demon Hayagriva stole the four Vedas, swallowed them, and concealed himself in the sea. Vishnu, the Pervader and Preserver of the Universe, discovered the deed, and, assuming the shape of a small fish, he appeared to Menu. The saint recognized him to be an incarnated divinity by his immense growth in a few days. Suspecting him to be Vishnu, he thus addressed him: 'O thou Lotus-eyed, let me not approach in vain the feet of a deity, whose perfect benevolence has been extended to all, when, to our amazement, thou hast shown thyself in bodies, not indeed existing in reality, but successively exhibited.'

"The Lord of the Universe, loving the holy man, and intending to preserve him from the sea of destruction, caused by the wickedness of the age, thus addressed him: 'O thou tamer of enemies, in seven days from this time, the three worlds will be plunged in an ocean of death. But in the midst of the destroying waves, a large vessel, sent by me for thy use, shall stand before thee. Then shalt thou take all medicinal herbs, all variety of seeds, and accompanied by seven saints, with your respective wives, encircled by pairs of all brute animals, thou shalt enter the capacious ship, and continue in it, on an immense ocean, secure from the flood, and without light, except from the radiance of thy holy companions. When the ship shall be agitated

by impetuous winds, thou shalt fasten it with a large sea-serpent to my horn; for I will be near thee. Menu Satyavrata complied with these directions; and the Primeval Male [Brahma], speaking aloud to his own Divine Essence, pronounced for the instruction of Menu a Sacred History, explaining the principle of the soul and of external being. Vishnu then slew the demon, and recovered the Sacred Books. But the appearance of the horned fish was an illusion."

The ancient temples of Hindostan contain representations of Vishnu sustaining the earth while overwhelmed with the waters of the Deluge and convulsed by demons. A rainbow is seen on the surface of the subsiding waters.

The following is translated from the Padma Pourana:—
 "To Menu Satyavrata, that sovereign of the whole earth, were born three sons. The oldest was Sherma, then Charma, then Jyapeti. They were all men of good morals, excellent in virtuous deeds, skilled in the use of weapons, either to strike with, or be thrown, brave men, eager for victory in battle. But Satyavrata, being continually delighted with devout meditation, and seeing his sons fit for dominion, laid upon them the burden of government, whilst he remained honouring and satisfying the gods, and priests, and kine. One day, by the act of destiny, the king, having drunk mead, became senseless and lay asleep naked. Thus was he seen by Charma, and by him were his two brothers called. To whom he said: 'What now has befallen? In what state is this our sire?' By those two was he hidden with clothes, and called to his senses again and again. Having recovered his intellect, and perfectly knowing what had passed, he cursed Charma, saying: 'Thou shalt be the servant of servants; and since thou wast a laughter in their presence, from laughter shalt thou acquire a name.' Then he gave to Sherma the wide domain on the south of the snowy mountains; and to Jyapeti he gave all on the north of the snowy mountains. But he himself, by the power of religious contemplation, attained supreme bliss."

One of the Pouranas contains the following description

of the wedding between Siva the Generator, and Parvati, Goddess of Enchantments. It is probably a poetical allegory, to commemorate the beautiful phenomena of Nature's renovation in the Spring. "All the inhabitants of the celestial regions were summoned to arrange the ceremonials of marriage between Siva and Parvati. First came Brahma, mounted on his swan; next, Vishnu, riding his eagle. The rivers Ganges and Jumna, and the seven seas; the Gandharvas, and the Asparas; Vasooke, and other serpents; all ornamented with superb chains and ceremonial dresses, in obedience to the commands of Siva, were to be seen in the glittering cavalcade. Siva set out from the mountain Kailasa with the utmost pomp and splendour. His third eye flamed like the sun, and the crescent on his forehead assumed the form of a radiated diadem. His snakes were exchanged for chains of pearls and rubies, his ashes for sandal-wood and perfumes, and his elephant's skin for a silken robe. The Gandharvas and the Asparas joined in melodious songs, and the Ginarers with the magic of their musical instruments. Nature assumed the appearance of renovated youth; the earth exulted with acclamations of glory and triumph; fresh moisture invigorated the withered victims of time; a thousand happy and animating conceptions inspired the hearts of the intelligent, and enlightened the wisdom of the thoughtful; the kingdom of external forms obtained gladness; the world of intellect acquired brightness. The dwellers upon earth filled the casket of their ideas with jewels of delight, and reverend pilgrims exchanged their rosaries for pearls. The joy of those on earth ascended up to heaven; and the tree of bliss in heaven extended its branches downward to the earth. The eyes of the gods flamed like torches at sight of this enrapturing scene, and the hearts of the just kindled like touchwood while they listened to the ravishing symphonies. Siva set off like a garden in full bloom, and Paradise was eclipsed by his procession."

In relation to the amours of the gods, the Pouranas say :

“Adultery is a sin against the laws established in our societies; but Divine Beings are not subject to our laws of convenience. The incomprehensible views of God ought not to be confounded with those of men. There are actions of which the end is unknown, which would be criminal for us, but would not be so for either gods or saints; for holiness, like fire, purifies all things.”

The episode from the Mahabharata, called Bhagavat-Geeta, forms one volume of the Pouranas. It is more beautiful in style, and more spiritual in its teaching, than any of the others. According to the triple division of duties common among Hindoos, it prescribes three kinds of penance. “Penance of the *body*, to be chaste, and free from all offences; penance of *words*, to speak always with kindness and truth, and to read the Sacred Books diligently; penance of *thoughts*, to subdue one’s self, to purify the soul, to be silent, and disposed to benevolence.”

“To practise penance to obtain dignity or fame, or to give one’s self an air of sanctity, is a penance little worth, and has its source in inferior influences on the soul. Penance performed by a man attached to foolish doctrines, or those which consist in self-torment, or those whose end is to do injury to another, these have their source in the region of shadows.”

“God resides in the heart of all creatures.”

“When thy spirit shall have become perfectly free from the labyrinths in which it is involved, then thou wilt arrive at indifference concerning the Vedas and the sacred traditions.”

It is stated in the Pouranas that the Vedas were carried from India to Egypt, by a noble and blameless race of men, called Yadavas, who emigrated thither on account of the persecutions of a tyrant named Cansa; and that afterward a race of men called Pali, or Shepherds, went from India and conquered Egypt.

The idea that a dead uniformity of opinion prevails in Asiatic countries, is a mistake, originating in our ignorance of their internal history. There is certainly far less acti-

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vity of mind than in Europe, and of course changes are more slow and limited in effect. But the same questions, which have agitated the theological schools of Europe, have disturbed the East also, under forms modified by their circumstances. They have an immense number of commentaries on their Sacred Books, filled with nice metaphysical distinctions and intricate arguments concerning disputed texts.

The division of the Vedas into two distinct portions, one teaching spiritual doctrines concerning the unity of God and the communion of the soul with Him, while the other prescribed elaborate ceremonials and the worship of many symbolical deities, originated in the idea that it was impossible to elevate the minds of the populace to the contemplation of One Invisible Spirit, and, therefore, it was necessary to clothe religious ideas in forms suited to their comprehension. Thus while higher doctrines were reserved for sages, the worship of external symbols was not only allowed to the ignorant, but absolutely prescribed, though always represented as far inferior to the contemplation of One Unchangeable Being.

The people accustomed to worship images of symbolical deities, soon chose one or another of them for a favourite, and regarded it as God himself. Thus, there grew up a very large body of worshippers of Siva, called Sivaites. All that the Vedas ascribe to the Supreme Being, they ascribe to Siva. When they speak of the final state of holiness at which a perfect saint arrives, they call it the absorption of his soul into Siva. They have a Sacred Book, which they say is a revelation from Siva; and they deny the possibility of salvation to those who do not believe in his incarnation therein described. Whenever one of his true worshippers dies, they believe he sends some of his attendant Spirits to usher the soul into his presence, and become a sharer of his felicity.

Another sect, nearly as numerous, adore the Supreme Being under the name of Vishnu, and are therefore called Vishnuites. Bramins alone officiate as priests among

them, as among the other sects ; but they allow people of all castes to devote themselves to the contemplative life. They eat no flesh, refrain from bloody sacrifices, and are peculiarly distinguished by their tenderness towards animals. That portion of the Pouranas which favours this worship declares : "The devotees of Vishnu alone are in a situation to surmount the illusion of appearances. It is advantageous and meritorious to be born man ; still more so to be born a Bramin ; but a Bramin may corrupt himself and become abject. There is incomparably more merit and more nobleness in the practice of true devotion ; but rigorous penances, long prayers, frequent ablutions, almsgiving, vows, and sacrifices, have no merit, and confer no beatitude, without this devotion to Vishnu."

"To avoid the pains of hell there are no means more efficacious than to remember Vishnu, and invoke his sacred name. Yes, his divine names have so much virtue, that even if pronounced without design, or by mistake, they will not fail to produce salutary effects."

The author of this Pourana goes on to tell the history of a Bramin, who had given himself up to all manner of vices. One of his sons was named Narayana, a title of Vishnu, signifying Moving on the Waters. When the wicked Bramin was dying, he called this son, without thinking that he was repeating one of the names of Vishnu. But the sacred word, thus carelessly pronounced, saved him from all his sins, and immediately opened for him the gates of Paradise.

All Hindoo theology teaches the pre-existence of souls, who are gliding through the universe, and assuming multifarious forms, till they complete the great circle of destiny, and become the Supreme Soul again, as they were at the beginning. The belief that Spirits descended from their original sphere and became men, that by holiness they might become beatified spirits in Paradise, and then return to earth to be born again in some new form of mortal existence, naturally gave rise to the idea that men remarkable for wisdom or holiness *had* descended from some

higher sphere, and were in fact gods incarnated in a human form to fulfil some great mission. The Invisible One, who could only be contemplated by an abstraction of the intellect, was too far removed from a great majority of minds; and even the powerful emanations, Vishnu and Siva, appealed to their sympathies far more strongly when brought down to them in the persons of mortals who lived in their midst. Hence we meet everywhere with warriors and saints, who were believed to be deities in disguise. History and mythology consequently mix together in such a confused tangle, that it is often impossible to tell where the adventures of the king or warrior end, and those of the god begin.

The Vishnuites split into two principal sects. One is more devoted to Vishnu in the form of Rama; the other believes that his eighth incarnation in the form of Crishna was the most perfect and the most efficacious. Both were princes, and holy men, and great workers of miracles. The advent of Vishnu under the name of Crishna is the most poetic and the most remarkable. The Bramins date it before the Cali Yug; that is, more than five thousand years ago. The following account is abridged from the Bhagavat Geeta, which Sir William Jones supposes to have been written one thousand four hundred and fifty-one years before the birth of Christ:—

The earth was so oppressed by the dominion of Evil Spirits, that she could no longer endure their injustice. Assuming the form of a cow, she appeared before Indra, and complained of her wrongs. He referred her to Siva, who, in his turn, sent her to Vishnu. Vishnu escorted her to the Temple of Brahma the Invisible, on the borders of the Milky Sea. There the oracle commanded him to become a man, and be born in the city of Matra, under the name of Crishna. Vishnu replied: "I will become incarnate in the house of Yadu, and will issue forth to mortal birth from the womb of Devaci. It is time I should display my power, and relieve the oppressed earth from its load."

Devaci was the sister of a tyrannical king named Cansa, whose oppressions are said to have caused the first emigration to Egypt. He married her to a Bramin named Vasudeva, descended from the Yadus, or Yadavas, the oldest and noblest line in India. Returning from the wedding, Cansa heard a prophetic voice declare, "The eighth son of Devaci is destined to be thy destroyer." Alarmed at this omen, he put his sister and her husband into a strong prison guarded by seven iron doors, and whenever a son was born to them he caused him to be immediately destroyed. When Devaci became pregnant the eighth time, her countenance was radiant with celestial light. Brahma and Siva, with a host of attendant spirits, came to her and sang: "In thy delivery, O favoured among women, all nature shall have cause to exult. How ardently we long to behold that face for the sake of which we have coursed round three worlds!" The seasons preceding this marvellous birth were uncommonly regular and genial, the planets were unusually brilliant, strong winds were hushed, rivers glided tranquilly, and the virtuous experienced extraordinary delights. In the month Bhadron, at deep midnight, when the Sustainer of All was about to be born, the clouds emitted low musical sounds, and poured down a rain of flowers. When the celestial infant appeared, a chorus of heavenly Spirits saluted him with hymns. The whole room was illuminated by his light, and the countenances of his father and mother emitted rays of glory. Their understandings were opened, they knew him to be the Preserver of the World, and began to worship him. But he soon closed their minds, so that they thought he was merely a human child born unto them. While his mother was weeping over him, and lamenting the cruel decrees of her tyrannical brother, a voice was distinctly heard, saying: "Son of Yadu, carry this child to Gokul, on the other side of the river Jumna, to Nanda, whose wife has just given birth to a daughter. Leave him, and bring the girl hither." Vasudeva inquired: "How is that possible in a prison so closely guarded?" The voice replied:

"The doors will open of themselves, and I have caused a deep sleep to fall upon all the guards." Then Vasudeva took the child in his arms, the doors opened, and he passed out. Being in the rainy season, the current of the river Jumna was rapid and strong; but when the divine child approached, the waters rose up to kiss his feet, then respectfully retired on either side and left a dry pathway. The great hooded serpent of Vishnu held her head over him all the way, instead of an umbrella. When they arrived at Nanda's house, the door opened of itself. He and his wife were asleep. He took their infant daughter in his arms, and left the boy with them. When he returned, the river again separated to offer him free passage, the prison gates opened, the guards were all asleep, and he delivered the girl to his wife. Representations of this flight with the babe at midnight are sculptured on the walls of ancient Hindoo temples.

Nanda, who had long wished for a son, was delighted when he woke and found a beautiful boy sleeping by the side of his wife. He named him Crishna, in allusion to his colour, which was blueish black. Even in infancy he attracted attention by the miracles he performed. His foster-father had many herds, which Crishna assisted in tending. On one occasion, a great serpent poisoned the river, so that the cows and the shepherd-boys, who drank of the water, lay dead on the banks in great numbers. Crishna merely looked on them with an eye of divine mercy, and they all came to life, and rose up. Afterward he destroyed the great serpent. On another occasion the cattle and the shepherd-boys were all stolen and carried off. Crishna, by a simple exertion of his will, created others so exactly like them, that no one could discern a difference. Once, when the dairy-maids complained to his foster-mother that he had been eating the curds and drinking the milk, he opened his mouth and asked her to see if there were any curds there. She looked in, and, to her great astonishment, beheld the whole universe in the plenitude of its magnificence. [This alludes to their doctrine

that the Supreme Being contains the whole universe in himself.]

Once, seeing a festival in preparation, he inquired the reason. They told him it was in honour of Indra, by whose propitiation rain would descend to revive vegetables, and refresh man and beast. He asked whether any rain fell in those places where men did not propitiate Indra; and he received no answer. He then told them that rain fell by the power of an Almighty Being, of whom Indra himself stood in need. That good and evil, pleasure and pain, were the ordained lot of each individual, and Indra had nothing to do with it. He therefore proposed that a portion of the offerings prepared for the festival should be given to the Bramins, another portion to the cows, and the remainder distributed among the poor. This proposal was greatly admired by wise men in the assembly, but those of more narrow views deemed it improper that a child should presume to interfere with the affairs of the gods. However, they were in the end governed by his advice. Indra, displeased at the loss of his offerings, sent a deluge of rain. Crishna told the people to take refuge on a mountain, with their flocks and herds. When they had done so, he lifted the mountain on his little finger and held it above the storm, with as much ease as if it had been a lotus-blossom.

In the performance of these miracles, he assumed no other appearance than the infantine one, which belonged to him when he took on himself the veil of mortality. He wore no panoply but the sacred shell, and the innocence of a little child. Men, seeing the wonders he performed, told Nanda he could not possibly be his son; that he must be the Great Being, who is exempt from birth and death. He replied: "Yes, it must indeed be so. When I named him Crishna, on account of his colour, the priest told me he must be the God, who had taken different bodies, red, white, yellow, and black, in his various incarnations, and now he had assumed a black colour again, since in black all colours are absorbed."

When Indra discovered who was disguised in the form of that wonderful child, he was abashed at his own presumption, and threw himself at his feet with most submissive apologies. Crishna readily forgave him. The Ginners and Gandharvas, who accompanied Indra, threw down a shower of blossoms; new leaves burst forth from trees and shrubs; the waters of the river rose up with transport, and sprinkled rubies and diamonds.

Meanwhile, a prophetic voice had told Cansa: "The boy who is destined to destroy thee is born, and is now living." As soon as he heard that, he gave orders that all the male children throughout his kingdom should be put to death. Among the sculptures in the cave-temple at Elephanta, is a conspicuous figure with a drawn sword, surrounded by slaughtered infants. It is supposed to allude to this part of Crishna's history. All methods taken to destroy the divine child proved ineffectual. The messenger, whom the king sent to kill him, found him near the river. As he approached, he saw reflected in the water an image of Crishna radiant in celestial beauty, and innumerable Spirits standing before him, with their hands joined in adoration. He immediately did the same, and thus united in their worship of the incarnate god: "O thou Supreme One! thy essence is inscrutable, but its shadow is in all bodies, like the image of the sun reflected in vases of water. If the vase be broken, where is the image? Yet the sun is neither increased by the vases, or diminished by their fracture. In like manner, thou art all in all. The understanding of finite man cannot reach thy almighty power. Well may it escape the sight of myself and other mortals, who are a prey to earthly desires, when the mightiest spirits, even Brahma and Siva, are lost in astonishment. I, who know nothing, fly to thee for protection. Show mercy upon me, and enable me to see and know thee." When Crishna asked why he seemed so amazed, he replied: "O Sovereign Lord, thou well knowest what I have seen in the water." The divine child merely smiled, and passed on.

He knew the secret thoughts of all who came into his presence, and could at once detect Evil Spirits under any disguise they might assume. A terrible bull with fiery eyes was sent to destroy him. But he said calmly: "I know what Evil Spirit thou art in that disguise. If any disease makes thee thus frantic, I will cure thee." The furious beast rushed forward to kill him, but Crishna seized him and twisted his enormous head from his body. At another time he was swallowed by a crocodile, but he burned him so intolerably, that the ravenous animal threw him up, and cast him from his mouth unhurt.

He is described as a youth of perfect beauty; with breast broad and high, waist of elegant proportions, graceful limbs, a foot like the lotus-blossom, smooth skin, ruby lips, and a smile of ineffable sweetness. Women left their work unfinished, to run and gaze after him, as he passed by. In the family of Nanda, he had for companions young dairy-maids, called Gopias. In early youth, he selected as favourites nine of these damsels, with whom he spent his leisure hours in dancing and playing on the flute. Cama, God of Love, found no greater joy than spending his nights with them in dance and song. Crishna played so ravishingly, that the animals gathered round him, enchanted by his tones. In that beautiful season when earth resumes the green livery of spring, and the bow of heaven beams benediction on the human race, he peculiarly delighted in music. One delightful evening, when a warm sweet air breathed around, when the moon was shining in meridian splendour, and Spirits in honour of it clothed themselves in rose-coloured robes, with chains of pearl and rubies, he wandered forth playing on his flute. The waters stood still to hear him, hungry calves let their mother's milk drop on the ground while they listened, and the birds lost all power over their wings. The Gopias all left their occupations to hurry after those fascinating sounds. He advised them to return home, and not risk their comfort in this world and happiness in the next, by neglect or ill conduct toward their husbands; since the

Vedas, which are the very words of Brahma, declare that a husband, however defective or criminal, is in the place of the Supreme to his wife. They replied that when frenzy seized the mind, all duties and all worldly motives were forgotten; that intoxicated as they were by the sound of his flute, it was in vain to preach to them duty to their husbands; that when he ordered them to leave him, their feet would not move, but if he called them toward him, they flew. So ardent and concentrated was their affection, that their souls became illuminated, and they comprehended who Crishna was. They told him they well knew he was the Supreme Being, and that whoever would be united to him must renounce all other connections, as they did; that he might separate himself from them corporeally, if he would, but he could not escape from their hearts and minds, which would remain forever fixed on him. Perceiving them thus sincerely inflamed, and hurried away from themselves by the ardour of desire, he took each of them in his arms, and treated them all with equal tenderness. All the transport and happiness to be found in the world were in the hearts of the Gopias. They exclaimed: "O happy trees of this wood, under whose thick shade Crishna delights to slumber." Honoured above all animals are these, which the Almighty himself leads to pasture. Happy above all is the flute, which rests forever on his divine lip, from which he produces those heavenly sounds that steal away the souls of Sooras and Assooras. How blest are we, whom he condescends to love!" When Crishna promised always to continue his kindness to them, they became elated with the happiness and elevation of the fourteen spheres of the universe. They all rose up, and taking hold of his hands began to dance. His form multiplied in proportion to the number of his partners, and he gave his hand to each. Every one believed he was close by her side, and all their eyes were directed toward him alone. If one became fatigued, she sat down, holding his hand and looking toward him, or stood with her arm round his neck, leaning on his shoulder

in the most graceful and affectionate manner. Brahma, Siva, and subordinate Deities came as spectators, and offered all manner of flowers. Many of the blossoms fell to the ground, from the bosoms of the dancers, and bees, attracted by their fragrance, swarmed around them. The listener who once came within sound of that flute, or heard the musical tinkling of the dancers' feet, was unable to depart, nor could the birds stir a wing. After a thousand sports, they all went to bathe, and renewed their caresses in the river Jumna. The enjoyment of Crishna with the Gopias, and of the Gopias with Crishna, is a mystery, and cannot be described.

Cansa heard the fame of this wonder-working youth, and tried various means to entice him to his palace, that he might employ him in some task sure to end in his destruction. Crishna always eluded his snares, till he knew the predestined time had arrived for him to kill the tyrant. He then quitted his pastoral life, and returned to the place of his birth. After conquering in all manner of perils, contrived by the jealousy of the king and the malignity of wicked Spirits, he at last attacked Cansa, tore the crown from his head, and dragged him a long way on the ground by his hair. While thus dragged along, the soul of the tyrant became liberated of the three worlds; for whether sleeping or waking, he had never, for one moment, been able to refrain from thinking of his predestined destroyer, and at the moment of death he had beatific visions of him; for whoever, constantly and sincerely, whether in love or enmity, bent his heart toward the Deity, incarnated as he was in that human form, was sure to obtain liberation.

When Crishna heard the lamentations of the king's wives and brothers, he pitied them, and advised them to strive for resignation to the unavoidable decrees of fate. Then he went to the place where his father and mother were imprisoned, fell at their feet, and said: "Be happy in the life of that son, for whose sake his earthly parents have suffered so much danger and distress." At that moment, they knew he was the Almighty, and worshipped him with

prayers and praises. When he perceived that they knew him to be the Universal Lord, while so much remained for him to fulfil as an avatar on this earth, he again plunged them into forgetfulness, so that they once more supposed him to be their son. As his youth had been passed among shepherds, they deemed it necessary to commence an education for him, suited to the caste of Cshatryas, or rajahs, to which he belonged. They accordingly procured a learned Bramin to teach him all the Vedas. To save appearances, he staid awhile with his tutor, though in reality he learned the whole circle of sciences in one day and one night. At parting with his teacher, he requested him to ask whatever boon he most desired. He replied: "Above all things, I desire to have my two dead sons restored to life." Crishna assured him it should be done. He descended to the abodes of departed souls, summoned the god of those regions, and demanded the two sons of his tutor. His commands were obeyed with profound submission. He restored the young men to life, and brought them to their father. He was constantly performing similar miracles of beneficence. He lulled tempests, cured lepers, and restored the old and crippled to youth and beauty. His mother having expressed a wish to see her infant sons, who had been murdered by command of their cruel uncle, he went to the regions of departed spirits, and brought them to her. As soon as she saw them, the milk began to flow in her breasts. When the babes had tasted of the milk, and Crishna had passed his hand over them, an eagle descended from above and bore them up to Paradise, in sight of all the people.

The Coros were enemies of the Yadavas, and persecuted them greatly. Crishna conquered them in a great battle, and placed the rightful prince on the throne. But though he fulfilled his destined mission in fighting against oppressors, his prevailing characteristics were benevolence and tenderness. His kindness was freely extended to all. If he visited a pious rajah, who offered him chains of gold and strings of finest pearl, he was often at the same mo-

ment in some humble shed with a devout Bramin, who was too poor to offer him anything but fruit and flowers. He gave no preference to one over the other, knowing that their religious merits were equal, though their external conditions were so very different.

It is said that Bhreegoo, a celebrated saint, wishing to test his divinity, kicked him, to see whether it would make him angry. Crishna stooped and examined his foot with the utmost tenderness. "This breast of mine is extremely hard," said he. "You surely must have hurt yourself." Bhreegoo, weeping with joy, exclaimed: "This must indeed be the true Lord of the three worlds."

To certain princes, who bowed low before him, he declared that he took more pleasure in repentant sinners, than he did in stainless devotees, who had passed their whole lives in austerity and prayer.

In all the concerns of life, he strictly obeyed the injunctions of the Vedas. Morning, noon, and evening, he performed the prescribed ablutions and prayers. He washed the feet of Bramins with all humility, and distributed among them cows with gilded horns. He neglected none of the purifications appointed for actions proper to human nature, which are every day committed. If it be asked how that divine essence could have any need of purification, the answer is, that it was by reason of his material form. He took part in the public business of the Yadavas, and when he sat in council with them, it would be degrading to that assembly to compare it to the moon and stars shining in midnight glory. After performing his public and private duties, musicians and singers were introduced, and every kind of innocent and elegant diversion beguiled the remaining hours of the day.

He lived in the midst of beauty and magnificence. His carriage, studded with jewels, glittered like the sun; and when he rode forth, women mounted on the roofs of the houses, to gaze after it as long as it was possible. The father-in-law of Cansa had solemnly sworn to revenge his death, and he accordingly attacked the city of Matra.

Crishna, to save the inhabitants from all danger, called up an island from the ocean, and transported them all thither. By his command, Visvakarma, the architect of his celestial Paradise, constructed a wonderful city called Dwarka. The walls were of gold, and the pavements glittered with precious stones. The houses were pure crystal, supported by pillars of coral, with canopies of golden cloth, festooned with strings of pearl. The apartments were illuminated with resplendent rubies, and over the roofs floated clouds of fragrant smoke, from the constant burning of aromatics. Numerous temples towered toward the sky, and incense from their altars perfumed the whole atmosphere. Learned Bramins were everywhere chanting the Vedas, like intoxicated bees buzzing round aromatic Nenuphar. Peacocks sported among the trees, and nightingales sung. In the garden was a river, whose banks were all gold and jewels. It appeared red, from the reflection of the rubies, but it was perfectly white. It was the Water of Life. In the most splendid of the palaces lived his first wife Rakmini, who was an incarnation of his celestial consort Lacshmi. In this city dwelt Crishna, with his sixteen thousand wives, like lightning in a cloud. Beautiful children played in the courts, and graceful slave-girls attended on their mistresses. When Nareda, god of music, visited this Paradise, Crishna rose from his seat and stepped forward to welcome him. He caused water to be brought, and himself washed the feet of his guest, pouring the remainder of the water on his own head. Nareda was oppressed by such marks of distinction, and replied reverently: "If it be thy august will to perform these services for me, it is as a father and mother perform services for their children, out of their own voluntary good will. No one can measure thy mercy and benevolence. Thy avatar is for the purpose of protecting the good and punishing the wicked. Men, who are buried in the pit of their passions, have no possibility of escape from their control, except by thy mercy in consenting to be born into this transient world." Having curiosity to know whether Crishna lived with his

sixteen thousand wives in rotation, or was always present with each of them, he resolved to take the first opportunity of going into their various houses. In one, he found Crishna at a banquet; in another, listening to the Pournas; in another, he had set the women to quarrelling, and amused himself with looking on; in another, he was listening to the songs of beautiful slave-girls; in another, giving orders for digging a well; in another, distributing milch cows to the poor. Go as quickly as he would, he found Crishna everywhere present. Each of his wives thought he preferred no one to herself, and that he wished for no other. [This is probably an allegorical allusion to the intimate union of Deity with multifarious forms of the universe.]

After the Coros were conquered, the rightful prince of the Yadavas reigned thirty-six years in peace and prosperity. Then came calamities and bad omens of every kind. A black circle surrounded the moon, and the sun was darkened at noonday; the sky rained fire and ashes; those animals which it was reckoned fortunate to meet on the right hand were met on the left; flames burned dusky and livid; demons carried away the ornaments of the women and the weapons of the men, and no one could impede them; at sunrise and sunset, thousands of figures were seen skirmishing in the air; Crishna's horses took fright, and ran away with his carriage into the pathless regions of the atmosphere, far beyond the ken of mortals; Spirits hovered in the air, wailing, and crying out, "Arise ye and flee!" Crishna knew that these prodigies foreboded the extinction of the Yadavas, and his own exit from his material form. He remembered the prophecy concerning himself, "O Crishna, take care of the sole of thy foot." He seated himself in a jungle, full of melancholy thoughts, and summoned all his force, mental and corporeal, while his spirit stood ready to depart. A hunter, seeing him there, mistook him for an animal, and discharged an arrow, which pierced him in the foot. Immediately a great light enveloped the earth, and illumined

the whole expanse of heaven. Crishna, attended by Celestial Spirits, and luminous as on that night when he was born in the house of Vasudeva, pursued, by his own light, the journey between earth and heaven, to the bright Paradise whence he had descended. All men saw him, and exclaimed, "Lo, Crishna's soul ascends its native skies!"

One of the titles of Crishna is "Pardoner of Sins;" another is "Liberator from the Serpent of Death." In allusion to this last title, and likewise to his death-wound in the foot, the image of Crishna is sculptured in their ancient temples, sometimes wreathed in the folds of a serpent, that is biting his foot, sometimes treading victoriously on the head of a serpent.

Hindoo theology is everywhere intimately connected with astronomy. Each planet had its presiding Spirit, supposed to be interested in the affairs of men, and therefore to be propitiated by prayers and offerings. In the following prayer, Crishna is addressed as the Spirit of the Sun: "Be auspicious to my lays, O Crishna, thou only god of the seven heavens, who swayest the universe through the immensity of space and matter. O universal and resplendent Sun! Thou mighty governor of the heavens; thou sovereign regulator of the connected whole; thou sole and universal deity of mankind; thou gracious and supreme Spirit; my noblest and most happy inspiration is thy praise and glory. Thy power I will praise, for thou art my sovereign Lord, whose bright image continually forces itself on my attentive, eager imagination. Thou art the Being to whom heroes pray in perils of war; nor are their supplications vain, when thus they pray; whether it be when thou illumineest the eastern region with thy orient light, when in thy meridian splendour, or when thou majestically descendest in the west."

All the Hindoo avatars are painted bluish-black, or dark azure. In allusion to Crishna's being the Spirit of the Sun, his colour is called "the brilliant pupil of the eye of the universe." He is represented as more splendidly dressed than any of the avatars. He wears robes of golden yel-

low, with a coronet on his head, containing a jewel of inestimable value. He is adorned with garlands of flowers, and rich strings of pearls. He is the favourite deity of Hindoo women, who are enamoured with the accounts of his beauty and tenderness of heart. Throughout India, he is worshipped with enthusiastic devotion. He is believed to have been Vishnu himself, perfectly and entirely incarnated in a human form; whereas other avatars were only endowed with portions of his divinity. They ascribe to him all the wisdom and power of the Supreme Creator and Ruler of the Universe.

In the Bhagavat Geeta, Crishna is represented as saying to his friend and disciple Arjun: "Both thou and I have passed through many births. Mine are known unto me, but thou knewest not of thine. Although I am not in my nature subject to birth or decay, and am the Lord of all created beings, yet having command over my own nature, I am made evident by my own power; and as often as there is a decline of virtue, and an insurrection of vice and injustice in the world, I make myself evident. Thus I appear from age to age, for the preservation of the just, the destruction of the wicked, and the establishment of virtue."

"I am the creation and the dissolution of the whole universe. There is nothing greater than I. All things hang on me, even as precious gems on a string. I am moisture in the water, light in the sun and moon, inspiration in the Vedas, sound in the atmosphere, fragrance in the earth, human nature in mankind, glory in the source of light. I am all things; I am Life. I am the eternal seed of all nature. I am the understanding of the wise, the glory of the great, the strength of the strong. I am free from lust and anger; and in animals I am desire, regulated by moral fitness."

"He who adores with sincere faith any object whatsoever, infallibly obtains from me the object of his belief. Firm in his faith, he seeks by his own means such or such a favour, and I grant the object of his desires. Worshippers

of the inferior Deities are with the inferior Deities; worshippers of the souls of their ancestors are with the souls of their ancestors; they who sacrifice to Spirits are with those Spirits. But these fruits, sought by men but little endowed with science, are limited in their duration. Those who worship the inferior Deities with faith, worship me also; but not in the true manner. I enjoy their sacrifices. I am the Lord to whom return all the works of religion. But they do not know me according to the truth; therefore they fall back into the world of mortals. The ignorant believe me visible, whilst I am invisible. They do not know my superior, imperishable nature. I am animated with equal benevolence toward all beings. I know neither hatred nor predilection. But those who adore me devoutly are in me, and I in them. Even he who has led a bad life, if he adores me without adoring any other thing, is to be reputed virtuous. It is entirely accomplished. He will immediately have a just soul, and obtain eternal tranquillity. Have faith in me. No one who worships me can perish. Forgetting all other duties, address thyself to me as the only asylum. I will deliver thee from all sin."

The same book declares: "Crishna is at all times present everywhere; just as fire, though concealed, is always present in wood. Whoever is night and day thinking of him becomes exalted above all the three worlds. Whoever, at the moment of expiring, shall retain him in remembrance, will infallibly be thrice blessed."

Hindoo Sacred Writings abound with allusions to an age of innocence and bliss, long passed away, and prophesy an age of holiness and happiness, that will come at the end of all things. Strabo, the Greek geographer, records that a philosopher, named Onesicritus, was sent into India, by Alexander the Great, to learn the doctrines and mode of life of the hermit sages in that region. He found a Bramin, named Calanus, who taught him that in the beginning of the world, milk, wine, honey and oil flowed spontaneously from fountains, and peace and plenty reigned over all nature. But men having made bad use of this felicity,

the Creator deprived them of it, and condemned them to labour for subsistence.

In consequence of the disorders produced by Evil Spirits, leagued with men, Vishnu was obliged to appear on earth, at various epochs, in different forms; as a fish, a lion, a dwarf, and holy sages among men. His eighth incarnation in Crishna was the most perfect that has yet been; but more glorious still will be his tenth and last avatar. Their Sacred Books declare that in the last days, when the fixed stars have all apparently returned to the point whence they started, at the beginning of all things, in the month Scorpio, Vishnu will appear among mortals, in the form of an armed warrior, riding a winged white horse. In one hand, he will carry a scimeter, "blazing like a comet," to destroy all the impure, who shall then dwell on the face of the earth. In the other hand, he will carry a large shining ring, to signify that the great circle of Yugs, or Ages, is completed, and that the end has come. At his approach, the sun and moon will be darkened, the earth will tremble, and the stars fall from the firmament. The great serpent Seshanaga will pour forth flames from his thousand mouths, which will set the universe on fire, consume the spheres, and all living creatures. The white horse is represented as standing with one foot raised. When he stamps it upon the earth, it is predicted that the dissolution of nature will take place. Some Oriental scholars consider this as an astronomical allegory; a white horse being the universal symbol of the sun among ancient nations.

A Sacred Book, called the Barta Shashtra, contains the following prophecy: "At the end of the Cali Yug, a Bramin will be born, who will understand the Divine Writings, and all the sciences, without spending any more time to learn them than is sufficient to pronounce a single word. They will give him a name signifying He who excellently understands all things. By conversing with those of his own race, he will purge the earth of sinners; a thing impossible to any other than himself. He will cause justice and truth to reign everywhere, and will subject the uni-

verse to the Bramina. When he becomes old, he will retire into the desert and suffer penance. He will confirm the Bramins in virtue and truth, and keep the four castes within the bounds prescribed by Sacred Laws. Then will the First Age return again. All the virtues will march in the train of truth; and the Light of the Divine Writings will be diffused everywhere. The earth will be inebriated with prosperity and gladness, and all people enjoy ineffable delights."

So strongly is this hope of a blissful future impressed on the minds of the people, that they commemorate the prophecy by a festival, during which they sacrifice a sheep, and repeat, with a loud voice: "When will the Helper come? When will the Deliverer appear?"

The more spiritual portion of the Vedas represent absorption in God as the great end and aim of all human exertions; and this absorption is to be attained by pure life, devout contemplation, and a complete withdrawal of the senses from all outward things. It attaches little value to works in themselves, and none at all, unless performed with purity of intention, and a heart devoted to God.

But the less spiritual portion of the Vedas prescribe many works and ceremonies, and promises appropriate rewards in Paradise for each; though it represents as unwise those who prefer such rewards to the eternal beatitude gained by pious sages. It is said:—"For a spirit self-interested as thine, there is no other means of salvation than the observance of rites. Continue to practise them as long as you feel a desire to enjoy the rewards they can procure. It is the way to obtain the recompense you expect for your works."

These two aspects of the Vedas produced theological schools of opposite tendency. The word *karma*, in the signification of which they include *words* and *thoughts* as well as *works of the body*, has given rise to endless disputations. A sect founded by Djaimini is called Purva; sometimes Karma Mimansa, or Investigators of the doctrine of Works, because they occupy themselves much with pro-

ing, both from reason and the Vedas, the efficacy of the works and ceremonies of religion. Their teachers define with great exactness how these works ought to be performed, and what degree of reward must follow each, by inevitable necessity. They present religion like a sum in arithmetic; so many merits subtracted from so many faults, and so much of punishment still remains due. This sect not only allows the killing of animals for food, but prescribes it, provided a portion be first offered to the gods. They elevate the worship of the symbolical deities to great importance, and thus express the popular tendency to Polytheism, or the worship of many distinct gods, rather than Pantheism, or the worship of all things in One God. Some of this sect consider works of expiation as efficacious only in cases of involuntary sins; others think the testimony of the Vedas prove them to be effectual in case of those that are voluntary.

An extreme reaction from this tendency to overvalue works, and overload religion with ceremonies, exists in the mystical sect called Vedantins, said to be founded by Vyasa, collector of the Vedas. In common with all Hindoos, they prescribe penances as aids to holiness, such as painful postures, holding the breath while repeating Om, &c. But they discountenance those terrible bodily inflictions, to which the popular mind of Hindostan is so exceedingly prone, and dwell more on the force of will, by which a holy man subdues his passions and directs his thoughts. They represent the worship of the symbolical deities as useful for those who cannot rise above it; but speak almost disdainfully of those who consider pleasure and power, and the joys of Paradise, a desirable recompense for their multitude of works. Their favourite theme is the surpassing excellence and supreme beatitude of that state of absorption, in which the soul of man floats serenely above all desire for reward, all reliance upon works, all necessity of instruction from the Vedas.

This spiritual reaction was inevitably produced by the popular tendency to bury religious feeling under a mass of

mechanical ceremonies; and everywhere there is a class of minds ready to carry principles to an extreme result. The Vedantins declared works insufficient for salvation; and straightway other teachers arose, who pronounced works not only insufficient, but pernicious; real obstacles in the way of holiness, and therefore to be utterly neglected and despised by all true saints. Endless were the debates on this question of faith and works. Traces of them are everywhere conspicuous in their sacred literature. "It is necessary to act," says the author of the Bhagavat Geeta, "because otherwise the body could not be nourished. It is necessary to act, because God, in creating the world, has arranged it in such a manner that beings reciprocally subsist by their works and actions. But he who acts without regard to reward, without any other motive than duty, without any end in view but God, he is the perfect man." "The saint, who has purified his soul, who has subdued his senses, whose soul is The Soul of All Beings, is not sullied by the practice of works. He never imagines it is himself who acts. In seeing, hearing, touching, breathing, eating, walking, sleeping, talking, in opening his eyes, or in shutting them, he says to himself, 'These are the senses, not myself, which are occupied with external things.' He attributes his works to God, and can thus act without stain, as the leaf of the lotus is not stained by the water-drops that fall upon it. In renouncing the fruit of works, he obtains tranquillity."

The sects above mentioned are considered orthodox, because they all acknowledge themselves bound by the Vedas, and each strives to sustain its position by texts thence derived. But many causes were at work to give birth to heretical opinions. In the first place, the Holy Books themselves declared that man might arrive at a state of holiness, in which perpetual inward revelations rendered the Vedas unnecessary; and the Vedantins had spread abroad the idea by reiterated assertions. In the next place, rational investigations and philosophical theories are always going on, more or less openly, by the side of theo-

logical speculations. But stronger than both these causes was an increasing jealousy and aversion to the hereditary priesthood. In the beginning, it is probable that any very holy hermit could become a priest: and when the office was first made hereditary, every Bramin was professedly a religious man, and felt bound to devote the latter part of his life to contemplation in the forest. But as the caste grew numerous and wealthy, many of them were not priests, and very few devoted their declining years to ascetic practices. Thus there were many Bramins who were not saints, and many renowned saints who were not allowed to become Bramins. The possession of almost unlimited authority had its usual effect to produce selfishness, arrogance, and oppression; and though there were always good and great men among the Bramins, many disgraced their high calling by utter abandonment to vice. Still, however degraded their characters, holy and learned men of the other high castes were bound to submit to their authority, and treat them with the utmost reverence. The populace, immersed in ignorance, and spell-bound by sacred traditions, considered disobedience to a Bramin as the sum total of sin, and thought no method so sure to open the Gates of Paradise for themselves as to bestow property on members of that consecrated caste. In such a state of things, any doctrine that undermined their exclusive privileges would of course find adherents.

A school of rationalists appeared in Hindostan, many centuries ago, called Sankhya; a word signifying Intelligence, Reason. They deny the authority of the Vedas; urging that the command to sacrifice animals cannot be of divine origin, because it is contrary to the laws of benevolence. They reject the doctrine of God everywhere present in Nature; and maintain that Nature, though an emanation from God, is an entirely distinct and independent principle, not created, but containing within herself the laws that regulate all her motions. This theory of two principles, God and Nature, is called by philosophers Dualism.

They hold the common opinion that true holiness and happiness are to be obtained only by withdrawing the senses entirely from external things; but they assert this can be accomplished by reason, self-control, and contemplation, without aid from the Vedas. They do not deny the existence of subordinate deities, but represent them as beings very inferior to human saints, who have freed themselves from nature by contemplation and virtue. These rationalists separate into two sects; one diverging from orthodox opinions more widely than the other. The ultra school do not believe in One Supreme Soul, but in a multitude of souls, each enjoying independent existence. They say there is no other revelation than the wisdom of good men, which consists of souvenirs laid up by them in various progressive anterior existences. They believe the soul can raise itself above passion and imagination, by reason, experience, and the instruction of such sages. The more orthodox school place small value on this accumulated knowledge of wise men, as a means of becoming at one with God. They believe in a Supreme Soul, and think the human soul, by contemplation and self-renunciation, can attain such a state of mystical union therewith, that direct revelations are constantly received from the Divine Source. All souls tend to this state, and all souls can become God.

These views open the religious life to all castes, and strike directly at the priesthood; for if the Vedas are rejected, there is no more need of Bramins to explain them, or to perform the ceremonies they prescribe; every man can become his own priest.

It is obvious that from various sources the Hindoo mind early became familiar with the idea that holy men could arrive at a state of elevation transcending the gods. This led to the theory of divine incarnations in the human form; the next step was to worship saints as gods. This is done by the Djinists, or Jains. The word Djina is merely one of the numerous words applied to saints, to express their various degrees of holiness; but in process of time it was

appropriated to this sect only. They hold most of the orthodox opinions concerning God and the soul, but reject the Vedas, because they prescribe bloody sacrifices. They believe God and Nature to be one indivisible existence. By a law eternally inherent in this existence, it passes from activity to repose, alternately, like day and night. Active, it produces creation, without however being dependent on creation, in any way. The material world, which emanated thus, is subject to successive changes, though its essence never perishes. It is alternately destroyed and renovated; never by any exercise of divine will, but by an inherent necessity. The duration of a world is divided into six periods. We are in the fifth, which began six hundred and forty-three years before Christ. In each of these periods appear twenty-four saints, to reform and purify mortals. These saints are Spirits descended upon the earth. One named Vrischaba, whom they peculiarly revere, has many sacred titles; such as "Lord of All the Saints," "Supreme over Gods and Spirits." According to their traditions, he was a prince, who abdicated in favour of his son, retired into the forest, and became entirely absorbed in the Divine Being. They attribute to him four Sacred Books of their sect, called Yoga. They likewise regard with especial reverence the anchorite Sramana, who is said to have been absorbed in the Divine Essence, about six hundred years before the Christian era.

They opened the religious life to all castes, except Soodras; and the saints of their own sect were their priests. In old times, their hermits bound themselves by very rigorous vows, and oftentimes showed their indifference to the world by going naked. The statues of these saints in their temples are always without clothing. It is asserted that some of them never died, but gradually dissolved away into phantoms, and thus imperceptibly mixed with the Universal Soul. In later times, the religious among them are less strict. They merely promise to be poor, honest, chaste, truthful, and benevolent toward all crea-

tures. For this last trait the Jains are very remarkable. They offer no sacrifices except fruit, flowers, and incense. A prince of this sect allowed himself to be defeated, rather than march his army in the rainy season, when the fires of the camp would destroy insects then swarming. Another prince forbade printers, potters, and pressers of oil, to exercise their trades during four months of that season, when they must inevitably crush many insects.

For a long time they were much persecuted by the orthodox sects. In a contest between them and the adherents of the Bramins, some of the Jain priests and their most zealous disciples were ordered to be ground to death in oil-mills. Yet the same people who exercised this cruelty revered life in a bee, a bird, or a monkey, as a portion of the Central Soul! In 1367 the Jains obtained peace by a formal reconciliation with the Vishnuites, whose creed resembles theirs in many particulars. They employ the Bramins in their religious ceremonies, and are mostly quiet, industrious citizens.

They are divided into sects among themselves, and sometimes carry their opposition so far as to fight with each other when they meet in religious processions. Bishop Heber asked a Jain merchant what was the difference between his views and those of another sect. He coloured up to the eyes, and answered with bitterness: "As much as between Hindoos and Christians; as much as between Christians and Mahometans." But a Jain priest, who was present, said more calmly: "We worship the same God; but they are ignorant *how* to worship him."

The Buddhists are by far the most important sect that have appeared in India. They have points of similarity with the Jains, and some writers have confounded the two together. But the Jains have always persecuted the Buddhists with great bitterness. They had too much tenderness to press oil, for fear of crushing insects in the process, but they slaughtered fellow-beings without mercy, under the influence of theological hatred. The Buddhists worship Spiritual Intelligences descended on earth in the form of

saints; and the greatest of these is Bouddha Sakia Mouni, from whom they derive their name. The words *Bouddha* and *Mouni* both mean a Saint, or a holy Sage; thus his name is Sakia, and his titles are, the sage and the saint, the wise and the holy. European scholars suppose him to have been a great saint and reformer, who tried to restore the spiritual doctrines of the Vedas, and abolish distinctions of caste, including the priesthood. The popular belief is that he was an incarnation of a portion of Vishnu, and that he had previously appeared on earth, at various epochs, for the instruction and salvation of mankind. Mercury is reckoned among the beneficent planets in India, and the name given to it is Boodh, or Bouddha. The day consecrated to that luminary, corresponding to our Wednesday, is the holy day among worshippers of Bouddha. Some Hindoo writers say he was the planet Mercury, born of the Moon and the bright star Aldebaran. Perhaps this means that the presiding Spirit of Mercury was a ray from Vishnu, and that he occasionally descended to our earth, and took a human form. The date of his last birth, in the character of Bouddha Sakia, varies among different nations that have adopted his religion. In Cashmere they say he appeared only two hundred years later than Crishna, whose advent they place more than five thousand years back. According to Mongol records, he was born two thousand one hundred and thirty-four years before the Christian era; but the Chinese say it was one thousand twenty-nine years. In Ceylon, the era from which they date is the introduction of Buddhism into that island, six hundred and thirty-eight years before Christ; and this they mistake for the date of Sakia's birth. The learned generally give their verdict in favour of the Chinese date; from which the opinion of Sir William Jones varies only twenty-nine years. That the sect prevailed extensively in India, at a very remote period, is abundantly proved by numerous gigantic temples bearing marks of great antiquity. His statues, found in such edifices, give the same indication; for they represent him as a man buried in profound medi-

tation, with hair knotted all over his head, after the manner of hermits in very ancient times, before the custom of shaving the head was introduced. From this peculiarity, some travellers have mistaken him for an African. Colebrooke, the learned Sanscrit scholar, conjectures that the Buddhists were in existence before the great sects of Siva or Crishna. That they were sufficiently conspicuous to excite hostility before the Ramayana was written, is proved by the following extract from that ancient poem: "As an atheist fallen from the path of rectitude, as a thief, so is a Buddhist."

His mother Maia is said to have been a virgin, who conceived him from a ray of light. As Maia was one of the names for the Goddess of Illusions, this might have merely signified that he only appeared to be living in this world; that his mortal existence was an illusion to the senses. Tradition affirms that his mother was married to a rajah; and of course her son belonged to the same royal caste that Crishna did during his existence on earth. The advent of Bouddha is thus recorded: "It was at the close of the Dwapar Yug, that he who is omnipresent and everlastingly to be contemplated, the Supreme Being, the Eternal One, the Divinity worthy to be adored, appeared in this ocean of natural beings, with a portion of his divine nature." It is said that a marvellous light shone at his birth, and the Ganges rose and fell in a remarkable manner. The moment he was born, he stood upright, walked forward seven steps, pointed one hand upward and the other downward, and distinctly said, "No one in heaven, or on earth, deserves higher adoration than I." On a silver plate, found in a cave near Islamabad, was written a curious inscription concerning him. It states that a saint in the woods learned by inspiration that the ninth incarnation of Vishnu had just appeared in the house of the rajah of Cailas. He flew through the air to the place indicated, and said, "I came hither to see the new-born child." The instant he looked at him he declared that he was an avatar, and destined to introduce a new religion into the world.

To fulfil the requisitions of the law, Sakia was married at sixteen years of age. His parents bestowed upon him a maiden named Ila, whose father was one of the seven saints saved from the universal Deluge, in the miraculous ship sent by Vishnu. As soon as a son was born to him, he renounced his princely rank, and went to live as an anchorite in a wild forest, flourishing with noble trees and fragrant flowers, but infested with lions and tigers. Many stories are told of the austerities he practised there. His spiritual teacher having one day remarked that religious instructions took no root unless accompanied by mortifications and sufferings, he covered his body with thousands of matches, which he lighted; at another time, he drove thousands of sharp nails into his flesh; at another, he went into a fiery hot furnace. Having one day encountered a tiger and her young perishing with hunger; he offered himself to them for food; but the beast being too weak to eat him, he pierced his veins, that she might strengthen herself with his blood, and afterward allowed himself to be devoured by her. Once, his soul entered a fox, which was so extremely beautiful, that the king threatened his hunters with death if they did not bring him the skin of that remarkable creature. He therefore allowed himself to be caught, on condition that they would skin him alive, to save themselves from the crime of murder. They did so, and this gave him an opportunity to gratify his benevolence by feeding swarms of hungry insects, who immediately fastened on his raw flesh. It is recorded of him that he spent six years in continual silent contemplation, resisting manifold temptations sent to try him. During this time, five Holy Scriptures descended to him, he was endowed with the gift of prophecy, and could alter the course of nature whenever he chose.

His worshippers believe that the severe austerities he practised had a higher and more benevolent object than the attainment of perfect holiness and complete absorption for himself. He was a Heavenly Spirit, dwelling in regions of light and beauty, who, of his own free grace and

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mercy, left Paradise, and came down to earth, because he was filled with compassion for the sins and miseries of mankind. He sought to lead them into better paths, and he took sufferings upon himself, that he might expiate their crimes, and mitigate the punishment they must inevitably undergo. Hindoos of all sects believe that every cause has a certain effect, which must follow it by inherent necessity; thus every sin must have its exact amount of suffering; what is endured in this world will be deducted from punishment in the next; and what one voluntarily endures for another will be placed to the account of him he wishes to benefit. For these reasons, Bouddha inflicted terrible penances upon himself. So great was his tenderness, that he even descended into the hells, to teach souls in bondage there, and was willing to suffer himself, to abridge their period of torment.

The renown of Bouddha's wisdom and holiness attracted many disciples, to whom he imparted his doctrines and precepts in the silent depths of the forest. There is a tradition that he taught, as a secret doctrine, to his most confidential disciples, that all things came from nothing, and would finally return to nothing. A charge of atheism has been founded on this. But some suppose the story was fabricated by his enemies the Bramins, while in reality he merely taught their own doctrine that after an immense interval of revolving ages, all things in the universe, even Brahma himself, would be absorbed in the original Source of Being; which Buddhists name The Void.

Before his departure from this world, he intrusted his disciple Mahakaya, a Bramin of Central India, with all his precepts and doctrines. At the age of seventy-nine years, Bouddha Sakia's whole nature attained to such complete absorption in the Divine Being, that he ascended to celestial regions without dying. They show marks on the rocks of a high mountain, believed to have been the last impression of his footsteps on this earth. By prayers in his name, his followers expect to receive the rewards

of Paradise, and finally to become one with him, as he became one with the Source of Life.

It is said his disciples composed five thousand volumes in honour of him. The titles bestowed upon him are innumerable; such as "Son of Maia," "The Benevolent One," "Lord of the Earth," "Dispenser of Grace," "Saviour of all Creatures," and "Lion of the Race of Sakia."

There is a tradition that a celebrated sage named Amara, prime minister to the king, and called "one of the nine jewels" of his court, recognized Bouddha to be an incarnation of Vishnu, and sought to propitiate him by superior service. He lived in the forest twelve years upon roots and wild fruit, and slept on the bare ground. He committed no sin, and devoted his whole soul to pious contemplation. One night, he heard a voice saying: "Ask whatever thou wilt." He replied: "Let me see thee in a vision." The voice answered: "How can there be visions in the Cali Yug?— But the same benefit may be derived from seeing and worshipping the image of a god, that might be derived from seeing and worshipping the god himself." A vision of the image was revealed to him. He caused a likeness of it to be made, and worshipped it with perfume and incense, accompanied by the following prayer: "Reverence be unto thee, Lord of the earth! Reverence be unto thee, thou incarnation of the Eternal One, in the form of Bouddha! Reverence be unto thee, God of Mercy, who overcometh the sins of the Cali Yug! Reverence be unto thee, possessor of all things, ruler of the faculties, bestower of salvation! Thou art he who resteth upon the face of the Milky Sea, who reposes on the serpent Seshanaga. Thou, who art celebrated by a thousand names, and under various forms, I adore thee in the shape of Bouddha! Be propitious, O Most High God!"

An inscription to that effect was found carved on the rocks in a wild and solitary part of Behar, not far from the Ganges. Its date corresponded to nine hundred and forty-nine years after our era.

The doctrines taught by Bouddha and his disciples bear a general resemblance to the Braminical religion, from which they sprung, but depart from them in several particulars calculated to have an important influence. M. Bochinger, a learned and discriminating French writer, says:—"Like all men who have given a new direction to the religious ideas of their cotemporaries, Sakia did not invent a system altogether new. He merely pronounced, strongly and clearly, that which many of his cotemporaries had obscurely felt. He made himself the representative of opposition to Braminism, which had for some time existed among them."

The Buddhists believe in One Absolute Existence, including both God and Nature. When they speak of Providence, they mean an intelligence inherent in Nature, by which her movements are regulated. Philosophers call this doctrine Naturalism. To avoid attaching any idea of form, or limit, to the original Source of Being, the Buddhists called him by a name signifying The Void, or Space. On this subtle question, they are, however, divided into several schools. Some call this Absolute Existence The Supreme Will, The Supreme Intelligence. They supposed him to have alternate states of activity and repose. When active, he produced creation; not from any will to do so, but from inherent laws of development. Thus emanate successive worlds, all changeable, illusory, and unreal, and destined finally to return to The Void again. Spiritual existences are evolved in descending gradations down to man. Human beings may become so plunged in error and ignorance as finally to lose all power of perceiving what is good and true. From this low condition they could never be raised without the aid of Superior Intelligences. The Supreme cannot descend to their relief, for he is incapable of motion or change. But his first emanations, a high order of spiritual existences, charge themselves with this mission of salvation. They descend to the inferior worlds, even down into the lowest hells, to give wretched creatures an example of virtue, explain the

cause of their misery, and teach them how to attain supreme happiness. Such have been all the great saints they adore ; but such in a pre-eminent degree was Bouddha Sakia.

They believe the world has been successively destroyed by wind, water, and fire ; that its essence, which never dies, has been renewed in form, and will be again destroyed, to be renewed again. The degree of perfection of a world, be it more or less, depends on the moral character of those who inhabit it. In proportion as the beings of an inferior world are all saved and raised to superior worlds, that world disappears. Thus, after infinite ages, all return to the Supreme Essence, to reappear in new successive emanations. All this ascending and descending movement has its source in laws of inherent necessity. Hence religious Buddhists compassionate sinners, as beings impelled to crime by their unfortunate destiny.

It has been remarked that Hindoos considered themselves a pure and privileged race, set apart from other nations, and polluted by contact with them. But Bouddha Sakia and his disciples, having risen above the Vedas, rejected the limitation of castes in religious life. The road to saintship in this world was freely opened, through a course of devout contemplation, to all nations and all classes ; to foreigners or natives, Bramins or Soodras, young or old, men or women. Bramins naturally regarded this as a wicked and very dangerous innovation ; for it was contrary to the Sacred Books, and, if it prevailed extensively, must strike a powerful blow at the privileges of their consecrated order. When and how Buddhists came to have a separate priesthood of their own cannot be traced. The animosity of Bramins would naturally drive them to the expedient of having religious ceremonies performed by their own holiest men. These men were not holy by birth, like the Bramins, but had attained to sanctity by strict celibacy and other ascetic practices. By this process, it seems likely that celibacy of the clergy came to be established, as a mark of distinction between them and other

sects. This peculiarity would of course increase the abhorrence of Bramins, who regarded offspring as one of the greatest blessings, both temporal and spiritual. The Sacred Books strictly enjoined it on children, as a religious obligation, to offer stated prayers and sacrifices, to assist the souls of ancestors through stages of probation after death. Other castes might procure this advantage by paying for it; but Bramins alone were authorized to perform religious ceremonies. In a worldly point of view, the establishment of celibacy would also be a great misfortune; for their vast possessions and inviolable privileges would all be scattered, if they had no families to inherit them. No wonder the Bramins peculiarly detested a sect which thus struck at the root of hereditary priesthood. The more people manifested interest in their tidings of spiritual emancipation, the more were its messengers slandered and persecuted. The Pouranas charge them with denying the authority of Vedas and Shastras; condemning animal sacrifices; declaring it useless to worship the gods; not believing in transmigration, but teaching that the five elements of the body dissolved at death, never to reunite; that this life alone was worth caring for; that pleasure ought to be the chief aim; that worship, abstinence and charity were useless.

But bitter words and unjust charges were the smallest evils they had to endure. They were hunted like wild beasts. At one time, orders were issued to put to death all Buddhists and their families, even old men and infants, from the Himalaya mountains, on the northern frontier, to the bridge of Rama, at the southern extremity, near Ceylon. They lingered longest in Southern India, where the Bramins were not so supremely powerful as elsewhere. But Mahometans assisted in the relentless warfare, and in the ninth century Buddhists were expelled from every part of Hindostan. Zeal, stimulated by persecution, had impelled great numbers of them to wander abroad, centuries before, scattering seeds of doctrine as they went. This final expulsion sent forth a still greater swarm of mission-

aries to other nations. How extensively they propagated their religion in Eastern Asia will be seen in the chapter concerning Thibet and China.

The most remarkable modern sect among Hindoos is that of the Sikhs, or Seiks; founded by Nanac Shah, born in the year one thousand four hundred and sixty-nine of our era, and belonging to the noble caste of Cshatryas. When very young, he met with some devotees, who strongly impressed his mind with the idea that the worship of One Invisible God was alone worthy of wise men. Seized with an earnest desire for knowledge, he travelled through Hindostan, Persia, and Arabia, and visited Mecca and Medina. He became acquainted with the Mahometan mystics called Sufis, and was particularly attracted by the writings of one of them, named Cabik, who earnestly enjoined universal philanthropy and religious toleration. Imbued with these rational and benevolent ideas, Nanac Shah resolved to devote his life to the project of uniting Hindoos and Mahometans, on the common ground of a simple faith and purity of morals. He treated both religions with great respect, but in his own teachings dwelt solely on the worship of One God, and love to all mankind. He used to say: "Hundreds of thousands of Mahomets, millions of Brahmas and Vishnus, and hundreds of thousands of Ramas, stand before the throne of the Almighty, and they all die. God alone is immortal. He only is a good Hindoo who is just, and he only is a good Mahometan whose life is pure." The Fakirs, and the people, being accustomed to impute supernatural power to saints, called upon him for miracles. But he answered: "I can show none worthy of attention. A teacher of sacred truths needs no defence but the purity of his doctrines. The world may alter, but the Creator is unchangeable." He was a pure deist; that is, a believer in natural religion, who reverently found in God the cause of all things, and considered as unimportant the authority of written revelation, about which he everywhere saw men contending so violently. He died about 1540, and was buried at Kirti-

pur, where a relic of his dress is preserved in one of their temples, and exhibited to pilgrims.

His benevolent design of bringing Hindoos and Mahometans together on a common ground of toleration and benevolence was utterly defeated. One of his successors published the writings of Nanac, the first sacred book of the sect, under the title of A'di Grant'h. It attracted the attention and excited the jealousy of the Mahometan government, and they put to death the collector of these writings. His son roused the sect to vengeance, and changed the benevolent believers into fierce warriors, who thenceforth received the name of Seiks, or lions. Long and bloody wars ensued, and the Seiks at last retreated to the Punjab, where a Hindoo chief received them kindly. There they established a sort of independent state, in which they entirely abolished castes, and placed Soodras and Bramins on the same level. They always go armed, and to distinguish themselves forever from Mahometans and Hindoos, they wear a blue dress, and let their hair grow. The Mahometan government, determined to extirpate them, offered a price for their heads, and every one who could be taken was immediately put to death. It is said not one of them could be persuaded to abjure his religion to save his life. They now govern quite a large district in the north-west of Hindostan.

Among the numerous minor sects is one called Sauder, which means Worshippers of God. They are quiet, orderly citizens, mostly merchants and husbandmen. They adore but One Divine Being, to whom they offer only hymns. They abstain from wine, tobacco, and dancing, offer no violence to man or beast, and are enjoined to practise industry, secret almsgiving, and prayer.

In Hindostan, as elsewhere, there have always been classes of minds who doubted or disbelieved the popular forms of faith. Some learned Bramins of the present day smile at terrible descriptions of the hells, in their Sacred Books, as bugbears fit only for the ignorant. Even so far back as Crishna's time, he had occasion to declare: "There

are those who know not what it is to proceed in virtue, or recede from vice. They say the world is without beginning, without end, without a Creator."

The universal power of the religious sentiment is manifested in the immense labour and expense bestowed on places of worship in all ages and nations. Stupendous works of this kind remain as vestiges of ancient Hindostan. The sight of them fills the beholder with astonishment, especially when he reflects that they were produced by the persevering toil of an indolent people, whose favourite maxim is, "It is better to sit still than to walk, better to sleep than be awake, and death is best of all." The most remarkable are subterranean temples cut through the heart of mountains, inch by inch, in the solid rock.

On the island of Salsette, likewise called Kennery, near Bombay, are celebrated excavations of this description, capable of containing thousands of inhabitants. The largest temple is ninety feet long and thirty-eight wide, with a spacious portico, and a lofty, fluted, concave roof, which gives it a majestic appearance. Two rows of columns, thirty-four in number, form an area in the centre; the capitals of many of them are elephants' heads, others formed of lotus leaves and blossoms. On each side of the portico stands a colossal statue, and various groups of smaller figures face the entrance. This was consecrated to Bouddha, and contains manifold representations of him. His principal image, sitting cross-legged, with hair knotted all over his head, is surrounded with small sculptured figures in relief, probably intended to illustrate his history. There are two other temples nearly as large, numerous chapels, and apartments apparently intended for hermits; also benches, open courts, and tanks for rain-water, all hewn out of very hard stone, and ornamented with sculptures. There are some inscriptions on the walls, but the characters bear no resemblance to any of the various alphabets now used in India. It is a language lost to the memory of man, and has not yet been deciphered. In another grotto temple between Bombay and Poonah, Boud-

dha is represented in the same attitude, with knotted hair, and surrounded by crowds of worshippers. Bramins ascribe its construction to Evil Spirits, called Rakshasas, and forbid any religious ceremony to be performed in it.

The island of Elephanta, not far from Salsette, takes its name from a huge stone elephant, in ruinous condition. The excavations here are truly wonderful, though the design and execution is more rude than the architecture at Salsette. The principal temple is itself one hundred and thirty feet in length, and the same in breadth; not including numerous apartments and chapels connected with it. The whole is hewn solely out of rock, and forms a complete grotto. Being lower than the great subterranean temple at Salsette, it has a more cavernous appearance. Twenty-six pillars and sixteen pilasters support the mass of rock which serves for a roof. At the entrance is a statue of the Hindoo Trinity. Brahma, serenely majestic, is in the centre; on one side is Vishnu, with a mild countenance; on the other is Siva, with a severe aspect, holding the serpent Cobra do Capello in one hand, pomegranates and lotus-blossoms in the other. This colossal image, thirteen feet high, almost fills the space from floor to roof. Ganesa, god of Wisdom, is near Brahma, with a style in his hand, ready for writing. Several gigantic figures are in attendance. Serpents are everywhere twisting about, enfolding the statues. The figures on the walls are in such bold relief, that they merely adhere to the rock by their backs. Among the numerous symbols, the Triangle is conspicuous. Hindoos attached mystic signification to its *three* sides, and generally placed it in their temples. It was often composed of lotus plants, with an Eye in the centre. Every thing indicates that this temple was dedicated to the worship of Siva. The Symbol of Generation is placed in one recess, and another is occupied by a huge image of his Sacred Bull. His own likeness occurs in every variety. In one place, he is represented half man and half woman; in another, he appears as the Destroyer, with a serpent, a sword, and a necklace of skulls. On the

richly-sculptured walls, he is represented as receiving his bride Parvati, from Cama, God of Love, and conducting her to his Paradise of Kailasa. They are accompanied by a numerous train of gods and goddesses. A great variety of small aerial beings hover round them in graceful attitudes, but generally with a heavy, sleepy look. The number of statues and sculptures in relief is immense. Adjoining the temple are two baths, with walls beautifully carved, the roof and cornice painted in mosaic patterns, the colours of which are still brilliant. Bramins confess that it is impossible to assign any date to these wonderful structures. All tradition of their origin is lost in the misty past. Every thing proves their antiquity to be exceedingly great. The rock is of clay-porphry, one of the very hardest species of stone. It is supposed that it could not have been cut without the aid of a peculiar kind of steel, called Wudz, for which India was celebrated, even in ancient times. Yet this material, apparently indestructible, is yielding under the slow pressure of ages. Many of the sculptures are so dissolved by action of the atmosphere, that it is difficult to trace their forms. What a long lapse of time it must have taken to corrode such a flinty material!

"At Carli," says Bishop Heber, "is another remarkable cave hewn in a precipice. The apartments were evidently intended for hermits, and some of them are ornamented with great beauty. The entrance to the temple is under a noble arch. Within the portico are alto-relievo figures of colossal elephants; heads, tusks, and trunks very boldly projecting from the wall. On each side of them is a Mahout, or driver, very well carved, and a houdah with two persons seated in it. The screens on each side the door are covered with alto-relievos of men and women, whom the Hindoos explain to be religious enthusiasts, attendants on the deity. The columns inside are carved with singular beauty. Each of the capitals consists of a large cap, like a bell, finely carved, and surmounted by two elephants, with their trunks intertwined, each carrying a man and

woman on their backs. These are likewise explained to be saints." The image of Buddha, surrounded by worshippers, occurs in many places in this grotto, consequently Bramins say it was made by Evil Spirits. There are numerous inscriptions in unknown characters.

But the most marvellous of all grotto temples are those at Ellora, almost in the exact centre of India, near Deogur, which signifies The Holy Mountain. These excavations are hewn within a chain of mountains, embracing a circuit of six miles, arranged in horse-shoe form, and principally composed of very hard red granite. Here are a series of temples cut in rock, some of them two and even three stories high. The largest takes its name from Siva's Paradise, called Kailasa. It is a hundred feet high, and a hundred and forty-two feet long. On each side of the colonnades at the entrance are huge Sphinxes. A row of enormous elephants seem to sustain the superincumbent rock, and produce an imposing effect. There are many large temples, sometimes joining each other, sometimes separated by intervals, occupied with smaller temples. The extent and number of these extraordinary subterranean works can hardly be imagined. There are entire pyramidal temples, standing in open courts, peristyles, staircases, bridges, tanks, chapels, porticoes, obelisks, columns, and a great number of colossal statues, from ten to twelve feet high. On the right and left of the temples are chambers cut out of the rock, apparently for the convenience of priests belonging to the sanctuary. In some places, a large enclosure is surrounded by rows of columns, which sustain three galleries, one above another. An immense number of small grottoes seem to have been intended for the reception of thousands of pilgrims. On some of the walls are inscriptions in Sanscrit. Porticoes, columns and walls are everywhere covered with sculptures, many of them painted in bright colours, which still retain their brilliancy. Travellers declare that "the variety, richness and skill displayed in these ornaments surpass all description." Mr. Erskine says: "The first view of this desolate religious city is grand

and striking, but melancholy. The number and magnificence of the subterranean temples, the extent and loftiness of some, the endless diversity of sculpture in others, the variety of curious foliage, of minute tracery, highly wrought pillars, rich mythological designs, sacred shrines, and colossal statues, astonish and distract the mind. The empire, whose pride they must have been, has passed away, and left not a memorial behind it." The images of deities, either entire statues, or carved in bold relief, are counted by thousands. In fact this collection of temples seems intended to embrace the worship of them all. One is consecrated to Siva and Parvati, whose marriage festival is represented on the walls. Another is dedicated to Vishnu and his beautiful consort. Another contains a colossal statue of Indra seated on a recumbent elephant, and his wife Indrani on a recumbent lion. Rama and his wife Sita occupy another, whose walls are sculptured with his battles, described in the Ramayana. One of the temples is dedicated to Visvacarma, the celestial architect, said to have built Vishnu's palace in Paradise. The age of these stupendous structures is as difficult to be determined as those at Elephanta and Salsette, but the superior workmanship is supposed to indicate that they are less ancient. At whatever epoch they were commenced, it must have taken centuries to complete them. As the Bramins have no record of their origin, they say they were built before the Cali Yug, by Visvacarma himself, assisted by Vishnu.

Beside these subterranean excavations, there are wonderful structures, hewn in solid rock, above the surface of the earth. Such are the Seven Pagodas, very ancient monuments on the Coromandel coast, about thirty-five miles south of Madras. On the summit of a hill is a vast collection of temples and other buildings, columns, porticoes, and massive walls, almost entirely cut from the solid rock of the hill. As one approaches the coast, it has the appearance of a royal town. A large proportion of the buildings are covered by the sea, and may be seen far out under the water. It is conjectured that they were en-

gulfed by an earthquake, or some other terrible convulsion of nature. But it happened so long ago, that all recollection of the catastrophe is completely lost. The defacement and complete obliteration of some of the ornaments, by the operation of the atmosphere, likewise indicates great antiquity. The style and workmanship of some of the temples is said to be very grand and striking. There are many colossal images of deities, and of elephants, lions, and other animals connected with their history. Human figures like dwarfs are often placed in striking contrast with these huge creatures. The Symbol of Generation in some of the temples indicates that Siva was worshipped there. But the buildings are principally consecrated to Vishnu, especially to his incarnation in the form of Crishna. There is a colossal image of Vishnu sleeping on his thousand-headed snake covered with stars. In one place Crishna is represented enfolded by the Serpent of Death; in another, treading the Serpent under his feet, in allusion to his victory over death. He is also represented with the Nine Gopias dancing round him. In fact, whole scenes from the Mahabharata are sculptured on the walls. There are inscriptions over several of the statues, but they have not yet been deciphered. Tradition attributes these edifices and Cyclopean walls to kings of the race of Pandos, relatives of Crishna, and conspicuous in his history.

At Tanjore, in the south of India, is a very celebrated old temple, formed of massive hewn stones, piled one above another, without exterior decoration. It is in the form of a pyramid, two hundred feet high. The interior contains a large hall, lighted by lamps, where the Bramins assemble to perform certain religious ceremonies. The worship of Siva is indicated by the Symbol of Generation, and a colossal image of his Bull, called Nundi. It is formed of an entire block of brown porphyry, sixteen feet long, and twelve feet high. This animal was an object of religious worship, and his annual festival was observed with much pomp, during which the people went to his temple in procession, with flutes, cymbals, and garlands.

There is no determinate account when this structure was erected; and that circumstance, together with its primitive style of architecture, indicates high antiquity.

At Chalambron, in the district of Tanjore, are a collection of sacred buildings, within a double enclosure. On each side is a magnificent gateway, formed of large blocks of stone, with pilasters thirty-two feet high, surmounted by a pyramid one hundred and fifty feet high, ornamented from top to bottom with sculptures. There are three chapels within a separate enclosure. One contains no religious symbol to indicate the deity to whom it was consecrated. One is dedicated to Vishnu, the other to Siva. A large tank occupies the centre of the area, with a colonnade and steps of stone, by which pilgrims descend into the holy water. On the right side is the largest temple, dedicated to Parvati, whose statue stands immediately facing the entrance. The portico is supported on six rows of columns, covered from top to bottom with carved figures. The sanctuary is lighted by numerous lamps, and before it stands an image of the Sacred Bull. The pilasters which form the entrance are connected by a chain, curiously carved from one piece of stone. On the other side of the tank is a chapel standing in the middle of an enormous hall, three hundred and sixty feet long, and two hundred and sixty broad. The flat roof is formed of immense blocks of stone laid horizontally, supported by upwards of one thousand pillars. Every part of this hall is ornamented with sculptures, representing scenes from the Mahabharata, and other Sacred Writings. These various halls and chapels were intended for the reception of statues, conveyed on huge cars, during some of the annual festivals. Three thousand Bramins were employed in the services of this sanctuary. The enormous expenses were defrayed by the vast concourse of pilgrims that flocked thither. One of the Pouranas record that these edifices were erected six hundred and seventeen years before our era; but portions are believed to be of later date. One of the large gate-

ways was rebuilt not many years ago, by a pious widow, at the cost of about seventy-five thousand dollars.

On the river Bunas is a magnificent temple to Crishna, called Nathdwara, or The Portal of God. It contains a statue of Crishna, said to have been in existence many ages, if not from the time when he was himself on earth. No terrible austerities are practised here, no animals sacrificed; but from all points of the compass are poured in offerings to this most popular incarnation of compassionate Vishnu. Some give large landed estates, others bestow rich coronets and costly jewels to adorn his image. Spices are sent from the Indian Isles, frankincense from Tartary, dried grapes from Persia, rich shawls from Cashmere, silks from Bengal, grain and fruit from the husbandmen, flowers from women and children. The presiding Bramin appoints consuls in all the great commercial cities to collect and transmit the donations of millions of votaries.

One of the oldest and most venerated temples is that of Jaga Nath, commonly called Juggernaut; one of the titles of Vishnu, signifying Lord of the World. It is at Orissa, on the northern extremity of the Coromandel coast. Europeans generally call it the Black Pagoda, because its dark colour, relieved by the sandy shore, makes it a conspicuous object to mariners a great distance off. It is a huge grotesque pyramid of granite blocks, three hundred and fifty feet high, crowned with copper balls and ornaments, flashing in the sunshine. It is covered with sculptures, among which is a large Sphinx, and many sexual emblems. An enormous Bull carved in granite projects from the front, which is toward the east. There is a tradition that when it was built it was ordained that distinctions of caste should be laid aside in the worship conducted there, and consequently that superiors and inferiors might eat together without pollution. This place is the scene of one of the most shocking festivals observed in modern times, as will be seen in succeeding pages.

On an island between the continent and Ceylon are three pagodas within one enclosure, with a gate forty feet

high. One temple is dedicated to Siva, another to Rama, another to Sita. The grand entrance to the largest is a truncated pyramid formed of rough blocks of stone. The exterior of these buildings is painted red, and adorned with a surprising amount of sculpture. Lord Valentia says: "They present a magnificent appearance, which we might in vain seek adequate language to describe." They are regarded as among the most ancient sanctuaries of the nation, and no foreigner is allowed to enter within the hallowed precincts.

In the vicinity of Kotah is the beautiful temple of Barolli, made of close-grained quartz-rock. Like many other of the old edifices, it is covered with a kind of stucco that hardens with time, and has the appearance of fine marble cement. It is in excellent preservation, though it bears marks of great age. The temple is not large, being only fifty-eight feet high, but it is remarkable for the profusion of sculpture with which every stone is covered, and for the ease and gracefulness of the figures. The gateway is adorned by two uncommonly fine statues of Siva and Parvati. Colonel Tod, who first visited the place, says there are some heads on the walls that would be no disgrace to the chisel of Canova. He says: "It would require the labour of several artists, for six months, to do anything like justice to the wonders of Barolli."

The Jains have many handsome temples. Bishop Heber thus describes one of them:—"The priest led us into a succession of six small rooms, with an altar at the end of each, over which was a large basso-relievo in marble. The last apartment contained twenty-five figures, all of men sitting cross-legged, one considerably larger than the rest, and represented as a negro.* The priest said he was their God, and the other figures were the different bodies

* This appearance was probably occasioned by hair twisted and knotted all over the head, according to the ancient fashion of hermits. The larger size of one of these figures indicated his superior wisdom; it being common among them to represent greatness of character by bigness.

he had assumed at different epochs, when he had become incarnated to instruct mankind. The progress made in the mysteries he taught entitle a man to worship in one or more of the successive apartments shown to us. In the centre of each room was a large tray with rice and ghee strongly perfumed, apparently as an offering; and in two of them were men seated on their heels on the floor, with hands folded as in prayer, or religious meditation." The Hindoo attitude of worship is with the folded hands raised to the forehead, or the face laid prostrate on the ground.

The following is a description of the private family chapel of a wealthy Hindoo:—"Though small, it was as rich as carving, painting and gilding could make it. The principal shrine was that of Siva, whose Emblem rose amid the darkness of the inner sanctuary, crowned with scarlet flowers, with lamps burning before it. Under the centre cupola was the Sacred Bull richly painted and gilded, in an attitude of adoration, likewise crowned with scarlet flowers. On the walls were paintings of gods and goddesses. Over all hung a large silver bell, suspended from the roof, like a chandelier."

"Hermitages in the rocks abound in every part of Hindostan. The situation is always picturesque, in the midst of water, and under the shade of trees. Many of them are on cliffs above the rivers, with bamboos hanging gracefully over the entrance. Inside is a low stone couch and a bracket for a lamp or idol. Some of them are elaborately carved."

A volume might be filled with descriptions of the numerous temples in Hindostan, but enough has been said to convey an idea of their grandeur, and of the religious zeal of the people. The most ancient are in the form of a pyramid. The great porch, or entrance, is a truncated pyramid, running out at the top into the shape of a half moon. The four sides face the cardinal points, and the front is toward the east. This form is prescribed by their Sacred Laws. The gigantic proportions, low massive pillars, and the deep shadows made by projections, produce a solemn

effect, while a feeling of vastness and infinity is impressed on the mind by the almost endless repetition of small figures, delicately carved. The sun, moon, bulls, rams, goats, serpents, and other representations of planets and constellations, abound everywhere, showing that astronomy was very intimately connected with their religious ideas. The interior of these old pyramidal temples is very awful; for light being excluded, the colossal statues of gods, often of frightful aspect, the huge serpents and enormous animals carved in stone, are fitfully revealed, in the midst of black shadows, by the wavering light of lamps or torches. Many of the grand old edifices, which stand above ground, seem destined to perish. The wild fig-tree sows its seed in the crevices, and being a sacred plant, it is deemed sinful either to root it out or cut off its branches. In the course of a few years its rapid growth makes the temples look extremely picturesque, but it eventually destroys them. Sometimes large slabs of stone, covered with sculptured images and emblems, become incorporated with the substance of the tree, and are completely encased in wood.

Upper India has been so ravaged by conquerors that few vestiges of its religious monuments remain. Many circumstances tend to prove that part of the country the cradle of Hindoo civilization; therefore, notwithstanding the vast antiquity of some of the structures still remaining, it is conjectured that they are not so ancient as were some that have disappeared.

In Hindostan, the temples are called Dewals. The term Pagoda, generally used by Europeans, is said to be a corruption of one of their words, signifying a Holy House. In all periods of their history the devotion of the people has led to the construction of new ones, and so it is at the present time. A Hindoo village is generally a mere collection of bamboo huts surrounding a Pagoda. Modern temples have lost the ancient character of grandeur. The ornaments are generally tawdry and the sculptures shocking specimens of deformity. Few of these buildings have more than three or four rooms, and some have only one,

large enough for the images, and a few attendants. On the occasion of great ceremonies, the crowd of people stand in an open area in front of the gates.

The Banian, or Indian Fig-tree, droops its branches, which take root as soon as they touch the ground. As they grow to amazing size, and apparently never decay, magnificent groves are formed, with agreeable vistas and cool recesses. The large green foliage is lively with squirrels and monkeys, and brilliant with parrots, peacocks, and scarlet figs. Sometimes,

"This pillared shade,
High overarched, with echoing walks between,"

is spacious enough to shelter a thousand people. The Hindoos consider its far-stretching arms, its beneficent shadows, and its long life, emblematic of Deity, and they pay it almost divine honours. They plant it near their temples, and in villages where there are no temples, these groves are consecrated as places of worship. Here are placed blocks of black or white marble, or common upright stones, on which they pour oil for sacrifice; altars surmounted by vases containing consecrated plants; images of the sacred cow; and the emblem of Siva. To these groves worshippers bring their oblations of flowers, grain, fruit, incense, and spices. Here repose the high priests and their retinue, travelling with Oriental pageantry to take part in some grand religious festival; and here rests for a while the naked devotee, on his way to fulfil some vow; perhaps walking thousands of miles in silence, with only a parroquet for his companion.

It is common to build temples in close vicinity to these Banian forests; especially if there be a lake or river near by. To provide such places for the people is deemed an act of great piety, likely to ensure a long enjoyment of Paradise. A wealthy man, who was living at Alla Bhaug in 1834, presented to the public extensive groves and gardens, filled with fountains, flowers, fruit-trees, and aromatic shrubs, including a lake covered with a profusion

of lotus-blossoms. In the midst of all this beauty, he erected a temple, declaring that he did it "as an acceptable sacrifice to the benevolent deity, and a useful charity to his fellow creatures." As usual in their sacred buildings, the outer portion is for public worship, while the inner sanctuary is entered only by Bramins, who wash and dress the images, and adorn them with jewels and flowers, among which the lotus is always conspicuous. In front is a large tank of hewn stone for ablutions, with an obelisk at each corner, illuminated at festivals. The surrounding groves are lively with troops of musicians and dancing girls, devoted to the service of the temple.

The Hindoos have several holy cities, among which Benares is most esteemed. They call it "the Lotus of the world," founded not on common earth but on the point of Siva's trident. They consider the soil so blessed that whoever dies there, of whatever sect, is sure of salvation. Even if he has eaten beef, which they regard as the greatest of sins, he will be saved, provided he is charitable to poor Bramins and dies at Benares. Hindoo princes keep agents there to offer sacrifices for them. The very aged are carried thither and left near the Ganges, esteeming themselves most fortunate, if they can be carried away by the sacred stream, or devoured by its crocodiles. Wealthy men in the decline of life often go there to reside, to wash away their sins in the holy river, and secure rewards in a future existence by their benevolence to pious pilgrims. Bishop Heber speaks of "a man of vast fortune, who on his name-day (by which they mean the day on which his patron god is worshipped) always gave a large measure of rice and a rupee to every Bramin, and to every blind or lame person, who applied to him between sunrise and sunset. This person was reputed to be really kind and good; munificent from principle, not from ostentation." It may readily be imagined that under these circumstances Benares is a great place of resort for pious beggars. The number of temples is exceedingly great. "They are mostly small, and stuck like shrines in the angles of the streets,

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and under the shadow of the lofty houses. Their forms, however, are not ungraceful, and many of them are entirely covered over with beautiful and elaborate carvings of flowers, animals, and palm branches, equalling in minuteness and richness the best specimens of Gothic or Grecian architecture. Bulls sacred to Siva, tame and familiar as mastiffs, walk lazily up and down, or lie across the narrow streets. Any blows given to rouse them must be of the gentlest kind, or the whole population would rise in wrath against the offender. Sacred monkeys, and the divine ape who conquered Ceylon for Rama, are numerous, clinging to all the roofs and projections of the temples, putting their hands into every fruiterer's or confectioner's shop, and snatching food from the children at their meals."

There was at Benares a famous pillar called Siva's Staff, a beautiful shaft of one stone, covered with exquisite carving. It originally stood inside a Hindoo temple; but when Mahometans conquered the country, they pulled down the temple and built a mosque over it. But pilgrims were still allowed to visit the ancient pillar, on condition of giving half their offerings to the Mahometans. Upon the occasion of some great religious festival, a quarrel arose in the street between two processions, one Mahometan and the other Hindoo. The Mahometans in their fury broke down Siva's Staff, and the Hindoos revenged themselves by burning a mosque. Not far off was a consecrated well, the waters of which were deemed peculiarly holy, and all Hindoo pilgrims were enjoined to drink of it and use it for ablution. The Mahometans, exasperated by the burning of their mosque, killed a cow, the most sacred of all animals, and threw her blood into this well. The Hindoos retaliated by throwing bacon into all the mosques; well knowing that pork was held in utter abomination by Mahometans, and deemed to pollute whatever it touches. A general fight ensued, which was finally quelled by the interference of British troops. Bishop Heber says: "After the tumult subsided, there was great mourning among the Hindoos. The holy city of Benares was profaned. The

blood of a cow had been mixed with the sacred water, and salvation could be obtained at Benares no longer. All the Bramins in the city, many thousands, went through the streets in melancholy procession, naked and fasting, with ashes on their heads; and for two or three days they refused to enter a house, or taste of food. The gaunt, squalid figures of the devotees, their unaffected anguish and dismay, and the screams of the women who surrounded them, formed a very impressive scene. The British magistrates tried their utmost to reason with and console them. At last, they concluded that Ganges was Ganges still, and that a succession of costly offerings in the temples might possibly wash out the stain the holy city had received. Over the prostrate pillar they mourned much. Tradition declared it had been twice as high, and had been gradually sinking into the ground; and there was a prophecy that when it became level to the earth, the religion of Brahma would come to an end, and all men be of one caste. Sorrowfully the Bramins gazed upon it, and said, 'Alas, Siva's Staff has its head level with the ground. We shall all be of one caste shortly. What will be our religion then?'

The Coast of Orissa is perhaps the most important of the holy places of Hindostan. It is said that one million two hundred thousand pilgrims flock thither annually, to the great festival of Juggernaut. Immense numbers die of the hardships of long travel; of famine, from scarcity of provisions to feed such a multitude; by imprisonment, for non-payment of tribute to the Bramins; and by suicide, to expiate sins, or secure future rewards in Paradise. Miles of this country are covered with human bones, whitening in the sun. Juggernaut is represented by a gigantic wooden image, with black face, blood-red distended mouth, golden arms and diamond eyes. It is renewed every three years. The bones of Crishna are deposited within it; and when the Bramin takes them out, to transfer them to the new image, he shuts his eyes lest a sight of the holy relics should strike him dead. The image of Boloram, brother

of Juggernaut, is painted white, and his sister Shubudra yellow. A hundred lamps are continually burning before them, and fifty-six Bramins attend upon them. They present to them offerings of various kinds of food, bathe them six times a day with water, oil, and milk, and dress them each time in fresh clothes. At the great annual festival, these three images are gorgeously decorated, seated on thrones of nearly equal height, and placed in a huge car, sixty feet high, adorned with costly ornaments, and sculptured all over with sexual emblems. On each side are sixteen enormous wheels, which cut deep into the ground, as it slowly rolls along. It is preceded by elephants, dressed in crimson, bearing flags, and decorated with bells, that sound musically as they move. Multitudes of Bramins wave palm branches, recite extracts from their Sacred Books, and sing hymns in honour of Juggernaut. Troops of Devedasses dance around the car, while swarms of devotees, many of them naked, perform innumerable ceremonies, and make gestures, which to an unbelieving spectator seem very indecent. The crowd thrust each other violently for the privilege of seizing the ropes by which the chariot is drawn. Many throw themselves across the street, deeming themselves sure of salvation if they can be crushed to death by the wheels; and whenever this occurs, the multitude shout aloud in approbation. At this festival all distinctions are laid aside for the time; Bramin and Pariah can eat together without pollution.

On pilgrimages to these holy places, processions of different sects often fight by the way, to determine whose temples shall be enriched by the taxes levied on pilgrims. At one of their great religious festivals in 1760, a battle occurred between the Sivaites and the Vishnuites, in which the latter had eighteen thousand men killed.

Thousands of people are employed in carrying water to the temple of Juggernaut from an aperture in the rocks, called the Cow's Mouth, whence the Ganges issues. They travel more than two thousand miles, with two flasks of

water slung across their shoulders on a piece of elastic bamboo. The labour thus expended would long since have converted the whole country into a highly cultivated garden. It is often done as penance for the lighter sorts of sins. Women of rank, not venturing to appear in public, pay others to carry it for them. Princes and wealthy persons have this holy water conveyed to them in all parts of Hindostan. It is used at feasts, as well as upon religious festivals. A gentleman in Ceylon drank this water daily, brought three thousand miles, at the expense of five thousand rupees per month. As the Ganges is supposed to descend from Paradise, its waters increase in holiness the nearer they approach its source. At certain seasons of the year, millions of pilgrims, from various districts and countries, visit the place where two rivers unite to form the Ganges; and many thousands scramble up the steep precipices of the Himalaya mountains, where a shrine is erected over the spot whence it issues from under eternal snows.

Women have never been admitted to the priesthood by any of the sects. The Code of Menu forbids women and children to devote themselves to the ascetic life. But in the Pouranas are mentioned some who retired into the solitude of the forests, and became celebrated saints. The mother of Crishna vowed herself to perpetual contemplation, and attained to complete absorption in God. A story is likewise told of a child five years old, who went into the forest and performed most painful penances in honour of Vishnu. But this was an exceptional extravagance, originating in the popular admiration for ascetics, which fired the boy's imagination and tempted him to imitation. In Malabar, the memory of several saintly women is held in high veneration; particularly one named Ayyar, whose wise sayings have become proverbs. The ancient Jains denied that a woman could attain the highest degree of holiness, and discountenanced their devoting themselves to the religious life. But this might have arisen from jealous care of their modesty; for in later times, when it was the custom for the saints to wear white robes, instead of going

naked, they granted that women also might arrive at a state of perfect sanctity. From the most ancient time, a class of women called Devedasses were devoted in early childhood to the service of the temple. They are often infants consecrated by their mothers to some god, in fulfilment of a religious vow. Being deemed an honourable way of providing for daughters, as well as a sacrifice highly acceptable to the deity, even princes are desirous of obtaining the situation for their children. It is required that they should be healthy, with pleasing features and graceful forms. The Devedasses bathe the little novice in a pool belonging to the temple, dress her in new robes, and ornament her with jewels. The presiding Bramin puts into her hand an image of the deity, and teaches her to repeat a solemn vow of dedication to his service. Her ears are then bored and the seal of the temple imprinted on her with red-hot iron. She is taught to read, write, dance, sing, and play on musical instruments. No other women in Hindostan, not even those of the highest rank, are allowed to read and write. Many frightful stories are in circulation concerning the disasters sure to befall a woman bold enough to attempt such an innovation. Even Devedasses are not permitted to look into the Sacred Books. Their scanty education is employed in learning verses and legends concerning the gods, to recite at public solemnities. It is their business to gather flowers for the temple, light the lamps, and perform the dancing and singing in religious ceremonies. About the waist, arms, and ankles, they wear little bells of silver or gold, which make a monotonous tinkling as they move, and mingle rather pleasantly with the small drums, tambourines, and silver cymbals, to which they keep time. They hold wooden castanets, which they strike in cadence, all making precisely the same movements and gestures at the same moment. At the end of each dance, they all turn toward the idol, and adore him with hands clasped before their faces. They receive food, clothing, and pay, from the funds of the temple. Five or six hundred are employed in the temple of Juggernaut.

At the great annual festival, one is chosen for a bride to the god, to whom it is supposed he comes in the night and reveals whether it will be a fruitful year, and what kind of feasts, processions, prayers and contributions he requires from the people in order to secure it. She is placed in the chariot with the idol, and as it slowly rolls along, she proclaims these oracles to the believing multitude.

The Devedasses are not allowed to quit the precincts of the temple, or to marry. Some say they are allowed to receive no lovers but Bramins; others declare they are at liberty to choose among any of the three higher castes. The money thus obtained is put into the treasury of the temple. If they have daughters, they are brought up in the same way as themselves; if sons, they are trained to play on musical instruments and assist the priests. When these women become old or unhealthy, or the Bramins wish to have them leave for any reason, they are dismissed; but they are ever after received in society with peculiar respect. A degree of sanctity is attached to them, and it is considered an honour to marry them. Sometimes, however, if they are old when they retire from service, they are reduced to poverty, unless they have a handsome daughter, on whose earnings they can rely.

In no part of the world are suicides so extremely common as in India. Thousands perish every year by drowning in the sacred rivers, lying in wait for crocodiles, starving, burning, and causing themselves to be buried alive. This doubtless originates in the prevailing idea that the connection of spirit with matter is an evil, and the destruction of the body a sacrifice acceptable to the deities. The number of women who voluntarily seek death is much greater than that of men; for in addition to their belief in the same melancholy creed, life is far less free to them, and their abject situation requires more severe repression of all the natural sentiments and instincts. To be born again into a female form they dread as one of the worst punishments. To avoid it, they perform innumerable religious ceremonies, and subject themselves to most

painful penances. When the custom first began of women burning themselves on the funeral pile of their husbands, is unknown. It probably originated in the universal practice of offering sacrifices at funerals, and at tombs, to expiate the sins of the deceased. Perhaps some zealous devotee voluntarily set the example, and many motives would naturally combine to fix it as a custom. This self-immolation is called *Suttee*, more properly *Sati*, a Sanscrit word meaning purification. It is not enjoined in any of their Sacred Writings, but some of their celebrated saints commend it as highly meritorious; as may be seen from the following extracts:—"So long as a woman does not burn herself after the death of her lord, she will be subject to transmigrations into the female form." "The woman who follows her lord in death expiates the sins of three races; her father's line, her mother's line, and the family of him to whom she was given a virgin." "Even though her husband had slain a Bramin, or returned evil for good, or killed an intimate friend, the woman expiates his crimes." "Possessing her husband as her chiefest good, herself the best of women, enjoying the highest delights, she shall partake of bliss with him as long as fourteen *Indras* reign."

The professed rule is that the immolation must be perfectly voluntary; and since such rewards were offered in Paradise, in addition to the applause of multitudes on earth, while on the other hand law and custom condemned every widow to an extremely secluded and gloomy life, it is not surprising that great numbers rushed on such a fate with religious ecstasy, or the courage of despair. A Bramin of Bagnapore had more than a hundred wives. Twenty-two of them were burned with his corpse, though several of them had seldom even seen the man for whom they died. The fire was kept burning three days, waiting the arrival of successive victims. A woman is never allowed to marry again, or even to mention the name of another man, after the death of her husband or betrothed. As they are often mated by parents in infancy, they may

be left widows while very small children: but nevertheless they disgrace themselves if they depart from a life of perpetual chastity. Those who are thus left desolate often sacrifice themselves, either from religious zeal or weariness of life. A girl whose betrothed died when she was six years old, is mentioned as having performed the Sati at fifteen. No entreaties could prevail upon her to relinquish her project. An immolation performed with great firmness was a subject of family pride, and recounted to succeeding generations. Widows sometimes mounted the funeral pile with heroic enthusiasm, laid the husband's head on their knees, and themselves brandished a torch to light the pile. But these sacrifices were not always voluntary, even when they appeared so. Husbands, clinging to the idea of exclusive possession, even after death, often left injunctions to their wives to make the offering, and to their heirs to urge them to it. Women hold no property, and it was the interest of relatives, on whom the widow would depend entirely for support, to excite their religious zeal sufficiently to make them brave the terrors of this fiery ordeal. If the courage of the poor creature failed at the last dreadful moment, and she succeeded in making her escape, she sunk into irretrievable disgrace, which was reflected on her kindred. Therefore, when such symptoms were discovered, Bramins tied down the victim with strong cords, and while the flames rose, her screams were drowned in the din of musical instruments.

After a long contest with Hindoo prejudices, the British government at last succeeded in abolishing this cruel custom wherever they had jurisdiction. The women were generally most grateful to them for the change. They are gentle, affectionate, and devotional; extremely fond of carrying offerings to the temples, and performing religious ceremonies in the sacred groves.

The belief in a universal interchange of souls throughout creation produces singular ideas and customs with regard to animals. Vishnu assumes their shape as frequently as he does that of man. They are not only represented as

constant companions and friends of the deities, but often as being themselves of divine intelligence, dwelling in Paradise, and occasionally incarnated on earth, to assist the god to whose service they were devoted. Garuda, prince of the eagles, is supposed to guard the entrance of Vishnu's Paradise. Hanuman, prince of the monkeys, assumed the form of an ape, and rendered important services to Vishnu while on earth in the person of Rama. There are numerous other similar instances. In the Ramayana it is stated that Garuda, having sinned in thought against his divine master, went in penitent guise to seek counsel from the crow Bhusanda, who dwelt on the lofty summits of the Blue Mountains, and had been devoted to the service of Rama from his birth. This crow was "experienced in virtues and vices; well acquainted with all that had happened since the beginning of time; sometimes wrapped in profound meditation on the being of God; at others pouring forth invocations, and proclaiming the praises of Vishnu to the birds of land and water." He became the instructor of Garuda, and informed him that he had once been a Bramin, but had passed into a crow, in consequence of maledictions pronounced upon him by a powerful saint. With these ideas, no wonder the brute creation are regarded with tenderness and reverence. Bulls and cows are sacred in the highest degree, especially the latter, on account of a cow in Paradise, styled, "Mother of the gods, and of three worlds." Even the dung of this animal is sacred, and is used in many religious ceremonies. Hindoos will die rather than taste of beef; a fact which has been often proved on board vessels where all the provisions were expended except salt beef. The punishment for selling a bullock to a European is to be impaled alive. Monkeys are sacred, on account of Hanuman, famous in the exploits of Rama. Rajahs and nobles often expend large sums to celebrate a festival in honour of those animals. A monkey, or an ape, on such occasions, is seated in a splendid palanquin, and followed by musicians, singers, and dancing girls, amid a gorgeous shower of

fire-works. Two British officers, who shot a monkey during one of their hunting excursions, were driven by a mob of devotees into the river Jumna, where they perished. In Jafanapatan, an ape's tooth, believed to be Hanuman's, was preserved for centuries as a relic in the temple, and many pilgrimages were made to see it. After the Portuguese conquered that part of the country, the Hindoos sent an embassy to them offering three hundred thousand ducats for the recovery of this treasure. But, by advice of the Catholic Bishop, the tooth was burned in presence of the ambassadors, and its ashes thrown into the sea. A cunning man afterward persuaded them to buy another tooth, representing that an invisible power had substituted a false tooth to be burned by unbelievers, and miraculously saved the true one. The Crocodile is another of their sacred animals. Hindoo mothers are remarkable for passionate love of offspring, yet they often throw their infants into the jaws of these monsters, believing they thus propitiate the deities and secure the child's salvation. The hooded serpent Cobra do Capello is sacred, on account of its association with Vishnu. Some other species of serpents are regarded by them as peculiarly the protecting Spirits of gardens and vineyards, and therefore they will not consent to destroy them. Indeed all animals have a degree of sacredness to a devout Hindoo, arising from the belief that each one is a manifested portion of God. Voracious and unclean creatures they believe to be the residence of malignant Spirits and bad souls. Those that subsist on vegetables are supposed to be favoured by divine beings. They peculiarly venerate ants and bees, conceiving the Spirits which animate them to be gifted with superior intelligence. They believe every animal is endowed with thought and memory, and has some comprehensive mode of communicating ideas to its own species.

At Surat is a Banian hospital, enclosed with high walls and divided into courts, where diseased and aged animals are watched with tenderest care. When an animal breaks his limb, or is otherwise disabled, his master carries him

to the hospital, where he is received without reference to the caste or nation of his owner. If he recovers, he cannot be reclaimed, but remains to draw water for other creatures not able to work. When Sir James Forbes visited this place, it was full of horses, oxen, sheep, goats, monkeys, poultry, birds, and an aged tortoise, known to have been there seventy-five years. One ward was appropriated to rats, mice, and vermin. The overseers frequently hired beggars for a stipulated sum to pass a night among fleas and bugs, on condition of allowing them a feast without molestation.

Pious pilgrims are often met on the road carrying a soft broom to sweep the ground, lest they should tread on insects, and with nostrils covered to avoid inhaling them. A learned Bramin, much interested in science, took great delight in exploring the library of an English resident, who one day showed him a solar microscope, to convince him that the precautions of devotees were useless, inasmuch as every draught of water was filled with animalculæ. The Bramin became very thoughtful, and offered large sums for the instrument. Being difficult to obtain in India, the owner for some time refused; but at last, overcome by repeated importunities, he gave it to him. He instantly seized a large stone and dashed the microscope into a thousand atoms. In answer to the angry expostulations of his foreign friend, he said: "O that I had remained in the happy state of ignorance wherein you found me! As my knowledge increased so did my pleasure, until I beheld the wonders of that instrument. From that moment I have been tormented with doubt and perplexed by mystery. I am now a solitary individual among millions of people all educated in the same belief with myself; all happy in their ignorance. So may they ever remain! I shall keep the secret in my own bosom, where it will corrode my peace and disturb my rest. Forgive me, my valuable friend; and, O, bring here no more implements of knowledge and destruction."

Many causes have been at work to produce a gradual

degeneracy in the manners, customs, and opinions of the Hindoos. Knowledge of the Vedas is confined to the learned, and few ever heard of such a doctrine as the unity of God. The great mass of the people are neglected by the Bramins, who are either taken up with the acquisition of temporal power, or striving to obtain spiritual elevation for themselves, by contemplation and penances. Such instruction as the populace do receive, rather serves to confuse their moral perceptions. Thefts, perjury, or murder, may be atoned for by presents to the priests, and the performance of prescribed ceremonies, without further inconvenience to the culprit; while killing a cow, selling beef to a European, offending a Bramin, or being converted to a foreign religion, involves either the penalty of death, or total excommunication from society by loss of caste. Everywhere the limitations of caste come in to narrow the sympathies and impede the progress of intellect. Hindoos are by nature remarkably kind, gentle, and charitable; but their tender-heartedness disappears the moment it comes in collision with the laws of caste. If a Bramin sees a Pariah drowning, he must not even extend a long pole to save him; for by so doing he would incur pollution involving loss of caste. A Christian missionary ventured to employ a converted Pariah to teach other Hindoo converts; but they protested strongly against such an innovation. "How is it possible," said they, "to allow a Pariah to come into our houses to pray?" Four hundred persons left the congregation in consequence, but twenty remained to hear the Christian Scriptures read by a man who was socially their inferior; and those twenty were more valuable than the four hundred would have been, with the Pariah silenced.

Hindoo worship makes no provision for the instruction of the people in religious ideas or moral duties. It consists of a routine of ceremonies. Every image is regularly served with rice, fruit, and flowers, which after a prescribed time are removed for the use of priests and their attendants. Perfumes and incense are considered among the most acceptable offerings. Large quantities of frankincense were

carried from Arabia to Hindostan at a period so remote that the use of it is mentioned in the ancient poem, Ramayana. Among consecrated plants, the Soma, or Moon Plant, is peculiarly sacred. The juice is a holy drink which Bramins taste on certain religious occasions, after having offered prescribed prayers. They say it is not necessary to understand the prayers which they mechanically repeat from the Vedas. It is sufficient to know what deity is addressed, and what event is the occasion for supplication or thanksgiving. In many cases, mysterious virtue is ascribed to reciting the form of words alternately backward and forward.

Religious models for the people are of a lower character than they were in the ancient times. There are now few devotees who attempt to copy the austere virtue of old hermits; but popular reverence for such characters has produced a swarm of mendicants, who imitate only their extravagancies. These are often described by travellers under the name of Fakeers, or Yogeas. On their forehead and arms they usually wear the perpendicular line emblematic of Sivaites, or the horizontal line of Vishnuites. It is marked by the priests with a composition made of burnt sandal-wood, tumeric, and cow-dung. Doubtless many of these devotees sincerely believe that they expiate their own sins and those of others, by their severe sufferings. Some dig a grave and remain buried in the earth, leaving only a small aperture for the admission of food. An English gentleman in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, perceiving a strange-looking creature in a hole of the ground, beat it till the blood flowed, without causing any movement, or any remonstrance. It was a Fakeer who had vowed himself to that mode of torture. Some stand in one constrained posture for years and years. Others crawl on their hands and knees round an extensive empire. Some roll their bodies over the ground from Indus to Ganges, collecting money to dig a well, or build a temple, in atonement for some sin. Many of them go entirely naked, and come to look like wild beasts, with nails of

twenty years growth, dirty matted hair, and arms withered by being held aloft for years. Women of distinction compete with each other for the honour of feeding such saints.

All of this class do not renounce the world so completely. There are communities of them, on whom the devout bestow houses and lands. They make money by agriculture and trade, and send out beggars to procure alms. There is a community of Sivaite saints, who are accustomed to sell their military services to the highest bidder; being willing to fight against everything but their own religion. They stimulate their courage by excessive use of intoxicating herbs and drinks, though wine and spirituous liquors are strictly forbidden by their Sacred Books, and ceremonies of purification are prescribed for a religious man who has merely drank water from vessels that have contained such liquors. Associations of female devotees, said to be far from austere in their lives, reside in some of the temples of Siva. The Fakeers usually wear garments of yellowish red, similar in colour to the bark-cloth worn by ancient anchorites. There appears to be sacredness attached to the colour; for there is an express law forbidding Bramins to sell red cloth, or woven bark.

Like the ascetic sages of ancient time, these modern Fakeers are great travellers. They are met everywhere, from the confines of Russia to Cape Comorin, from China to Bombay. They wander about in armed troops, on pilgrimages to holy cities and sacred wells, levying contributions as they go. To extort charity from passengers, they stun their ears with loud bells, or strike together plates of brass. Some of them are handsome, robust men. They eat everything but beef, and are often immoderate in the use of food and intoxicating liquors. When they arrive at villages, they dance and sing songs describing the amours of Siva or Crishna, for which they receive a reward of food or money. On one occasion, Bombay was so infested by these mendicants, that they became an intolerable nuisance. The governor deemed it imprudent to make any direct attempt to disperse them. But he issued an order that all

beggars and idlers should be set to cleaning the great ditch surrounding the fortifications, and the next day not one of the saintly fraternity was to be found. Bishop Heber, speaking of the sacred city of Benares, says: "Fakeers' houses occur at every turn, adorned with idols, and sending out an unceasing tinkling of discordant instruments; while religious mendicants of every sect, offering every conceivable deformity, which chalk, cow-dung, disease, matted locks, distorted limbs, and disgusting attitudes of penance, could show, literally line the principal streets on both sides. I saw repeatedly men who had kept their hands clenched till the nails grew out at the backs; or hopping on one foot, the other having shrunk close up to the hams, from a vow never to use it. Devotees go about with small spears thrust through their tongues and arms, or with hot irons pressed against their sides. Their countenances denote suffering, but they evidently glory in patient endurance, thinking doubtless that they are expiating sins by their agony. These beggars keep up the most pitiful cry for alms." Among some sects, persons of every caste, even Pariahs, can become Fakeers. These are little respected by the higher classes of Hindostan, and the Bramins especially avoid them. Yet some of the Bramins themselves are by no means worthy of the reverence which their station and office demands. Within the temples they not unfrequently fight and scratch each other, scrambling for the fees and offerings. In days of primitive simplicity a Bramin was not allowed to take a second wife, unless the first bore him no children, or committed some great misdemeanor; but they now marry fifteen, twenty, or a hundred wives, as suits their convenience. The Code of Menu strictly forbids receiving money or gifts in exchange for a daughter or female relative; but in these days, parents, even of the highest castes, do not scruple to dispose of young daughters to whoever will pay the most, though he be old or diseased. The expenses for the maintenance of the priesthood are enormous. One temple in the Deccan maintained forty thousand officiating Bramins,

besides a great number of Devedasses. Of course it is for their interest to inculcate a blind unquestioning faith in all they teach, and to load popular worship with images and ceremonies, for all of which they receive pay. It being admitted that images were necessary for the ignorant, as pictures are for children, and these images commanding a ready sale, they of course multiplied rapidly. They are of every variety of size and material, from gold to wood and clay, from thirty feet high to a finger in length. They are generally grotesque, deformed things, made by the smith and the potter, or rudely fashioned by the humble worshippers in preparation for some festival. The Bramins reconcile this with the Veda doctrine of God's unity, by saying these are mere subordinate agents fulfilling various offices in the universe under One Ruler. But the populace have no such idea. They believe all these gods and goddesses to be independent deities, with supreme power over the departments they govern. When a Hindoo buys an image, he goes to the priest to have certain ceremonies performed over it, which are supposed to endow it not only with life, but with supernatural power. If the idol be masculine, another ceremony must be performed to marry him to the image of some goddess. Not only their temples but their houses are full of these idols, some of which are extremely hideous. They offer them a portion of their food, fan them in warm weather, cover them from cold, and put them to bed every night. The Bramins tell many legends of their assuming various shapes and colours, and working miracles; all of which are readily believed.

There is universal belief in Evil Spirits, of various ranks and degrees of power, from gigantic demons, who attack the orbs of light, down to the malicious little Pucks, who delight in small mischief. They suppose these enter the minds of men, producing bad thoughts and criminal actions, and also take possession of the body, producing insanity, fits, and all manner of diseases. They can be cast out only by some form of holy words pronounced by the priest, with ceremonies prescribed for such occasions.

While Sir James Forbes was presiding judge in a Hindoo district, a petition was sent to him stating that a certain woman had been for a long time possessed by two Evil Spirits; and that the petitioner's daughter, having been with this woman, and witnessed certain conjuring tricks, and heard the devils talk, came home and fell down on the bed without sense or motion, and continued so for hours. She continued to have these fits for two months; at the end of which time, she told her parents that one of the devils had come out of the woman and entered into her, tormenting her all the time to offer it food and sacrifices. Dr. Buchanan mentions a man in Mysore supposed to be possessed by one of these demons, which caused him to fall down in fits. The whole village was in an uproar, and could only be appeased by the presence of a Bramin, who recited prayers, and strewed consecrated ashes over the individual. Amulets and charms, duly prepared by religious ceremonies, are worn as a protection against Evil Spirits, likewise against witchcraft. They have many magicians, most of whom are women. It is said they can bewitch people by keeping their eyes steadfastly fixed on them; that they can travel through the air invisibly; can bring intelligence from remote places with incredible swiftness; can read secret thoughts; and if thrown into the river with a stone tied to them, they will not sink.

Sir James Forbes mentions several individuals who were in possession of a singular power, seemingly supernatural; particularly a Bramin, who could see what was occurring in distant places, and read the thoughts of people who came into his presence. He confesses himself much puzzled by prophecies and revelations of this kind, which most undoubtedly occurred during his residence in India.

Some degree of chemical knowledge has existed among the Bramins for many ages. They are acquainted with the antidotes to many poisons, and have a chemical preparation, called Tantra, with which they rub the skin to enable it to resist the action of fire. ~~When~~ When people are suspected of crime, Bramins are often called in to determine

the question by ordeal. Sometimes the accused individual is ordered to swallow poison; sometimes he walks on red-hot iron; sometimes a coin is put in a vessel of boiling oil, into which he plunges his arm and brings out the coin. The arm is previously washed by Bramins, who supplicate the appropriate deities, and afterward pronounce a benediction. If these dangerous experiments prove harmless, it is considered a sufficient proof of innocence.

Now, as in ancient times, they are firm believers in astrology, and watch the motions of birds and bees for omens. When a child is born, they consult the aspect of the stars to ascertain what were the signs of his destiny. When a ship is about to sail, or a bargain to be concluded, they go to a Bramin or a soothsayer, to decide whether a day is lucky or unlucky. Some days are proper for going to the north, others for going to the south. Some are supposed to be so entirely under evil influence, that they abstain from all manner of business. They have lucky hours, and even minutes, which they carefully appropriate to the transaction of very important affairs. The Bramins annually prepare an astrological almanac, defining what days are lucky or unlucky, for the various actions of life. But even if all other signs are propitious, a clap of thunder will usually make them relinquish any undertaking.

At the commencement of an eclipse, people rush to the rivers to bathe, and throw water toward the sun, with many invocations. Prayers on such occasions are worth a hundred times as much as at any other time; for they believe that a powerful demon seizes on the sun and puts him in great anguish, from which he may be relieved by the prayers and donations of human beings purified by ablutions.

When they travel, they often carry with them the image of a serpent wreathed round a pole six or seven feet high; and every morning the whole company pay adoration to it.

The death of a cow or calf is thought to be a sure indi-

cation that the deities are offended. On such occasions there is great lamentation in a family. The owner of the animal often leaves home for two or three years, to perform long pilgrimages of expiation. The water of a cow is used in various ceremonies of religious purification; for similar purposes, they likewise make a preparation from the dung of a perfectly black cow. When it has lain in the shade till it has become perfectly dry and hard, Bramins carry it to some of the sacred places, burn it on a pile of chaff, and gather the ashes into vessels. They then sift it three times, recite prayers over it, sprinkle it with clean water, and make it into small lumps, which they dry, and perfume with the essence of flowers. They dissolve them in water, and, turning toward the sun, sprinkle it on their foreheads and breasts, with appropriate prayers. They use it to avert misfortunes, and peculiarly to keep off the Spirits of Death, who are sent for human souls. Bramins and saints keep a large supply of this article for devotees. They have great horror of touching the dead, or any thing that has been in contact with a corpse. If a man even hears that a relative has died in a distant country, he is deemed unclean, and must purify himself by religious ceremonies. If a whole year has passed since the death, merely touching water is considered sufficient purification.

Water is supposed to cleanse the soul, and guard from evil. When a child is born, priests sprinkle it, and sprinkle the dwelling, and all the inmates of the house bathe. They do this from an idea that it keeps off Evil Spirits. People perform ablutions before they eat; and priests purify themselves with water, accompanied with prayers, on innumerable occasions. When a man is dying, Bramins hasten to plunge him into a river, believing that the departing soul may be thus freed from impurities before it quits the body. Some rivers are deemed more peculiarly holy and efficacious than others; such as the Ganges, the Indus, and the Crishna. The water of the Ganges is used on all the most solemn occasions. Images of the deities are washed with it; and Bramins are sprinkled with it, when inducted into

the priestly office. Happy above other men is he who is drowned in that sacred stream. Once in twelve years, the waters of Lake Cumbhacum are supposed to be gifted with power to cleanse from all sin. As this period approaches, Bramins send messengers in every direction to announce when the great day of ablution will take place. The shores are crowded with a vast multitude of men, women, and children, from far and near. They plunge at a signal from the officiating Bramin, and in the universal rush, many a one is suffocated, or has his limbs broken. Water from Ganges is kept in the temples, and when people are dying they often send from a great distance to obtain some of it. Before devotees put their feet into a river, they wash their hands, and utter a prayer.

In some processes of purification, the Bramin rubs mud on the man, and then plunges him three times, throwing in a handful of rice each time as an offering. During this process, he says: "O Supreme Lord, this man is impure, like the mud of this stream; but as water cleanses him from this dirt, do thou free him from his sin."

Fire is deemed a still higher degree of purification than water. Thus whole families were supposed to be redeemed from sin by the self-immolation of a widow on the funeral pile. Saints who destroyed themselves by fire were believed to ascend to the higher degrees of Paradise, and enjoy an immensely long period of heavenly bliss. In honour of some of their deities, they walk over burning coals, to the sound of musical instruments, faster or slower, according to their degree of zeal. Some carry their children in their arms, that they also may receive a share of the benefit. If sins which require fire are not purified in this world, it is supposed they must pass through a fiery process in the next.

Blood, being the seat of life, was always considered a very efficacious atonement for sin. The gods were supposed to be propitiated according to the number and value of the victims. When great national benefits were to be obtained, or evils averted, they sometimes sacrificed

a thousand horses at once. It was an ancient custom for Bramins to lay the sins of the nation on the head of a horse. It was done with solemn imprecations and religious ceremonies, and then the animal was turned loose to carry off the sins of the people. Bulls were rarely sacrificed, on account of their veneration for those creatures. Men, being higher than animals in the scale of existence, their blood was deemed more excellent as an expiation; and by being sacrificed it was supposed that they secured Paradise for themselves also. One of their most solemn sacrifices consisted of a man, a bull, and a horse. There is a tradition that in ancient times a young man and woman, richly decorated, were thrown into the Ganges, as an offering to the god of the river. In later times, they substituted images, instead of living beings. Human sacrifices were abolished at an early period, and animal sacrifices are totally disapproved by numerous sects. Men, horses, and bulls were formerly offered to the grim goddess Cali; but now her altars flow with the blood of kids only. To reconcile this custom with their tenderness for animals, a belief is inculcated that the human soul imprisoned in the brute is thus purified from all its sins, and, freed from degrading transmigrations, rises to the Paradise of Indra, and becomes a musician in his band.

Hindoos have many religious festivals, most of them observed either at the new moon or the full moon. They have six successive festivals, in commemoration of the six periods in which Brahma completed the work of Creation. On the twenty-fifth of December, people decorate their houses with garlands and gilt paper, and universally make presents to friends and relatives. This custom is said to be of very great antiquity. In November, they have a festival, during which they light up vast fires by day, and illuminate all their houses at night. At the full moon in October, they commemorate the circular dance of Crishna with the Gopias, which some learned men suppose to have an astronomical significance. During the great festival called Ramayana, the streets are filled with gorgeous processions,

accompanied by dancers and musicians, playing on horns, gongs, cymbals, and drums. Dramatic representations illustrate the wonderful adventures of Rama; an incarnation of Vishnu, at different periods of his life, prince, conqueror, and holy hermit. Three children are dressed with high tinsel crowns, and painted with vermillion, to imitate the statues of Rama, his wife Sita, and his brother Lakshman. Hanuman, Rama's great general, is represented by a man armed with a club, with a mask like an ape, and an ape's tail tied to his back. In ancient times, it is said, these three children were poisoned at the end of the feast, that their souls might be absorbed in the deities they represented; but this was afterward prohibited.

The ignorance and credulity of the people have been at all periods practised upon by artful or self-deluded men. About the end of the year 1829, appeared an extraordinary child named Narayun Powar. He was the son of a peasant, and born in a village belonging to the Rajah of Sattara. When only eight years old, he was famous for his extraordinary power over snakes. He enticed them from among rocks, stones, and ditches, played with them, and ran about naked with them twisted all round his neck and arms. Whether he fondled or chastised them, they took it all in good part. They came when he called, and went away at his bidding; but he was seldom easy without some of his favourite animals around him. Why they had this predilection for each others' company, and how he obtained such singular power over them, each one must explain according to his own theory; but it is a fact that several similar instances of serpent-taming have occurred in the East. In the time of the ancient anchorites, one of the signs of having become perfectly holy, completely identified with God himself, was the power of handling serpents without harm. Whether the parents of Narayun and the Bramins in his neighbourhood really believed his power was derived from such a source, or whether they saw fit so to represent it from motives of self-interest, is known to themselves. There was an old prediction by the poet Toolseedas

that an extraordinary person would arise and redeem Hindostan from foreign dominion. He was not to be a mere man, but an incarnation of Indrajit, a hermit of such exalted holiness that he had the sublime reward of dying by the hand of Rama himself. Bramins sought to prove that the period predicted was precisely that of Narayun's birth. Mysterious words were said to have dropped from the child at various times, giving hints of his divine nature, and the purposes for which he had come to earth. He certainly did not seem to be much absorbed in heavenly things; for like other boys he was full of play and mischief, and particularly fond of gambling with small shells called cowries. However, they called him "Narayun the Holy," and finally "the living God Narayun." In his name they established a place of sacred bathing, where the sinful and the sickly were invited to come and wash away diseases and crimes. Rumours spread through the country that many cripples had been cured, and many blind received their sight. Bramins composed hymns in his praise, and four were appointed to keep record of all his words and actions. His disciples taught that men ought no longer to worship images of wood and stone, but place all their faith in this living divinity, come to deliver them from all foreign yokes, as Rama had rid the world of giants. In a few months, ten thousand pilgrims, many of them of wealth and rank, came to lay their offerings at the feet of Narayun; and many who could not come, forwarded vows and offerings. On every one who bathed in the waters, or bowed to the divinity, a tax was levied. His parents and the administering Bramins grew rich rapidly. A little girl, said to be an incarnated goddess, was chosen for his bride; and it was rumoured that on a certain day he would cause a magnificently caparisoned horse to rise out of the earth, on which he would ride forth to meet her. The enthusiasm spread wonderfully, and infected all classes more or less. It is even said that a European resident in India, a distinguished scholar, and a firm believer in Christianity, being asked his opinion, answered: "The facts I have heard

quite stagger me. The whole Hindoo population are thoroughly convinced of the divinity of this child, and are going mad after him. It is impossible to say what extraordinary means God *may* adopt for the spiritual recovery of the Hindoos. Ordinary means and missions seem to have failed with them."

The Rajah of Sattara manifested great uneasiness at the pretensions of Narayun. The wife of one of his ministers, who for several years had been subject to singular trances, had prophesied that *he* was destined to restore the old Hindoo empire; and the rival claims of the peasant boy excited his jealousy. But while the enthusiasm was at its height, the child died. He was one day exhibiting as usual his perfect control over snakes, which were brought to him in great numbers by strangers, when a Pariah produced a very large one, declared to have been brought all the way from Benares. Narayun seized hold of it boldly, but for the first time he found a serpent he could not manage. It became irritable and bit him mortally. His death was attributed to magic, and it was confidently predicted that he would rise on the third day. When this hope failed, they said it would certainly occur on the eighth day. A crowd of pilgrims waited to witness his resurrection, and finally dispersed disappointed and sorrowing. Rumours were afloat that he had actually appeared in different places. Some tried to propagate the belief that his soul had lodged in the body of a Bramin, who would eventually fulfil all that had been promised of him. But finally it all passed away, and his worshippers came to the conclusion that he was merely an incarnated demon, who came on earth for a while to amuse himself with mortals.

The Christian missionaries of various sects, who have been in India for many years, have made little perceptible progress in changing the faith of the people; but many causes are at work to fulfil the prophecy connected with the fall of Siva's Staff at Benares. Hindostan being the seat of very lucrative commerce, a variety of foreign nations have contended for possession of it. Mahometans

from Tartary began their conquests as early as A. D. 976; and after a long succession of bloody wars, during which they destroyed a vast number of temples, and carried off immense treasures, they firmly established their religion in large districts of the country. Many adopted the faith and costume of their conquerors, and others were finally allowed freedom to worship in their own way. One of the principal mosques was formerly a Hindoo temple. They killed a cow in it to prevent any of the natives from entering it.

On the Malabar coast are more than two hundred thousand Nestorian Christians, whom the Hindoos call Nazarenes. They have had a regular establishment of bishops and clergy there for more than a thousand years. In the fifth century, Jews, fleeing from the oppression of Christian countries, were allowed by a compassionate Bramin to settle in Hindostan. They are now numerous in some portions of the country. Fire-Worshippers, escaping from the Mahometan conquerors of Persia, in the seventh century, begged for a shelter, and had their claim allowed, on condition that they would eat no beef, and never kill ox or cow. They have scrupulously kept this promise, and large numbers of them reside in India, under the name of Parsees. The Portuguese, who have long had possessions there, established the Inquisition at Goa, and Catholic missionaries have been scattered through the country. France and Denmark have settlements there. Great Britain has conquered several kingdoms, and her laws govern millions of the people. She has had Episcopal bishops resident there for many years, and numerous missions from dissenting sects.

Consequently, the landscape of India is dotted all over with Hindoo pagodas, Mahometan mosques, Jewish synagogues, Catholic cathedrals, and Protestant churches. The Hindoos, though remarkable for tenacious attachment to their own forms of faith, are very ready to admit that all modes of worship are acceptable to God, if performed with sincerity of heart. It is a common maxim with them that

“Heaven is a palace with many doors, and each one may enter in his own way.” The Bramins, who compiled the Code of Gentoo Laws, say in the preface, that “the Supreme Being is sometimes employed with the attendant of the mosque, in counting the sacred beads, and sometimes in the temple at the adoration of idols. He is the friend of the Hindoo, the intimate of the Mahometan, the companion of the Christian, and the confidant of the Jew.” Sir William Jones says: “It is their firm opinion that the Deity has appeared innumerable times, and by innumerable avatars, not only in many parts of this world, but of all worlds, for the salvation of his creatures; and that both Christians and Hindoos adore the same God under different forms.” Actuated by this kindly feeling, their women and children often gather fruit and flowers for the mosque and the cathedral, as well as for their own sacred groves.

When men of different creeds are brought into frequent contact, they cannot avoid mutually giving and receiving. Their prejudices gradually soften and finally melt away. The interfusing of religious ideas from various sources is conspicuous in the teaching of many modern Hindoos. One of these, named Swamee Narain, attracted considerable attention about 1820. He went through various districts teaching and exhorting the people; and many villages of bad character became virtuous and orderly under his influence. He inculcated temperance and purity, and forbade his disciples to look upon a woman. He taught the existence of one invisible God, who made and sustains all things, and whose especial dwelling is in the hearts of those that diligently seek him. But he likewise taught that there is a Spirit, who was with God from all eternity, who cometh from God, who likewise is God, and who hath made known to man the will of God. This Spirit he said came down to earth in ancient times in the form of Crishna, whom wicked men put to death by magic. He was the same as the Sun, and was to be worshipped as God's image or representative. Since his death there had been many pretended revelations and false divinities set up.

Bishop Heber, in conversation with him, remarked that he had spoken truly when he said there was but one God. He tried to convince him that one incarnation of that God was sufficient for mankind, and existed in the person of Jesus Christ, who was the Word of God, proceeding from him, and one with him from all eternity. But Swamee Narain insisted there had been many incarnations, suited to the wants of different nations; one for Christians, another for Mahometans, others for Hindoos. He said he regretted the prevailing worship of images; but symbols were necessary for the ignorant, and he feared to offend their prejudices by preaching against them.

The Hindoos are extremely averse to any change from ancient customs and opinions. The description given of them in the time of Alexander the Great, more than two thousand years ago, would nearly describe them now. But notwithstanding this strong conservative tendency, innovations of various kinds have been gradually introduced; especially in Bengal, which is more subject to a mixture with foreigners in the relations of government and commerce. When Hindoos were invited to dine with European magistrates or merchants, they ate at a table by themselves, and had their food cooked by one of their own nation, according to the rules of their religion. This scruple still remains with a majority of the people; but here and there liberal individuals have set it aside, saying: "We think the Christians are as pure as we are, and certainly some of them are wiser." The higher castes, who formerly abstained from animal food, now eat fish, mutton, and kid's flesh; and the lower orders eat almost everything except beef. The spirit of caste still exerts a tremendously strong influence, but its barriers are thrown down in numerous instances. In the extensive districts under British control, Bramins are executed for capital crimes, the same as other men. Some of the wealthiest families are of Soodra origin, and the descendants of Bramins may sometimes be found among cooks, or serving as soldiers in the army. Though intermixture with foreigners is for-

bidden as a great sin, large classes of half European parentage have sprung up, and are early accustomed to a foreign language and a foreign faith. The lower orders manifest an increasing neglect of the rules of caste, and are generally desirous to send their children to schools established by the English. It is predicted that English will become the prevailing language. The upper classes now generally speak it with fluency, and take great interest in its literature. It was formerly considered very wrong to give foreigners access to their Sacred Books; but there is now an established profession of Hindoo teachers in Bengal to instruct Europeans in Sanscrit, that they may examine the Vedas, the Shastras, and the Pouranas. Attendants on the temples begin to complain that the offerings are of little worth, compared with former times. One of them lately told a missionary that he was unable to procure means to repair the roof, in consequence of which water was dripping on the image of the god during all the rainy season. He reported this to the people, but they seemed quite indifferent about it. He thought they were all becoming unbelievers.

Bramins strive to reconcile themselves to this state of things, on the ground that they are living in the Cali Yug, when religion is reduced to naught by decrees of Deity, and therefore it is useless to try to screen their Sacred Books from the profanation of foreign hands. Atrocious murders have often been confessed and extenuated in their courts, on the plea that it is the Cali Yug, when crimes must abound.

No priesthood in the annals of the world have retained so much power, for such a long series of centuries, as the Bramins. That as a class they have abused this power, is the inevitable result of possessing it; but there are among them intelligent, learned, and exemplary men, whose characters would do honour to any nation. Bishop Heber says: "In one of the temples I saw a Bramin who passed the whole day on a little pulpit, about as high and large as a dressing-table. At night, he sleeps on the pavement

beside it. His constant occupation is reading or lecturing on the Vedas, which he does to as many as will hear him, from eight in the morning till four in the evening. He asks for nothing; but a small copper basin stands near the pulpit, and he subsists entirely on the alms which the charitable are disposed to drop into it. He is a small, pale man, of an interesting countenance, said to be eloquent and extremely learned in the Sanscrit." Some of the Bramins of Malabar wrote to the Danish missionaries: "God alone rules all the world, and all that is therein. It is he who rules the eight hundred and forty thousand kinds of living creatures; but because of his various appearances, he has different names. Hence we say Brahma creates, Vishnu rules, Siva destroys; all which different expressions denote but One Supreme Being. And when we attribute the protection of towns and villages to tutelary gods, our meaning is that the Great God does mediately protect towns and countries by his vicegerents and governors. For there is not the least motion in the world without the will of the First Cause. Indeed there are many gods, but they cannot so much as move a straw out of its place, without the assistance of the First Cause; therefore, he is justly called the Lord of the World; for it is his power that rules all things, and he is infinite and incomprehensible." This statement doubtless represents the general views of enlightened classes of Hindoos at the present time; but they cannot yet believe that ideas which elevate priests and princes would also elevate the people. They argue that to present the doctrine of a purely spiritual Deity to men absorbed in the cares of animal existence, would inevitably make them atheists. Strongly attached to their ancient religion, from force of education, Bramins maintain that it is entirely misunderstood by Europeans, whose modes of thought prevent them from having any conception of the spiritual significance of their allegorical writings and sacred ceremonies. Intelligent worshippers of every age and nation might urge the same plea with perfect justice; for every symbol, even the rudest, was originally made sacred

as the embodiment of some idea, and the spiritual-minded long continue to reverence the adulterated form for what it originally signified.

A transition state, when society is preparing to cast its old skin, is unpleasant and difficult for timid and reverential temperaments. Sacred laws appropriate to one age, do not supply the wants of another age. They become inconvenient or impossible of application when progressive centuries have introduced manifold changes. Theologians of India have expended great learning and patience to make some old maxims of their Sacred Books harmonize with the new wants of society, gradually, though slowly, changing. In the process, several of those maxims have been formally abrogated by legal enactment; others have fallen into disuse, with the remark that "they were doubtless intended for a more perfect state of the world."

Some of the Bramins manifest great earnestness and candour in examining other modes of faith. Among these none have been so remarkable as Rammohun Roy, a wealthy Bramin, born in Bengal, in 1780. He was well acquainted with Sanscrit, Hebrew, Persian, Arabic, Greek, Latin, and English. While quite young, he published a book, "Against the Idolatry of All Religions." In this he gave great offence to Hindoos and Mahometans, by the freedom with which he animadverted upon what he considered the defects in both their religious systems. His gentle nature was pained but not discouraged by the enmity he excited. In 1816 he translated the more spiritual portions of the Vedas from Sanscrit into Hindostanee and Bengalee, two of the most widely spread languages of Hindostan, and circulated them wherever he could, free of cost. In the Preface he says: "I have never ceased to contemplate with the strongest feelings of regret the obstinate adherence of my countrymen to their fatal system of idolatry; violating every humane and social feeling, for the sake of propitiating their supposed deities, especially by dreadful acts of self-destruction, and the immolation of nearest relatives, under the delusion of conforming to sacred

religious rites. In these practices I view with sorrow the moral debasement of a race capable of better things, whose susceptibility, patience, and mildness of character, render them worthy of a happier destiny. Under these impressions, I am impelled to lay before them genuine translations of portions of their own Scriptures, which inculcate not only the enlightened worship of One God, but the purest principles of morality. It seems to me that I cannot better employ my time than in an endeavour to illustrate and maintain truth, and render service to my fellow-creatures; confiding in the mercy of that Being to whom the motives of our actions and the secrets of our hearts are well known."

This attempt to restore the primitive simplicity of the Hindoo religion made Rammohun Roy as unpopular as if he had sought to introduce an entirely new system. But still following the great impulses of his liberal soul, wishing to see all mankind acknowledge themselves children of One Father, he translated an abridgment of the Vedanta into English; in order, as he says in the Preface, to prove to his European friends "that the superstitious practices which deform the Hindoo religion have nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates." He says: "By taking the path which conscience and sincerity direct, I, born a Bramin, have exposed myself to the complaints and reproaches even of some of my relations, whose prejudices are strong, and whose temporal advantages depend upon the present system of idolatry. But these, however accumulated, I can tranquilly bear; trusting that a day will arrive when my humble endeavours will be viewed with justice, perhaps acknowledged with gratitude."

He studied the Christian Scriptures with profound attention, and held their maxims in great veneration. But the mischiefs he had seen result from a plurality of gods, led him to reject the doctrine of the Trinity, which he saw would inevitably degenerate into a new form of Polytheism, if received into minds trained like the Hindoos. But he believed that Christ was pre-existent, and of a nature superior to angels, which is extremely analogous to ideas

entertained by various Hindoo sects concerning their own saints. He translated into Sanscrit and Bengalee the parables and moral teachings of Christ, entitled "The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness." He omitted the miracles and doctrinal portions of the Gospels. In the Introduction he says: "Belief in a Supreme Superintending Power, the author and preserver of this harmonious system, prevails generally; being derived either from tradition and instruction, or from an attentive survey of the wonderful skill and contrivance displayed in the works of nature. A due estimation of that law which teaches man to do unto others as he would be done by, is also partially taught in every system of religion with which I am acquainted; but it is principally inculcated by Christianity. This essential characteristic of the Christian religion I was for a long time unable to distinguish as such, amid the various *doctrines* I found insisted on in the writings and conversation of Christians. I feel persuaded that the moral precepts of the New Testament, separated from other matters contained in that book, will be more likely to improve the hearts and minds of men of different persuasions and degrees of understanding. The historical, and some other portions, are liable to the doubts and disputes of free-thinkers and anti-Christians; especially the miraculous relations, which are much less wonderful than the fabricated tales handed down to the natives of Asia, and consequently apt at best to carry little weight with them. The Hindoos have records of wonderful miracles performed by their saints and incarnated gods, in the presence of cotemporary friends and enemies, the wise and the ignorant, the select and the multitude. The orthodox sects can even support them with authorities from their inveterate enemies, the Jains, who acknowledge entirely the truth of these miracles, and only differ in maintaining that the power to perform them was derived from Evil Spirits, while the orthodox believe it was given by the Supreme Deity. But moral doctrines, tending evidently to the peace and harmony of mankind at large, are beyond

the reach of metaphysical perversion, and intelligible alike to learned and unlearned. This simple code of religion and morality is so well fitted to regulate the conduct of the human race, in the discharge of their various duties to God and society; it is so admirably calculated to elevate their minds to high and liberal ideas of One God, who has equally subjected all living creatures to disappointment, pain, and death, without distinction of caste, rank, or wealth, and equally admitted all as partakers of the bountiful mercies he has lavished over nature, that I cannot but hope the best effects from its promulgation in the present form."

Doubtless seed scattered from such friendly motives will produce good fruit in the great harvest-field of the future. But during the life-time of Rammohun Roy his suppression of the miracles, and the reasons assigned for it, involved him in protracted controversies with Christian missionaries, and occasioned, as he says, "much coolness toward him in the demeanour of some whose friendship he held very dear." At the same time, his high estimate of the Christian religion rendered him an object of persecution to his own countrymen. They instituted legal proceedings to deprive him of caste; but he was enabled to defeat them by his profound knowledge of Hindoo law.

In 1833 he was induced to visit England; and on that distant shore his great soul departed from its earthly habitation. When he found himself dangerously ill, he deemed it prudent to guard against further attacks on his property and the caste of his children. He therefore called his Hindoo servant and charged him to observe well all his words and actions, that on his return to India he might testify he had never changed his religion or forfeited his caste. For the same reasons, he expressed a wish not to be buried in a Christian cemetery. His remains were accordingly placed in a grove belonging to the house where he died.

The followers of the Braminical religion are computed at over one hundred and fifty millions.

EGYPT.

"The faculty of reverence is inherent in all men, and its natural exercise is always to be sympathized with, irrespecuive of its objects. I did not wait till I went to Egypt, to become aware that every permanent reverential observance has some great idea at the bottom of it; and that it is our business not to deride, or be shocked at the method of *manifestation*, but to endeavour to apprehend the *ideas* concerned."—H. MARTINEAU.

HISTORY and poetry have preserved traditions of an extraordinary race of men, called Ethiopians. The name is from Greek words signifying burnt faces; and the ancients appear to have applied it to people browned by the sun, whether their complexions were black, or merely dark. According to a map made to represent the ideas of Herodotus concerning the world, as expressed in his History, about four hundred years before our era, there were two nations of Ethiopians; one in Asia, on the banks of the Indus, another in the northern portion of Africa. There is evidence that these people were powerful and illustrious, as far back as the Trojan war, about one thousand one hundred and eighty-four years before our era. Memnon then reigned over them, and it is recorded that he assisted Priam, king of Troy, against the invasion of the Greeks. Homer calls them "the blameless men;" and relates that Jupiter, at certain seasons of the year, left Olympus and went to spend twelve days in that pious and hospitable region. Egyptian annals are full of allusions to them. Persia, and other old Asiatic nations, mingle Ethiopian legends with songs composed in honour of their own heroes. Herodotus says they worshipped the gods with extremest veneration. The ancient historian, Diodorus Siculus, declares that they were the religious parents

of the Egyptians, the inventors of pomp, sacrifices, and solemn assemblies. The Hebrew poets generally mention Ethiopia in connection with Egypt. Isaiah speaks of "the labour of Egypt, and the merchandise of Ethiopia." Jeremiah describes "the mighty men, Ethiopians and Libyans, that handle the shield," as coming forth with the Egyptians to battle. Ezekiel says: "Great pain shall be in Ethiopia, when the slain shall fall in Egypt." It is recorded that Meroë was the capital of the ancient Ethiopia in Africa. Current tradition declared that Thoth, whom Greeks called Hermes, founded this state, more than five thousand two hundred years ago; and the date is said to be authenticated by a very old astronomical observation. Traditions handed down by the Egyptian priesthood agreed that in Meroë was laid the foundation of the most ancient states of Egypt. Thebes, the first civilized state of Egypt, is believed to have been founded by a colony from thence. The obscurity which rests on this part of history has been somewhat enlightened within the last century, by the discovery of the site of ancient Meroë, in the country now called Sennaar, and comprised within African Ethiopia on the map marked according to Herodotus. Many small pyramids were found there, which, from their number, are supposed to indicate a burial-place. They are constructed like the Hindoo pyramids, fronting the east, and the four sides facing the four cardinal points. They have external marks of greater age than the huge pyramids at Memphis. Herodotus says: "The only gods worshipped in Meroë are Ammon and Osiris. They have also an oracle of Ammon, and undertake their expeditions when and how the god commands." The temple where these oracles were delivered is recorded to have been in the desert, at a little distance from the city. Modern travellers have discovered the ruins of a temple in the desert, near the collection of small pyramids. Rams' horns are sculptured in many places on the stones; and the ram is well known to have been an emblem sacred to Ammon, and the distinguishing mark of his temples. In the inmost sanctuary of these

temples was a Sacred Ship, enclosed in a shrine, and screened by a veil. When the oracle was to be consulted, a procession of priests carried about this Ship, in its portable sanctuary, placed on poles, which they rested on their shoulders. From certain movements of the ship, during their religious ceremonies, omens were gathered, according to which the High Priest delivered the oracle.

The government of Meroë was in the hands of a caste of priests, who, guided by the oracle, selected one of their own order for king. When this choice was announced to the people, they fell down and adored him, as the representative of their god Ammon, who had appointed him to rule over them. He was obliged to live and govern according to laws prescribed by the priests. When the oracle indicated that a change of rulers was necessary, the High Priest sent a messenger that the god commanded him to die, and that mortals must not seek to evade divine decrees.

Whence did this powerful priesthood come? Many learned men maintain that they came from that part of Ethiopia said to be on the banks of the Indus; that is, from Indus-stan, which we call Hindostan. The points of resemblance between the opinions and customs of India and Egypt are too numerous and too obvious to be overlooked by any one who even glances at the subject. Some scholars, with less probability on their side, maintain that Egypt is the oldest, and that Hindostan was settled by colonies from thence. One thing is certain and undisputed, namely, that a very ancient and very intimate relation existed between the two countries. Meroë, by its location, was the centre of a great caravan trade known to have been carried on in very early ages, between India and Egypt and Arabia. It has been already stated that the Pouranas of Hindostan contain records of two remarkable emigrations from that country to Egypt, at a very remote period. The first were the "Yadavas, or sacred race," who fled from the oppressions of Cansa, the same tyrant who caused so many children to be slaughtered when he

was seeking the life of Crishna. The date they assign to this event agrees very well with the date which tradition ascribes to the first settlement at Meroë; and the Yadavas are conspicuous in the history of Crishna. The other emigration recorded in the Pouranas is that of powerful tribes, called Pali, or Shepherds, who governed from Indus to Ganges, and enlarged their empire by conquests in Misrastahn [their word for the Land of Egypt], where one of their princes became so wealthy that "he raised three mountains, one of gold, one of silver, and one of gems." This is supposed by some to describe the three great Pyramids, at Memphis, one of which was originally overlaid with white marble, another with yellow marble, and the third with spotted marble, of fine grain, susceptible of exquisite polish. Many scholars consider the Pali identical with the powerful tribes of Asiatic Ethiopians, described by Herodotus, and supposed to dwell on the banks of the Indus. Others conjecture they were Assyrians, or Phœnicians. Manetho, who was High Priest at Heliopolis in Egypt, about three hundred and four years before the Christian era, wrote a history of Egypt from the earliest times, in the Greek language. He professed to have taken it from inscriptions engraved by Thoth, or Hermes, on stone pillars, in the sacred characters. These he declares were afterward written in books, and laid up in the inmost recesses of the temples, to which he, of course, had access. A few fragments of Manetho's History have been handed down to us. In these it is stated that Egypt was overrun "by a race of Shepherds from the East," in the reign of their king Timæus; which some computations place four thousand two hundred and sixty years ago, and others much earlier. He informs us that some said these invaders were Arabians.

Among the proofs of a very intimate connection, in some way, between India and Egypt, the following may be mentioned. In both countries there was a powerful hereditary priesthood, who had exclusive possession of the Sacred Books, and of all the learning extant in their time; con-

sequently, they were the only judges, physicians, and astronomers. In both countries, the religion of the priests was carefully kept secret from the people; and the consequence was that the most grotesque and monstrous forms appeared on the surface of society, while high spiritual allegories and profound metaphysical inquiries were concealed behind the veil. Both countries were originally governed by priests, and afterward kings were chosen from the warrior caste, but were regulated and controlled by the priests. In both countries society was divided into castes, of which the sacerdotal was the highest. In both, the priests married, but there was no female priesthood. Both had a language for sacred purposes, which was different from the vernacular tongue. Both believed that bathing in holy rivers, or being drowned in them, would confer peculiar sanctity. Both believed there was an immense reservoir of waters above the firmament, whence those rivers flowed. Both believed in a fifth element above our atmosphere, called ether, which the gods breathed, as mortals breathe air. In both places, priests taught to the higher castes that all souls emanated from One Universal Soul, in successive gradations. Both taught that there were ascending spheres of existence above this earth. Both taught the transmigration of human souls into animals. The same animals were considered sacred in both places. There was similarity in their religious festivals and processions, especially in the custom of carrying their sacred images from one temple to another, in great four-wheeled cars. The architecture of ancient Egypt bore a striking resemblance to that of India. Both suggested the idea of grottoes or caverns, and were characterized by the same style of ornaments. The pyramid was a form prescribed for sacred buildings in both countries, therefore a truncated pyramid generally formed the main entrance to the temples. There was always a sanctuary into which none but the priests entered, and the outer courts were for the people. Both decorated their temples with flags on festival occasions. Both made similar offerings to the gods. The trial of

departed souls by the Judge of the Dead is sculptured on Hindoo and Egyptian walls, and they are so similar that one might be mistaken for the other. Their astronomical systems were alike. They represented the signs of the zodiac by the same emblems, consecrated a day to each of the seven planets successively, and made the same calculations concerning alternate destructions and reproductions of this world. It is said by the learned, that the Egyptian language bears very few and slight analogies to the Sanscrit; and no traces of the hieroglyphic writing have yet been discovered in India. But Bruce, the traveller, says that the language spoken at Masuah, not far from Meroë, is substantially Sanscrit. Many places mentioned by Mungo Park, in his Second Journey to Africa, have Sanscrit names, which are actually current in India at the present day. The Nile was formerly designated by a Sanscrit word, signifying dark blue; and the same name was anciently given to the river Indus. Alexander the Great thought he had discovered the source of the Nile in India. He was probably misled by the coincidence of names, and the crocodiles and lotus-blossoms, which abounded in both rivers. Blumenbach, the celebrated naturalist, had in his possession the skull of an Egyptian mummy, and of a Hindoo; and he said they bore a more striking resemblance to each other than any other two skulls in his collection. Paintings on the walls convey the same idea of similarity in their persons. In both places, the higher castes are represented with a lighter and brighter colour than the lower, who are more darkened by exposure to sun and wind. Denon says the pictures of couches, chairs, and other articles in ancient Egyptian tombs, obviously indicate that they were made of a species of wood brought from India.

If the Egyptians still existed as a nation, and had preserved their old customs and Sacred Books, as the Hindoos have done, it would doubtless be easy to find many more resemblances. But Egypt has passed away from the face of the earth, and only by persevering industry has learning been able to trace a few of her footsteps, What we know

of her history and opinions is mainly derived from the testimony of wise and illustrious men, who were drawn thither by her renown for knowledge in arts, sciences, and religious mysteries. Abraham is supposed to have lived nearly four thousand years ago. That Egypt was already famous in his time is testified by Josephus, historian of the Jews, who informs us that Abraham went down thither, to become an auditor of the priests, and compare their religious ideas with his own.

Herodotus, the oldest Greek historian, visited Egypt about four hundred and forty-eight years before Christ, to collect materials from the priests, who were celebrated for having carefully preserved the records of past ages. His history has come down safely to the present time.

In less than a hundred years after, Plato, the most celebrated of the Greek philosophers, was drawn to Egypt by the renown of priestly schools at Heliopolis, and resided there several years. Many of his writings are preserved, and they contain frequent allusions to the Egyptians.

Strabo, author of a Greek geographical work, describing the manners and customs of different nations, went to Egypt about fifty years after the Christian era. Heliopolis, eclipsed by the new city of Alexandria, was then going to decay, and the priests were no longer among the most learned of their age; but they talked of departed glory, and pointed out to him their once famous schools, and the house where Plato had resided. This book is also extant.

The ancient Egyptian priests claimed immense antiquity for their country. They told Herodotus that Egypt was originally governed by gods; of whom there first reigned a series of eight, then a series of twelve, then a series of twelve more; that these rulers had uniformly one Superior among them; and the last of them were Osiris and his son Horus. By this government of gods it is naturally supposed they meant successive orders of priests, each with a Sovereign Pontiff, bearing the name of the deity to whose service he was devoted, and by whose oracular direction

he professed to govern. Thus if a priest of Ammon was chosen ruler, they called it being governed by Ammon; if a priest of Osiris was elected, they called it the government of Osiris. From the reign of Osiris to their king Amasis, they reckoned fifteen thousand years; and Amasis reigned five hundred and sixty-nine years before Christ. Herodotus says: "On this subject, the Egyptians have no doubts; for they profess to have always computed the years, and to have kept written accounts of them with the minutest accuracy." It was customary for every high priest of Ammon during his life-time to deposit in the great temple at Thebes a statue of himself. They pointed out to Herodotus three hundred and forty one of these colossal wooden images, assuring him that no one of them was the statue of a god, but all were mortal men, and priests, in a direct line of succession from father to son; all of them after the reign of the gods. Allowing three generations of men to be equal to one hundred years, he computed that this succession required an interval of eleven thousand three hundred and forty years.

We are in the habit of calling the Greeks the ancients, but they considered themselves a nation of yesterday compared with the Egyptians. Plato visited Egypt about three hundred years later than Solon, the lawgiver of Athens; and he informs us that when Solon inquired of the priests concerning ancient affairs, he perceived that, compared with them, neither he nor any other of the Greeks had any knowledge of very remote antiquity. When he began to discourse concerning what seemed to him the most ancient events, such as the Deluge of Deucalion, one of the oldest of the priests exclaimed: "Solon, Solon, you Greeks are always children. All your souls are juvenile; neither containing any ancient opinion derived from remote tradition, nor any discipline hoary from its existence in remote periods of time. You mention one deluge only, whereas many have happened."

These statements of Egyptian priests are rejected as fabulous; but the great antiquity of their country is proved

beyond dispute by sculptures and hieroglyphic writing, cut into the solid rock of ancient temples, tombs, and palaces. The dry climate and sandy soil were favourable to their preservation. There was no frost to heave them, no rainy season to corrode the durable material. For centuries after this wonderful people had passed away, their gigantic memorials stood in the solitude of waste places, seldom seen by the eye of man. The marvellous accounts of travellers at last attracted general attention toward them, and within the last half century, France and England have devoted much money and learning to the careful investigation of these stupendous monuments. The task was attended with difficulties apparently insurmountable; for the secret of hieroglyphic writing had been lost for ages, and no man could reveal it. But when the French army were digging the foundations of a fort, at Rosetta, in Egypt, they found a large block of stone containing an inscription in three different characters; one in Greek, one in the common Egyptian writing, and one in the sacred characters used only by the priests. Underneath them all, it was recorded that the same inscription had been ordered to be engraved in three forms. The Greek language was familiar to scholars, and a clue to the other unknown characters was thus obtained. But the stone was much mutilated, and though several names remained in the Greek portion, unfortunately only that of Ptolemy remained in hieroglyphics. The base of an obelisk, with an inscription in Greek and in hieroglyphics, was afterward discovered at Philæ. The names of Ptolemy and Cleopatra in hieroglyphics were well preserved, and the letters common to both were written in the same manner; they were therefore concluded to be signs of sound, which we call letters. This feeble ray of light was applied by learned men of different nations, with inconceivable perseverance and ingenuity. One after another added something to the stock of knowledge, until at last an available system was formed. The Coptic language is a relic of the old vernacular tongue of Egypt, and various writings were preserved in it. M.

Champollion, an acute Frenchman, had studied it almost from boyhood, and was thus enabled to bring another ray of light to the investigation of hieroglyphics. He discovered that the alphabet consisted of images of external objects, and represented the first letter of that object's name in the common Egyptian language; as if in English we should make a dog for D, a cat for C, and a serpent for S. Many and great difficulties remained. One of the most troublesome was the custom of omitting vowels in hieroglyphics, and writing only the consonants. Without attempting to give a detailed account of the numerous obstacles, it is sufficient to say that by great learning, labour, and patience, several inscriptions on the ancient monuments have been satisfactorily deciphered.

On a stone tablet discovered at Karnak are engraved the names of a successive series of sixty-one kings. We suppose that Moses lived about three thousand four hundred and forty-nine years ago; and the latest of these kings was prior to the date we assign to Moses.

Several ancient authors agree in testifying that Menei, commonly called Menes, was the first king; and their statement has been confirmed by engravings on monuments, and writings on papyrus. Menei is an abbreviation of Amun-ei, signifying "he who walks with Amun;" by which his cotemporaries understood "he who walks with God." According to Manetho's list of kings, he reigned seven thousand seven hundred and sixteen years ago. The statements of that old historian concerning many of the later kings, though long doubted, have of late years been remarkably corroborated by the monuments; but his testimony with regard to Menes is rejected. Josephus says this ancient king lived more than one thousand three hundred years before Solomon, who was born one thousand thirty-three years before Christ. Some modern scholars carry the date of Menes as far back as two thousand eight hundred and ninety years before our era; others bring it as near to it as two thousand two hundred years. The learned on this subject suppose two thousand seven hun-

dred and fifty years before Christ to be a near approximation to the truth.

The Italian Marquis Spineto, who carefully investigated this subject, says: "The first period of Egyptian history begins with the establishment of their government, and comprehends the time from Misraim to Menes, during which all religious and political authority was in the hands of the priesthood, who laid the first foundation of the future power of Egypt, founding and embellishing the great city of Thebes, building magnificent temples, and instituting the Mysteries of Isis."

The ancient religion of Egypt, like that of Hindostan, was founded on astronomy, and eminently metaphysical in its character. In common with other oriental nations, they supposed the origin of the world was from a dark chaos. Soul existed from eternity, and by its action upon Matter, chaos was brought into form, and out of darkness beamed forth light. The fiery particles ascended and formed the firmament of luminaries; the heavier portions descended, and formed earth and sea, whence animals and plants proceeded. From the Eternal Soul were evolved successive emanations of Spiritual Intelligences, more or less elevated in character and office, according to their nearness or remoteness from the Central Source.

The Source of Being was never represented by any painting or sculpture. Those who understood the religion of Egypt, considered the deities mere emblematical representations of his various attributes. The first emanation from him was Amun, whom Greeks called Jupiter Ammon. He was supposed to dwell in a radiant upper sphere, far above the subordinate deities. He is described as "The Male Origin of all things;" "The Spirit of the Supreme, moving on the face of the waters;" "The Spirit who animates and perpetuates the world, by mixing himself with all its parts;" "He who brings to light hidden things;" "Lord of the Three Regions;" "The King of Gods." His image was always painted dark blue, and represented with a Ram's head and horns; probably with

some reference to the constellation, which bears that name; therefore a ram's head became a sacred amulet, worn by the devout as a protection against evil. As Creative Wisdom, he was named Amun-Cneph. As the Intellectual, or Spiritual Sun, he was called Amun-Ra. His worship was universal, but he was peculiarly the presiding deity of Thebes, which was founded by a colony from Meroë.

Tradition declared that the Ethiopians were his first worshippers; and it is supposed that Homer's legend concerning Jupiter's visit to "the blameless men," had reference to an annual procession of the priests of Jupiter Ammon at Thebes, up the Nile to some place consecrated by the worship their ancestors had offered. The image of the god was probably carried on a great car, according to Hindoo custom.

Phtha, belonging to the higher class of gods, was called the son of Amun Cneph, and said to have proceeded from an egg formed by him. To Phtha was attributed the invention of science, by which the laws of nature were arranged. He was considered the founder of the dynasties of Egypt: therefore kings often took the title "Beloved of Phtha." In the royal city of Memphis, which was consecrated to him, he had a magnificent temple, splendidly adorned, where the grand ceremony of the inauguration of Egyptian kings was performed with great pomp.

Of all Egyptian deities, Osiris is the name most familiar to modern ears. He was formerly supposed to be a mere representation of the visible sun; but increasing knowledge on the subject proves that he embodied a more comprehensive idea. It has been already shown how the Hindoo mind deified the active and passive powers of generation. The same tendency was manifested in Egypt. Osiris did not represent this power in any one department of nature. He appears to have been, like Siva in his genial capacity, The Fructifying Power of the Universe. The emblems of the sun were sacred to him, and astronomical ceremonies of worship typified him as the sun, to whose rays the earth owes her fruitfulness. His worship

was mingled with that of the god of their holy river, named Nilus; and the sculptures often represent him as sprinkling manure on the earth, because to his pervading warmth the river, at its annual overflow, owes its fertilizing power. Because plants cannot germinate without water, vases full of it were carried at the head of processions in honour of Osiris, and his votaries refrained from destroying or polluting any spring. This reverence for the production of Life introduced into his worship the sexual emblem so common in Hindostan. A colossal image of this kind was presented to his temple in Alexandria, by king Ptolemy Philadelphus. Crowned with gold, and surmounted by a golden star, it was carried in a splendid chariot in the midst of religious processions. A Serpent, the emblem of Immortality, always accompanies the image of Osiris. The Hawk was considered a bird of the Sun, and was therefore sacred to him; and his body was often represented with the head of a hawk. The emblem which signified his name was the orb of the sun on the head of a hawk. This formed the winged globe, so conspicuous in Egyptian architecture.

Osiris was called "the oldest son of Time, and cousin of the Day." Being a general representative of the Generating Principle, whether existing in sunshine, water, or the production of animal life, there was a mingling of ceremonies and emblems in his worship, which has greatly puzzled those who seek to understand the mythology of Egypt. To increase the difficulty, he is often represented as a beneficent ruler on earth, at whose birth it was said a loud voice proclaimed, "The Lord of the World is born!" He taught men how to prepare corn and cultivate grapes, and went forth to carry arts and agriculture to other nations, leaving his wife Isis to govern in his absence. On his return, his brother Typho, by a successful stratagem, shut him up in a chest and threw him into the sea. Isis wandered about in mourning garments, seeking for the body, which she at last found; but Typho discovered it, and tore it into fourteen pieces. Isis gathered the fragments

and gave them burial. Osiris, having thus performed his benevolent mission on earth, descended into Amenti, the Region of the Dead, and having passed through its stages, ascended to a higher life, where he remained to dispense blessings to the world, in answer to their prayers in his name, and finally to overcome the Evil Principle, that had destroyed him. Henceforth, one of his principal offices was to judge the dead, and rule over that heavenly region where souls of good men were admitted to eternal felicity. It is not easy to determine whether this account is an allegory, containing some hidden meaning, or whether it indicates a belief in the incarnation of Osiris.

He was universally worshipped, but peculiarly at Philœ, where he was supposed to be buried. At stated seasons, the priests went in solemn procession and crowned his tomb with flowers. So sacred was the island, that no one was permitted to approach it without express permission from the priests. Here were celebrated the Great Mysteries of Osiris, carefully guarded from all eyes and ears, save of those who had been initiated by severe probation. In a ruined temple at Philœ is a chamber, on the walls of which the mysterious life of Osiris is represented in a succession of sculptures. Twenty-eight Lotus plants indicate the number of years he was supposed to have lived on earth. His passage from this life is shown by the attendance of deities and genii, that presided over funerals. He is then represented with a crook in one hand, and a flagellum, or whip, in the other, as Judge of the Dead: the office which he held ever after his ascension to a higher life. Champollion says the double destiny of the soul was symbolized by the march of the sun through the upper and lower hemisphere. This might be an additional reason why Osiris, as Judge of Souls and Lord of the Heavenly Region, where they received reward, should have the emblems and worship of the sun. On the walls of ruins in various places occur representations of the dead at their last ordeal. Osiris, seated on his throne, accompanied by Isis, receives a tablet on which the god Thoth has recorded

the actions of the deceased, after they have been weighed in the balance of Thmei, goddess of Truth. Horus, always represented as a child, is sometimes seated on a Lotus before the throne, sometimes on the crook of Osiris. He was the symbol of resuscitation, or new birth; and was placed there to express the Egyptian idea that nothing is ever annihilated; that to die was only to pass into a new form. As Judge of the Dead, who assigned to souls new bodies, celestial or terrestrial, Osiris was the dispenser of Immortal Life, and this was probably the reason why a Serpent was always one of his appendages.

Though he belonged to the third series of gods, he was more revered than even the eight highest deities. Amun Ra is represented in the sculptures as making offerings to him. It was deemed irreverent to utter his name. Herodotus mentions him as "one whose name I am not at liberty to disclose." The most sacred form of oath was, "I swear by him who was buried at Philæ." This peculiar sacredness appears to indicate that he was the only god in their mythology represented as incarnated in a human form, and dwelling among men. Every human soul was considered as an emanation from the Divine Soul, and eternally a portion of it. But that was quite different from the idea of a Deity voluntarily descending from blest abodes, performing a benevolent mission among men, suffering death, and rising again to the higher regions, thence to dispense blessings on his faithful worshippers. This history of the incarnation was one of the most important of their religious mysteries; and so carefully was it guarded by the priests, that little can now be learned of its purport. It may be that some wise and beneficent ruler, perhaps a High Priest of Osiris, was believed to be the Deity himself descended on earth for the benefit of mankind, as Hindoos believed concerning their princes Rama and Crishna. Wilkinson, in his valuable work on the Ancient Egyptians, pronounces the whole story purely allegorical. Herodotus says that when the priests of Amun showed him the three hundred and forty-one

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statues, they assured him that every one of them was a man and the son of a man; and "they asserted that during all that time no Deity had appeared in a human form; but they did *not* say the same of the time anterior to that account, or that of the kings who reigned afterward."

The worship of Osiris must have been of extremely ancient date; for he is represented as Judge of the Dead, in sculptures cotemporary with the building of the Pyramids, centuries before Abraham was born. Among the many hieroglyphic titles which accompany his figure in those sculptures, and in many other places on the walls of temples and tombs, are "Lord of Life," "The Eternal Ruler," "Manifester of Good," "Revealer of Truth," "Full of Goodness and Truth."

Ra, the son of Phtha, represented the visible Sun, and presided over the physical universe. Heliopolis, which means the City of the Sun, was consecrated to him. His worship was performed there with great splendour, and his priests were renowned for learning.

The Moon was a masculine deity in Egypt, as in Hindostan. Thoth, whom Greeks call Hermes, is supposed to have represented its beneficent qualities. He also presided over learning, was supposed to impart all mental gifts, and to be the medium of communication between gods and human beings. He is represented as the secretary of Osiris, standing before him with a pen or stylus, in his hand, writing on a tablet. To him are attributed the invention of the alphabet, astronomy, arithmetic, music, dancing, writing, and laws.

Instead of one deity who alternately destroyed and reproduced, like the Hindoo Siva, Egyptians represented the Destroyer as twin brother with Osiris, and named him Typho. He was god of Darkness and Eclipse. All bad influences were attributed to him, such as drought, disease, deluge, and conflagration. The sea was considered under his dominion, on account of its being such a dangerous and destructive element. He is represented in the

sculptures as a frightful monster, with the ravaging hippopotamus for a symbol.

Among the goddesses, the highest was Neith, who reigned inseparably with Amun in the upper sphere. She was called "Mother of the Gods;" "Mother of the Sun." She was the feminine origin of all things, as Amun was the male origin. She presided over wisdom, philosophy, military tactics, and the moral attributes of the mind. Her symbol was a vulture, by which the Egyptians, for some unknown reason, represented maternity. She held the same rank at Sais that Amun did at Thebes. Her temples there are said to have exceeded in colossal grandeur anything ever before seen. On one of these was the celebrated inscription thus deciphered by Champollion: "I am all that has been, all that is, and all that will be. No mortal has ever raised the veil that conceals me. My offspring is the Sun."

Isis, supposed to be the same as the Hindoo Isa or Isi, was universally worshipped, and held in peculiar reverence, though she belonged to the inferior series of deities. She was the daughter of Time, twin sister and wife of Osiris, with whom she is everywhere inseparably united. It was formerly supposed she signified the Moon; but her office, like that of Osiris, was much more extensive than the benefits of any one luminary. She was the universal Passive Principle of Generation, as he was the Active Principle. She was the recipient, or mould, of the Life he imparted. To her was ascribed the *form* of all good in the universe, as to Osiris was ascribed the *soul* of all good. She was Nature, the fruitful mother and nurse, containing within herself germs of the reproduction of all forms of life. Hence her symbol was the egg. Both she and Osiris are frequently represented holding the Egyptian Cross, Emblem of Life. This universal benefactress is said to have had ten thousand titles; the most common was the Potent Mother Goddess. She presided over agriculture, and men no longer butchered each other after she had revealed to them the valuable qualities of wheat and barley, which had till then grown

wild ; therefore they presented to her the first sheaves of their harvests as an offering. The dew that refreshed the earth was venerated as the tears of Isis, in memory of her lost Osiris. A ship was carried in the celebration of her festivals ; perhaps to indicate that her worship was imported into Egypt. As goddess of health, she was believed to heal human diseases. Many medicines continued to be called by her name, even as late as the time of Galen, a famous Greek physician, who lived a hundred and thirty-one years after Christ. She was particularly worshipped at Memphis, where her Mysteries were celebrated with much pomp and ceremony. The festival continued eight days, during which some of her votaries scourged themselves severely at her altars. The sculptures represent this favourite goddess in a great variety of forms and offices. Sometimes she has a human head with horns, sometimes a cow's head. Sometimes she wears an Egyptian hood, sometimes she is crowned with Lotus blossoms ; often she is shrouded in a dark blue veil. She holds in her hand a staff like a crosier, or a Lotus stem, or the sacred musical instrument called sistrum. Sometimes she is nursing her infant Horus, son of Osiris ; sometimes she has the babe seated on her knee, receiving worship from those around her, with a guardian hawk over her head, encircled by radii of water-plants. This holy family of Egypt seems to have been a favourite subject with those old artists. Sometimes they represent Isis protecting the body of Osiris with her outstretched wings. She is always by his side in Amenti, where he presides as Judge of the Dead. She reigned with him while he was on earth, and when she died, they believed her soul was transferred to Sirius, which they call Sothis. Divine honours were paid to this resplendent star, which was consecrated to Isis, and deemed the Birth Star of our world. At the season when it rose before the sun, and could therefore be visible in its own light, commenced the inundation of the Nile, which spread fertility all over the land. One of the titles of Isis was, " She who rises in the Dog Star." Prayers addressed

to her were believed to have great efficacy. Plutarch relates that Garmathone, Queen of Egypt, having lost her son, prayed fervently to Isis, at whose intercession Osiris descended to the region of departed souls, and restored the prince to life.

Egyptians believed in a host of subordinate deities, with attendant genii in each department. The twelve months were governed by the Spirits of the twelve signs of the zodiac. Each day was under the guardianship of the planet to which it was consecrated. The stars were animated with Souls, supposed to take an active interest in the affairs of this world. In hieroglyphic writing, a Star signifies a Ministering Spirit. Canopus, God of Waters, was an object of grateful worship; so was old Nilus, the deity of their fertilizing river, who was always represented by a black image. Kham, with the goddess Ranno, presided over the fruitfulness of Gardens and Vineyards. Her symbol was a small serpent, which they, as well as the Hindoos, supposed to protect such places. Anouké, guardian of purity and household ties, is represented with a Lotus in one hand, and the Emblem of Life in the other. Every human being had an attendant Spirit, from birth to death. Beneficent Spirits preserved health; evil ones entered into men, and produced fits and other diseases. Air, earth, water, stones, plants, and animals, were all supposed to be under the influence of genii, good or bad.

Reverence for the mystery of organized life led to the recognition of a masculine and feminine principle in all things, spiritual or material. Every elemental force was divided into two, the parents of other forces. The active wind was masculine, the passive mist, or inert atmosphere, was feminine. Rocks were masculine, the productive earth feminine. The presiding deity of every district was represented as a Triad, or Trinity. At Thebes, it was Amun, the creative Wisdom; Neith, the spiritual Mother; and a third, supposed to represent the Universe. At Philœ, it was Osiris, the Generating Cause; Isis, the Receptive Mould; and Horus, the result. The sexual emblems

everywhere conspicuous in the sculptures of their temples would seem impure in description, but no clean and thoughtful mind could so regard them while witnessing the obvious simplicity and solemnity with which the subject is treated.

Concerning future states of existence, they held views very similar to those taught by the Bramins. The human soul was regarded as an emanation from the Universal Soul, and a portion of him. It had fallen from a state of purity and bliss, and was sent into this world for expiation. Eventually, it would be absorbed in the Eternal Source, after many transmigrations through a great variety of forms. Herodotus says, "The Egyptians are the first of mankind who asserted that the soul of man is immortal. When the body perishes, they believe it enters the form of a newly-born animal; but when it has passed through all animals of the earth, water, and air, it again returns to a human body. They affirm that this series of transmigrations is completed in three thousand years."

The expression of Herodotus seems to imply return to a *new* human body. But it is generally supposed that they expected the soul would come back, at the end of that period, to the same body it formerly inhabited; and there seems no other way of accounting for the great care and expense bestowed on embalming the dead, the size and magnificence of the tombs built for their reception, and the numerous convenient and valuable articles usually deposited therein.

Diodorus Siculus says: "The Egyptians consider this life as of very trifling consequence, and they therefore value in proportion a quiet repose after death. This leads them to consider the habitations of the living as mere lodgings, in which as travellers they put up for a short time; while they call the sepulchres of the dead everlasting dwellings, because the dead continue in the grave such an immeasurable length of time. They therefore pay but little attention to the building of their houses, but bestow cost and care, scarcely credible, upon their sepulchres."

efore a funeral, a tribunal of forty members was assembled to inquire into the character of the deceased, and decide whether he was worthy of burial. Every one was free to appear as accuser, but false charges were severely punished. If the departed one was adjudged worthy of sepulture, deities were invoked to receive him among the just, and with many solemn ceremonies he was consigned to the tomb.

All the dead, both men and women, were spoken of as Osiriana; by which they intended to signify "gone to Osiris." Their belief in One Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul, must have been very ancient; for on a monument, which dates ages before Abraham, is found this epitaph: "May thy soul attain to the Creator of all mankind." Sculptures and paintings in these grand receptacles of the dead, as translated by Champollion, represent the deceased ushered into the world of spirits by funeral deities, who announce, "A soul arrived in Amenti!" Forty two Assessors of the Dead presided over the forty-two sins to which Egyptians believed human beings were subject. Each of these assessors in turn question the spirit that has just parted from its body: "Have you blasphemed? Have you stolen sacred property? Have you lied? Have you been licentious? Have you shaken your head at the words of truth?" (meaning, "Have you been sceptical?") Thoth produces the Book of Life, on which he has recorded the moral life of this soul. The symbols of his actions are put in scales of Thmei, Goddess of Truth and Justice, "who weighs hearts in the balance; no sinner escapes her." These records are presented to Osiris the Judge, and if they are favourable, he raises his sceptre as a signal to pass into the abodes of the blest. Little is now known concerning the nature of the happiness supposed to be in those regions. It is mentioned that Osiris ordered the names of some souls to be written on the Tree of Life, the fruit of which made those who ate it to become as gods. Rather more is known concerning the nature and degrees of punishment. They believed there

were three zones for the residence of souls. The lowest was this earth, a zone of trial; the second was the zone of the air, perpetually convulsed by winds and storms, a place of temporary punishment; the third and highest was an ethereal zone of rest and peace. In several of the sculptures there are indications of punishment by transmigration into inferior forms. Spineto speaks of one, where, on a flight of steps, which formed a communication between Amenti and the world, the deceased was represented in the form of a dog, with his tail between his legs, striving to escape from the god Anubis, who was driving him back to this world. Harriet Martineau thus describes another which she examined: "A hopeless-looking pig, with a bristling back, was in a boat, the stern of which was toward the heavenly regions. Two monkeys were with it, one at the bow, the other whipping or driving the pig. This was a wicked soul sent back to earth under the conduct of the agents of Thoth. The busy and gleeful look of the monkeys, and the humbled aspect of the pig were powerfully given. This was the lowest state of the punished soul; but it would have to pass through some very mournful ones, and for a very long time; to be probably a wolf, scorpion, kite, or some other odious creature, in weary succession."

In some of these monuments, the deceased is represented with a chain round his neck, led by a procession of Spirits, each with a star over his head. Progressive states of the soul, after it leaves this lower zone, are indicated by a series of twelve small apartments, the entrance of each guarded by a Serpent, with his name over him, and the inscription, "He dwells above this great door, and opens it to the God Sun." According to Champollion, one series of these abodes bear this inscription: "These hostile souls see not our god when he casts the rays from his disk; they no longer dwell in the terrestrial world; and they hear not the voice of the great god, when he traverses their zones." Over another series is written: "These have found grace in the eyes of the Great God. They dwell in the abodes of glory; those in which the heavenly life is led. The

bodies which they have abandoned will repose forever in their tombs, while they will enjoy the presence of the Supreme God."

Egyptians considered their own country as peculiarly privileged, and set apart from others. They called it "The Pure Land;" "Region of Justice and Truth." They were extremely courteous to foreigners in all things unconnected with religious scruples; but they considered it unclean to eat or drink with them. They were more partial to the Grecians than any other nation, but they deemed it pollution to kiss a Greek, or touch the knife with which he cut his food, or to use any of his cooking utensils; because Greeks were accustomed to eat the beef of cows, the most sacred of all animals in Egypt. It is recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures that when the brethren of Joseph were invited to eat, "they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians by themselves; because the Egyptians may not eat bread with the Hebrews; for that is an abomination unto them." Though Joseph was so high in favour with Pharaoh, he was excluded by the same custom which now prevents wealthy Hindoos from dining at the same table with their British governors.

The idea of successive grades of emanations from the Deity introduced a distinction of castes into Egypt, as it did in Hindostan. Priests and kings were believed to have emanated before labourers, who, on account of being further removed from the Divine Source of Being, were supposed to have received a smaller and more attenuated influence of his Pure Spirit. Priests, warriors, and labourers constituted the principal castes; but the latter were subdivided into various classes. Fishermen, and those who tended herds and flocks, were among the lowest. The caste of swine-herds was the most despised, and their situation seems to have been similar to the wretched Pariahs of Hindostan. They were not allowed to enter the temples, to come in contact with the priests, or to hold any communication with the higher castes. They were obliged to live in places set apart for them, and it was pollution to touch any vessel

they had used. Egyptians supposed that Evil Spirits, and the souls of impure men, entered into swine, which they regarded as the most unclean of all animals. The higher castes had great horror of tasting the flesh, and if they happened to touch the creatures, even by accident, they went through religious purifications to cleanse themselves from pollution. They were, however, necessary; for when they sowed their lands, soaked by inundation of the Nile, herds of swine were driven over the fields, to trample the seed into the earth. Because they thus assisted the Fructifying Principle, a hog was annually sacrificed to Osiris in every house. The soul imprisoned in the pig, for punishment, expiated its sins by being sacrificed; thus a debt of gratitude was paid to the animal.

In addition to pride of caste, there were other reasons for Egyptian prejudice against shepherds. Their policy was opposed to the nomadic life, which they knew was fatal to the progress of civilization; therefore, the descendants of Jacob were required to settle in one territory, which would lead to the necessity of building towns. They had, moreover, a strong national animosity to wandering herdsmen, in consequence of what they had suffered by the irruption of Pali, or Shepherds, from the East. The monarchs, who compelled them to toil in building the great pyramids, were of that odious race. Herodotus says they had such an extreme aversion to their memory, that they avoided mentioning them, and called their pyramids by the name of a shepherd who fed his cattle in those places. Thus there was a threefold reason why Joseph should say, "Shepherds are an abomination unto the Egyptians." They made a distinction in favour of their own herdsmen, who tended cattle connected with agricultural pursuits in their villages. Such men, though humble in rank, were not detested like tribes of roving shepherds. To a certain degree, they were cared for by the priests, who prescribed such food for them as they deemed suitable; bread made of bran, fish, the flesh of some few animals, and barley-beer for drink.

Circumcision, being closely connected with their ideas of

health and cleanliness, was another barrier between Egyptians and foreigners. It is said Pythagoras was obliged to conform to this custom before he could gain admission to their religious Mysteries, and that he nearly died in consequence. Herodotus says: "As this practice can be traced, both in Egypt and Ethiopia, to the remotest antiquity, it is not possible to say which first introduced it. The Phœnicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge that they borrowed it from Egypt. Male children, except in those places which have borrowed the custom from hence, are left as nature formed them." Sir J. G. Wilkinson says: "That this custom was established long before the arrival of Joseph in Egypt is proved by the ancient monuments."

The Egyptian states, like their Ethiopian ancestors at Meroë, were originally governed by priests only. Each district had a High Priest, who reigned in the name of some god, and had subordinate priests under him. The caste of warriors afterward raised themselves to the royal dignity, and Menes was the first king. But though the rulers were thenceforth from the military caste, the priests kept them in almost complete dependence. They were not allowed to administer punishments according to their own will, or judgment, but in conformity to laws which the gods had prescribed through the medium of priests. They had constant supervision over affairs of the State and the army; they made daily regulations concerning religious ceremonies to be performed by the royal household, and even concerning the food upon their tables. None but the sons of High Priests were allowed to be in attendance upon the king's person. Before he could be anointed, he was required to enter the priesthood, and be initiated into their religious mysteries. He was called Phra, which signifies of the Sun. In this manner was indicated the divine origin of government, and the universal and equal beneficence which ought to characterize it. The hieroglyphic title of kings was "Son of the Sun." Phra, which we call Pharaoh, was applied to all their monarchs as the title of Czar is to the Emperor of Russia; hence, it is often diffi-



cult to ascertain which particular Pharaoh is meant on the monumental records.

Not only was the priest caste generally hereditary, but also the priesthood of each particular deity; and in each of these orders the High Priesthood descended lineally in some particular family. The son of a priest at Memphis could not become a member of the college of priests at Heliopolis, and a priest at Thebes could not join the sacerdotal order at Memphis. This arose from the fact that each temple had large landed property attached to it, to defray the expenses of religious service. The revenues were drawn by priests, and transmitted to their posterity as a perpetual inheritance. These extensive estates were let out to the subordinate castes, and the rents formed a treasury for the common use of the sacerdotal order belonging to the temple. From this fund, priests and their families were supplied with free tables. In addition to this fixed income, there were the daily sacrifices and offerings of fruit and grain at the temples; they also carried on many profitable branches of business, in consequence of being the only depositories of such knowledge as existed. Herodotus says: "So many dishes were furnished daily of those kinds of meat which their laws allowed them to eat, and a certain quantity of wine; for they had the privilege of enjoying that luxury, which was forbidden to the lower castes. Thus there was no need for them to contribute anything from their private means toward their own support." The priestly families were in fact the highest and wealthiest in the country, except the king. They were exempted from taxation, and it is said that one-third of the land of Egypt was allotted to them. When Joseph bought up the lands, it is recorded that he left the portion of the priests untouched. The places of interment belonged to them, and as the use of them was paid for, they must have been sources of considerable emolument.

As the civil law was included in the Sacred Books, priests were the only judges. The Chief Judge, who was also High Priest, wore a golden chain on which was sus-

pended an image of Thmei, Goddess of Truth and Justice, graven on a sapphire, and set round with precious stones of various colours. He pronounced his decision by touching the successful applicant with this figure. Several representations of these breast-plates are extant in European museums, or to be seen on Egyptian monuments. Some of them contained two figures, an image of Ra, the Sun, and of Thmei; the signification being Light and Truth, or Light and Justice.

Priests were also the only physicians. They prescribed the articles of food to be used by each class of people; and according to the testimony of Herodotus the Egyptians were remarkably healthy. Each part of the body was believed to be under the especial care of some particular deity, who must be invoked, with prescribed offerings and ceremonies, in case of disease. Invalids were carried to the temples, and it was supposed they would be cured, if the priest laid his hands on them, and recited appropriate prayers. They probably had some knowledge valuable for the preservation and restoration of health; for their medical schools became renowned. There are indications that some of their remedies were of a magnetic nature. Solon, who had been in Egypt, says, "Touching with the hands will immediately restore health." *Æschylus*, the famous Greek poet, makes one of his characters in the tragedy of *Prometheus* say, when speaking of the shores of the Nile, "There Jupiter Ammon will render you sane, stroking you with gentle hand, and simply touching you." A high degree of cleanliness, both in person and clothing, was a distinguishing characteristic of the ancient Egyptians; habits which they doubtless owed to the instructions of their priests.

As all the sciences were deemed direct revelations from the gods, a degree of sacredness was attached to knowledge, of which we in modern times can form no idea. Such learning as the priests had, manifested itself in results which seemed to the uninitiated like divination and magic. Perhaps they themselves, with the scanty information of

that time, and their reverential Egyptian tendencies, thought many things miraculous, which to us would appear very simple. Whether they were honest or not, in assuming to be supernaturally gifted, the people most devoutly believed they had magical power to bring birds from the air at their bidding, to lure serpents from their hiding-places, to cast out Evil Spirits, and cure the diseases. They placed the utmost reliance on their interpretation of dreams, their predictions from the aspect of the stars, and the prophecies they made from examining the entrails of victims sacrificed to the gods.

There were many gradations of rank among the priesthood. Those devoted to the service of the great gods were regarded with far more veneration than those who attended upon minor and local deities. Some were distinguished above others by their vocation. There were bands of Musicians among them, trained to chant the hymns, to sing in chorus, to perform on harps, flutes, and a ringing instrument called the sistrum. The skilful among these were held in much honour. But the Prophets were the highest class of priests. On public occasions, they took precedence of all others, except the High Priests of the great temples. They made astronomy their peculiar study. They knew the figure of the earth, and how to calculate solar and lunar eclipses. From very ancient time, they had observed the order and movement of the stars, and recorded them with the utmost care. Ramses the Great, generally called Sesostris, is supposed to have reigned one thousand five hundred years before the Christian era, about coeval with Moses, or a century later. In the tomb of this monarch was found a large massive circle of wrought gold, divided into three hundred and sixty-five degrees, and each division marked the rising and setting of the stars for each day. This fact proves how early they were advanced in astronomy. In their great theories of mutual dependance between all things in the universe was included a belief in some mysterious relation between the Spirits of the Stars and human souls; so that

the destiny of mortals was regulated by the motions of the heavenly bodies. This was the origin of the famous system of Astrology. From the conjunction of planets at the hour of birth, they prophesied what would be the temperament of an infant, what life he would live, and what death he would die. Diodorus, who wrote in the century preceding Christ, says, "They frequently foretell with the greatest accuracy what is about to happen to mankind; showing the failure or abundance of crops, and the epidemic diseases about to befall men or cattle. Earthquakes, deluges, rising of comets, and all those phenomena, the knowledge of which appears impossible to common comprehensions, they foresee by means of their long-continued observations." Plato informs us that they believed this earth had been, and would be, subject to destruction by water and fire; and that the tradition of Phaeton's having borrowed the chariot of the sun, and set the world in flames, contained an historical fact in a fabulous form. The returns of such catastrophes were fixed by them according to the period of their Great Astronomical Year, when the sun, moon, and all the planets returned to the same sign in the zodiac whence they had started. This astronomical cycle included ages in its revolution. In its winter occurred a universal deluge, and in its summer, a conflagration of the world. After this destruction, they believed all things would be renewed, to pass through another succession of changes.

In early times, priests lived with great simplicity. Sometimes they slept on the bare ground, sometimes on mats spread on frames of wicker-work, with a half cylinder of wood for a pillow. They married but one wife, and she was often their sister, on account of the prevailing idea that such marriages were fortunate. They ate very plain food in stated quantities. In very ancient times, the priests, including kings, used no wine; but in later times, a moderate portion, prescribed by law, was dealt to them. Their diet was strictly regulated, so careful were they that "the body should sit light upon the soul." Peas, leeks,

garlic, onions, fish, and salt were forbidden. Pork was their abhorrence, and they had such an aversion to beans that they would not even touch them, or allow them to be sown in Egypt. Their cleanliness was extreme. They shaved their heads, and every three days shaved their whole bodies. They bathed two or three times a day, often in the night also; and the most devout among them used water consecrated to the sacred bird Ibis. They wore garments of white linen, deeming it more cleanly than cloth made from the hair of animals. If they had occasion to wear a woollen cloak or mantle, they put it off before entering a temple; so scrupulous were they that nothing impure should come into the presence of the gods.

There were no priestesses in Egypt, but women were devoted to the service of the temple, the same as in Hindostan, to perform in sacred music and dances, gather fresh flowers for the altars, and feed the consecrated animals. The office was deemed so honourable, that it was reserved for the wives and daughters of kings and priests. The sculptures often represent them assisting in religious ceremonies, or playing on musical instruments in processions to the temple.

Oracles were frequently delivered by women. The daughter of Sesostris is said to have been so skilled in divination, that she foretold to her father his future brilliant success. The monarch, being himself a priest, had access to all their secret sciences; nevertheless, his conduct on important occasions was much influenced by her predictions. Her prophecies were noted and respected in the temple itself.

Oracles were of very remote date. The most ancient was the oracle of Amun at Meroë. There was a very celebrated one at the temple of Amun in Thebes. It was consulted by many nations, and great reliance was placed upon its authority. The divine gift was supposed to be imparted to a woman consecrated to the service of the deity. She slept in the temple where Amun Ra was believed also to be present. Oracles were supposed to be

revealed by dreams in the temples of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Apis was sometimes consulted. A coin was deposited on his altar, with certain ceremonies and invocations, and the first words, or exclamations, heard afterward were deemed prophetic. In fact, oracles seem to have been the main-spring, that regulated all the machinery of the state.

The reverential tendencies of the Egyptians are manifested in all memorials of their public and private life. The indications of it often show a tendency to excess; probably the result of a fervid African temperament. At some of their religious festivals, the people abandoned themselves to the most tumultuous joy; and the number of their expiatory sacrifices show a tendency to the extremes of penitence. Their kings dwelt in temple-palaces, full of sacred emblems and statues of the gods. No nation ever surpassed them in the grandeur of religious festivals. After a great victory, the king went up to the temple with his whole army to give thanks. Harps, flutes, and the shrill ring of the sistrum, accompanied the chorus of sacred singers, clapping their hands to mark the rhythm. The king rode in a splendid chariot, followed by trains of captives. The priests, in fringed robes of linen, carried banners, shrines, and other sacred emblems. The procession closed with men leading animals for sacrifice, and women carrying incense and flowers. Through long avenues of colossal sphinxes and gigantic statues, they marched up to the temple. The troops drew up in files outside, and when the trumpet announced that the king and priests were offering sacrifice within, they worshipped in regular succession at altars provided for them. They hailed the New Moon and the Full Moon with religious honours, and most of their great festivals occurred at those periods. At Spring time and Harvest they had joyful processions of thanksgiving, leading their children in bands to the temple, with sheaves and flowers for offerings. The Nile was as sacred to them as Ganges to the Hindoos. There is a tradition that in ancient times they had the same custom of offering to the god of the stream a virgin richly

dressed. At a later period, an image of wax was thrown into the river, instead of the human victim. When foreign kings married their princesses, it was customary to send them water from the Nile, however great the trouble or expense might be. At the annual rising of the river, the priests went in grand procession, to strew it with lotus-blossoms, and chant hymns in its praise. They burned frankincense to the Sun, at its rising, meridian, and setting, and offered to it solemn sacrifices on the fourth day of every month. They carried offerings to the temples in token of gratitude for recovery from sickness. They seated an image of the dead at their banquets, to remind them of their own mortality. They built their tombs with upper apartments richly sculptured and painted. There the priests went on stated occasions to perform religious ceremonies, accompanied by relatives bringing offerings to the departed, not to his mortal remains, but to the portion of divinity that was in him, and had gone elsewhere. They consecrated the very rocks with which their sacred edifices were to be built. They dedicated each month and each day to the service of some particular deity. Their ancient attitude of worship was sitting with the thighs resting on the heels. Many of the statues were in this position. The sculptures represent kings and priests worshipping with hands uplifted before their faces, the palms turned toward the deity. Their common oblations were wine, oil, meal, cakes, turtle-doves, young pigeons, fruit, flowers, vases, jewels, or whatever they had vowed. On important occasions they burned incense and sacrificed red bullocks. If a single black hair was found on the animal, or if every hair did not grow in its natural and proper form, the priest rejected it; but if he found it without blemish, he put his seal upon it. Wine was poured on the altar, a fire kindled thereon, and the god solemnly invoked. Then they cut the head from the victim, saying: "If there be any evil to come upon any part of Egypt, may it light on this head." On account of this custom, no Egyptian would eat the head of a beast. If there were Greeks in the market, it was

sold to them; if not, it was thrown into the river. The entrails of the victim were taken out and consulted by the priests for auguries. The legs, shoulders, and loins were cut off for food, and the body was burned as an offering, after being stuffed with bread, honey, figs, raisins, and various aromatics. On some occasions, the spectators scourged themselves while it was burning. The priests commenced the sacrifice after a fast, and finished by feasting on the portions set apart for them.

There was a grand celebration, called the Feast of Lamps, held at Sais, in honour of Neith. Those who did not attend the ceremony, as well as those who did, burned lamps before their houses all night, filled with oil and salt; thus all Egypt was illuminated. It was deemed a great irreverence to the goddess for any one to omit this ceremony.

At Bubastis was an annual festival in honour of its presiding goddess. It was probably connected with some holy object of pilgrimage; for people flocked to it from all parts of the country. It sometimes brought together a concourse of "seven hundred thousand men and women, not to mention children." The Nile, overspread with highly ornamented barges, resembled a floating city, and the air resounded with choruses and musical instruments. When these companies approached a city, they landed to frolic and bandy jests with those on shore. The women danced, played on musical instruments, and sometimes threw aside all their garments.

In autumn, they had mournful processions in search of the lost Osiris, weeping and lamenting as they went. One of the ceremonies was to lead the Sacred Cow seven times round the temple. From the astronomical character of their worship, it is a natural inference that the circuits round the temple, indicated the passage of the sun through the seven signs of the zodiac. When the genial warmth of spring returned, they had joyful processions, exulting over Osiris found.

The twenty-fifth day of December was a festival in honour of the birth-day of Horus. The commemoration of that

day, both in ancient Hindostan and ancient Egypt, was probably owing to the fact that the sun at that period begins to return from the winter solstice.

Of all their religious festivals, none were so grand and solemn as those consecrated to Osiris and Isis, called the Greater and Lesser Mysteries. Little is known of them, on account of the profound secrecy with which they were observed, and the penalty of death which awaited any one who should divulge them. None but priests were initiated, until the later times, and then the exceptions were very rare. The honour of ascending to the Greater Mysteries was difficult to attain, and very highly appreciated. Even a prince could not approach them until he had entered the priesthood; and not all the priests were admitted. The candidates must be of unsullied moral character, and go through a long process of study and purification. When initiation commenced, they were required to prepare themselves by long fasts, and to undergo a series of very severe ordeals, during which they were required to manifest the most perfect obedience and resignation. The blazing suns at midnight, fiery serpents, visions of the gods, and other splendid and sublime pageantry employed during the celebration of these Mysteries, are supposed to have been symbolical of the origin of the soul, its fall to earth, its travels through successive spheres, and final return to its home of tranquil glory. Some of the ceremonies and hymns to the gods, said to have been immodest, doubtless originated in their mystical ideas concerning the masculine and feminine principles that pervade the universe; ideas little likely to be rightly understood or appreciated, when viewed through the medium of modern habits of thought.

In all the religious observances of Egypt, the priests alone understood the meaning of what they witnessed; for great care was taken to hide theological theories under a thick veil of mysterious emblems. They had moreover two sets of written characters. One, called the sacred or sacerdotal writing, was a concise abridgment of the hieroglyphics, applied to all religious and scientific subjects,

and known only to the priests. Another, called the epistolary or common style, was used for social and commercial purposes, and taught only to priests and merchants. If the names of deities occurred, they were always expressed by symbolic characters, not by the letters which formed the name; it being deemed irreverent to write them like other words. Champollion says the name of their principal deity was pronounced by sounds which expressed the written symbol, and were quite different from the holy name itself.

The laws of Egypt were handed down from the earliest times, and regarded with the utmost veneration as a portion of religion. Their first legislator represented them as dictated by the gods themselves, and framed expressly for the benefit of mankind by their secretary Thoth, usually called Hermes. "An idea," says Diodorus, "adopted with success by many other lawgivers, who have thus insured respect for their institutions." By Thoth, the priests doubtless understood merely the agency of intellect in producing laws, but the people took it literally.

The Sacred Books of Hermes, containing the laws, science, and theology of Egypt, they declared to have been all composed during the reign of the gods, preceding that of their first king Menes. Allusions on very ancient monuments prove their great antiquity. There were four of them, and the subdivisions of the whole made forty-two volumes. These numbers correspond exactly to those of the Vedas, which the Pouranas of Hindostan inform us were carried into Egypt by the Yadavas. The subjects treated of were likewise extremely similar; but whether the Books of Hermes were copies of the Vedas, it is now impossible for the learning of man to discover. They were deposited in the inmost holy recesses of the temples, and none but the higher order of priests were allowed to read them. They were carried reverently in all great religious processions. The Chief Priests carried ten volumes relating to the emanations of the gods, the formation of the world, the divine annunciation of laws and rules

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for the priesthood. The Prophets carried four, treating of astronomy and astrology. The leader of the sacred musical band carried two, containing hymns to the gods, and maxims to guide the conduct of the king; which the Chanter was required to know by heart. Such was the reputed antiquity and sanctity of these Egyptian hymns, that Plato says they were ascribed to Isis, and believed to be literally ten thousand years old. Servitors of the temple carried ten volumes more, containing forms of prayer, and rules for burnt-offerings, sheaf-offerings, fruit-offerings, festivals and processions. The other volumes treated of philosophy and sciences, including anatomy and medicine. These books were very famous in their day, and gave rise to theories of astrology and alchemy, by which people, even on the borders of our own time, have sought to foretell destiny from the aspect of the stars, and make gold by some mysterious chemical process. The Roman emperor Severus collected all writings on their Mysteries, and buried them in the tomb of Alexander the Great; and Diocletian destroyed all their books on alchemy, lest Egypt should become too rich to remain tributary to the Roman empire. The once world-renowned Books of Hermes have been lost these fifteen hundred years. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, who flourished about three hundred years after Christ, says these volumes contained the question, "Have you not been informed that all individual souls are emanations from the One Soul of the Universe?" Jamblichus, a celebrated Platonic philosopher of nearly the same period, gives the following extract from one of these books: "Before all things that essentially exist, and before the principles of all things, there existed One God, immoveable in the solitude of his unity. He is established self-begotten, the only Father, who is truly good. He is the fountain of all things, the root of all primary intelligible existing forms. Out of this One, the self-ruling God made himself shine forth; wherefore, he is the father of himself, and self-ruling; for he is the First Principle and God of gods. This Indivisible One is venerated in si-

lence." These extracts resemble portions of the Vedas, but it is doubtful whether they are authentic; for at that late period spurious books of Hermes were extant. That the doctrine of One Supreme Being was taught by the more enlightened of the ancient priests, together with other ideas far more elevated than the external worship indicated, seems not to admit of doubt. Plutarch, who wrote in the first century of our era, says: "The end of all the Egyptian rites and mysteries was the knowledge of that First God, who is the Lord of all things, to be discerned only by the mind. Their theology had two meanings; the one holy and symbolical, the other vulgar and literal; consequently, the figures of animals, which they had in their temples, and which they seemed to adore, were only so many hieroglyphics, to represent the divine attributes." Damascius, a Platonic philosopher of the fifth century, says: "The Egyptian philosophers of our time have declared as a hidden truth, found in their ancient writings, that there was One Principle of all things, praised under the name of the Unknown Darkness, and that thrice repeated." When the French army were in Egypt, they brought to light an important roll of papyrus written in hieroglyphics. It treated of the transmigration of souls, and ceremonies in honour of the dead. The soul on its long journey through the celestial gates, from sphere to sphere, is described as giving utterance to confessions, invocations, and prayers. The first fifteen chapters form a separate whole, with the general superscription, "Here begin the sections of the glorifications in the light of Osiris." This papyrus was found in the tombs of the kings of Thebes. It bears traces of having been compiled at different periods; but the learned Lepsius says the original plan unquestionably belongs to the remotest age. He dates the writing one thousand five or six hundred years before the Christian era, and says it is doubtless a fragment of the Sacred Books ascribed to Hermes.

The Pantheistic idea that a portion of God is in every

creature, and belief in the transmigration of human souls into animals, produced effects similar to those in Hindostan. Egyptian priests had a great horror of blood. They never shed it except in sacrifices to the gods, and that only upon very important occasions. Herodotus says: "The Egyptians put no cattle to death;" and he informs us that vessels were kept to convey away the bones of those that died, and bury them in an island appropriated to that purpose. Why some animals were worshipped, and others not, and why some of the favoured ones should have been the least sagacious or agreeable of beasts, was perhaps known to themselves and the Hindoos, but is likely to remain an unsolved riddle for us. In their complicated system of an eternal relation between all things in the universe, each deity had certain stars, plants and animals, mysteriously allied to him, and under his peculiar protection. Thus the Cow and the Lotus were sacred to Isis; the Bull and the fragrant blossom of the Golden Bean were sacred to Osiris. Each of the genii presiding over the signs of the zodiac had some plants or animals under his especial care. If we understood their system, we might perhaps discover why constellations are represented in the shape of animals, and why the Ram of Amun, the Bull of Osiris, and the Goat of Kham, mark successive signs in the zodiac. In some such way, animals were first introduced into the temple as emblems; and afterward when mystical worship degenerated into lifeless superstition, they adored the emblems as deities. Some of these animals were universally worshipped, others only in particular districts; and some were more sumptuously provided for than others. Public buildings and parks, warm baths, carpets, rich furniture, and beautiful female companions of their own species, were procured for them. They were perfumed with fragrant oils and fed on dainties. To kill or maltreat them was the greatest crime, and when they died, they were embalmed and magnificently buried. Men and women were set apart to take charge of them. The office was hereditary, and considered extremely honourable. When these func-

tionaries passed through villages, with the sacred banners of the animals they served, people bowed to the ground before them. When children recovered from sickness, parents shaved their hair, and gave the weight of it in gold or silver for the support of those animals. Even in time of famine, when driven to eat human flesh, the populace refrained from destroying any of these consecrated creatures. If they accidentally found one dead, they stood lamenting, and proclaiming with a loud voice that they found it so. When Cambysea, the Persian, invaded Egypt, he took advantage of their customs, and protected his army by a vanguard of sacred animals.

Of all creatures the cow was held in the greatest veneration throughout Egypt. On great occasions, they sacrificed unblemished bulls or bullocks to the gods, but never heifers. Whoever killed one, even involuntarily, was punished with instant death.

A Bull called Apis, supposed by some to represent the celestial bull of the zodiac, was inaugurated with many ceremonies, and worshipped by the people as a God. Opposite the temple of Phtha, at Memphis, was a magnificent edifice where he was kept when publicly exhibited. The walls were richly sculptured, and the roof supported by colossal statues. He was generally seen only through the windows, but on some occasions he was led out into the vestibule, where his sacred mother was fed. He had extensive parks for exercise, and the most beautiful cows for companions. His food was carefully regulated, and he drank from a clear fountain, because the water of the Nile was deemed too fattening. He had access to two stables. If he entered one it was a good omen; if the other, it was an evil sign. If he ate readily, it was deemed fortunate for him who offered the food; but if he rejected it, they foreboded calamity. Those who wished to consult his oracle, deposited a coin on his altar, with certain ceremonies; and the first exclamation they heard afterward was deemed a voice from heaven for their guidance. They paid particular attention to the exclamations of little chil-

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dren, especially if they were playing within the precincts of temples. It was supposed that children who smelled the breath of Apis received the gift of prophecy in a pre-eminent degree. At the annual rising of the Nile, a festival was held in commemoration of his birth. It continued seven days, and brought to Memphis a vast concourse of spectators. He was led through the city by priests in solemn procession, with troops of children singing hymns before him; and as he passed, all the people came out to welcome him. A golden shell was thrown into the Nile, and crocodiles were said to be tame while the feast lasted; probably because they received so much food. Notwithstanding this extreme veneration, Apis was not allowed to survive twenty-five years. If he lived till that age, the priests drowned him in a fountain, and all the people mourned till a new Apis was found. This limitation of his existence is supposed to have reference to some period in their astronomical calculations. He was embalmed, and great sums were lavished on his funeral. In 1816, Belzoni discovered, among tombs excavated in the mountains near Thebes, a huge sarcophagus of purest oriental alabaster, transparent and sonorous, covered with beautiful sculptured ornaments and hieroglyphic inscriptions, within and without. It contained the embalmed body of a bull.

When Apis was dead, the priests went in search of an animal to succeed him. The Sacred Books required that he should be black, with a white triangle on his forehead, a white crescent on his right side, and a bunch like a beetle under his tongue. When such a calf was found, it was said the cow conceived him by a ray from the sun. He was fed four months on milk, in a building facing the rising sun. At the end of the new moon, he was carried to Heliopolis in a richly gilded ship. There he was fed by women forty days. Thence he was conveyed with much pomp to his stately edifice at Memphis. The man from whose herd he was selected was deemed the most fortunate of mortals.

When Cambyses conquered Egypt, having the Persian

horror of idols, he defaced the statues of the gods, and stabbed Apis with his sword. Ochus, one of his successors, served up Apis at a banquet, and put an Ass in the temple in his stead; for which outrage an Egyptian assassinated him and threw his body to the cats. Viewed calmly at this distance of time, the spirit manifested by one seems scarcely more commendable than that of the other.

A variety of animals were venerated only in particular districts. Thebans abstained from sheep, because the ram was an emblem of their god Amun. They never put one to death, except on the annual festival of that deity, when they sacrificed a ram with many ceremonies, and placed the skin upon his image. At Mendes, the presiding deity was Kham, God of Generation, who was represented with the head of a she-goat, and the legs of a male; therefore goats were sacred in that region. The god Anubis was represented with a dog's head. Wherever his worship prevailed, the dog was sacred, and they shaved their heads in token of mourning when one died. In some places, apes and monkeys were sacred, being connected with the history of the god Thoth. At Heliopolis, they detested the crocodile and assigned it to Typho, the Destroyer; but in the vicinity of Lake Moeris they worshipped the ugly creature. They kept a crocodile in a tank at the temple, and fed it with portions of the sacrifices. The priests, having rendered it perfectly tame by kind treatment, adorned it with bracelets of gold and necklaces of artificial gems. Worshippers brought offerings of bread and wine. In those districts they deemed it a mark of favour from the deity to be devoured by these monsters. A story is recorded of a woman who brought up a young crocodile, and her countrymen considered her the nurse of a divinity. Her little son played fearlessly with the beast, but when it grew large it devoured the boy. His mother exulted, considering his fate peculiarly blest in being thus incorporated with the household god. In some places small serpents were kept in the temples, fed on honey and flour. It was considered a mark of divine favour to be bitten by any

of this species. At Bubastis they worshipped a goddess represented with the head of a cat; and in that region cats were sacred. When one of them died, they shaved their eye-brows in sign of mourning. If a person killed one, even accidentally, a mob gathered round him and tore him to pieces without trial. When they went to foreign wars, they embalmed dogs and cats that died on the way, and brought them home for honourable burial. Belzoni found entire tombs filled with nothing but embalmed cats, carefully folded in red and white linen, the head covered by a mask representing its face.

Each district held to its own worship with the bigotry that everywhere characterizes disputes about religious faith. A civil war arose between two districts, because one ate the fish that the other worshipped. They did each other much mischief, and were severely punished by the Romans. The inhabitants of Ombos attacked those of Tentyris, because they had killed a crocodile; and the war was carried on with all the fury of sectarian zeal. Josephus declares that as early as the time when Abraham was in Egypt "they despised one another's sacred and accustomed rites, and were very angry one with another on that account." What theological tenets among the priests of different deities were at stake in these contentions cannot now be traced; but the great resemblance existing between their religion and that of Hindostan naturally leads to the conclusion that similar causes were at work to produce similar effects. Doubtless they had their formalists and spiritualists, their atheists and fanatics. It is recorded that the people of Thebais paid divine honours to nothing in mortal form, but adored only Cneph. Plutarch says the inhabitants of that region, on account of their more spiritual worship of One Invisible God, "without beginning or end," were excused from paying the public taxes levied on other Egyptians for maintenance of the sacred animals. It may readily be conjectured that such sects, like the Vedantins of Hindostan, regarded with pity those minds which had need of images and external symbols. But

elevated ideas of God and the soul were supposed to be above the comprehension of the populace, and incompatible with their employments. The priests, who were the only educated class, feared that if such knowledge were revealed to them, they would pervert it by all sorts of ignorant misconceptions. Therefore, they were left to obey laws without knowing why they were ordained, and to observe the ritual of religion without comprehending its import.

Egyptians were conservative in the extreme. They had the greatest possible objection to introducing foreign customs or opinions, or innovations of any kind. But they could not resist that law of our nature which has written decay, death, and resurrection, on all material things and all forms of opinion. The primitive faith of every people has always a tendency to degenerate into unmeaning forms; and the progress of corruption must be greatly accelerated where religious ideas, studiously hidden from the people, become a monopoly of power in the hands of a privileged class. In the beginning, the priestly style of living was very simple, but what we afterward hear of their grand establishments indicates a change. During the last days, when Egypt became a province of Rome, we have means of knowing that many abuses crept in. Old mystical ideas were almost buried under a mass of grotesque fancies. The influence of the priests declined. They still had charge of the national records, the education of youth, and the superintendence of weights and measures; but they no longer swayed the councils of government, or presided in courts of justice. Their servility to wealth and power is implied by the fact that when Alexander the Great consulted the oracle at Thebes, his ambitious wishes were gratified by hearing himself declared the son of Jupiter Ammon. In such a state of things, the character of the deities became degraded, and the animals regarded as deities were sometimes treated with contempt. If prayers and sacrifices proved unavailing to counteract drought, famine, or epidemics, people reproached the gods, and insulted their

images. Priests conducted the sacred animals to dark places, where they terrified them with threats, and sometimes even put them to death, if the evils continued. Still people clung to the outward ritual hallowed by so many ages of observance. The temples continued to swarm with animals, and images of animals, such as silver and brazen serpents, and gilded or golden calves. If a foreigner asked the meaning of their religious customs, the answer depended upon whether he addressed the initiated or the uninitiated; and in either case it was likely to be coloured by sectional prejudice. To one whose education did not enable him to sympathize with the blind reverence of the populace, and who had no means of knowing that more spiritual minds attached mystical significance to their strange symbols, the worship of Egypt must have seemed absurd in the extreme. No wonder it became a mark for the arrows of Grecian and Roman satire. It was common in Rome to call a foolish, pompous fellow "an Egyptian temple," which had such a magnificent exterior, and a monkey for the deity within. Thus every growth passes away, and dreary looks the stubble when the grain is gone.

But it is necessary to remember that their faith was once a solemn reality to millions of men, whose minds it swayed for ages. Powerful indeed must have been the feeling, which prompted men to expend so much wealth, labour, and ingenuity, in the service of their gods. The effect produced by their sublime temples on those sincerely under the influence of their national belief, may be partly conjectured from the wonder and reverence their ruins still inspire in men of other religions and a distant age. Those who see drawings, or fragmentary specimens in museums, can form no idea of the general effect of their architecture. Deities wearing the heads of rams, hawks, and cows, seem uncouth and ridiculous to us, who attach no meaning to the emblems. There is moreover a want of perspective in Egyptian art, a monotonous straightness in the position of the figures, and a barbarous taste in their unharmonized masses of colour. Such was their respect for prescribed

rules, that time and intercourse with other nations produced little change in these particulars. Plato, in his Republic, introduces the following remark in a dialogue: "The plan we have been laying down for youth was known long ago to the Egyptians; that nothing but beautiful forms and fine music should be permitted to enter into the assemblies of young people. Having settled what those forms and that music should be, they exhibited them in their temples; nor was it lawful, either in painting, statuary, or any branches of music, to make any alteration, or invent any forms different from what were established. Upon examination, therefore, you will find that the pictures and statues made ten thousand years ago, are in no one particular better or worse than what they now make."

But after all these deductions, the Egyptian ruins are not only sublime and impressive, but often extremely beautiful. Many of the sculptured animals are spirited, and all travellers agree that the countenances of gods and mortals are remarkable for simplicity, sweetness, and serenity of expression. Harriet Martineau says: "I was never tired of trying to imprint on my memory the characteristics of the old Egyptian face; the handsome arched nose, with its delicate nostril; the well-opened, though long eye; the placid, innocent mouth, and the smooth-rounded, amiable chin. Innocence is the prevailing expression, and sternness is absent. Thus the stiffest figures and the most monotonous gestures convey only an impression of dispassionateness and benevolence. The dignity of the gods and goddesses is beyond all description, from this union of fixidity and benevolence. If the traveller be blest with the clear eye and fresh mind, and be also enriched by comprehensive knowledge of the workings of the human intellect in its various circumstances, he cannot but be impressed, and he may be startled by the evidence before him of the elevation and beauty of the first conceptions formed by men of the Beings of the unseen world."

The architecture of Egypt greatly resembles that of Hindostan. There are the same gigantic proportions, the

same flat roofs of ponderous stone, supported by the same massive columns; the same herculean labour in the excavation of tombs and temples through the solid rock of everlasting hills, the same gloomy cavernous effect of the interior, the same colossal images, the same infinity of sculptured figures everywhere, painted in the same bright colours.

The ruins of Egyptian Thebes are well known as the most wonderful in the world. Its date ascends beyond the records of history. Homer celebrates it as "the city with a hundred gates;" and he wrote nearly a thousand years before Christ. Existing monuments prove that it must have been in full glory more than three thousand years ago. Belzoni says: "The most sublime ideas that can be formed from the most magnificent specimens of our present architecture would give a very incorrect picture of these ruins. It appeared to me like entering a city of giants, who, after a long conflict, were all destroyed, leaving the ruins of their various temples as the only proofs of their former existence." The most celebrated of these structures is now universally known under the name of El Karnac. It faces the Nile, with which it is connected by an avenue a mile long, with gigantic sphinxes on each side all the way. Diodorus describes the walls as twenty-four feet thick, and a mile and a half in circumference. They have twelve principal entrances, each composed of several towers and colossal gateways, beside other buildings attached to them, in themselves larger than most other temples. On each side of many of the towers are colossal statues, from twenty to thirty feet high. The large building, supposed to have been the royal palace, was built more than three thousand years ago, by Ramses the Great, commonly called Sesostris. It is entered through an open colonnade, and up an ascent of twenty-seven steps. These lead into a covered hall, so spacious that a large European church might stand within it. The ceiling, of unhewn blocks of stone, is sustained by one hundred and thirty-four columns, sixty-five feet high, and

thirty in circumference. The whole hall, from top to bottom, is covered with sculptures relating to religious worship. In several places an Ark is represented, as carried on poles, resting on the shoulders of priests, and followed by a procession of people. There are likewise branched candlesticks, tables with loaves of bread, and cherubim with extended wings. The number of these sculptures is so great that no one has been able to count them, much less to copy them. Another colonnade beyond leads to a succession of apartments covered with sculpture representing domestic scenes, mixed with religious ceremonies. All these are painted in vivid colours, which still retain their brilliancy. The ceiling of the central room is painted blue, studded with constellations of stars. Denon says: "One is fatigued with writing, one is fatigued with reading, one is stunned with the thought of such a conception. It is hardly possible to believe in so much magnificence even after having seen it." The ancient existence of libraries is proved by these ruins. Champollion found on a doorway representations of Thoth and a feminine deity, who presided over arts, science, and literature. Above their heads were, "Lord of the Library," and "Lady of Letters," carved in hieroglyphics. Fragments from the History of the Greek Hecatæus inform us that he saw this grand edifice more than five hundred years before Christ. He says it then contained a library of Sacred Books, over the entrance of which was inscribed, "The Remedy for the Soul." Near the palace is the great Temple of Karnac, one of the sublimest specimens of Egyptian architecture. It has a lofty magnificent gateway, more than sixty-two feet high, of richly sculptured sandstone. This leads to a gallery of colossal rams, which indicate that the precincts were sacred to Amun, commonly called Jupiter Ammon. The grandeur of the interior corresponds to the external decorations. Heeren says: "This temple is without doubt one of the most ancient that now exist in Egypt, yet both this and the palace are built of materials taken from edifices more

ancient still." Every year the statue of Amun was carried in solemn procession into Libya, over a space of nine or ten miles. Almost the entire road was lined with temples, colossal statues, and long avenues of gigantic sphinxes. Richardson says: "It is impossible to conceive anything more impressive than the view which must have burst upon the sight of the enraptured votaries, when, at the close of the solemnity of bringing back their god, they entered the grand Temple of Karnac to replace him in his shrine, with harps and cymbals, and songs of rejoicing."

About two miles from El Karnac is the great Temple of Luxor, supposed to have been built two centuries earlier. Here likewise deities are represented surmounted by the inscriptions, "Lord of the Divine Writings," and "Lady of Letters." Belzoni, describing this place, says: "The avenue of sphinxes leading to the great temple inspires the visitor with devotion, and their enormous size strikes him with wonder. Each side of the gate leading to the inner courts are seated immense colossal figures, as if guarding the entrance of the holy ground. Farther on is the magnificent temple dedicated to the Great God of Creation. I entered it alone. The sun was rising, and long shadows from groups of columns extended over the ruins, while rays of light struck on the masses in various directions, forming views that baffle all description. How can I describe my sensations! I seemed alone in the midst of all that is most sacred in the world. A forest of enormous columns adorned all round, from top to bottom, with beautiful figures, and various ornaments; the graceful shape of the Lotus, which forms their capitals; the gates, walls, pedestals, everywhere adorned with symbolical figures, representing battles, processions, feasts, offerings, and sacrifices, all relating no doubt to the ancient history of the country; the sanctuary formed of fine red granite, with various obelisks standing before it, proclaiming to the distant passenger, 'Here is the seat of holiness;' the high portals seen from afar through the openings to this vast

labyrinth of edifices; the various groups of ruins of other temples within sight; all these had such an effect upon my soul, as to separate me in imagination from the rest of mortals, exalt me on high over all, and cause me to forget the trifles and follies of life. My mind was impressed with such solemnity that for some time I was unconscious whether I was on terrestrial ground, or on some other planet."

In the vicinity of Thebes are wonderful excavations in the granite of mountains, similar to those described at Ellora and Elephanta, in Hindostan. Some are very extensive, with winding stairs leading to small apartments in all directions. Some have deep shafts or wells, and at the bottom of the wells passages to smaller apartments, with endless winding recesses. In these cavernous depths are a multitude of colossal statues of all the gods. The various halls and chambers are covered with hieroglyphic writing and painted sculptures, the colours of which are still fresh and glowing. Here Belzoni discovered the alabaster sarcophagus. Speaking of the apartment where it was found, Harriet Martineau says: "We enjoyed seeing the whole lighted up by a fire of straw. I shall never forget that gorgeous chamber in this palace of death. The rich colours on the walls were brought out by the flame; and the wonderful ceiling, all starred with emblems, and peopled with countless yellow figures, was like nothing earthly." One priestly tomb in these excavations occupies an acre and a quarter of the heart of the rock. Here is the sepulchre of the Pharaoh who pursued the Hebrews into the Red Sea. "Five lines of tribute-bearers show how extensive was his dominion. They are of various costumes and complexions, bringing ivory, apes, leopards, gold, and among other offerings a bear;" as if the extreme North also acknowledged his power. The faces of the Pharaohs on these monuments are likenesses. This carries back the art of portrait-sculpture into high antiquity.

Memphis, much farther down the Nile, was founded by the first king Menes, who, all agree, must have lived between

four and five thousand years ago; and some place him much earlier. Here was a magnificent temple to Pthah, which it took several generations of kings to complete. Many titles of this once famous city are found among the hieroglyphics; such as, "The Abode of Good," "Land of the Pyramid," "The Habitation of Pthah." Here Abraham was a guest, and Sarai, his beautiful wife, was lodged in the palace of the king. Here Joseph rode through the streets in the royal chariot, clothed "with fine linen, and a chain of gold about his neck." The fine linen and the wrought gold show that even then Memphis was old in civilization. Here Moses was educated in the household of Pharaoh, and became "learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." There are now scarcely any remains of this mighty city; but Abdallatif, a traveller from Bagdad, thus describes it, as he saw it about seven hundred years ago: "The ruins occupy a space which is half a day's journey every way. As for the idols that are found among them, whether one considers their number, or their prodigious magnitude, it is a thing beyond all description, and of which no idea can be conveyed. But there is a thing yet more worthy of admiration; and that is the precision of their forms, the justness of their proportions, and their resemblance to nature." Speaking of the famous pyramids near the city, he says: "The stones are covered with writing, the import of which is at this day unknown. More than ten thousand pages of paper would be filled, if only the inscriptions seen on these two pyramids were copied."

It is now known that these huge monuments have stood more than four thousand years. It is proved to a certainty, from the hieroglyphics, that they were built, at the *least* calculation, three hundred years before Abraham was born, and seven or eight hundred years before the time of Moses. In 1837 the name of the king who built the Great Pyramid was found written on the rough stones. He lived near the time of Menes, and is the Cheops to whom Herodotus attributes the construction of this vast pile. In his time, the

outside was covered with writing, which Abdallatif says he saw as late as the twelfth century after our era. Unfortunately, before the attention of European scholars was drawn toward Memphis, the marble casing of the pyramids was destroyed, and the writing lost. But we cannot lose possession of the fact that in those very remote times Egyptians must have had wonderful machinery, graving tools, an alphabet, and a knowledge of writing. Among the multitude of tombs in this vicinity are some coeval with the pyramids. A hieroglyphic record in one of them declares that it was built for "Eimeï, great priest of the habitation of king Shoophoo" (called Cheops by the Greeks). Inkstands and reed-pens are common among the emblems here. A papyrus is now in Europe, of the date of Shoophoo; which proves alphabetic signs, and written documents, and that kind of paper to have been in use when the Great Pyramid was built; nearly a thousand years before Moses was born.

Herodotus declares the pyramids were built for sepulchres; and the learned now agree in opinion that for a long series of years every Egyptian monarch caused one of these royal tombs to be built for himself. The sarcophagi found in them proves that they were used for burial-places; but the immense size of some of them, the various chambers, the shafts or wells, and the deep subterranean passages, have led to various conjectures concerning the possibility of their being likewise used for other purposes. Some have supposed that great religious Mysteries were celebrated there. Mr. Wilford, during his residence in Hindostan, described the Great Pyramid to several learned Bramins. He says: "They at once declared it to have been a temple. One of them asked if it had not a communication under ground with the river Nile. When I mentioned that such a passage was said to have existed, and that a well was at this day to be seen, they unanimously agreed that it was a place appropriated to the worship of Padma Devi, and that on certain festivals her priests used to fill the trough with sacred water and lotus-blossoms."

It has already been stated that it was a custom in Egypt for families, accompanied by priests, to visit the tombs of relatives at stated seasons, and offer oblations and prayers for the departed. Perhaps something of this kind might have been done on a scale of exceeding grandeur in the pyramids, for the royal ones whose bodies rested there.

On the island of Elephantina, in the Nile, there is a great accumulation of columns, obelisks, portals, and two small temples, covered within and without with hieroglyphics, executed in a style of great excellence. Denon supposes these to belong to the earliest ages of Egypt of which any trace remains. At Edfu, on the Nile, are also remarkable structures of great antiquity; but the temples in these and in other places are now discovered to be partly built of the ruins of other temples more ancient still.

At Dendera are the remains of large temples, comparatively modern. They were first discovered by Bonaparte's army, and are supposed to have been erected nearly two thousand years ago. They are distinguished for lavishness of ornament, extraordinary beauty of execution, and brilliancy of colouring. French writers say: "All that you see here, from the colossal statues of Isis to the smallest hieroglyphic, appears to have come from fairy-land." The soldiers declared with one voice that this sight alone was enough to indemnify them for all the fatigues of their campaign. On the ceiling of the principal temple was painted a zodiac, which attracted great attention among the astronomers of Europe. This and other Egyptian zodiacs gave rise to much controversy concerning the astronomical proof of antiquity they conveyed. In 1822 the police of Paris suppressed some Essays, which started theories at variance with the chronology of the Hebrew Scriptures. It is now generally decided by the learned that none of these zodiacs are much older than the Christian era.

Captain Burr, of the British army, who went to Egypt with East India troops, was struck with the resemblance in costume and the manners represented, between the sculptures at Dendera and those he had seen in Hindostan. He

came to the conclusion that "a closer connection must have formerly existed among the nations of the East, when they were yet united by the same worship." The Hindoo soldiers who accompanied him were filled with awe and amazement. They believed themselves to be in the presence of their own ancient deities, and were indignant at the neglect into which their worship had fallen. They exclaimed: "Surely Hindoos must have lived in this country!" Some thought the wonderful edifice might have been built by Rakshasas, or Evil Spirits; that being the usual account given of Buddhist temples by the Brahmins.

The ancient Egyptian temples were always of solid massive stone, without cement, and enclosed by thick walls. In time of war they were used as fortifications, and places of refuge for the inhabitants. Vestiges of tanks, or ponds, for ablution, are generally found near them, and many of them have deep sockets, apparently used for flags on festival occasions. The entrance was a porch in form of a truncated pyramid, very grand and massive. Through this they passed into an open court surrounded with columns, with partition walls about half of their height. This outer court was probably intended for the people, where they might see the ceremonies and processions from a certain distance. Next to this came a portico, supported by rows of immense pillars. Through this they passed into vast saloons, three or four in succession, supposed to be intended for the religious processions and ceremonies which are pictured on the walls. At the extremity was a niche of granite or porphyry. This was the sanctuary, approached by none but the priests. Sometimes it contained the statue of the deity to whom the temple was dedicated; sometimes an image of the Bull, Apis, or some other sacred animal; sometimes the Oracle Ship of Amun, in its shrine. In the great temples this Sacred Ship was often very magnificent. Sesostris presented one to the temple of Amun at Thebes, made of cedar, the inside lined with silver, and the outside covered with gold.

Sometimes the sanctuary contained a shrine or Ark, surmounted by a small image overshadowed with wings, sometimes the wings of Isis, sometimes of the Goddess of Truth, sometimes of the sacred bird Ibis. On each side of the saloons were corridors, which led into apartments where the priests lived. The walls, columns, and ceilings, were covered with sculpture. The capitals of the pillars were generally composed of native plants; Lotus leaves, and Palm branches, arranged in endless variety. The figures on the walls were usually in bold relief, representing deities and their worshippers engaged in some religious ceremony. Near them were long explanatory inscriptions in hieroglyphics. All these sculptures were painted yellow, red, blue, green, and white. The colour of each deity, and of every other object, was established by rules, which admitted of no deviation. Denon says: "An Egyptian temple is, as it were, an open book, where science unfolds, where morality teaches, where the useful arts are set forth. Everything seems to speak; all seems animated, and all in the same spirit. The doorposts, the most secret corners, give a lesson, or a rule; and the whole is in most wonderful harmony."

The Oracle Ship in its shrine, or the Ark overshadowed with wings, occur very frequently in all the sculptured representations of religious ceremonies. Sometimes the king is kneeling before it at his devotions; sometimes he is coming toward it with an offering of frankincense. More frequently the priests carry it resting on long poles, supported by their shoulders. They are followed by bands of men and women, dancing, singing, playing on musical instruments, and clapping their hands in cadence, as they approach the temple. Everywhere are emblems to remind the traveller of similar buildings on the banks of the Ganges. The beautiful water-lily called Lotus is represented in every stage of growth. Deities are seated on a Lotus, crowned with Lotus, and carry a Lotus stem for a sceptre. In both countries it was an emblem of the generative power, and of the creation of the world from water.

Serpents are winding about the ceilings, or interwoven in rings, to represent vast astronomical cycles. There are serpents with the heads of deities, and serpents with the legs of human beings; serpents winged, and serpents crowned. In both countries, this creature was the symbol of wisdom and immortality. Three was a mystical and significant number, and the Triangle is found in all their sacred places. Perhaps its three sides were a type of their Divine Triad, or Trinity, consisting of the masculine principle of the universe, the feminine principle, and the offspring, or result, of the two. The Emblem of Life, so often found on Egyptian monuments, is explained by Sir J. G. Wilkinson as the union of the perpendicular line and the horizontal line, already mentioned as in use among Hindoos; one being a representative of the masculine emblem of generation, the other of the feminine; both together signifying the reproduction of life, or birth. It is surmounted by a ring, which is sometimes formed of eggs. This cross of Hermes, as it is called, is in various ways connected with the hieroglyphics of the planets, and is everywhere placed in the hands of deities, especially of Osiris. The sculptures often represent them offering it, with a cornucopia of fruit and grain, to kings at their inauguration; perhaps to signify the bestowal of abundant harvests, numerous flocks, and many children. It was generally worn by the devout, and was considered an amulet of great virtue, a protection from Evil Spirits. When this Cross was twined with a Serpent, it was the emblem of Immortal Life. The Mundane Egg occurs often among the sculptures; and so does an Eye to represent the all-seeing Osiris, and the Sun. There are apes and dwarfs looking pigmy and strange in the presence of colossal companions. The mysterious emblem called the Sphinx was much more frequently introduced in Egypt than in India. It is supposed to have been a royal emblem, manifesting their ideas of what a king ought to be. It had a lion's body with a man's head, or a ram's head; perhaps to signify the union of physical strength with

intellect in one case, and with innocence in the other.

In these antique records of deceased generations, the greatest discords occur, as they do everywhere else in the manifestations of our unharmonized nature. There are deities serenely majestic, and in their sublime presence priests are kneeling before a monkey or a beetle. In one place are pleasing pictures of domestic life, men, women, and children with countenances innocent and mild; in another are heaps of human hands and ears cut from enemies in battle. Sometimes a man is represented kneeling, with his hands bound, while a priest points a knife to his throat. Sometimes there are men with knives thrust through their foreheads, or with heads flying from their shoulders. These may signify the execution of criminals, or the immolation of human victims. Such sacrifices were offered in ancient times. The priest examined the victim and put his seal upon him, as he did to animals intended for the altar. It is said the custom was abolished in Upper Egypt before the time of Moses; but it remained in other parts of the empire till the time of Amasis, who reigned five or six hundred years before the Christian era. He ordained that wax images should be substituted for human beings.

Long pilgrimages to holy places were considered efficacious for the expiation of sin; but there are no records of such self-tortures as are practised by Hindoo devotees. Philostratus, a Greek writer, about two hundred years after Christ, describes an association of men who lived in a grove not far from the Nile. He calls them Gymnosophists, which means naked philosophers. Perhaps they discarded clothing in sign of superior sanctity and indifference to the world. He says they worshipped the god of the Nile, and believed in the immortality of the soul. Each one lived by himself, and studied and sacrificed apart; but they sometimes met together in assemblies. If a man at Memphis had by any chance killed another, he was exiled till these Gymnosophists had absolved him by ceremonies of purification.

The laws of caste appear to have been less rigid in

Egypt than in Hindostan. Solomon, though a foreigner, married a daughter of one of their kings; a degree of toleration which perhaps originated in the fact that Egyptians and Jews were both circumcised nations. The condition of women in Egypt was prodigiously in advance of their enslaved sisters in Hindostan. It was customary to marry but one wife. Trade was carried on by women. The sculptures represent them buying and selling in the markets, and meeting with men at feasts, apparently on terms of equality. When kings died without sons, daughters succeeded to the throne; and in some of the sculptured processions, queens take precedence of kings.

When Alexander the Great conquered Egypt, three hundred and thirty-two years before Christ, he founded a new city, and gave it his own name, Alexandria. Among its many splendid edifices for worship, the most magnificent was dedicated to Serapis, tutelary deity of the city. Sesostris, after his return from extensive conquests, is said to have introduced into Egypt the worship of this new god. It has been conjectured that he was the emblem of Pantheism, combining in himself the attributes of all the gods, and therefore considered by Sesostris a desirable point of unity for many nations, with distinct religions, all under the control of his government. For the same reason he was a peculiarly appropriate deity to preside over the great commercial city of Alexandria, where worshippers of various gods were wont to congregate. That he represented all things seems to be implied by the fact that his image was made of all metals fused together, and inlaid with all sorts of precious stones. A great variety of emblems were connected with the figure. A huge serpent entwined the whole, and rested his head in the hand of the god. When Nicocreon, king of Cyprus, inquired who Serapis was, the god replied, through the voice of his oracle: "My head is heaven, my ears the air, my eyes the sunlight, my belly the sea, and my feet the earth." Severe penalties were incurred by any one who ventured to say Serapis had ever been incarnated in a human form. This

law of the priests might have originated in the idea that it was blasphemy to suppose any one being could combine in himself all the attributes of the Universal Soul. The Temple of Serapis is described as one of the stateliest the world has ever seen. A great mass of buildings were included within its enclosures, and there were vast subterranean passages underneath, where it is supposed some of the great religious Mysteries were celebrated. In the centre of the enclosure stood the Temple, on an artificial elevation, surrounded with a magnificent portico. The lofty ceiling was supported by immense marble pillars, of beautiful proportions. The statue of the god was of such colossal size that the right hand touched the wall of the sanctuary on one side, and the left on the other. An aperture in the wall was so arranged that the first gleams of the rising sun fell directly on the face; and worshippers thought he smiled to meet the god of that luminary. A small image of the Sun, seated in a chariot, with four horses, was suspended from the ceiling, and at the close of day was drawn up by a powerful magnet, to represent his farewell. The temple was surrounded by a great number of galleries and apartments devoted to the priests, and to devotees, who had taken vows of celibacy. This splendid structure was totally destroyed in the fourth century of our era.

Alexander the Great was imbued with the Grecian freedom of thought, and facility of adaptation to new things. He was moreover desirous of attracting the enterprise, wealth and learning of the world to his new city. He commanded that the laws and religion of Egypt should be respected, but he encouraged Greeks and Jews to settle there, and extended the same toleration to their opinions. The site of the city was consecrated by solemn sacrifices both to the deities of Egypt and of Greece. As the great commercial route from India to various portions of the Roman empire lay through Alexandria, it became the great focus of trade; a connecting link between the unchanging East and the ever-changing West. It grew so

rapidly, that in a short time Rome was the only city that surpassed it in wealth and grandeur. In the century following Alexander, those two liberal kings of Egypt, Ptolemy Soter and Ptolemy Philadelphus, founded and enlarged an academy and museum, with a royal library of seven hundred thousand volumes. It was the first establishment of the kind ever known in the world. Scholars of all nations and creeds flocked thither to enjoy its advantages. A general indulgence was granted to this promiscuous crowd to teach their respective doctrines to whoever was inclined to listen. Disciples of diverse systems met together in the library, and at meals, and had ample opportunities to compare theories of religion and philosophy. Under these influences was formed a new set of teachers, who carried to distant countries the ideas they had received, and thus shook up and mixed together the forms of human thought everywhere.

Old Egypt, once called the "image of heaven, and the temple of the whole world," dwindled away. All the nations had borrowed of her religion and science, but she was too conservative to borrow of them. Successively conquered by Persia, Greece, and Rome, and largely settled by Jews, she gradually lost her strength. Her princes were Grecians, her children attended Greek schools. Her religion became a lifeless body, her language utterly extinct, her sacred writing an unknown cipher, and half her monuments buried in the drifting sand. But traces of her customs still exist on the shores of the Nile. Modern jugglers know the trick by which her old magicians rendered serpents motionless or stiff. They compress the cervical spine of the animal between the finger and thumb and call it changing the serpent into a rod, or stick. When thrown down, the pressure being removed, it becomes a serpent again. Idiots are considered holy, and their exclamations prophetic. In this form lingers the ancient reverence for unpremeditated speech. The different sections of Cairo are now under the guardianship of genii, as they were formerly each under the protection of

some tutelary deity. An image of a ram's head is still worn as an amulet against evil, and so is the golden beetle, once sacred to the sun, and an emblem of creation. The star of Isis looks down brightly as ever on the land that was once her own. The Sphinx stands dark and solemn in the desert twilight, a huge phantom of the mighty past, unable to reveal her mystery.

“There sits drear Egypt, 'mid beleaguering sands,
Half human and half beast;
The burnt-out torch within her mouldering hands,
That once lit all the East.”

CHINA AND THIBET.

"I compile and transmit to posterity, but write not anything new. I believe and love the ancients, taking Laou Pang for my pattern."

CONFUCIUS.

THE Chinese claim for themselves almost unlimited antiquity. Their traditions go back millions of years, to a time when they were governed by the gods; but their early history is enveloped in thick darkness. It is the universal belief in Benares that they emigrated from Hindostan, and this opinion is said to be sustained by a passage in the Code of Menu. Their historical books, translated by Frenchmen of science, exhibit a regular chronology, extending back three thousand years before our era. Considerable knowledge of astronomy existed among them at a very early period. One of the Jesuit missionaries in China, who had read more than a hundred volumes of their annals, assures us that they observed the motions of the heavenly bodies soon after our date of the Deluge; and European scholars have satisfied themselves that they accurately calculated an eclipse two thousand one hundred and fifty-five years before Christ. They named successive days for the same seven planets that Hindoos and Egyptians did. Their learned men have always occupied themselves with history, political maxims and external sciences, without manifesting much interest in metaphysical inquiries or mystical theories. They have changed less in the course of ages than any other nation on earth, partly owing to the peculiarity of their language, which impedes the introduction of foreign literature, and partly owing to their extreme veneration for everything ancient. Opinions must be sustained by precedent and authority, and once

received they are cast into an exact mould, the pattern of which must never change. Their minds are never troubled with the query, which, in one form or another, has disturbed the repose of the priesthood all the world over; no restless activity of intellect induces them to inquire: "Why must I always wear my grandfather's hat? My head was not measured for it." Unquestioning obedience to superiors, in church, state, and household, constitutes their morality. Their emperor is called Holy Son of Heaven, and Sole Guardian of the Earth." His subjects prostrate themselves in his presence, and do homage to his image and his throne. He is, and always has been, at the head of ecclesiastical affairs. A belief in the divine origin of kings, so universal among the ancients, is expressed by the Chinese in a tradition concerning their first monarch, Fo-hi. They say he had no mortal father; that his mother conceived him encompassed by a rainbow. Men remarkable for holiness or wisdom are generally called Tien-tse, Sons of Heaven. It is a common opinion that they had no mortal fathers, but derived their existence from some heavenly source.

The greatest name among Chinese sages is Kong-Fou-tseu, Latinized into Confucius. He was born five hundred and fifty-one years before Christ. In boyhood he was remarkably serious, and manifested no taste for childish amusements. His ancestors held offices under government for six generations, but in youth he was poor, and obliged to support himself by manual labour. He had but one wife, to whom he was married at nineteen years of age. When twenty years old, he was appointed superintendent of grain and cattle in his native province, as a reward for intelligence and virtuous conduct. Afterward he held the rank of Mandarin at court, but as the king would not follow his advice in what he deemed for the good of the people, he resigned his office, went into a neighbouring province, and became a teacher of morals. He is said to have had several thousand disciples, by whom he appears to have been regarded with the deepest veneration. They

said: "Since men existed, there has never been one to be compared to Confucius." "As the heavens cannot be scaled, even by the highest ladder, so no man can attain to Confucius. Were he to obtain the throne, he would establish the people, and they would be correct." "He may be compared to heaven and earth, in their supporting, containing, and overshadowing all things; to the regular revolutions of the seasons, and the alternate shining of the sun and moon." But it is not likely that such transcendent merit would have been accorded to him in any other country.

The formality of Chinese etiquette is stamped on all that is related of him. His moral teachings are mixed with many rules how to regulate the countenance, and how to stand or walk in the presence of elders, or superiors in rank. It is recorded, as very important, that on the first of every month he always put on his court robes, and waited on the prince. "When he entered the palace door he crouched down, as if the door could not admit him. Holding up his robes, he ascended the hall, bending his body, repressing his breath, as if he did not dare to breathe. When he passed by the empty throne, his countenance changed suddenly, and he walked with grave and measured steps, as if fettered. When he went out, and descended one step, he relaxed his countenance a little, and assumed a mild and pleasing deportment. When he reached the foot of the stairs, he let fall his robes, and expanded his arms like a bird's wings." "When he met any person in mourning, he bowed even to the front cross-beam of his carriage; he did the same to a person bearing the census of the people. If the mat was not laid straight, he sat not down. When old men, who walked with canes, withdrew from a feast, he rose and retired also." He never drank wine enough to confuse his mind; and whatsoever he ate or drank, he first offered a portion to the gods. It is recorded that he turned back from a journey, on account of meeting unlucky omens by the way. He was fond of music, and often recommended its cultivation; particularly

that of their famous monarch, Shun, which so excited him, when he first heard it, that he knew not the taste of his food for three months after. His doctrines are based on the idea that human nature is good and beautiful, unless obscured by the darkness of ignorance, or sullied by the contagion of vice. As the best means of restoring its original lustre, he inculcates reverence toward the Supreme Ruler, justice and kindness toward others, temperate indulgence of the appetites, and a due regard to the medium of propriety in all things. His respect for parental authority was carried to such an extreme, that he thought parents had a right to sell their children. He encouraged marriage and agriculture, but was less favourable to commerce. On religious subjects his recorded sayings are very indefinite. He appears to have conformed to the usages of his country as he found them. He alludes reverently to a Supreme Ruler, and it may be inferred that he had belief of some kind in the immortality of the soul. He inculcates the worship of Spirits, and ceremonial observances to the souls of ancestors.

He wrote no books, and his literary merit, as he himself says, is merely that of a compiler. Being desirous to hand down to posterity the worship and the principles of political wisdom, practised by their pattern-princes, Yaou and Shun, who lived fifteen hundred years before him, he collected and arranged the scattered fragments of old books relating to the laws and manners of ancient times. Therefore, the Chinese consider him superior even to those revered monarchs; for "they benefitted one age only by their wise and benevolent government; while Confucius, by transmitting their principles to ten thousand ages, possesses ten thousand times their merit."

The Chinese sage lived seventy-three years, and toward the close of his life mourned much over modern degeneracy. A few days before his death, he said to his disciples: "Kings refuse to follow my maxims, and since I am no longer useful in the world, it is best I should depart from it." Many of his disciples erected a tent near his grave,

and remained there three years, mourning for him, and offering prayers and sacrifices; one of them lingered six years. His descendants inherit the office and title of Mandarins, and, to this day, religious honours are paid to his memory, as if he were an illustrious ancestor lately deceased. The following are samples of his maxims, as recorded by his disciples:—

“Not to correct our faults is to commit new ones.”

“Be rigid to yourself and gentle to others, and you will have no enemies.”

“The wise man loves to be by himself, the fool seeks company.”

“By the very errors of men, we may judge whether they are virtuous or not. If a good man errs, it is generally through excess of affection or gratitude; but the errors of a vicious man commonly proceed from excess of hatred and ingratitude.”

“Life and death depend on the law of Tien, which is immutable. Poverty and riches are dispensed by Tien, who cannot be compelled. A wise man reveres the dispensations of Tien, and thus enjoys inward tranquillity and peace.”

“How vast is the power of Spirits! An ocean of invisible Intelligences surround us everywhere. If you look for them, you cannot see them. If you listen, you cannot hear them. Identified with the substance of all things, they cannot be separated from it. They cause men to purify and sanctify their hearts; to clothe themselves with festive garments, and offer oblations to their ancestors. They are everywhere above us, on the right and on the left. Their coming cannot be calculated. How important that we should not neglect them!”

“Worship the gods, as though they were visibly present. Sacrifice to ancestors as if they were here.”

“He who knows right principles is not equal to him who loves them; nor is he who loves them equal to him who delights in them.”

“Coarse rice for food, water for drink, and one’s bended

arm for a pillow, even in the midst of these there is happiness; but riches and honours gained by injustice are to me like fleeting clouds."

"To know that a thing is right and not to do it, is weakness."

"Have not a friend morally inferior to yourself."

"If you err, fear not to reform."

"Be not sorry that men do not know you, but be sorry that you are ignorant of men."

"The highest exercise of benevolence is tender affection for relatives."

"Teach all, without regard to what class they belong."

"To be thoroughly instructed in music and rites, to teach others principles of virtue, to possess the friendship of many wise men, these are useful satisfactions. But satisfactions derived from pride, vanity, idleness, and sensual pleasures, are injurious."

"How wise is Hwuy! He has only a bamboo vase for his rice, a cup to drink from, and a mean narrow lane for his habitation. Other men could not endure such privations; but it disturbs not the serenity of Hwuy!"

"Fix the thoughts on duty, practise without ceasing the virtue of humanity, and, if you have leisure, cultivate the arts."

"To keep invariably in the due medium constitutes virtue; men rarely persevere in it."

"The nature of man is upright. If in the course of his life he loses this natural uprightness, he removes far from him all happiness."

"If wise and virtuous men were to govern a state for a hundred years, they could put an end to tyranny and punishments."

"Abroad, do your duty to your prince and his magistrates. At home, obey your father, mother, and elder brothers. In funeral and sacrificial rites, do not permit any negligence. Allow yourself no excess in the use of wine."

"I see no defect in the character of Yu. He was sober

in eating and drinking, and eminently pious toward Spirits and ancestors. His common apparel was coarse, but his sacrificial robes were beautifully adorned. He lived in an humble dwelling, but employed his strength in making ditches and water-courses for the good of the people."

There was an old tradition that the Yu here referred to by Confucius was born of a virgin, who conceived him from the rays of a star. He is said to have been employed by the emperor to drain off the waters of a great deluge, which, according to Chinese chronology, occurred two thousand two hundred years before Christ.

When Confucius was asked what might be said in favour of rewarding hatred by kindness, he replied: "In that case, with what will you reward kindness? Return bad treatment with equity, and recompense kindness with kindness." One of his disciples begged that he would teach him to die well. He answered: "You have not yet learned to live well; when you have learned that, you will know how to die well." Some person inquired of him what one maxim expressed the conduct proper for a whole life. He rejoined: "Never do to others what you do not wish them to do to you." One day, when he had gone out from among his scholars, a question arose concerning the general purport of his teaching. One of them said: "The doctrine of our master consists solely in integrity of heart, and treating his neighbour as he himself wishes to be treated." There is a tradition that Confucius was often heard to repeat: "In the Land of the West will the holy one be found." This declaration coincides with a prophecy in their old Sacred Books, and was afterward brought into general notice when the religion of Fo was introduced from India, which they are accustomed to designate as the Land of the West.

The compilation of ancient history and laws made by Confucius is called, by way of pre-eminence, "The Five Volumes." They date four hundred years before Moses, about two thousand years before the Christian era, and refer continually to a religion long established at the time

they were written, which they merely seek to preserve and impress upon the minds of the people. They are universally considered to be very sacred authority, though they do not claim to be divine revelations, and a comparatively small portion of their contents are of a strictly religious character. They contain the fundamental laws of the empire, rules for rites and ceremonies, moral maxims, and memoirs of princes. Apparently, their chief object was to preserve tranquillity in the state, by a precise regulation of manners and the inculcation of perfect obedience to government. They preserve a tradition concerning a mysterious Garden, where grew a Tree, bearing Apples of Immortality, guarded by a winged Serpent, called a Dragon. They describe a primitive age of the world, when the earth yielded abundance of delicious fruits without cultivation, and the seasons were untroubled by wind or storms. There was no calamity, sickness or death. Men were then good without effort; for the human heart was in harmony with the peacefulness and beauty of nature. After this happy time, men degenerated by progressive stages. But finally Tien-tse, a Son of Heaven, would be born into the world, do away all sin, and restore order. These ancient books contain no specific doctrine concerning God, but they make frequent mention of One Invisible Being, under the name of Chang-ti, which signifies the Supreme Emperor. Sometimes he is called Tien, meaning the visible heaven. Their interpreters explain this by saying: "The firmament is the most glorious work produced by the Great First Cause." Chang-ti is described as the Original Principle of all things, almighty, omniscient, knowing the inmost secrets of the heart, watching over the conduct of the universe, and permitting nothing to happen contrary to his will; rewarding virtue and punishing wickedness, raising up and casting down kings, and sending public calamities as a warning to nations to repent and forsake their sins. When an unjust emperor was struck by lightning, these Sacred Volumes represent it as a direct and visible punishment, sent by Tien, or Heaven,

as an admonition to mankind. They contain many solemn invocations to Chang-ti, for the recovery of a good emperor from dangerous illness, to obtain rain after a severe drought, and other similar benefits; and they relate many instances to assure devout readers that such prayers are generally heard and answered. They likewise affirm that no outward adoration can be pleasing to Tien unless it proceeds from a sincere heart.

From their most ancient times the Supreme Emperor of Heaven has been worshipped at stated seasons, with great solemnity. When a new emperor succeeded to the throne, it was always considered his duty to plough a portion of the ground, in token of humility, and cultivate a crop to be offered in sacrifice to Chang-ti. The empress feeds silk worms, and assists in manufacturing and embroidering rich silks, to be used as ornaments when these sheaf-offerings are carried in procession, and devoutly presented, by royal hands, to the Emperor of Heaven. Whenever these ceremonies have been omitted, or negligently performed, the Sacred Books declare that the displeasure of Chang-ti has soon after been manifested by extraordinary public calamities. Some of the early emperors, in addition to the customary agricultural offerings, kept a domestic park to rear six sorts of animals for sacrifice, twice a year, at the winter solstice and the summer solstice. On these occasions, the people were enjoined to do nothing, and think of nothing but joining with the emperor in worship of Chang-ti. In the reign of Tching-tang there was a distressing famine for seven years, occasioned by drought. The emperor having in vain offered a multitude of sacrifices, at last resolved to devote himself as a victim to appease the anger of Heaven. He took off his imperial robes, and, accompanied by the grandees of his court, went to a mountain some distance from the city, where with bare head and naked feet, in the posture of a criminal, he prostrated himself nine times before the Ruler of the Universe, and uttered the following prayer: "O Supreme Emperor, all the sacrifices I have offered to implore thy mercy have been in vain; therefore

it is doubtless I myself, who have drawn down so much misery on my people. May I dare to ask what my fault is? Is it the magnificence of my palace, or the luxuries of my table? Is it the number of my concubines? which, however, are not more than the laws allow me. I am sincerely desirous to repair all my faults by modesty, frugality, and temperance; and if this be insufficient, I offer myself as a victim to justice. Let me be punished, and my people spared. I shall be content to have thy thunderbolt fall on my head, if at the same time rain descends upon the earth, to relieve the miseries of my people." His prayer was answered. Clouds overspread the sky, and genial showers moistened the earth, which brought forth abundant harvests.

These Five Sacred Books favour belief in a multitude of Spirits, pervading the universe. They say nothing definite concerning future rewards and punishments; but a belief in the immortality of the soul is implied by the fact that they prescribe ceremonials to be performed for the souls of deceased ancestors, and speak of the virtuous departed as being near Chang-ti.

The Golden Age of the Past is much dwelt upon by their ancient commentators. One of them says: "All places were then equally the native country of every man. Flocks wandered in the fields without any guide; birds filled the air with their melodious voices; and the fruits grew of their own accord. Man lived pleasantly with the animals, and all creatures were members of the same family. Ignorant of evil, man lived in simplicity and perfect innocence." Another says: "In the first age of perfect purity, all was in harmony, and the passions did not occasion the slightest murmur. Man, united to sovereign reason within, conformed his outward actions to sovereign justice. Far from all duplicity and falsehood, his soul received marvellous felicity from heaven, and the purest delights from earth."

The first man is called by the Chinese Tai Wang, and the first woman Pao See. In one of The Five Volumes, called Chi King, it is said: "Tien placed man upon a high

mountain, which Tai Wang rendered fruitless by his own fault. He filled the earth with thorns and briars, and said, I am not guilty, for I could not do otherwise. Why did he plunge us into so much misery? All was subjected to man at first, but a woman threw us into slavery. The wise husband raised up a bulwark of walls; but the woman, by an ambitious desire of knowledge, demolished them. Our misery did not come from Heaven, but from a woman. She lost the human race. Ah, unhappy Pao See! thou kindled the fire that consumes us, and which is every day augmenting. Our misery has lasted many ages. The world is lost. Vice overflows all things, like a mortal poison." The commentator Lopi says: "After man had acquired false science, nature was spoiled and degraded. All creatures became his enemies. The birds of the air, the beasts of the field, the serpents and the reptiles, conspired to hurt him."

The Five Volumes are full of prophecies concerning a Golden Age in the Future. All these relate to the glory of the Chinese empire, which is one day to extend over the face of the whole earth. It is the universal belief that a Divine Man will establish himself on their Holy Mountain, and everywhere restore peace and happiness. This mountain is called Kou-En-Lun, and is supposed to be in the middle of the world. One of The Five Volumes, called Chan-Hai-King, thus describes it: "All that could be desired, wondrous trees, marvellous fountains, and flowery shades, are found in the hidden garden on that sacred hill. This mountain is the inferior palace of the Sovereign Lord. The animal Kaiming guards the entrance."

"The Lord looks with pleasure upon the Holy Mountain. It is the abode of peace. There grow none of the trees employed to make warlike instruments. It is an eternal kingdom. It is the work of the Most High. The Kingdom of the Middle is where the Holy Son of Heaven will come to reign. He allows no wicked men to enter there. He banishes them into the dark abodes of beasts and monsters. The subjects of that kingdom are called

heavenly people, because they are governed by the Holy Son of Heaven, who perfects them from within and without, and nourishes them by his supreme virtue and celestial doctrine, so that they cry out with joy, The Son of Heaven is truly the Father of his people, and Lord of the Universe."

"This is the Mountain of the Lord: these living fountains are the pure waters wherein the subjects of the Prince of Peace are to quench their thirst. He himself has chosen this mountain. He himself has opened the clear streams. It is hither that all the faithful nations must come. It is here that all the kings will meet."

One of the ancient commentators on the Sacred Books says: "We have learned from our ancestors that there assuredly is a mountain called Kou-En-Lun; though hitherto no one has found it." Another says: "A delicious garden, refreshed with zephyrs, and planted with odoriferous trees, was situated in the middle of the mountain, which was the avenue of heaven. The waters that moistened it flowed from a source called the Fountain of Immortality. He who drinks of it never dies. Thence flowed four rivers. A Golden River, betwixt the south and east; a Red River, between the north and east; a Peaceful River, between the south and west; and the River of the Lamb, between the north and west. These magnificent floods are the spiritual fountains of the Sovereign Lord, by which he heals nations and fructifies all things." "If you double the height of Kou-En-Lun it will become the Supreme Heaven, where Spirits live, the palace of the Great Lord and Sovereign Ruler."

The Five Volumes state that "the Source and Root of all is One. This Self-Existent Unity necessarily produced a second. The first and second, by their union, produced a third. These Three produced all."

"The ancient emperors solemnly sacrificed, every three years, to Him who is One and Three."

"Tien helps people of the inferior worlds. He gave them a guide and teacher, the faithful minister of the

Supreme Lord, to whom, out of love, he intrusted the government of the universe. Tien is The Holy One *without* a voice. The Holy One is Tien speaking *with* a voice." [That is, the Word.]

One of the old commentators says: "By consulting the ancient traditions, we know that though the Holy One will be born upon earth, yet he existed before anything was made."

One of the Five Volumes, called Y King, says: "The Holy One will unite in himself all the virtues of heaven and earth. By his justice the world will be re-established in the ways of righteousness. He will labour and suffer much. He must pass the great torrent, whose waves shall enter into his soul; but he alone can offer up to the Lord a sacrifice worthy of him."

An ancient commentator says: "The common people sacrifice their lives to gain bread; the philosophers to acquire reputation; the nobility to perpetuate their families. The Holy does not seek himself, but the good of others. He enriches others and impoverishes himself. He dies to save the world."

In one of The Five Volumes, called Chu King, it is written: "Tien, the Sovereign Lord, said to Venwang [The Prince of Peace]: I love pure and simple virtue, like thine. It makes no noise, it does not dazzle from without. It is not proud or forward. Seeing thee, one would say thou hadst no light, no knowledge, but to conform thyself to my laws."

"We expect our king. When he comes he will deliver us from all misery. He will restore us to new life."

A nephew of Confucius writes: "We expect this Divine Man, and he is to come after three thousand years." Another disciple of Confucius adds: "The people long for his coming, as the dry grass longs for the clouds and the rainbow."

The following extracts are from the Book of Chu King: "The Sovereign Lord of Heaven produced all the nations of the world, and reigns over them. He makes no excep-

tion of persons, but esteems virtue alone, loving men only so far as they worship him sincerely. He hears the prayers of the merciful, but he destroys the wicked. We ought to pray to him for immortal life."

"Perfection consists in being reunited to the Supreme Unity. The soul was at first luminous, but it was afterward obscured. It should be our earnest endeavour to restore it to its primitive light; and it is only by destroying all wrong desires, and all self-love, that we can perceive celestial reason. What is called reason is properly an attribute of Tien, the Supreme God. The light which he communicates to men is a participation of this reason. What is called reason in Tien is virtue in man, and, when reduced to practice, is called justice. The truly wise man remains within himself, and piety rules all his conduct."

"To think that we have virtue, is to have very little of it. Wisdom consists in being very humble, as if we were incapable of anything, yet ardent, as if we could do all."

"When thou art in the secret places of thy house, do not say, None sees me; for there is an Intelligent Spirit, who seeth all. Tien, the Supreme, pierces into the recesses of the heart, as light penetrates into a dark room. We must endeavour to be in harmony with his light, like a musical instrument perfectly attuned. We must receive from his hand, as soon as he opens it. He seeks to enlighten us continually; but, by our disorderly passions, we close the entrance to our souls."

"Mankind, overwhelmed with afflictions, seem to doubt of Providence; but when the hour of executing his decrees shall come, none can resist him. He will then show that when he punished, he was just and good, and that he was never actuated by vengeance or hatred."

These Five Books, and other volumes containing the recorded sayings of Confucius, are the standard literature of China, the basis of all their moral and political wisdom. Every schoolboy in the empire has committed them to memory from time immemorial, and to call in question anything they assert would be deemed the most alarming heresy.

There has always existed in China a tribunal called the Court of Rites, invested with full authority to condemn and suppress any hurtful innovations; and this has greatly contributed to the preservation of the ancient religion. But the plain practical teaching of Confucius had no marvels to overawe the imagination, and it prescribed no ascetic practices, or elaborate ceremonials, by which the sinner could mitigate remorse, and hope to reconcile himself with Divine Powers. Consequently, the populace manifested an inclination to adopt other forms of faith. Lao-kiun, sometimes called Lao-tseu, is supposed to have been the first who introduced foreign belief into China. He was cotemporary with Confucius, and founder of the sect called Tao-tse. Tradition reports that he voluntarily renounced the advantages of rank, and retired into the solitude of the forest, in the Land of the West; their name for India. The doctrines he taught indicate that he was a Hindoo devotee, but to what sect he belonged is unknown. He believed in the existence of One Supreme Being, invisible, eternal, and incomprehensible, called Tao, which means Reason, or Wisdom. Successive emanations from him were subordinate Spirits, who produced the world, and governed it as his agents. It was his favourite maxim that "Tao produced one; one produced two; two produced a third; and three produced all things." The science of Tao was the means of arriving at felicity and perfect freedom. This science could be obtained by severe mortification of the body, entire subjection of the passions, and devout contemplation. When a man arrived at this holy state, he was an immortal while he yet remained upon the earth. It was believed that he could foretell events, fly through the air, put back the course of the years, and ascend to heaven without dying. Lao-kiun was accustomed to say: "The Holy pronounced these words: He that takes upon himself the dust and filth of the kingdom, shall become king of the universe." He acquired great reputation for sanctity, and marvellous stories were told of his birth. It was said that he had existed from all eter-

nity; that he descended to earth, and was born of a virgin, black in complexion, described "marvellous and beautiful as jasper;" that when his mission of benevolence was completed, he ascended bodily alive into the Paradise above. His statue was placed in the emperor's palace, a splendid temple was erected to him, and he was worshipped as a god. His disciples were called, "Heavenly Teachers." They inculcated great tenderness toward animals, and considered strict celibacy necessary for the attainment of perfect holiness.

One morning a book filled with magical formulas and invocations to Spirits was found suspended on the principal gate of Peking. The followers of Lao-kiun said it had descended from heaven in the night-time. The emperor Tchintsong, being among the converts to the new doctrine, went on foot to the city gate, in token of humility, received the volume with all reverence, enclosed it in a golden box, and carried it back to the palace, where it has ever since been carefully preserved, as the oracle of the sect, under the title of Tao-teking. From revelations contained in these writings, the teachers profess to know how to cast out Evil Spirits from those afflicted with diseases, to predict events from the aspect of the stars, and make gold by some mysterious process of alchemy and magic. They even persuaded one of the emperors that they had discovered how to distil a liquor which would confer immortal life on whoever drank it. The teachers of this sect have great influence with the populace, to whom they sell amulets to preserve them from evil, and innumerable small images of Spirits, and of saints who have become God. The successors of Lao-kiun are always honoured with the title of chief Mandarins. The head of the sect resides in a magnificent palace in the district of Kiang-si. A great concourse of people, among whom are some persons of rank, flock thither from the neighbouring provinces, to have diseases cured, or their fortunes told.

Such practices have always been ridiculed by the school of Confucius, and the Court of Rites has uniformly con-

demned them. In the third century after Confucius, the emperor, annoyed by the power thus obtained over the credulous multitude, ordered all books of magic to be burned, and put many professors of it to death; but some of the writings were secretly preserved, and afterward brought to light.

A new religion was subsequently introduced, concerning which the following traditions are preserved. In the twenty-fourth year of the reign of Tchao-Wang, on the eighth day of the moon, a light from the south-west illumined the palace of the king. The monarch summoned sages skilled in predicting the future, and inquired the meaning of this splendour. They showed him books wherein it was prophesied that such a light would be seen when a great saint was born in the West, and that one thousand years after his birth, his religion would spread into China. This was one thousand and twenty-nine years before Christ. Sixty-five years after Christ, the emperor Ming-ti dreamed that a man ten feet high, of the colour of gold, and glittering like the sun, entered his palace, and said: "My religion will spread over these parts." When the sages were consulted, they opened the annals of the empire and showed him how his dream corresponded with the prophecy which had been read to Tchao-Wang a thousand years before. He was so much impressed by the coincidence, that he immediately sent ambassadors to India, with directions to seek for the Holy One, and not return until they found him. These messengers encountered some of the disciples of Bouddha Sakia, and brought back his Sacred Books, with teachers to explain them. The doctrines of this sect have been described in the chapter on Hindostan. They have been very generally adopted in China, where Bouddha is known under the name of the God Fo. Five centuries after the introduction of this religion, there were three thousand temples of Fo in the Chinese empire, and the emperor himself was so attached to the new faith, that he resigned the government into the hands of his adopted son, that he might withdraw from all

worldly affairs, and devote himself entirely to meditation on divine things.

In one of the Sacred Books brought by the ambassadors, Bouddha is understood to refer to a master more ancient than himself, called by the Chinese *Om-i-to*, and by the Japanese *Am-i-da*. It is said this name, in Sanscrit, signifies The Infinite. It is apparently a variation of *Om*, which Hindoos hold so peculiarly sacred as the Word which issued from the mouth of Brahma, and produced all things. In China, it is written thousands and thousands of times on all their holy places. In their prayers, they pronounce it with Fo, believing they can thus obtain remission of sins.

Phu-sa, a follower of Bouddha, who lived early in our fourth century, is worshipped in China, as one of those saints who had become a Spirit of Light, and voluntarily descended to earth again from motives of benevolence. He is called "The son of Bouddha, born of his mouth," because his allegorical writings are supposed to have perfected the doctrines of his master. Bodhidharma, another of his followers, who fled from persecution in Hindostan, in our fifth century, took refuge in China, where he was received with distinguished favour by the emperor, and became his spiritual teacher. His name is held in religious veneration, and his office of imperial counsellor was the origin of an order of priests still existing, called Spiritual Princes of the Law.

The emperors of the Tartar dynasty have all embraced Lamaism, a branch of Buddhism, which will be presently explained. But whatever may be their personal predilections, the law obliges them to conform to the rites and ceremonies prescribed in the ancient Sacred Books of China, in common with all magistrates and public officers. The festivals of the old religion are scrupulously observed. Every new emperor guides the plough with his own hands, to raise grain for an offering to Chang-ti. At the winter solstice, the last week in December, and the summer solstice, the last week in June, all the shops are shut up,

the courts are closed, and no person is permitted to begin a long journey. The religious solemnities celebrated at those seasons are called Festivals of Gratitude to Tien. At the spring equinox, they set apart a day to implore the blessing of Tien on the fruits of the earth. At the autumnal equinox, they offer the first-fruits of the harvest, and return thanks.

Though the worship of Fo has been the prevailing religion of all parts of the Chinese empire for more than fifteen hundred years, it has never gained favour with a majority of their learned men, who are mostly of the school of Confucius. One of them argues thus: "This person, so cried up, who has come out of the West into China, passed, as they say, nine years on a mountain, in continual contemplation. He remained immoveable, with his eyes fixed upon the wall, without changing his position. Suppose every private person should take it into his head to follow this example, who would take care of cultivating the fields, and making the useful products of the loom? Whence would they have garments, and food to support life? Can it be imagined that a doctrine whose practice, if it were universal, would put the whole empire in confusion, is the true doctrine?" A letter from one of them, addressed to the emperor, says: "If the worship of Fo is tolerated, the people will go by hundreds to give their money and clothing to the priests; and I fear that young and old will finish by entirely neglecting their occupations. If you do not forbid these things, there will soon be persons who will mutilate their members to offer them to Fo, thus destroying our morality, and exciting the ridicule of people around us." Another writes thus to a believer in the popular doctrines: "If you do not burn paper in honour of Fo, if you do not place offerings upon his altar, he will be angry with you, and make punishment fall on your heads. Your god Fo must then be a miserable creature."

But these are merely the opinions of the learned. The populace have always been so attached to the religion of Fo, that the Court of Rites have deemed it prudent to ex-

press no opinion against it. When they meet annually at Peking, they merely condemn heresy in general terms, and leave the people free to follow their own opinions, provided they do not infringe upon any of the established laws of the empire. Many, who consider themselves disciples of Confucius, have mixed his maxims with various ideas borrowed from the Sacred Books of Fo. The women are almost universally attached to the popular worship. They have an altar in the most honourable part of the house, covered with gilded images of gods and saints; and not unfrequently husbands, who profess the old conservative faith of China, are seen bowing the knee to these household deities. One of the most universal of these images is that of Shing Mou, the Mother Goddess; the same title bestowed by ancient Egyptians on Isis with her infant Horus. It represents a woman with a glory round her head, and a babe in her arms, or seated on her knee. Tradition describes her as a virgin, who conceived by simple contact with a water-lily. The child, exposed in his infancy, was found and brought up by poor fishermen. He became a great man, and performed wonderful miracles. In wealthy houses, the sacred image of the Mother Goddess is carefully kept in a recess behind the altar, veiled with a silken screen.

Every Chinese believes he has an attendant Spirit, his own peculiar guardian. An image of it is kept in the house and worshipped three times a day, with prayers, and the fragrant incense of sandal wood. Sun, moon, fire, water, earth, and every department of nature, has a presiding deity. So has each trade and profession. Homage is often paid to some high mountain, or remarkably large tree, from the idea that a powerful Spirit resides therein. The image of a great Dragon, or monstrous Serpent, occurs everywhere in their temples, and on domestic altars. They say it lives in the sky, and has great influence over the affairs of men. Originally it doubtless represented the constellation of the Serpent, and they preserve this fragmentary form of the

old astronomical religion of India, Chaldea, and Egypt, without understanding the idea it embodied.

According to the statements of Jesuit missionaries in China, the doctrine of the transmigration of souls sometimes manifests itself in singular results. Father Le Comte says: "One day two priests of Fo passing the dwelling of a rich peasant saw three large ducks before the door. They immediately stopped before the house and began to weep bitterly. The peasant's wife came out to inquire the cause of their grief. They replied: 'We know that the souls of our fathers have passed into those creatures, and the fear that you may kill them renders us wretched.' The woman promised they should be carefully tended, and neither killed nor sold. But they answered: 'Perhaps your husband may not be so compassionate as you are; and if any accident should happen, it would be a great affliction to us.' After some further conversation, the woman felt such sympathy with their filial anxiety, that she gave them the ducks."

The same writer says: "They called upon me one day to baptize a sick person, an old man of seventy, who lived upon a small pension given him by the emperor. When I entered his room, he said: 'I thank you, Father, that you are going to deliver me from a heavy punishment.' I replied: 'That is not all. Baptism not only saves people from hell, but conducts them to a life of blessedness.' 'I do not comprehend what you say,' rejoined the invalid; 'and perhaps I have not sufficiently explained myself. I have for some time past lived on the emperor's benevolence. The priests, who are well acquainted with what happens to the soul after death, assure me that I shall be obliged to repay the emperor's generosity by becoming a post-horse to bring despatches from the provinces to court. They exhort me to perform my duty well, when I assume this new form of being, and to take care not to stumble, or wince, or bite. They tell me if I travel well, eat little, and am patient, I may by that means excite the compassion of the deities, who often convert a good beast into a man

of quality, and make him a considerable Mandarin. I cannot think of all this without trembling. Sometimes I dream that I am harnessed, and ready to set out at the first stroke of the rider. I then wake in a sweat, and am very unhappy, not being able to determine whether I am a man or a horse. Alas! what will become of me, when I shall be a horse in reality? They tell me, Father, that people of your religion are not subject to such miseries; that men continue to be men in the next world, as they are in this. I beseech you to receive me among you. I am ready to embrace your religion; for, whatever it may cost me, I had rather be a Christian than become a beast." The Jesuit Father baptized him, and the poor old man departed from this life happy in the belief that he should not be obliged to reappear on earth in the form of a post-horse.

In some places assemblies of women are held, to perform certain religious ceremonies as a preparation for death. A venerable old priest comes to preside over the meeting. He arranges the sacred images, and covers the walls of the house with paintings representing the various torments of the wicked after they leave the body. He sings anthems to Fo, while the women strike small kettles at intervals, and devoutly repeat the names of Omi-to and Fo. These festivals continue seven days, during which their principal care is to prepare and consecrate treasures for the other world. They build small houses with paper, and fill them with a great number of boxes painted and gilded. In these boxes they put hundreds of little rolls of gold and silver paper. They secure them with padlocks of paper, and fasten the house carefully. When the person who made the house dies, they burn it, with all its chests and keys, with many solemn ceremonials, for which the priests are paid. They believe the house will become a real house in the other world, and the rolls of paper will become genuine ingots of gold and silver. In the house they expect to reside, and with the treasures they hope to propitiate the eighteen guardians of souls in the regions of the dead.

With a view to laying up a store of religious merit, they repeat many prayers, and make many genuflexions before images; for the due performance of which the priests give them sealed certificates, varying in price, according to circumstances. These certificates are placed in a box, which is sealed up when the person dies, and is carried to the funeral with much ceremony. They call it Lou-in, which signifies a passport for travelling from one world to another.

They annually publish astronomical calculations of the motions of the planets, for every hour and minute of the year. They consider it important to be very exact, because the hours, and even the minutes, are lucky or unlucky, according to the aspect of the stars. Some days are considered peculiarly fortunate for marrying, or beginning to build a house; and the gods are better pleased with sacrifice offered at certain hours, than they are with the same ceremony performed at other times.

The doctrines of Fo, and the ritual of his worship, are contained in an old book, called Kio, which his numerous followers receive as sacred. An immense number of commentaries have been written upon it. It is said there is likewise a very ancient book in China, called Yekim, attributed to Fo himself; but it is written in hieroglyphics, and cannot be deciphered. All their holy books, and religious formulas, are written in a sacred language, called Pali, bearing a very close resemblance to the Sanscrit.

It is supposed to have been about four hundred years after the Christian era, that a holy hermit went from India and established himself on a mountain in Central Thibet, thenceforth called Bouddha La, which signifies the Mountain of Bouddha. He soon attracted numerous disciples, who listened reverently to his teachings. Such was his reputation for holiness, that after his death the belief prevailed that he was Bouddha himself, who had again descended from Paradise, and assumed the form of a pious

anchorite, in order to effect the salvation of the people of Thibet. He taught them their forms of prayer, and left them a book called, "The Body of Doctrine," ascribed to Bouddha, and also some works of his own, which are held in great veneration. These, and all the other Sacred Books of Eastern Asia, are written in a modification of Sanscrit.

The worship of Bouddha remained confined to the region about Bouddha La until six hundred and twenty-nine years after Christ, when prince Srong Dsan Gambo, the founder of Thibetian greatness, married a princess of China, and a princess of Nepal, both educated in that religion. They brought with them images of Fo, Sacred Books and relics, and caused a great number of temples and buildings for devotees to be erected. The king established himself on the sacred mountain, called Bouddha La, around which soon grew up the city of Lassa, the present capital of Thibet. This popular prince, who had achieved so much for the prosperity of his country, was believed to be the identical old saint, who more than two hundred years before had taught on Bouddha La, and who had now come back again into a human body, to establish his religion permanently in Thibet. Sects arose in opposition to the new doctrines, either from attachment to some older form of faith, or from jealousy of the priestly power. Once the new religion was nearly overturned in a civil war between two rival brothers, contending for the throne, one in favour of Buddhism, and the other opposed to it. It suffered various vicissitudes until the close of our eleventh century, when a son of the reigning monarch became a devotee of that religion, and his father made him Superior of a monastery built for him. He afterward succeeded to the throne, and was the first one in that country who united in himself the offices of High Priest and King. He also was declared to be the renowned old hermit of Bouddha La, who had reappeared on earth yet again to govern his beloved Thibet.

This was the origin of that form of Buddhism called

Lamaism. Lama means Pastor of Souls, and is the name applied to all the priests. Dalai Lama, or Grand Lama, means the Great Pastor, the Supreme Pontiff, who is at the head of all ecclesiastical and civil affairs in Thibet. The highest object of worship is Shigemooni, which is their variation of the name of Bouddha Sakia Mouni. The next is his disciple, the famous old hermit of Bouddha La, whose soul is supposed to be regularly transmitted through the succeeding Grand Lamas of Thibet, to watch over the people, whom he loved so well that he left Paradise to instruct them in the true religion. When the Grand Lama dies, it is necessary to ascertain into what body his soul has passed. This can be done only by other Lamas, who fast and pray, and perform various ceremonies, to be guided aright. Those who think there are signs of his having appeared in their family, give information of it to the proper ecclesiastical authorities. The names of the candidates are written on little golden fish, which are shaken in an urn, and the first one taken out is proclaimed Grand Lama. He is carried to Lassa in triumphal procession, all the people prostrating themselves before him as he passes along. Disputes have sometimes arisen concerning the succession, and in some cases there have been bloody wars, causing the destruction of whole villages. But the belief remains deeply rooted that the immortal head of the church, by miraculous transmission of his soul, is always visibly present in the person of the Grand Lama, who is both pope and king. He is regarded as the vicegerent of God, with power to dispense divine blessings on whomsoever he will, either directly, or through the medium of subordinate Lamas. It is said fountains will flow at his command, even in the most parched deserts; that flowers spring up wherever his feet have passed, and that his person exhales celestial fragrance. He is supposed to see and know everything, even in the deepest recesses of the heart, so that he never has occasion to inquire on any subject. He is called, "The Immaculate," "The active Creator and Governor of the present World," "He who has clair-

voyant eyes," "The Word which produced the World." Thibet, China, the Mongols, and the Calmuck Tartars, acknowledge his sway. Crowds of pilgrims come with offerings from all quarters, to pay him homage, and obtain his blessing. Princes make the same prostrations and perform the same ceremonies as pilgrims of the meanest rank. He receives them seated on a splendid divan, in the attitude of the sacred images. He treats no one with more respect than another. He never rises, or uncovers his head, or salutes any one; but merely lays his hand on the head of the worshipper, who believes he has thereby obtained pardon for his sins. He sometimes distributes little pieces of consecrated dough, which are used for amulets to charm away Evil Spirits. At stated seasons he visits some of the great theological establishments, to expound the Sacred Books, and his expositions are received as divine authority. On state occasions, he wears a yellow mitre, and a purple silk mantle fastened on the breast with a clasp. In his hand he carries a long staff in the form of a cross. Though Thibet is politically subject to China, the Chinese emperor is subject to the Grand Lama in all ecclesiastical matters.

There are two other Lamas in Eastern Asia, believed to be incarnations of Bouddha, receiving his soul, or portions of it, by a similar process of transmission from generation to generation; but their holiness is of inferior degree, and they are in all respects subordinate to the Grand Lama at Lassa. It is a very common thing for persons belonging to the religious orders to be regarded as resuscitations of deceased saints. These are distinguished by the epithet "twice born," or "thrice born."

The powerful hierarchy, of which the Grand Lama is the head, consists of various ranks and classes. A High Lama is sent as nuncio to the Court of China, and supported there. There is an order called Spiritual Princes of the Law, and Masters of the Kingdom; these are the confidential advisers of the emperors. There are many large theological establishments called Lamaseries, exceedingly

similar to the monasteries in Europe. The origin and growth of these associations may be briefly stated. It has already been said that in very ancient times Hindoo devotees, in order to attain perfect holiness, withdrew from the world, and vowed themselves to chastity and poverty. The fame of their sanctity attracted disciples, many of whom lived in grottoes or cells, in the vicinity of their teacher, thus forming a brotherhood of saints. When a distinct order of priests grew out of this beginning, young men and boys were sent into the forest to be educated by them for the priesthood. These were temporary associations, which dispersed with change of circumstances. But the followers of Bouddha, being placed in opposition to the orthodox Hindoo religion, and relentlessly persecuted by its priests, naturally sought support and consolation by living together in congregations. As they were all devotees in the beginning, they naturally adopted a regular routine of prayers and ceremonies, as their models, the Hindoo hermits, had done. Afterward, when whole nations adopted their faith, the worldly gave up the entire management of religious affairs to them. Thus they became a new order of priests, whose appropriate business it was to educate successors to the offices they held. Bouddha's greatest offence against the orthodox Bramins was that he opened the religious life to all castes and all nations. He is represented as saying: "All men are equal; and my doctrines are a favour and grace to all mankind." This was a fruitful source of reproach with the Bramins, who were wont to say, contemptuously: "He and his followers teach even mean and criminal men, and receive them most improperly into a state of grace." Wherever his doctrines prevail, there is no hereditary priesthood, and the only distinctions are those which arise from difference of character. Women, also, were included in his unpopular doctrines of emancipation from the laws of caste. His followers could not overcome the prejudices of their native country in this respect, but in China and Thibet there are many associations of devout women, governed by the same laws

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that regulate the Lamaseries. Such establishments are under the spiritual direction of a man, there being no such class of women as the ancient priestesses, or modern abbesses. There were formerly convents of women in the Birman Empire, but government suppressed them as prejudicial to population. Only old women are allowed to devote themselves to a life of celibacy. They shave their hair and wear white robes. They at first lived in the same building with men who had vowed themselves to a religious life, but to prevent immoralities they were afterward divided into separate establishments. These women keep the temples in order, accompany funerals, bring water for ceremonies of purification, and other similar offices. Women in Buddhist countries, as in all parts of Asia, are in an enslaved condition. Polygamy is allowed, and the wealthy sometimes have harems.

In the Lamaseries there is a complicated division of ranks, each with appropriate duties, and all are bound to obey the Superior implicitly. It is common to place children of five or six years old in Lamaseries, where they learn to read and write, and perform various services about the house. At twenty-one years of age they can be received into the brotherhood, after examination. On these occasions the candidate is required to affirm solemnly that he is of the required age, that he was born in wedlock, that he has consent of parents, is in debt to no one, free from hereditary disease or bodily defect, not sprung from a race of dwarfs or giants, and not under the influence of sorcerers, or Evil Spirits from the woods and mountains. These preliminaries being settled, the parents give a feast. Afterward, the young man shaves his head, and in token of renouncing old ties, he drops his name and takes another. If asked to what country he belongs, he replies: "I have no country. I spend my time in such or such a Lamasery." Every one is free to quit, whenever he judges it best to return to the world. Each member brings with him a cup, pitcher, dish, and mat to sleep on. They are forbidden to kindle a fire to prepare food for themselves.

They must depend on the offerings of the charitable, or what they can gain by begging. Mendicants are generally sent out into the environs once a week, but they are not allowed to demand anything, or to manifest any discontent when they are refused. They all take their meals together, it not being permitted to eat alone. They must not swallow food after sundown, or have a light in the evening, for fear of destroying some insect thereby. Some of the Lamas are so scrupulous on this point, that when they ride they are constantly turning their horses this way and that, to avoid trampling on some insect or reptile. If they chance to kill one, they fast and pray, and perform various ceremonies to atone for it. The more enlightened Lamas say they approve of such precautions, not because a human soul may have transmigrated into the animal, but because men of prayer, who seek to live in communion with the Deity, ought to be merciful and gentle toward all things. Though not allowed to kill any creature, they are permitted to eat the flesh of an animal that came to its death by accident. The laity in most Buddhist countries are not so scrupulous on this point, and if meat is offered to religious mendicants, they can often be induced to eat it, by assurances that the animal was not killed with the intention of offering it to them. What remains of their meals is not allowed to be reserved; it must be distributed to the poor, or to strangers, or to the youths who attend the school, or even to animals. Consequently, these establishments are always surrounded by a crowd of beggars. Inmates of the highest rank are as simple in dress and food as the lowest. The men are expressly forbidden to pass a night in the buildings appropriated to women, and women are not allowed to remain over night in any of the Lamaseries. If the vow of perpetual chastity is violated, the culprit is severely punished, and for a second offence expelled. It is said their manners are generally pure, which is more likely to be the case from their freedom to return to a worldly mode of life whenever they choose. Among the Birmans, the violation of their vow of chastity is pun-

ished by death in the flames. The Sacred Books are very emphatic on this point. In the "Forty-Two Points of Instruction," it is said: "Bouddha, the Supreme of Beings, manifesting his doctrine, pronounced these words: There is no passion more violent than voluptuousness. Happily there is but one such passion. If there were two, not a man in the whole universe could follow the truth."

"Beware of fixing your eyes upon women! If you find yourself in their company, let it be as though you were not present. If you speak with them, guard well your hearts. Let your conduct be irreproachable. Keep ever saying to yourselves: We Lamas, while we live in this world of corruption, must be like the Water Lily, which immersed in mud contracts no stain."

"The man who walks in the path of holiness must remember that the passions are as dry grass near a great fire. He who is jealous of his virtue, should flee on the first approach of the passions."

"The man who, striving after holiness, endeavours to extirpate the roots of his passions, is like one passing the beads of a rosary through his fingers. By taking one bead after another, he easily attains the end; so by conquering evil tendencies, one by one, the soul attains to perfection."

Buddhists are not much addicted to self-tortures, which prevail so extensively in Hindostan. Celibacy and frequent fasts are the chief penances the religious impose upon themselves. But though they rarely follow the example of Bouddha in severe bodily inflictions, they are prone to imitate his habits of profound contemplation. At such times, they say his body remained perfectly motionless, and his senses unaffected by any external object. He then became a recipient of divine revelations, which he communicated to his disciples. Those among his followers, who are desirous to obtain similar supernatural gifts, consecrate a large portion of their time to profound meditation. Some of the Lamas become hermits, living in the holes of rocks, or in small wooden cells fastened to the sides of

mountains. In some instances, these places are so inaccessible, that food can be conveyed to them only by means of a bag let down with a long rope. Some inhabit gloomy and almost impenetrable forests, infested with tigers and serpents. Some of them live in communities in the deserts, or on the sides of mountains, each one in a little cave, or wooden cell. In some of these associations, it is part of their daily ceremonies to scourge themselves with a small whip. They consider this as an expiation for sins, which will be accepted in lieu of sufferings in another stage of existence. Some live on lonely islands, which can be approached only in winter, on the ice. At that inclement season, the devout often carry them tea, butter, and rice, and receive in return blessings and prayers, which are believed to be very efficacious in producing fruitful pastures and numerous flocks.

The Buddhists have in their temples many images of saints, who are believed to have obeyed the following precept of their Sacred Books, and to have obtained the reward it promises: "Annihilate thyself; for as soon as thou ceasest to be thyself, thou wilt become one with God, and return into his being." Innumerable are the miracles ascribed to these saints, and to others who follow their example. Their garments, and the staffs with which they walk, are supposed to imbibe some mysterious power, and blessed are they who are allowed to touch them. It is a great branch of business in the Lamaseries to make images of the saints, and consecrate them to sell to devotees. Images of Boudhdha himself of course rank above all others. Great is the merit of him who causes one to be made, and presents it to a temple. The priesthood have a tradition that Boudhdha promised whoever consecrated an image to him should never go to any of the hells, or be born a slave or a woman, or be subject to blindness, deafness, or any deformity. Worshippers implore the intercession of saints to obtain forgiveness or blessings for them; and there are many marvellous accounts of the images bowing their heads, and moving their lips, or eyes, in answer to such

prayers. Temples are often built in honour of saints, and their relics deposited in the most sacred part of the building. These are believed to have the same power to work miracles which the saint himself possessed. Therefore, places where the most celebrated relics are preserved, attract crowds of pilgrims. In a temple at Ceylon is a tooth said to have been Bouddha's. It is kept in a golden case set with gems, and the case is enclosed within four others, all covered with costly jewels. Long pilgrimages are made to obtain a sight of it, and it is worshipped with profoundest veneration.

Prayers, and pious maxims, printed on small bits of paper, command a ready sale at the Lamaserias. They have no moveable types, but print them coarsely from wooden blocks. Some of the Lamas obtain a living by transcribing the Sacred Books for purchasers. Some of their manuscript editions are really superb, with rich illustrations, and highly ornamented characters. Herbs gathered on sacred mountains, and holy water brought from sacred rivers, or consecrated by the benediction of priests, are profitable articles of commerce, because they are supposed to be invested with supernatural power to cure diseases, and keep off Evil Spirits. In Japan, the priests sell a form of words, which they assure purchasers will not only defend them against Evil Spirits in this world, but will serve as passports to felicity in the life to come. Some travellers assert that they borrow money for religious purposes, and promise an equivalent in the good things of Paradise. As security, they give the lender a writing, which he is to carry with him to the other world, to prove the amount of his claims. All Buddhists retain the old Hindoo belief that nearly all departed souls remain for a while in regions of punishment, graduated according to the sins they have committed in the body. There they go through a process of purification, by fire, water, and other means, and are thus prepared to ascend to such a degree of Paradise as is proportioned to their merits. Prayers and oblations from the living are

supposed to be accepted by the Higher Powers, in lieu of these purifying sufferings; therefore, the more prayers and gifts are offered, the shorter is the term of punishment. Priests are supposed to be divinely instructed concerning the most efficacious forms of prayers and ceremonies; and in this way the pious affection of relatives and friends becomes a lucrative source of revenue to the Temples and Lamaseries as it was to the Bramins of Hindostan, from the most ancient times.

Some of the Lamas are rich, others are poor. The offerings of pilgrims are divided among them according to their rank. Some of them manufacture hats, boots, and clothing for the establishment. Some keep cows and sell butter and milk to their brethren. Some spend all their time in collecting donations for the Temples and Lamaseries. The members of these religious communities are generally divided into four classes. The first class devote themselves to mysticism, or precepts of the contemplative life. The second study the Liturgy, and are expounders of religious ceremonies. The third prepare themselves for physicians, principally by the study of botany, as they use only vegetable medicines, concerning which they are said to possess much valuable information. The fourth class are called The Faculty of Prayers. They are expected to be able to recite by heart the prayers in the Sacred Books for all occasions. They are most in demand, and best paid, consequently the most numerous.

The Lamaseries are generally more or less endowed by the government, and there is good reason for it; for in them are concentrated all the intellectual cultivation there is in those countries. The Lamas are the only physicians, astronomers, architects, sculptors, and painters. They occupy themselves very much with the study and composition of religious works. Their commentaries on the Sacred Books are very voluminous. At stated periods, people assemble in the temples to hear them read and explain the precepts of Bouddha, and other great saints. But their principal occupation is the education of youth;

not merely those devoted to priestly life, but also those intended for worldly professions. All the Lamaserics are schools, where instruction is given gratis, and poor children are fed. In China, Thibet, Birmah, and Japan, it is uncommon to find a man belonging to the Buddhist religion, who is too ignorant to read and write. This is one of the good effects of breaking down the monopoly of privileged classes, so tenaciously preserved in ancient Egypt and Hindostan. In the upper class of seminaries, philosophy, astronomy, medicine, and theology are taught. It is true these studies are mixed up with magical rites, exorcisms to cast out Evil Spirits, and other ideas which indicate the infancy of knowledge; but the literature which everywhere follows in the train of Buddhism, imperfect as it is, deserves the credit of waking up nations previously slumbering in profoundest ignorance. When Turner visited Thibet in 1783, he found their teachers acquainted with the satellites of Jupiter, the ring of Saturn, and the use of mercury as a medicine.

The discipline in these schools is very strict. The pupils sit in an open enclosure enduring the cold in winter and the heat in summer, while they listen to professors seated under a canopy, expounding the Sacred Books. Men with whips are in attendance, to punish the slightest infraction of the rules. If the students fail to recite the lessons or prayers given them to learn, they are severely whipped, or made to pass a cold night out of doors, with little or no clothing. They themselves say it is impossible to learn the prayers well, without being punished in the process. They told the French missionaries that all the Lamas who could not recite prayers perfectly, or cure diseases, or predict the future correctly, were those who in youth had not been well beaten by their masters.

The inmates of the Lamaserics are generally very benevolent to the poor, and extremely hospitable and fraternal toward travellers and strangers. M. Huc, a Jesuit missionary, speaks thus of his visit to the celebrated Lamasery of Kounboum, in Tartary: "The reception given us re

called to our thoughts those monasteries raised by the hospitality of our own religious ancestors, in which travellers and the poor always found refreshment for the body and consolation for the soul."

The more enlightened Lamas manifest a beautiful spirit of toleration toward other religions. When the missionaries Huc and Gabet expounded Christianity to some of the Lamas of Thibet, they listened respectfully, and quietly replied: "Well, we do not suppose that our prayers are the only prayers in the world." Upon one occasion, a Lama of high rank, one of the Incarnations of Bouddha, arrived with a numerous retinue at the inn where these missionaries had put up for the night. When he sought an interview with them, they treated him kindly, but without reverence, not rising when he entered, and remaining seated while talking with him, though everybody else prostrated themselves before him. He took no offence, but was extremely gentle and affable in his manners. A Roman Catholic Breviary was lying on the table, and he admired its gilded edges and rich binding. When they explained what it was, he raised it reverentially to his forehead, saying: "It is your book of prayer. We ought always to honour and respect prayer." He supposed them to be English, or Russians. When told they were French, he exclaimed: "Ah, the West contains so many kingdoms! But what matter where you are from? All men are brothers." In answer to some inquiries by the same missionaries, the Regent of Thibet replied: "Even if our laws did prohibit strangers from entering our country, those laws could not affect *you*. Men of prayer belong to all countries. They are strangers nowhere. Such is the doctrine taught by our Holy Books."

All the religious orders preserve old-fashioned simplicity with regard to food and raiment. None of them go without clothing, like some of the Hindoo devotees; but some of them wear merely enough for purposes of modesty, and all dress very plainly. The universal colour of their garments is deep yellow. In Birmah and Siam the persons

of Lamas are inviolable, and the lands belonging to Lamaseries are exempted from taxation. But the princes watch them with jealous eyes, and do not allow them to meddle in the least degree with political affairs. Any indulgence of sensual appetites is at once punished by a public and disgraceful expulsion from the brotherhood; but this penalty is rarely incurred. It is probably owing to such restriction of power, and watchfulness over morals, that the clergy of Birman are generally exemplary men, and have a respectable knowledge of literature, compared with other classes in Asia. Among the Lamas of Thibet, and other Buddhist countries, there are also many individuals of great worth and considerable learning; but a large proportion of them are too ignorant to understand the Sanscrit prayers, which they repeat by rote. Among the Calmucks there is an inferior order of the clergy, who are allowed to marry; and innovations of this kind have crept into some other countries. But celibacy is everywhere required of those who fill the higher offices of the priesthood.

As the early devotees changed into a numerous and powerful body of priests, they gradually relaxed in devotional exercises that required much effort, and substituted in their stead an endless routine of ceremonies. The sound of the tom-tom and gong is perpetually heard from the Lamaseries, summoning the inmates to the performance of some rite. They have prayers and chants three times a day, morning, noon, and evening, as the Bramins did in Hindoo forests, ages and ages ago. Like them, also, they practise daily ablutions, and place offerings on the tombs of ancestors, with prayers to shorten the term of unhappy transmigration for their souls. They have a great number of prescribed formulas, among which they regard as most efficacious their six mystic syllables, "*Om mani padma houn,*" said to have been revealed to them by the first old anchorite on Buddha La. A vast number of commentaries have been written to explain these holy words. *Om* is the mystic term to express the Creative Word. *Mani*

is said to signify a gem ; *padma*, a lotus ; and *houm*, amen. They attach as much value to this phrase, as Hindoos do to *Om* and the *Gayatri*. To repeat it often and devoutly is thought to be the most efficacious mode of escaping from unhappy transmigrations, and of becoming finally absorbed in Bouddha. People are continually saying over these syllables on their rosaries, they are repeated thousands of times in their public ceremonies, and are everywhere inscribed on the walls of temples, the rocks of sacred mountains, the banners carried in procession, and the flags floating over their doors. Rich devotees maintain, at their own expense, companies of Lamas to travel over hill and dale, carving this sacred formula on rocks and stones. Both priests and people attribute magical virtue to the recitation of these syllables, independent of the thought or feeling with which they are pronounced. One of the religious writers of Thibet says : "Mount Sumeru can be weighed in a balance ; the great ocean can be drained drop by drop ; the immense forests of the kingdom of snows (Thibet) can be reduced to ashes, and the atoms of these ashes can be counted ; the drops of a continual rain during twelve months might be numbered ; but the virtues of a single recitation of these six syllables are incalculable."

Like the Hindoo hermits of very ancient times, they make use of long rosaries of seed, or beads. Devotees may be continually met, fingering their beads as they walk, and repeating, "*Om mani padma houm*." Some of their rosaries are very richly ornamented. In all the great Lamaseries they have machines which resemble a barrel and turn on an axle. They are composed of a vast number of sheets of paper, written all over with prayers, and pasted together till they form a substance thick as a board. When set in motion, it turns of itself for a long while, and he who turns has the merit of having said all the prayers it contains. Sometimes quarrels arise among the devotees, because one comes and stops the barrel set in motion by another, and turns it again for his own benefit. All the streams near Lamaseries are interrupted by dams, con-

structed for the purpose of turning numerous prayer-wheels, the motion of which is considered equivalent to repeating prayers day and night for those who erected them. The Tartars place them over their fireplaces, where, being moved by the draught, they are supposed to repeat prayers incessantly for the safety and prosperity of the household. In Japan, almost every mountain, hill, and cliff, is sacred to some presiding saint, to whom travellers are requested, by inscribed tablets, to address prayers as they pass. As this would occupy too much time, upright posts are placed on the roadside, with an iron plate fastened on the top; and turning a plate is equivalent to repeating a prayer.

Priests teach that whosoever consecrates a son or a daughter to the monastic life, is not only a religious benefactor, but thereby becomes a relation of Bouddha. The princess Sanghamitta and her brother are mentioned in early records as having been thus consecrated by their royal parents. They wrought many miracles, "became like the Sun and the Moon, illuminating the whole land with the religion of Bouddha," and finally, while yet in the body, attained complete absorption into the Supreme Being. A princess in Ceylon hearing the renown of their sanctity, became interested to know by what process it was acquired; and Sanghamitta went to that island, to initiate her into the holy life. Several other women joined them, and lived together in secluded apartments, where they spent their time in contemplation and prayer. This is supposed to have been the beginning of Buddhist nunneries.

Lamas are exceedingly numerous. In the Chinese empire alone there are reckoned to be more than a million. In Tartary, all the male children, except the oldest sons, are brought up as Lamas. In Siam they are called Talapoins; in China, Ho Chang; but European writers generally style all Buddhist monks and priests, Bonzes. The reverence bestowed on saintly character, and the facility of obtaining a living by assuming it, are of course strong temptations to the indolent and selfish, who practise

many impositions on the credulous people. The old Asiatic idea that diseases are occasioned by Evil Spirits, who have taken possession of the human body, and can be cast out by forms of prayer, or at the command of holy men, is universally believed. In Tartary, rich families are sometimes told that it is necessary to give the demon a rich suit of clothes, or a valuable horse, to induce him to depart. When the required articles are bestowed, the Lamas recite prayers and perform ceremonies, a week or fortnight, till the invalid is either dispossessed of the demon, or dies. In the latter case, mourners are comforted by the assurance that his soul has transmigrated to a much happier state than it possibly could have done without their prayers. Sometimes they make an image to represent the Evil Spirit, on which they pronounce curses, accompanied by furious gestures and the din of noisy instruments, and at last they set fire to the image. The expense of casting out a devil sometimes proves ruinous to the fortune of a patient. Such practices are disapproved by the better sort of Lamas. The Superior of one of the Lamaseries said to the French missionaries: "When a person is ill, the recitation of prayers is proper; for Bouddha is the master of life and death. It is he who rules the transmigration of beings. To take remedies is also fitting; for the great virtue of medicinal herbs comes to us from Bouddha. That devils may possess rich persons is credible, but to give them horses, garments, and other rich presents to induce them to depart, is a fiction invented by ignorant and deceiving Lamas, who thus try to accumulate wealth at the expense of their brothers."

Many of the devotees have no settled abode, but are always wandering about asking alms. In Japan especially, crowds of men and women, with shaven heads, are traversing the country in all directions, living at the expense of the industrious. The character of many of them is said to be far from stainless. Sometimes they attempt to excite compassion by fastening to their neck and feet a heavy chain, which they drag through the streets with great

effort. They stop before the houses and cry out pitifully : " You see how much it costs us to expiate your sins. Can you not afford us some trifling alms?" Sometimes they hire men to carry them through the streets in a chair stuck over with a thousand nails, in such a manner that it is impossible to stir without being wounded. To those who pass by, the devotee proclaims : " Behold, I am shut up in this chair for the good of your souls. I am resolved never to leave it till all the nails are bought. Every nail is worth sixpence. If you buy one, it will certainly become a source of happiness to you and your families, and you will also perform a religious act; for you will bestow charity not on the priests, but on the God Fo himself, for whom we intend to build a temple."

In view of these extravagances, it is just to remember that they are disapproved by the more enlightened. The Regent of Thibet said to the French missionaries : " You have doubtless seen and heard much to blame in Tartary and Thibet, but you must not forget that the numerous errors and superstitions you may have observed were introduced by ignorant Lamas, and are rejected by well-informed Buddhists."

The spirit of pilgrimage prevails to a great extent. Around the most celebrated Lamaseries there is a continual putting up and pulling down of tents, and the coming and going of pilgrims from far and near, on oxen, horses, or camels. One of the penances they impose upon themselves is to make the circuit of the Lamaseries, prostrating themselves, with their foreheads to the ground, at every step. When the buildings are of considerable extent, it is difficult to complete the circuit thus in the course of a long day. They must not pause to take nourishment, for if the prostrations are once suspended after they are begun, all the merit of the performance is lost. At each prostration the body must be stretched flat on the ground, the forehead touching the ground, the arms spread out, and the hands joined as if in prayer. They continue this through driving storms and the keenest cold. Others perform the circuit

carrying a load of books, the weight of which is prescribed by the Lamas. When the task is completed they are deemed to have recited all the prayers contained in the books they carry. Some merely walk the circuit, telling the beads of their long rosaries, or turning a prayer-wheel, which they carry in their right hand. Some pilgrims undertake fearfully long journeys, prostrating themselves at every step. Near Lassa is a high mountain, rugged and almost inaccessible. The pilgrim who clammers to the top of it is thought to have obtained remission of all his sins. The offerings of the pilgrims are a great source of revenue to the Lamaseries. When a devotee of wealth or rank presents himself, one of the Incarnations of Bouddha usually presides over the ceremony of reception. His share in the offerings is fifty ounces of silver, a piece of red or yellow silk, a pair of boots and a mitre, arranged in a basket decorated with flowers and ribbons, and covered with a rich scarf. The pilgrim prostrates himself on the steps of the altar, and places the basket at the feet of the representative of Bouddha. A pupil takes it up, and in return presents a scarf to the pilgrim. The Superior Lama preserves meanwhile the impassive character suited to an embodied Divinity.

The humble huts of the primitive devotees of this religion gradually changed into spacious and elegant mansions. At the present day, Lamaseries are the most beautiful edifices in Asia, except the royal palaces. They are usually situated in picturesque and solitary places, especially on the tops of mountains. Adjoining them is always a temple dedicated to Bouddha, or some saint. They usually terminate in a pyramid, which is a form of architecture sacred to gods, priests, and kings. Rich men, who wish to expiate their sins, and purchase happiness in a future existence, often build and endow them for public hospitals and seminaries. If they are well situated, and have ample funds, devotees do not fail to present themselves in sufficient numbers to fill them speedily. Sometimes separate houses are enclosed within a high wall; some-

times one large building is divided into various suites of apartments; kitchen, hospital, prison, barber's office, treasury, dining hall, library, reception room for strangers, and sleeping apartments. These buildings are exceedingly numerous. The city of Lassa alone contains three thousand. Of course the most magnificent of them all is on the famous old mountain of Bouddha La, where the Supreme Pontiff of all the Lamas has his permanent residence. It is an aggregation of edifices, in the centre of which rises the temple of the Grand Lama, four stories high, and overlooking them all. It terminates in a dome entirely covered with golden plates, and surrounded with a peristyle, the columns of which are covered with gold. It contains a vast number of apartments, adorned with innumerable pyramids of gold and silver, and a great number of sacred images made of the same precious metals. Within the precincts of this Lamasery reside twenty thousand Lamas, whose principal occupation it is to serve and honour the Incarnation of Bouddha. Devotees will live very sparingly, and even suffer for food and clothing, that they may save money enough to make a pilgrimage to this holy place, and purchase perfumes to burn before the images. Strongly odorous flowers are a favourite offering, and they burn large quantities of the fragrant sandal-wood for incense. Winding-sheets consecrated by the Grand Lama, and covered with printed sentences from the Sacred Books, are sold in large numbers, it being supposed that those who are buried in them are sure of a happy transmigration. There have been some instances of pilgrims throwing themselves headlong from the steep rocks, as soon as they had completed their prayers and ceremonies; believing that their souls were then in a purified state, and sure of going directly to Paradise. There is a continual throng coming and going around Bouddha La, but they observe a profound and reverential silence. Two avenues lined with magnificent trees connect the mountain with the city of Lassa, about a mile distant. Here are swarms of pilgrims continually passing to and fro, reciting the mystic syllables

on their long rosaries. In the sanctuary of the central temple, resplendent with gold and brilliant colours, is placed a rich divan for the Grand Lama. At the hour appointed for prayer a large conch is sounded toward the four cardinal points. The great gate opens, and the Grand Lama walks in and seats himself. The attendant Lamas leave their boots in the vestibule, enter barefoot, and prostrate themselves three times before him. They then seat themselves in a circle, each according to his dignity. The signal for prayer is given by tinkling a little bell, followed by psalms in double chorus. Kings and noble personages flock to this shrine from all quarters, and enrich the temple with costly offerings.

Tartar Lamaseries are not to be compared with those of Thibet in extent or wealth, but some of them are splendid edifices. The Tartars are exceedingly frugal in their own dress and mode of living, but lavish in everything connected with worship. Lamas travel all over the country, from tent to tent, with authenticated passports, begging, in the name of Bouddha, for money to build a temple or a Lamasery. The rich give ingots of gold or silver; the less prosperous give camels, horses, or oxen; and even the poorest cheerfully offer furs and hair ropes. In this way, immense sums are collected, wherewith superb structures are erected in the deserts. Among these the most venerated is the Lamasery of Kounboum, famous to the remotest confines of Tartary. The following are the traditions concerning it. A woman, who had become old and was childless, fainted and fell senseless on a rock, whereon was inscribed various sentences in honour of Bouddha. From contact with these holy words, she conceived and bore a miraculous son, named Tsong Kaba. When he was born, he had a white beard and a majestic countenance, and immediately began to utter wise sayings concerning the nature and destiny of man. At three years old, he resolved to renounce the world, and devote himself to religious contemplation. His mother reverently approved his purpose, and prepared him by shaving his head, throwing his fine long

hair outside the tent. Instantly there sprang from it a tree, which exhaled exquisite fragrance, and on every leaf were inscribed characters in the sacred language. Tsong Kaba spent his days on summits of the wildest mountains, or in the recesses of deep ravines; fasting, praying, and meditating on divine things. He tasted no flesh, and respected the life of the minutest insect. At eighty-two years old, he died; or, according to their mode of speaking, "he ascended to the Heaven of Rapture, and was absorbed in Bouddha." The mountain at the foot of which he was born, became a famous place of pilgrimage. Lamas from all parts assembled there and built cells; and thus by degrees was formed the Lamasery of Kounboun, whose name signifies Ten Thousand Images, in allusion to the marvellous tree, which sprang from the hermit's hair, with characters in the sacred writing on all its leaves. When the emperor Khang Hi made a pilgrimage to this place, he erected a silver dome over the tree. Plants gathered on this sacred mountain are bought by pilgrims at a great price. The young students of botany go out in troops and gather great quantities of herbs and roots, which are stored for sale.

The Buddhist temples are covered inside and out with carvings in wood or stone, representing lions, tigers, elephants, birds, reptiles, and all sorts of animals, real and imaginary. Some of these works are executed with great delicacy and beauty. The interior is filled with paintings and statues, illustrating the life of Bouddha, and the various transmigrations of celebrated saints. The Lamas themselves are the only artists employed in these decorations, which are generally of a fantastic character. Most of the personages represented in the statues and medallions have a monstrous and grotesque appearance. Bouddha alone is an exception. He is always represented noble and majestic, with large full eyes and long curling hair. The Lamas are less successful in painting, than in sculpture, being faulty in their drawing, and partial to gaudy colouring. But, according to the testimony of M. Huc, they

sometimes produce specimens of considerable beauty. While travelling among the Mongols, he says: "In a great temple, called the Temple of Gold, we saw a picture which struck us with astonishment. It was a life-size representation of Bouddha, seated on a rich carpet, surrounded by a kind of glory, composed of miniatures allegorically representing his thousand virtues. This picture was remarkable for the expression of the faces, the gracefulness of the design, and the splendour of the colouring. All the personages seemed full of life. An old Lama, who attended us, told us it was a treasure of remotest antiquity, comprehending on its surface the whole doctrine of Bouddha; that it was not a Mongol painting, but came from Thibet, and was executed by a saint of The Eternal Sanctuary," meaning the temple where the Grand Lama resides. Borri, a Jesuit missionary to Cochin China, says he saw an empty recess behind the high altar in Buddhist temples, and, upon inquiry, was informed that it was consecrated to the Supreme Being, who was invisible and incomprehensible, and therefore not to be represented by any image.

The monuments of Buddhist devotion are exceedingly numerous. On the terrace of a very old temple at Gaya, the following inscription, in the Birman language, was found a few years since: "This is one of the eighty-four thousand shrines erected by Sri Dharm Asôka, ruler of the world, at the end of the two hundred and eighteenth year of Bouddha's annihilation." Some remains of the places of worship are immensely massive, and bear marks of extreme antiquity. Mr. Knox, speaking of Ceylon, says: "The votaries of Bouddha took pride in erecting temples and monuments to his memory, as if they had been born solely to hew rocks and great stones, and lay them in heaps." The largest of the subterranean temples on that island is one hundred and ninety feet long, and forty-five feet high. It contains a recumbent figure of Bouddha, thirty feet in length. One of the most remarkable of these stupendous structures is the gigantic temple in Java, called

Boro Buddor. It is in a ruinous condition, but full of elaborate carving and colossal images. In Meaco, a city of Japan, is a magnificent temple erected to Dai Bod, by which they mean the God Bouddha. It contains the image of a gigantic Bull, butting his horns against the Mundane Egg. This huge animal is said to be formed of massive gold, with a collar about his neck adorned with precious stones. The egg is on the surface of a large stone basin filled with water, in which the feet of the bull are immersed. The basis of the whole is a large square altar, engraved with many ancient characters. Prints of Bouddha's feet are shown on rocks in various countries. Several of these rocks are covered with sculptured writing, and on some of them he is represented as crushing a serpent under his heel. This was probably intended to signify that by his ascension he vanquished death. There are the same representations of Orishna on very ancient monuments in Hindostan, doubtless for the same reason, for the serpent was a common Oriental emblem for the destruction of life.

The Buddhists are exceedingly devout; but, with the exception of a few contemplative Lamas, they are not inclined to mysticism. They are generally fond of pageantry, such as showy processions to their temples and sacred places, and imposing ceremonies in the Lamaseries. They delight in pungent perfumes and gorgeous colours. Their worship is of a clamorous character, consisting of loud chants and prayers, accompanied by large and noisy instruments, such as gongs, drums, cymbals, trumpets, and fifes. They make frequent prostrations on their house-tops, and are always fingering a rosary, or murmuring prayers, even while engaged in their daily avocations. "As evening twilight approaches, all the Thibetian men, women and children, stop business and meet together in the public squares, where they all kneel down and chant prayers. In a large town, these sounds produce an immense solemn harmony. These vesper prayers vary according to the season of the year."

They have solemn ceremonies to welcome the new moon and the full moon, and changes of the seasons. On the last day of the full moon all the Lamas in Tartary assemble at midnight, in state mantles and mitres, and chant prayers. The ceremony is concluded with loud cries, accompanied by a tremendous noise of drums, trumpets, and conch shells. This custom is said to have been established to drive away Evil Spirits, which infested the people and cattle.

On certain occasions, the Tartar Lamas recite prescribed formulas, and toss up little pictures of horses in the air, with the belief that Bouddha will transform the bits of paper into living horses, for the relief of travellers in the deserts.

There are festivals during which the Buddhists, in some countries, scourge themselves before the altars, as did the votaries of Isis in ancient Egypt. The degree of sin expiated is according to the number and severity of the blows.

The Feast of Lanterns in China bears strong resemblance to a Hindoo custom, and to the Egyptian festival in honour of Neith. On that evening every Chinese throughout the empire lights a lantern. Gorgeous lanterns of painted glass, illuminated with torches, are suspended from all the arches and towers. It is said two hundred millions of lamps are burning on that occasion.

In Birmah a white elephant is kept near the royal palace, sumptuously fed and magnificently caparisoned. People prostrate themselves before him, and bring valuable offerings, which he is taught to take with his trunk. This homage is said to originate in a belief that the soul of Bouddha once animated a white elephant in the course of its manifold transmigrations.

The doctrines and ceremonies of Buddhism vary considerably in different countries. This must necessarily happen to all religions that are extensively embraced; because a new faith unavoidably mixes with the previous ideas and customs of nations where it is introduced. Bud-

dhism was peculiarly subject to such admixture; because its teachers, wishing to avoid any coercive measures for the propagation of their religion, invariably adopted into their system all the deities their proselytes had been accustomed to revere. Thus Brahma, Vishnu, Siva, Indra, the Gods of the Mongols, and the Spirits of the Chinese, all found a place in their legends, and were imaged in their temples, though always represented as inferior to Bouddha and his Saints. But though details vary much in different countries, the prominent features of Buddhism are everywhere the same. They all believe in One Invisible Source of Being, sometimes called The Supreme Intelligence, sometimes named The Void. From him emanated all things in the universe, and into him will all things eventually return. Not only this world will be destroyed and renovated, at stated periods, after immense intervals, but even those superior Spheres where happy Spirits dwell, must go through similar revolutions, and all the inhabitants pass into other forms. Whenever this world is created anew, Spirits who have so far wandered from the Supreme as to dwell in the lowest Paradise, will be sent into material bodies, for probationary discipline. Among them will be many who had been previously embodied on the old earth, before it was destroyed. After millions and millions of ages, the time will at last come, when everything in the universe, even the deities themselves, will be merged in the Original Source whence they came. Then new emanations will again commence, followed by new worlds, which will be again destroyed. Nothing is exempted from this perpetual, ever-revolving change, except those souls who, through perfect holiness, have become absorbed into the Supreme Being, and have thus become One with Him. Bouddha is said to have appeared four times, in worlds preceding this; and always with the benevolent purpose of withdrawing Spirits from the vortex of illusions, in which they were involved by their immersion in Matter. Into this present world he descended in the form of Bouddha Sakia. His mother was a beautiful and holy virgin, be-

trothed to a king; and his birth was foretold in a miraculous dream. The object of his mission was to instruct those who were straying from the right path, expiate the sins of mortals by his own sufferings, and procure for them a happy entrance into another existence, by obedience to his precepts and prayers in his name. They always speak of him as one with God from all eternity. They describe him as "one substance, and three images." His most common title is "The Saviour of the World." As he has repeatedly assumed a human form, to facilitate the reunion of men with his own Universal Soul, so they believe that there always will be incarnations of his Spirit. Chinese Sacred Books predict the coming of a new Fo in the latter days, whose mission it will be to restore the world to order and happiness.

They all believe in the pre-existence of souls. The forms they take are merely transient apparent images; as metal may be moulded into the form of a lion, then dissolved into a mass of metal again, then be remoulded into the form of a man or a god. They never say a man is dead; they always say "his soul has emigrated." The connection of the soul with matter they consider an evil and a punishment; therefore enjoyment through the senses is incompatible with holiness, and it is necessary to despise the body and the outward world, in order to become saints. There are regions of Paradise, and regions of torment, where souls are rewarded or punished according to the exact amount of their deserts, before they again enter into some mortal form. These heavens and hells, of various degrees, are painted with great luxury of imagination by the theologians. The lower the regions, the more unhappy the inhabitants, the more subject to miserable transmigrations. The higher the celestial abodes, the purer the bliss, and the more extended its duration. But even the highest spheres are not exempted from revolutions, consisting of the destruction of old forms, and the creation of new ones; though this will be after intervals so immense, that they seem like eternity.

The most important moral laws are contained in ten precepts in their Sacred Books; the number ten being considered essential. According to the Hindoo custom of arranging everything in threes, they divide moral duties into three classes; those which relate to *actions*, to *words*, and to *thoughts*. The first three commandments relate to actions, the next four to words, and the last three to thoughts, as follows: 1. "Thou shalt not kill, even the smallest creature." 2. "Thou shalt not appropriate to thyself what belongs to another." 3. "Thou shalt not infringe the laws of chastity." 4. "Thou shalt not lie." 5. "Thou shalt not calumniate." 6. "Thou shalt not speak of injuries." 7. "Thou shalt not excite quarrels, by repeating the words of others." 8. "Thou shalt not hate." 9. "Preserve faith in the holy writings." 10. "Believe in immortality."

The ignorant among the Buddhists, as among the Hindoos, attach inherent virtue to the mere words of their Sacred Books. A thief, who concealed himself in the imperial palace, was discovered and seized by the officers. When they stripped him of his clothes, they found every inch of his body covered with texts from the Sacred Books of Fo. He had an idea that no harm could possibly come to him while he was thus covered with holy words.

William von Humboldt says of Buddhism: "What was once a philosophical doctrine and an enlightened benevolent reform of the corruptions of Braminism, has degenerated into a mass of unmeaning practices and empty formulas, or lost itself in a wholly unintelligible mysticism." It must be remembered, however, that in all ages, and among all nations, there are some minds which save themselves, by an inward process, from the lifelessness of the forms they inherit.

Little is known, and still less understood, concerning theological controversies in those distant countries. European activity of mind is not at work there, to unsettle established opinions, but they doubtless bear a general resemblance to the rest of mankind, in diversity of ideas

concerning spiritual problems puzzling to us all. Though firm believers in unalterable necessity, they strive to reconcile it with the free will of man. Some of them rely chiefly on meditation and faith, the inward operations of the mind; others attach more importance to meritorious works and outward ceremonies. In Thibet are two prominent sects, distinguished by their head-dresses. Those who consider it allowable for the religious to marry, wear red caps. The advocates of strict celibacy, who are much more numerous, wear yellow caps. On what other points their opinions differ is not well understood by foreigners. From time to time, they have been troubled with heretical sects, whose teachers assumed the yellow robe of the priesthood without the sanction of ecclesiastical authorities; and Councils have been called to purify orthodox Buddhism from their alleged impieties.

Buddhists of all sects have always abominated bloody sacrifices, and they carry tenderness toward animals to an extreme degree. Their doctrines likewise induce a charitable disposition toward men. Believing transmigrations of the soul to be regulated by laws of inherent necessity, the religious among them feel for sinners more compassion than contempt or hatred; for they consider moral evil as much a misfortune as a crime. One of their common maxims is that "the preceding births, and the actions committed in those previous existences, are destiny." This tendency to fatality checks all energy and enterprise, and does much to produce the drowsy apathy which characterizes Asiatic countries.

European writers have brought against Buddhists the general charge of atheism. This apparently arises from the fact that their founder named the Source of Being the Infinite Void; from extreme unwillingness to ascribe any form, or any passions, to the Deity. When dying, he is said to have declared to his disciples, as a secret doctrine, unsuited to the populace, that, in the course of revolving ages, all things in the universe, even the gods themselves, would return into The Void, to be reproduced again in new

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forms. This repetition of the astronomical theory of the ancient Bramins has led to the idea that he and his followers were atheists. There is said to be a sect among them called Karnikas, who ascribe consciousness and moral activity to the First Principle, and believe that creation resulted from the exercise of his will, not from laws of inherent necessity.

There is much contradiction among writers concerning the date of the Buddhist religion. This confusion arises from the fact that there are several Bouddhas, objects of worship; because the word is not a name, but a title, signifying an extraordinary degree of holiness. Those who have examined the subject most deeply have generally agreed that Bouddha Sakia, from whom the religion takes its name, must have been a real historical personage, who appeared more than a thousand years before Christ. There are many things to confirm this supposition. In some portions of India, his religion appears to have flourished for a long time side by side with that of the Bramins. This is shown by the existence of many ancient temples, some of them cut in subterranean rock, with an immensity of labour, which it must have required a long period to accomplish. In those old temples, his statues represent him with hair knotted all over his head, which was a very ancient custom with the anchorites of Hindostan, before the practice of shaving the head was introduced among their devotees. His religion is also mentioned in one of the very ancient epic poems of India. The severity of the persecution indicates that their numbers and influence had become formidable to the Bramins, who had everything to fear from a sect which abolished hereditary priesthood, and allowed the holy of all castes to become teachers.

Buddhism spread through foreign countries with such rapidity, that it came to be generally designated as "the religion of the Vanquisher," although it was uniformly peaceful in its progress. For the same reason, the Banyar Tree, of rapid and interminable growth, was chosen as its emblem. Marvellous stories are told of the Banyan Tree under which Bouddha Sakia, as a holy anchorite, attained

to complete union with the Supreme Soul. Shoots taken from it were said to send forth roots instantly, and to confirm the faith of the doubtful by ascending into the air, and floating among the clouds, surrounded by a brilliant halo.

Buddhism was introduced into Japan five or six hundred years after Christ. The Japan Encyclopedia enumerates thirty-three ancient patriarchs, or leaders of this religion, the first of whom received the doctrines and writings from Bouddha himself. These men devoted themselves to fasting, prayer, and constant meditation. Several of them burned themselves to death, that the soul might be released from imprisonment in the body, and through the intense purification of fire pass into a happier state of existence. Pictures and images of these patriarchs abound in the temples, and are held in religious veneration.

It is said that eighty thousand followers of Bouddha went forth from Hindostan, as missionaries to other lands; and the traditions of various countries are full of legends concerning their benevolence, holiness, and miraculous power. His religion has never been propagated by the sword. It has been effected entirely by the influence of peaceable and persevering devotees. It now prevails in China, Japan, Thibet, Siam, the Birman Empire, Ceylon, and a large portion of Tartary. The era of the Siamese is the death of Bouddha. In Ceylon, they date from the introduction of his religion into their island. It is supposed to be more extensively adopted than any religion that ever existed. Its votaries are computed at four hundred millions; more than one-third of the whole human race.

Pilgrims from all these countries visit Benares, and other holy cities of India, which they all revere as the fountain-head of their Religion. They speak of it as "The Kingdom of Virtues," "The Exceeding Pure Region," "The Sacred Land."

CHALDEA AND PERSIA.

'Chaldean shepherds, ranging trackless fields,
 Looked on the Polar Star, as on a guide
 And guardian of their course, that never closed
 His steadfast eye. The Planetary Five
 With a submissive reverence they beheld;
 Watched from the centre of their sleeping flocks
 Those radiant Mercuries, that seemed to move,
 Carrying through ether, in perpetual round,
 Decrees and resolutions of the Gods;
 And, by their aspects, signifying works
 Of dim futurity, to man revealed."

"The Persian, zealous to reject
 Altar and image, and the inclusive walls
 And roofs of temples built by human hands,
 Presented sacrifice to Moon and Stars,
 And the whole Circle of the Heavens; for him
 A sensitive Existence and a God." WORDSWORTH.

EGYPTIANS affirmed that Chaldea was settled by a colony from their country; but many learned men believe that Egypt was younger than Chaldea, and settled by emigrants from thence. It is a matter of mere conjecture, for Chaldean literature is all destroyed, and their famous capital, Babylon, being mostly built of bricks and bitumen, has left no vestiges by which to reckon historical dates. When Alexander the Great conquered the city, Chaldean priests boasted to the Greek philosophers, who followed his army, that they had continued their astronomical calculations through a period of more than forty thousand years. The earliest records actually found by the Greeks extended back two thousand two hundred and thirty-four years before the Christian era; only one hundred and fourteen years after our commonly received epoch of the Flood.

The great antiquity of Chaldea cannot be doubted, and its intimate connection with Hindostan, or Egypt, is abundantly proved by the little that is known concerning its religion, and by the few fragments that remain of its former grandeur. The ruins of Nineveh have lately been excavated, after having lain concealed from the eye of man for two thousand five hundred years. Obelisks, and gigantic sphinxes have thus been brought to light, and images of the sacred bull, often represented winged and with a human head. The sun, moon, and trident of Siva were found over the entrances of temples, the same as in Hindostan. Hieroglyphics were cut on the monuments, and the sculptures were painted blue, red, and yellow, the brightness of which faded when exposed to the air, after their long interment. The triangular harp of Egypt is represented, and so is the Tree of Life, which both in Egypt and Hindostan was believed to confer immortality on those who ate of its fruit. The attitude of adoration, standing with uplifted hands, is the same as in Egypt. Deities are represented with the heads of birds, and carry lotus-blossoms in their hands, or rings to represent completed cycles. The bull, the ram, the lion, the goat, the seven planets, and other astronomical emblems, occur everywhere. One of their deities is represented with four wings, each terminating in a star. An orb with wings is conspicuous among their sacred emblems, and strongly resembles the winged globe of the Egyptians, the symbol of Osiris. Diodorus, the historian, says Chaldeans called the planets by the very same names which Greeks used to designate them, and Greeks borrowed their names from the Egyptians. The sexual emblem, so common in Egypt and Hindostan, has not been found on the ruins of Nineveh.

Chaldeans believed in One Supreme Being, and a multitude of subordinate deities emanating from him, in successive gradations. Spirits that were nearer the Divine Source were clothed with more ethereal forms than those more remote. The human soul was a portion of God, and originally had wings, which having perished, must

be reproduced before it could return to its source. The stars were Spirits, and had an influence, beneficent or malignant, on the affairs of the world; and wise men, by observing certain rules, could discover the secrets they revealed. They believed the world was created in six successive periods, and was alternately destroyed and renewed in the course of revolving ages. Whenever all the planets met in the sign of Capricorn the whole earth was overwhelmed with a deluge of water, and whenever they all met in Cancer it was consumed by fire.

There was a powerful order of priests, who conducted the ceremonies of religion, explained the laws, practised medicine, interpreted dreams, and averted evils by magical rites. A class of them were set apart on purpose to observe the heavenly bodies and keep record of their changes. The chief use made of this knowledge was to foretell weather and predict future events. These prophets became so celebrated that for many centuries all astrologers were known by the general name of Chaldeans. They were believed to be acquainted with spells that could command Spirits, and induce them to reveal supernatural virtues existing in herbs and stones. These laws of magic were deemed so important that the kings of Chaldea and Persia were instructed therein as a valuable instrument of government. It was supposed that the forces of an enemy might be routed, and a whole army struck with sudden panic, by the due performance of prescribed ceremonies and invocations. The priests had secret doctrines and religious mysteries, which they transmitted from father to son, and carefully veiled from the populace, who worshipped sun, moon, and stars, not as emblems, but as real deities.

The idea that heavenly luminaries were inhabited by Spirits, of a nature intermediate between God and men, first led mortals to address prayers to the orbs over which they were supposed to preside. In order to supplicate these deities, when sun, moon, and stars were not visible, they made images of them, which the priests consecrated with many ceremonies. Then they pronounced solemn

invocations to draw down the Spirits into the statues provided for their reception. By this process it was supposed that a mysterious connection was established between the Spirit and the image, so that prayers addressed to one were thenceforth heard by the other. This was probably the origin of image worship everywhere.

The highest deity among the Chaldeans was called Bel, or Baal, which signifies Lord, or Prince, of the Heavenly Luminaries. The symbol sacred to him was a circle with wings, probably to represent the disc of the Sun and the Spirit presiding over that resplendent orb. Some have supposed that Belus, a beneficent ruler, who improved agriculture, united rivers by canals, and fortified Babylon with walls, was believed to be an avatar, or incarnation of this deity, and therefore received his name. Animals were sacrificed to Bel, and probably human beings also. Queen Semiramis erected a temple for his worship at Babylon, which on account of its great height was used to observe the stars. Herodotus says it was ascended by steps on the outside, from the ground to the highest point of the tower. At the top was a chapel, containing a table of solid gold, and a couch magnificently adorned, where Bel was said to sleep. A priestess resided there, whom the priests affirmed to have been selected by the god himself to attend upon him, because she was more beautiful than any other woman in the nation. This famous temple is reported to have contained three golden statues. One of Bel, forty feet high; another of a goddess supposed to have been a symbol of Nature, recipient and preserver of the life-giving principle of the world. She sat in a golden chair, with two lions by her side, and two huge silver serpents at her feet. Another goddess represented the planet which we call Venus, and was supposed to preside over generation. Her forehead was surmounted by a star, she held in her right hand a serpent, in her left, a sceptre adorned with gems. Syrians worshipped her under the name of Astarte, and it is supposed she is alluded to in Hebrew Scriptures as "The Queen of Heaven." It is said every woman in

Babylon was obliged to offer her person for sale one day in the year, at the temple of this goddess, and give the money thus obtained to defray the expenses of her worship. In Syria, every woman was required to conform to the same custom, or in lieu thereof cut off all her hair as an offering to Astarte. We have no description of the religious festivals of the Chaldeans, but from the great wealth of Babylon, and the expense so lavishly bestowed on sacred edifices, we may reasonably infer that their religious anniversaries were observed with pompous processions and splendid pageantry. In autumn they had a harvest festival of five days, during which time masters everywhere exchanged places with their servants, one of whom presided over the household in royal robes. When Babylon was conquered by the Persians, under Cyrus the Great, the magnificent temple of Bel was robbed of its treasures in gold, silver and gems.

PERSIA, though ancient to us, was a modern nation compared with Hindostan, Egypt, or Chaldea. When Babylon was in its glory, Persia was inhabited by rude tribes, who had no place in history till the time of Cyrus the Great. It was originally called Iran, which means the Land of Light. Herodotus informs us that their religious ceremonies were conducted with great simplicity. They had neither temples nor altars, and considered it impious to make images of Divine Beings. They ascended mountains, and offered sacrifices, hymns, and prayers to the whole expanse of the Firmament; or rather to the Deity, the Centre and Source of Universal Light, whom they supposed to reside there. They likewise worshipped sun, moon, fire, air, earth, and water.

Concerning their great religious teacher Zerdusht, or Zoroaster, the most confused and contradictory accounts are given. Aristotle, Pliny, and others, fix his date five thousand years before the Trojan war, which would be more than six thousand years before the Christian era; and Plato mentions this as the most common opinion.

Plutarch and others say he flourished only five hundred years before the Trojan war. The Persians themselves had a tradition that he came from some country to the east of them, and they believed him to have been more ancient than the date we assign to Moses. That he was a foreigner is indicated by a passage in the Zendavesta, which represents Ormuzd as saying to him, "Up! and go into the Land of Iran." The confusion in chronology has led some scholars to suggest that there might have been two celebrated sages, who bore the same name; one very ancient, and the other, who was the great reformer of the old religion of Persia, not dating much farther back than the time of Cyrus the Great, who lived five hundred and fifty-nine years before Christ. The learned Heeren thinks it is satisfactorily proved by internal evidence from Zoroaster's own writings, that he lived at "a period anterior to the very commencement of the Median empire, ascending beyond the eighth century before the Christian era." He adds: "Whether we must refer him to a still more ancient epoch, must remain a question." One thing is certain; there was a man called Zoroaster, whom all Asiatic writers agree in representing as eminent for wisdom, particularly for knowledge of astronomy. The religion which bore his name is well known to have prevailed throughout Persia in the time of Socrates; and of the Sacred Books ascribed to him mutilated copies still remain.

Tradition reports that his mother had alarming dreams of Evil Spirits seeking to destroy the child to whom she was about to give birth. But a good Spirit came to rescue him, and said to her: "Fear nothing! Ormuzd will protect this infant. He has sent him as a prophet to the people. The world is waiting for him." When he was born, wicked Spirits threw him into a flaming fire; but his mother found him sleeping sweetly there, as if it were a pleasant bath. It is said that he lived twenty years in the wilderness, on cheese that never grew stale. Then he retired to a solitary mountain, and devoted himself to silent contemplation, in order to attain perfect holiness. One

day, fire from heaven descended visibly upon this mountain, and the king of Persia, attended by his court, approached to worship the sacred flame. Zoroaster came down through the fire unharmed, bringing with him a Book of Laws, which he said had been revealed to him on the mountain, by Ormuzd himself. They called this the Zend-Avesta, which signifies the Living Word. They believed it to be a portion of the Primeval Word, by which creation was produced, and that every syllable it contained possessed an inherent virtue. When sacrifices were offered, it was not allowable to omit or transpose a single word. If priests should fail to perform the ritual, or to recite the prayers therein prescribed, they supposed the order of the universe would be disturbed, and all things fall into confusion. It was written in the Zend language, a dialect of the Sanscrit, the knowledge of which is supposed to have been confined to priests. After the promulgation of these holy laws, it is related that Zoroaster did not converse indiscriminately with all men, but only with those capable of understanding divine things. He held fire in his hand, and allowed melted lead to be poured into his bosom; but nothing could do him any harm. Concerning his death, they affirm that he invoked the Spirit of the constellation of Orion, praying to be consumed by celestial fire; and that he ascended to heaven on a thunderbolt. The tradition obviously implies that he died by lightning. The Persians considered him a divine messenger sent to redeem men from their evil ways, and they always worshipped his memory. To this day, his followers mention him with the greatest reverence; calling him "The Immortal Zoroaster," "The Blessed Zoroaster," "The Living Star." Priests often precede their ceremonies with these words: "O Just Judge, there is but one Zoroaster; that is certain; that is beyond doubt. The law, excellent, right, and just, which Ormuzd has given to his people, is certainly, and without doubt, that which Zoroaster has brought."

He taught the existence of One Supreme Essence, invisible and incomprehensible, named Zeruâné Akeréné, which

signifies Unlimited Time, or The Eternal. From him emanated Primeval Light; from which sprung Ormuzd, the King of Light. He was God of the Firmament, and the Principle of Goodness and of Truth. He was called "The Eternal Source of Sunshine and Light," "The Centre of all that exists," "The First Born of the Eternal One," "The Creator," "The Sovereign Intelligence," "The All-Seeing," "The Just Judge." He was described as "sitting on the throne of the good and the perfect, in regions of pure light," crowned with rays, and with a ring on his finger; a circle being the emblem of infinity; sometimes as a venerable, majestic man, seated on a Bull, their emblem of creation. He pronounced the Primeval Word, *Enohe verihe!* Be it! and his own abode of celestial light sprang into existence, as far removed from the sun, as the sun is from the earth. He then created six resplendent Spirits, masculine and feminine, called Amshaspands, The Immortal Holy Ones, of whom himself was the seventh and highest. These deities of benevolence and wisdom surround the throne of Ormuzd, and convey to him the prayers of inferior spirits, and of men, for whom they are models of purity and perfection. The next series of creation were twenty-eight gentle and kindly Spirits, masculine and feminine, called Izeds, the chief of whom was the radiant Mithras. They presided over sun, moon, and stars, showered beneficent gifts upon the earth, endeavoured to protect it from evil influences, and served as messengers between men and the Superior Spirits. The third order of Spirits, called Fervers, were infinitely more numerous; for they were the ideas, which Ormuzd conceived, before he proceeded to the creation of the world. Hence they were the archetypes of every thing that existed, the vivifying principles which animated all things in the universe, and the guardians of stars, men, animals, plants, and all other created things. Every mortal had one of these Spirits by his side through life, to protect him from evil. Even Ormuzd himself was supposed to have his attendant Ferver.

Khor, the Sun, was called "The Eye of Ormuzd." He

is described as riding in a chariot with four horses, and finishing his course round the earth in three hundred and sixty-five days. A trumpet always sounded from the royal pavilion at the moment the sun rose; and over the entrance was a brilliant image of the sun, enclosed in crystal. Mithras, described as "the Spirit, or Ferver, who attends the Sun in his course," was an object of almost universal worship throughout Persia. He was at first always invoked with the Sun, and in later times they were confounded together. He was called, "The most exalted of the Izeds, the never-sleeping, the protector of the land." He is described as having a thousand ears, and ten thousand eyes. He was not merely the Spirit of Light, but also of Intelligence. Prayers were often addressed to him as "The Mediator," because he was supposed to mediate between the conflicting powers of good and evil. Like Osiris of Egypt, he was the god of fertility and beneficence; like him, he was described with the orb of the sun on his head, and a circle with wings was his symbol. Mithra, a feminine Ized, was his companion.

The universe was intrusted to a chain of spiritual agencies, ascending from the smallest terrestrial thing up to the throne of the Eternal One. Minerals, plants, insects, birds, quadrupeds, fire, air, earth, and water, had each a presiding Spirit. Twelve genii of the zodiac ruled over the months, and thirty subordinate ones over each day of the month. All the heavenly luminaries were animated with Souls, of higher and higher intelligence, and more and more ethereal forms. Everything in the orbs over which they presided partook of their character and state, whether more or less excellent. "Stars with tails" (comets) were under the care of sun, moon, and fixed stars, who kept them within prescribed limits. Sirius, or the Dog Star, so sacred in Egypt as the Star of Isis, was appointed to guide all the others. A Persian poet says: "God conferred sovereignty on the Sun, and squadrons of Stars were his army."

The Spirits of the Stars were benevolent guardians of men, and of all inferior creatures. They were endowed

with intelligence superior to the Spirit of our Earth. Their vision extended through the universe. They knew what would happen in the future, and could reveal it to those who understood their signs. The destinies of men were intimately connected with their motions, and therefore it was important to know under the influence of what star a human soul made its advent into this world. Astrologers swarmed in the palace of the king, and were consulted on all important occasions. Persians held the stars in such affectionate reverence that whenever they looked at one they kissed their hand to it.

In Hindostan the destroying principle and the reproducing were united in the same deity. In Egypt the destructive and beneficent god were twin brothers. In Persia, Ormuzd, the King of Light, and Arimanes, the Prince of Darkness, both emanated from The Eternal One. Arimanes, the second emanation, became jealous of the First Born. In consequence of his manifestations of pride and envy, the Eternal One condemned him to remain three thousand years in the dark realm of shadows, where no ray of light could penetrate. During this time, Ormuzd made the firmament, the heavenly orbs, and Celestial Spirits, without his being aware of it. But when the period of his banishment had expired, he approached the light, and its dazzling beauty renewed his old feelings of envy. He resolved to compete with Ormuzd in everything. He created seven Spirits called Archdevs, in opposition to the Amshaspands, and attached them to the seven planets, to paralyze their efforts for good, and substitute evil. Then he made twenty-eight Spirits called Devs, to counteract the Izeds, by spreading all manner of disorder and distress. The most powerful and pernicious of these was an impure Serpent with two feet, named Aschmogh. Then he produced a crowd of genii to oppose the beneficent operations of the Fervers, so that everything had an attendant bad Spirit, as well as a good one.

Ormuzd, to arrest the increase of evil, made an egg containing kindly Spirits; but Arimanes made one containing

an equal number of Spirits of hatred; then he broke the eggs together, and good and evil became mixed in the new creation.

Ormuzd created the material world in six successive periods. He first spread out the firmament, with its orbs of light; second, he created water; third, earth; fourth, trees; fifth, animals; sixth, man. When all was finished he devoted a seventh period to a festival with the good Spirits. Arimanes assisted in the creation of the earth and the water, because the King of Shadows could not be excluded from those deep opaque elements. Ormuzd, by his will and his word, created a Bull, the symbol of all Life upon the earth. Arimanes slew him, but drops from his body falling into the ground afterward produced various animals and plants. When the elementary particles of his body had been purified in the light of the sun forty years, they became the germ of the Ribas tree, consisting of two closely intertwined stems. Into these Ormuzd infused the breath of life, and they became the first man and the first woman, named Meshia and Meshiane. Celestial happiness was intended for them, if they obeyed the laws of Ormuzd with humility, did not invoke Evil Spirits, and kept themselves pure in thought, word, and action. They did so in the beginning. They said to each other: "It is Ormuzd who has given us the sun, moon, stars, water, earth, trees, and animals. All cometh from a pure root, and beareth pure fruit." But because Ormuzd had made a Guardian Spirit to watch over every human being, Arimanes made an Evil Genius to attend upon and tempt each one through his whole life. These wicked ones slipped into their thoughts, and said: "It is Arimanes who has given the sun, and moon, and all good things." And when they listened to this suggestion, Arimanes cried aloud from his realm of shadows: "O men, worship us!" Then Meshia poured milk toward the North, as a libation to the Spirits of Darkness, and their power was greatly increased thereby. To harass and destroy the good animals, Arimanes made wolves, and tigers, and serpents, and venomous

insects. By eating a certain kind of fruit, he transformed himself into a serpent, and went gliding about on the earth to tempt human beings. His Devs entered the bodies of men and produced all manner of diseases. They entered into their minds, and incited them to sensuality, falsehood, slander and revenge. Into every department of the world they introduced discord and death. When Ormuzd tried to lead men against Arimanes, they deserted him and joined the enemy, thus enabling him to gain the ascendancy on earth and keep it for three thousand years.

The laws of Zoroaster were given to guide men back to true worship. The Zend-Avesta tells us that in view of the accumulation of evil, he cried out in prayer: "O Ormuzd, steeped in brightness, what shall I do, in order to battle successfully with Arimanes, the father of evil? How shall I make men pure and holy?"

Ormuzd answered: "O Zoroaster, invoke Zeruâné Akeréné. Invoke the Amshaspands, who shed abundance throughout the seven planets. Invoke the birds, travelling on high. Invoke the swift wind, the earth, and the heaven. Invoke my Spirit, who am the strongest, wisest, best of beings; who have the most majestic body, who am supreme in purity, whose soul is the excellent Word. All ye people, invoke me, as I have commanded Zoroaster."

"Thou, O Zoroaster, by the promulgation of my Law, shalt restore to me my former glory, which was pure light. Up! haste thee to the Land of Iran, which thirsteth after the Law, and say, thus sayeth Ormuzd: 'Thou, O Iran, which I created pure, and radiant in brightness, shalt restore to me my ancient glory. Thou shalt utterly uproot all impure thoughts; all kinds of death, all sorcery, all evil shalt thou destroy.'"

The Eternal One had from the beginning limited the duration of time to twelve thousand years. Notwithstanding the activity and beneficence of the Spirits of Light, Arimanes would often have the mastery, especially in the latter time. But pure souls have nothing to fear. The Eternal has decreed the ultimate triumph of good. When

the earth seems most afflicted with evil, he will send prophets to succour the distressed, and reveal to mortals the heavenly light. Finally, the whole world will become converted to the worship of Zoroaster. Men will cease to eat meat, and live on milk and fruit; afterward, they will sustain themselves on water only; at last, they will become so ethereal, that they will take no nourishment whatsoever, and yet not die.

At the appointed time, the Ized Serosch will summon the Holy One to appear, whose mission it is to judge the wicked and the good, and restore the world to its primeval beauty. He will bring all the world to the worship of Zoroaster, and establish universal peace and happiness. At his command, bodies will rise from their graves. Souls will know them, and will say: "That is my father, or my brother, my wife, or my sister." The wicked will say to the good: "Wherefore, when I was in the world, did you not teach me to act righteously? O, ye pure ones, it is because you have not instructed me, that I am excluded from the assembly of the blest."

Each one will be judged according to his works. The good father may have a wicked daughter, and of two sisters, one may be pure and the other impure. The good will weep over the evil, and the evil will weep over themselves. A star with a tail, in the course of its revolutions, will strike the earth, and set it on fire. The fierce heat will make metals run down from high mountains and flow over the earth like rivers. All men must pass through them. To the good they will be like baths of warm milk; to the wicked they will be like torrents of lava. But they will be purified through fire, and come forth excellent and happy. Arimanes and his imps will be driven by Good Spirits through the burning torrents of melted metal, that they may become purified also. Even they will at last feel the overpowering influence of goodness, and will prostrate themselves before Ormuzd, who will accept their repentance and forgive them freely. These redeemed Spirits will join mankind in a universal chorus of praise to the

Eternal Source of light and blessing. Fathers and sons, sisters and friends, will unite to aid each other in good works. They will cast no shadows, all speak one language, and live together in one harmonious society. The level and fruitful earth will be clothed with renovated beauty, and innocence and joy will everywhere prevail. After that, Ormuzd will repose for a while.

Such is the account given in the Sacred Scriptures of the ancient Persians, called the *Zend-Avesta*. The following is a concise statement of the moral teaching therein contained: "Worship, with humility and reverence, Ormuzd, the giver of blessings, and all the Spirits, to whose care he has intrusted the universe. Men ought reverently to salute the Sun, and praise him, but not pay him religious worship."

"Obey strictly all the laws given to Zoroaster."

"Kings are animated by a more ethereal fire than other mortals; such fire as exists in the upper spheres. Ormuzd established the king to nourish and solace the poor. He is to his people what Ormuzd is to this earth. It is the duty of subjects to obey him implicitly."

"It is the duty of children to obey their parents; for wives to obey their husbands."

"Treat old age with great reverence and tenderness."

"Multiply the human species, and increase its happiness."

"Cultivate the soil, drain marshes, and destroy dangerous creatures. He who sows the ground with diligence acquires a greater stock of religious merit than he could gain by ten thousand prayers in idleness."

"Multiply domestic animals, nourish them, and treat them gently."

"Warriors, who defend the right, deserve praise."

"Do not allow thyself to be carried away by anger. Angry words, and scornful looks, are sins. To strike a man, or vex him with words, is a sin. Even the intention to strike another, merits punishment. Opposition to peace is a sin. Reply to thine enemy with gentleness."

"Avoid everything calculated to injure others. Have

no companionship with a man who injures his neighbour."

"Take not that which belongs to another."

"Be not envious, avaricious, proud, or vain. Envy and jealousy are the work of Evil Spirits. Haughty thoughts and thirst of gold are sins."

"To refuse hospitality, and not to succour the poor, are sins."

"Obstinacy in maintaining a lie is a sin. Be very scrupulous to observe the truth in all things."

"Abstain from thy neighbour's wife. Fornication and immodest looks are sins. Avoid licentiousness, because it is one of the readiest means to give Evil Spirits power over body and soul. Strive, therefore, to keep pure in body and mind, and thus prevent the entrance of Evil Spirits, who are always trying to gain possession of man. To think evil is a sin."

"Contend constantly against evil, morally and physically, internally and externally. Strive in every way to diminish the power of Arimanes and destroy his works. If a man has done this, he may fearlessly meet death; well assured that radiant Izeds will lead him across the luminous bridge, into a paradise of eternal happiness. But though he has been brave in battle, killed wild beasts, and fought with all manner of external evils, if he has neglected to combat evil within himself, he has reason to fear that Arimanes and his Devs will seize him, and carry him to Duzakh, (hell,) where he will be punished according to his sins; not to satisfy the vengeance of Ormuzd, but because having connected himself with evil, this is the only means of becoming purified therefrom, so as to be capable of enjoying happiness at a future period."

"Every man who is pure in thoughts, words, and actions, will go to the celestial regions. Every man who is evil in thoughts, words, or actions, will go to the place of the wicked."

"All good thoughts, words, or actions, are the productions of the celestial world."

There is a work called *The Sadder*, written for popular

use, by a Magus, much later than Zoroaster. As usual with all religions as they grow older, there is a departure from primitive simplicity. This book contains few moral precepts, and directions for innumerable ceremonies, accompanied with unconditional obedience to priests. It declares: "Though your good works exceed in number the leaves, the drops of rain, the stars in the sky, or the sands on the sea-shore, they will be unprofitable to you, unless they are accepted by the priests. To obtain the acceptance of these guides to salvation, you must faithfully pay them tithes of all you possess; of your goods, of your lands, and of your money. If the priests be satisfied, your soul will escape hell-tortures; you will secure praise in this world, and happiness in the next. For the teachers of religion know all things, and can deliver all men." This book represents Arimanes as being annihilated, instead of restored.

A large portion of the Zend-Avesta is filled with prayers, of which the following are samples: "I address my prayer to Ormuzd, Creator of all things; who always has been, who is, and who will be forever; who is wise and powerful; who made the great arch of heaven, the sun, moon, stars, winds, clouds, water, earth, fire, trees, animals, metals, and men; whom Zoroaster adored. Zoroaster, who brought to the world knowledge of the law; who knew by natural intelligence, and by the ear, what ought to be done, all that has been, all that is, and all that will be; the science of sciences, the excellent Word, by which souls pass the luminous and radiant bridge, separate themselves from the evil regions, and go to light and holy dwellings, full of fragrance. O Creator, I obey thy laws. I think, act, speak, according to thy orders. I separate myself from all sin. I do good works according to my power. I adore thee with purity of thought, word, and action. I pray to Ormuzd, who recompenses good works, who delivers unto the end all those who obey his laws. Grant that I may arrive at Paradise, where all is fragrance, light, and happiness."

"O Ormuzd, pardon the repentant sinner. As I, when a man irritates me by his thoughts, words, or actions, carried away, or not carried away, by his passions, if he humbles himself before me, and addresses to me his prayer, I become his friend."

"Grant, O Ormuzd, that my good works may exceed my sins. Give me a part in all good actions and all holy words."

"I pray to Mithras, who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes; who never sleeps, who is always watchful and attentive, who renders barren lands fertile."

"Thou Fire, son of Ormuzd, brilliant and beneficent, given by Ormuzd, be favourable to me."

"I pray to the New Moon, holy, pure, and great. I pray to the Full Moon, holy, pure, and great. I gaze at the Moon which is on high, I honour the light of the Moon. The Moon is a blessed Spirit created by Ormuzd, to bestow light and glory on the earth."

"I invoke the Source of Waters, holy, pure, and great, coming from the throne of Ormuzd, from the high mountain, holy, pure, and great."

"I invoke the sweet Earth. I invoke the Mountains, abode of happiness, given by Ormuzd, holy, pure, and great."

The Word spoken by Ormuzd, through whose agency creation was produced, was called Honover, and invoked as the Great Primal Spirit.

In all their prayers and religious ceremonies, it was customary to turn towards the sun. When they invoked the stars, the elements, or any visible objects, they affirmed that their worship was not directed to them, but to the Spirits residing in them, whom they were bound to revere as the benevolent creations of Ormuzd. In his name all their prayers and ceremonies began and ended. Of all places on earth, mountains were considered most holy. Rivers were sacred, and they never allowed them to be polluted by blood, or anything unclean. The Euphrates, which annually overflows and fertilizes the country, they

regarded with especial reverence, and paid homage to it, as Egyptians did to the Nile. All good men, useful animals, salutary plants, and luminous objects, belonged to Ormuzd. All wicked, ferocious, poisonous things, and all dark places, belonged to Arimanes. They expressed their detestation of this Evil One in all manner of ways. When they had occasion to write his name, they always wrote it backward, and turned the letters upside down. They considered a dragon the representative of him. They sometimes sacrificed to him and his Spirits, in order to pacify their rage, avert dangers, or procure injury to enemies; but it was not lawful to eat the meat of animals thus sacrificed. When Xerxes prayed that it might be put into the minds of nations at enmity with Persia to drive away their best and bravest men, as the Athenians had exiled Themistocles, he addressed the prayer to Arimanes, not to Ormuzd. For oblations to Evil Spirits, they pounded plants that grew in deeply-shaded places, mixed them with the blood of a wolf, and threw it into some dark hole where the sun never shone.

Persian priests were called Magi. At first they were few in number, but afterward became numerous and powerful. The Archimagus, or High Priest, was revered as the visible head of the church, and the lawful successor of Zoroaster. He resided at Balch, which was regarded as a holy city. They said the identical fire from heaven, brought by Zoroaster himself from the flaming mountain, where he received the sacred Book of Laws, was there preserved in the temple. Grand solemnities and religious festivals were celebrated there, and it was deemed an indispensable duty for every man to make a pilgrimage thither at least once in his life. Each district had a superintending priest, who ranked next to the High Priest. A third class performed the common offices of worship in towns and villages. A large tract of the most fertile land was appropriated to the Magi; and citizens were required to give a tenth of their income for their support, and the expenses attending religious ceremonies. Kings could not

enter upon the duties of their royal office till they had been enrolled among the Magi, and instructed in their mysteries. They had sole charge of the public records, and the education of youth. No other persons were allowed to explain the Sacred Books, or perform religious ceremonies. A class of them were Prophets. When they prophesied, they said the air was full of visions, which infused themselves subtly into their eyes. It was believed they could predict weather, and foretell future events from the aspect of the stars; that, by certain ceremonies and holy words, they could cast Evil Spirits out of the diseased; and recite spells that would impart supernatural virtue to stones, plants, and scraps of writing. In the later times, kings sometimes caused them to be put to death for misinterpreting dreams and uttering false prophecies.

The Magi were required to be of good moral character, in sound health, and free from any personal deformity. Hindoo and Egyptian priests considered it necessary, in order to preserve their sanctity, never to come in contact with blood, except that of animals slain for sacrifice; but Persian priests were not considered polluted by killing anything, except a human being, or a dog. In primitive times they were very simple in their habits. They dressed in plain white robes, and wore no ornaments. They slept on the ground, and lived on bread, cheese, fruit, and vegetables. Afterward, when people brought animals to be sacrificed to the gods, the priests were accustomed to feast upon the flesh; it being their doctrine that the soul of the animal was the part most appropriate to deities. It was unlawful to touch the sacrifice, or approach the altar, till they had poured upon it consecrated liquors, and repeated prescribed words.

They worshipped Fire with peculiar reverence, because they thought it represented, though imperfectly, the original fire from Ormuzd, the vital principle of life and motion; also, because it was the most purifying of all things. They never allowed dead bodies to be burned; that being considered a pollution of the sacred element. A fire was kept

continually burning on all their altars. It was originally kindled in the temple at Balch, at the sacred flame brought from the burning mountain by Zoroaster himself; and it was never after allowed to go out. The Magi watched it alternately, night and day. They fed it with fragrant sandal-wood, first stripped of its bark, to ascertain that it was perfectly clean and free from insects. Sometimes they threw in garlands as an offering, and if the fire languished, they poured on consecrated aromatic oil, accompanying the ceremony with prayers and music of the double flute. When the king went forth to battle, the Magi carried a portion of the Sacred Fire, on silver censers, in front of the army. Whoever cast any dirt into it, or blowed upon it with his breath, was put to death, because breath, coming from the interior of the body, was deemed impure.

They consecrated vegetables, fruit and flowers, and offered them in very clean places, as oblations to the souls of departed ancestors. Animals for sacrifice were crowned with garlands. To Mithras they sacrificed beautiful white horses, richly caparisoned, because that free and vigorous animal was considered an appropriate emblem of the sun. They buried human beings alive, as an offering to a deity whom they supposed to exist under the earth. Herodotus speaks of nine youths and nine virgins thus sacrificed, and he says it was a common custom in Persia.

They had religious festivals of gratitude for spring time and harvest. Every year, during one of these festivals, kings and princes set aside their pomp and mingled freely with the humblest of their subjects. They received all petitions, and inquired personally into the grievances of the poor. Before they sat down to feast, the monarch was accustomed to say: "From your labours we receive subsistence, and you are protected by our vigilance. Since, therefore, we are mutually necessary to each other, let us live together like brothers, in concord and love." Individuals frequently employed the priests to offer sacrifices or oblations, on birth-days, or the anniversaries of deceased ancestors, or other occasions connected with their own in-

terests or affections, but no man was allowed to sacrifice or pray for himself, or his own family alone; he was required to include the whole nation in his supplications. One of their festivals was called The Destruction of Evils, because during its observance the Magi destroyed ferocious beasts, venomous reptiles, and poisonous plants; reciting, meanwhile, many formulas to expel Evil Spirits.

Their most splendid ceremonies were in honor of Mithras, called the Mediator. They kept his birth-day, with many rejoicings, on the twenty-fifth of December, when the sun perceptibly begins to return northward, after his long winter journey; and they had another festival at the vernal equinox. Perhaps no religious festival was ever more splendid than the annual Salutation of Mithras, during which forty days were set apart for thanksgiving and sacrifice. The procession to salute the god formed long before the rising of the sun. The High Priest was followed by a long train of the Magi, in spotless white robes, chanting hymns, and carrying the Sacred Fire on silver censers. Then came three hundred and sixty-five youths in scarlet, to represent the days of the year, and the colour of fire. These were followed by the Chariot of the Sun, empty, decorated with garlands, and drawn by superb white horses harnessed with pure gold. Then came a white horse of magnificent size, his forehead blazing with gems, in honour of Mithras. Close behind him rode the king, in a chariot of ivory inlaid with gold, followed by his royal kindred in embroidered garments, and a long train of nobles riding on camels richly caparisoned. This gorgeous retinue, facing the east, slowly ascended Mount Orontes. Arrived at the summit, the High Priest assumed his tiara wreathed with myrtle, and hailed the first rays of the rising sun with incense and prayer. The other Magi gradually joined him in singing hymns to Ormuzd, the source of all blessing, by whom the radiant Mithras had been sent to gladden the earth and preserve the principle of life. Finally, they all joined in one universal

chorus of praise, while king, princes and nobles prostrated themselves before the orb of day.

Persians did not represent Ormuzd as assisted in the work of creation by a feminine companion, and they disliked descriptions of that kind in other religions. They had likewise great abhorrence of images, and lest they should be introduced from foreign nations, they forbade the exercise of any other worship than that of Zoroaster, under the severest penalties. In the beginning they always worshipped in the open air, from an idea that it was impious to enclose the deity within walls; but, in after times, they erected several temples, and had numerous small oratories for the people to go in and pray, where the Sacred Fire was kept burning only in lamps. Sects sprung up and disputed about the origin of evil, and various other questions, each striving to sustain its creed by texts from the Zend-Avesta. Some maintained that Arimanes was co-eternal with Ormuzd; others affirmed that only light and goodness flowed from the Source of Being, that darkness and evil merely followed them as a shadow does the substance. In the reign of Artaxerxes, divisions of opinion had multiplied into seventy-two sects, beside a class of unbelievers, who ridiculed them all. The king summoned the Magi from all parts of his dominions, to the number of forty thousand. From these four thousand of the worthiest were selected; these were again sifted down to four hundred, to forty, and finally to seven. Among these the pre-eminent for holiness was Erdiviraph. Having performed ablutions and other religious ceremonies, he drank a powerful opiate, was covered with white linen, and laid down to sleep, that he might receive divine revelations in dreams. The king and six nobles watched by him while he slept seven days and nights. When he awoke, he declared what was truly the religion taught by the Zend-Avesta. This was carefully written down by an attendant scribe. The people received it as a divine revelation, believing that his soul had been in heaven and received direct instruction from Ormuzd.

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The religion of Persia had always been very uncompromising, and intolerant toward other nations; principally owing to their abhorrence of image-worship. When Cambyses invaded Egypt, he mutilated the statues of the gods, and insulted the sacred symbols. Babylon having become a province of the Persian empire, by conquest, Xerxes destroyed the images of the gods, and put their priesthood to death. After Artaxerxes restored the national religion, by an express revelation from Ormuzd to the holiest of the Magi, his desire to preserve the national unity led to a very strict exclusion of all other forms of faith. The adoption of foreign gods, so very common among the nations, was strenuously resisted by the Persians. But nevertheless causes were at work to produce gradual changes. The union of the Babylonian empire with the Persian brought in many Chaldean customs and ideas. Mixture with the Greeks, by war and commerce, and the final reduction of Persia to a Roman province, introduced a flood of foreign innovations. Temples were erected, and, notwithstanding their abhorrence of images, the statue of the goddess Astarte was set up and worshipped in many places, under the name of Mithra. In the latter times, an order of priestesses was likewise instituted, vowed to celibacy, and dedicated to the service of Mithras. But notwithstanding these unsettling influences, the greater part of the Persians clung with tenacious affection to the faith of Zoroaster.

When Mahometans conquered Persia, in the seventh century of our era, followers of the old faith passed through very severe sufferings. But at last, when the new power became firmly established, a fragment of them, consisting of about eighty thousand families, were allowed to settle in one of the most barren provinces of Persia, to build a new temple, and worship in their own way. A few are scattered about elsewhere, but they are always obliged to live in suburbs by themselves, and are employed only in the meanest offices. They make many pilgrimages to Mount Elbourz, the residence of their High Priest, whom they

regard as an oracle. Their conquerors contemptuously name them Ghebers, or Giaours, which means infidels, but they call themselves Behendie, signifying followers of the true faith. Europeans generally style them Fire Worshipers; but they say they merely adore fire as the representative of an invisible Spirit, whom they call Yerd. They keep a fire burning in their consecrated places, which they believe was kindled by Zoroaster four thousand years ago. They often build their temples over subterranean fires. Upon their altars, they have spheres to represent the sun. When the sun rises, these orbs light up, and turn round with great noise. The ignorant attribute this to magic. Some of them reside on the shores of the Caspian Sea, about ten miles from a source of perpetual fire, which they hold in great veneration. It issues from the cleft of a rock, and appears like the clear blue flame of burning alcohol. Sometimes it rises several yards; at others, only a few inches above the aperture. It has been burning thus for ages, without intermission, and the rock is neither consumed nor changed in colour. When travellers insert a hollow tube in the ground, for several hundred yards round this rock, a similar fire issues through the tube. Some suppose the story of Zoroaster's burning mountain originated in this, or a similar phenomenon.

Some of his followers, in time of Mahometan persecution, fled eastward to India, told their story, and humbly begged permission to stay. A Hindoo rajah took compassion on them, and allowed them to build a temple for the Sacred Fire, which they had carefully brought with them. They remain there in considerable numbers to this day, under the name of Parsees. They are a poor, harmless people, industrious in their habits, rigorous in morals, and honest in their dealings. They worship but one God, and detest idols. They consider Zoroaster the highest of prophets, but have also great reverence for Abraham, and often call their own faith the religion of Abraham. The Sacred Fire they carried from Persia, more than a thousand years ago, has never been extinguished. They preserve it with the

utmost veneration in their temple at Oodwara. In all their other temples is a sacred flame, lighted from this, and carefully watched by priests, who pray with mouths covered, lest their breath should pollute the holy element. The Parsees never blow out a light, but always extinguish it by a fan, or motions of the hand. Priests spend their whole time reading prayers, chanting hymns, burning incense, and performing prescribed ceremonies. Devotional exercises mingle more or less with almost every action of life, among this simple people. "May my prayer be pleasing to Ormuzd," is the preface to every petition. They have prayers for the new moon, for the fifteenth day of the moon, and for the decline of the moon; but they are especially enjoined to pray often during the growth of the moon. They employ priests to recite many formulas to guard their crops from malign influences; and they themselves utter continual invocations to Spirits of the sun, moon, earth, and waters, to render their harvests abundant. Every day, they pray to the particular Spirit supposed to preside over that day. They wash and recite a prayer before and after eating. They pray when they retire to rest; when they rise in the morning; when they turn in bed, toward a fire, or burning lamp, or moon, or star; when they light a lamp, or see one lighted; when they cut their nails, or their hair; and on many other occasions, which it would hardly be consistent with decorum to mention. They are forbidden to speak while they eat, or while they perform any of the natural functions; because Evil Spirits seek to distract mortals, and insinuate themselves into the body while the senses are busily occupied. When a person sneezes, they consider it a sign that the Evil Spirits, always striving to gain possession of man, are driven out by the interior fire that animates him. Therefore, whenever they hear a sneeze, they say: "Blessed be Ormuzd!" In the chamber where a babe is born, they keep a fire burning continually, because Evil Spirits are afraid to approach that sacred element. Those, who can afford it, keep four priests employed three days and three nights, praying and

performing ceremonies for the temporal and eternal welfare of the child. It is washed three times, with water previously consecrated by various forms of blessing and prayer. Whoever touches the new-born before this ablution, must go through a process of purification. Some parents still consult the priests concerning the aspect of the stars at the birth of their offspring. When a child is frightened, or has a fit, or is troubled with any disease, they obtain from the priests, a spell thus worded, and tie it on his left arm : " In the name of Ormuzd, I bind this fever, and all other evils produced by Arimanes and his wicked Spirits, by magicians, or by Peris. I bind these evils by the power and beauty of fire ; by the power and beauty of the planets and fixed stars." Peris are supposed to be descendants of fallen Spirits, doomed to wander about the earth, and excluded from Paradise, till their penance is accomplished. When a man has a fever, or any other malady, they recite prayers similar to the above, clapping the hands seven times. It is supposed that Evil Spirits enter a lifeless body as soon as the animating fire from Ormuzd has gone out of it. Therefore, whoever touches a corpse, even accidentally, must purify himself by ablutions, prayers, and ceremonies. On stated occasions, they offer oblations of flowers, fruit, rice, wine, and sometimes meat, to the souls of departed ancestors, and employ priests to accompany them with prayers. During the last ten days of the year, they believe the spirits of the dead come to earth and visit their relatives ; therefore they never leave their homes at that season. They have their houses purified by religious ceremonies, and ornamented with garlands for their reception.

Intelligent Ghebers and Parsees acknowledge that the original Zend-Avesta was lost in the course of their various wars and migrations. Scattered fragments were collected and published, and to this day it is regarded with great veneration, as a book from heaven. A copy is kept in every temple, and portions of it are read to the people at stated times. Anquetil du Perron, a zealous Oriental scholar, spent several years among the Parsees, and trans-

lated into French a part of the Zend-Avesta, which was published in 1771. The learned men of Europe generally acknowledge it as the ancient Zend-Avesta and an authentic record of the doctrines of Zoroaster.

The priesthood is not hereditary among the Parsees. The son of the poorest labourer may be educated for the sacred office. But these simple devotional people regard their religious teachers with the utmost veneration. They are considered polluted by the touch of foreigners, or even by men of their own faith. If a physician cures a priest of any dangerous illness, he is considered amply repaid by his prayers, so very efficacious are they deemed. Before reciting a prayer, the priests always wash their hands, saying: "I repent of all my sins. I renounce them." To render their supplications more powerful, they use a formula to unite them with all souls who have ever been pleasing to Ormuzd, or ever will be so, till the day of resurrection. The priest also declares that he takes part in all the good actions of all the just, who have ever lived in the world, and that he joins his actions to theirs. This communion of prayers is everywhere conspicuous in all their ceremonies. The ancient doctrine concerning Arimanes has become modified. They now teach that he was an inferior Spirit, who rebelled against Ormuzd, his Creator. A spirit of benevolence pervades their maxims. Their writings declare "there is no greater crime than to buy grain and keep it till it becomes dear. He who pursues this course, renders himself responsible for all the famine and misery in the world."

Of all known religions, that of the Parsees is the only one in which fasting and celibacy are never enjoined as meritorious, but are, on the contrary, expressly forbidden. They say the power of Arimanes is increased by punishing the body and rendering it feeble and sluggish; that Ormuzd is best pleased when the body is kept fresh and vigorous, as a means of rendering the soul more strong to resist the attacks of evil. They believe that a man in good health and spirits can listen more attentively to the Sacred Word,

and has more courage of heart to perform good works. They consider large families a blessing, and keep all birth-days as holy festivals. They say beneficent genii gave fragrance to flowers, and flavour to fruit, on purpose that man might enjoy them. They take cheerful and benevolent views of death. To the good it is only a passage into Paradise; to the wicked it is the beginning of penances that will finally atone for their sins, and from which the living can help to deliver them by their prayers. When a man commits crimes, it is ordained that relatives and friends should perform pious rites and make donations to the poor, in expiation of his faults, because they believe such observances will diminish his period of punishment.

They have a tradition that a holy personage, named Pashoutan, is waiting in a region called Kanguedez, for a summons from the Ized Serosch, who in the last days will bring him to Persia, to restore the ancient dominion of that country and spread the religion of Zoroaster over the whole earth.

In the northern districts of Kurdistan there is, at this present time, a sect called Yezidis, or Devil-Worshippers, greatly despised by the Mahometans and Christians around them. They are kind and simple people, extremely devout, according to the faith which they believe was delivered to their saints. They have a tradition that they came from the banks of the Euphrates, and their worship indicates a Chaldean or Persian origin. They believe in One Supreme Being, but have a reverential awe of talking about his existence or attributes. They believe Satan was once chief of the angelic host. He is now suffering punishment for his rebellion against the Supreme, but will eventually be restored to his high estate in the celestial hierarchy. He has under his control seven Spirits, who exercise great influence over the affairs of this world. They say it is necessary to conciliate him, because he now has means of doing much evil to mankind, and he will hereafter have power to reward them. When they allude to him, they do it with great reverence; calling him Melek el Kout, the

Mighty Angel. They will not mention his name, or even utter any word which resembles it in sound. It irritates them to hear it spoken by others, and it is said they have put to death some who wantonly persisted in doing it to annoy them. The bronze image of a bird, consecrated to him, is treated with great veneration. The Sheik carries it in all his journeys, and his deputies have small copies of it made in wax. They practise circumcision, and baptize a child in water, if possible, seven days after birth. They consider Abraham and Mahomet great prophets, and believe that Christ was a heavenly Spirit, who took on himself the form of a man, for benevolent purposes. They say he did not die on the cross, but ascended living to heaven, whence he will come a second time on this earth. They have very great reverence for the Hebrew Scriptures, and a lesser degree for the New Testament and the Koran. They practise frequent ablutions, and have great abhorrence of pork. They have a volume in Arabic, containing chants, prayers, and directions for the performance of religious ceremonies. They consider this very sacred, and will not show it to strangers. Their holy day is Wednesday; they do not abstain from work, but some always fast. They have four orders of hereditary priesthood, and, what is very remarkable in Asia, these offices descend to women as well as men, and both are treated with equal reverence. The higher orders of priests generally wear white linen garments, the inferior wear black, or dark brown. Every district has a religious head, called a Sheik. The office is hereditary in his family, but the descendant best qualified by character is chosen to succeed him. An order of priests called Pirs, or Saints, are much revered. Their intercessions for the people are supposed to have great influence, and it is believed that they are invested with power to cure insanity and disease. They are expected to lead a very pure and holy life.

The Yezidis always turn toward the east when they pray, and kiss the first objects touched by the rays of the rising sun. On great festivals they sacrifice white oxen to the

Sun, and distribute the flesh among the poor. They venerate fire, and suffer nothing unclean to be thrown into it. Sheik Adi is their great saint. They have many traditions of his interviews with angels. The valley where he is buried is a place of pilgrimage. Worshippers wash themselves and their garments, and take the shoes from their feet, before they step on the hallowed ground. A yearly sum is paid to priests, who guard the sacred valley from all pollution, keep lamps lighted, and perform the appointed ceremonies. The badge of their office is a girdle of red and yellow, the colours of fire. On the door of the tomb are rudely carved a lion, a serpent, a man, a hatchet, and a comb. The serpent is particularly conspicuous. Balls of clay taken from this tomb are sold as relics, and believed to be very efficacious against diseases and Evil Spirits. A chapter from the Koran is written on the interior walls. Only Sheiks and high priests are permitted to be buried in the vicinity. Near by is a reservoir of water, which they believe the saint brought miraculously from the holy well of Zem Zem, at Mecca. It is carefully guarded from all impurities, and eagerly drunk by crowds of pilgrims. A low edifice, with a small white spire, is called the Sanctuary of the Sun. On a slab, near the door, is carved an invocation to the Spirit of the Sun, and it is so built that the first rays of that luminary fall upon it. The interior is continually lighted by lamps, and is considered a very holy place. There are no buildings in all the valley, except those for worship and the dwellings of resident priests. They are kept very pure with repeated coats of whitewash. On the evening of festivals, lamps are placed in all the niches of the walls, and in apertures of the rocky mountains that enclose this sacred valley. They are generally votive offerings from pilgrims, who have prayed to the saint in time of danger or distress, and found relief from his supposed intercessions. As priests walk by carrying these lamps, pilgrims crowd round them, striving to pass their right hands through the flame. They devoutly kiss the hand thus purified, and rub the right eyebrow

with it. They hold out little children to have their right hands purified in the same way. Those who cannot reach the flame, strive to touch the hands of others who are more fortunate. They reverently kiss the very stones blackened by the smoke of these lamps.

On the festival of Sheik Adi, his tomb is visited by long processions of priests in white linen robes, musicians with pipes and tambourines, and pilgrims from all their districts. Peddlers congregate there to sell their wares. Sheiks and priests walk familiarly among the people, or sit talking with them in the shadows of the trees. Seven or eight thousand usually meet together on this occasion, and it is a picturesque sight to see them wandering about among the trees and rocks with their lighted torches. Layard thus describes some of the religious ceremonies he witnessed at this festival: "Thousands of lights danced in the distance, glimmered among the trees, and were reflected in the fountains and streams. Suddenly all voices were hushed. A solemn strain of sweet pathetic music came from the tomb of the saint; the voices of men and women in harmony with flutes. At measured intervals, the song was broken by the loud clash of cymbals and tambourines; and then those without the precincts of the tomb joined in the melody. The same slow and solemn strain, occasionally varied, lasted nearly an hour. Gradually, the chant gave way to a lively melody, ever increasing in quickness. Voices were raised to the highest pitch; women made the rocks resound with their shrill tones; men among the multitude without joined in the cry; tambourines were beaten with extraordinary energy; musicians strained their limbs in violent contortions, till they fell exhausted on the ground. I never heard a more frightful yell than rose in that valley. It was midnight. There were no immodest gestures or unseemly ceremonies. When musicians and singers were exhausted, the sounds died away, groups scattered about the valley, and resumed their previous cheerfulness."

The Yezidis are remarkable for tenacious attachment to their religion. A person of mature age among them never

renounces his faith. They have often been subjected to terrible tortures, but have invariably preferred death to the adoption of any other form of worship. Even when young children are carried off and sold to Turkish harems, they often cherish through life the religion of their childhood, and contrive to keep up a secret communication with their priests.

GREECE AND ROME.

Man gifted Nature with divinity,
 To lift and link her to the breast of love;
 All things betrayed to the initiate eye
 The tracks of gods above.

Not to that culture gay,
 Stern self-denial, or sharp penance wan.
 Well might each heart be happy in that day;
 For gods, the happy ones, were kin to man.

SCHILLER'S *Gods of Greece*.

GREECE was the oldest European nation. Its history extends a little more than one thousand eight hundred years before Christ; two hundred years earlier than Moses; but they were a rude people at that time, dwelling in huts and caves. Being settled by colonies from Egypt, Phœnicia, Thrace, and other countries, their religious customs and opinions varied considerably in different states; but the general features were similar. They worshipped many deities, all intended to represent the divine energy acting in various departments of the universe. A few enlightened minds among them taught that these all proceeded from One Central Source of Being; and this belief, confused and dim at first, became more distinct as knowledge increased.

Athens was founded by a colony from Egypt, and the intercourse between that country and Greece was always frequent. The effect of this on their religion and philosophy is very obvious. But in the Grecian atmosphere of thought and feeling all things were tinged with more cheerful and poetic colours. Egyptian reverence for stability and power was here changed to worship of freedom

and beauty. Strong, active, and vivacious themselves, the Grecians invested their deities with the same characteristics. They did not conceive of them as dwelling apart in passionless majesty, like Egyptian gods, with a solemn veil of obscurity around them. They were in the midst of things, working, fighting, loving, rivalling, and outwitting each other, just like human beings, from whom they differed mainly in more enlarged powers. No anchorites here preached torture of the body for the good of the soul. How to enjoy the pleasures of life with prudence, and invest it with the greatest degree of beauty, was their morality. In the procession of the nations, Greece always comes bounding before the imagination, like a graceful young man in the early freshness of his vigour; and nothing can wean a poetic mind from the powerful attraction of his immortal beauty.

Gay, imaginative, pliable, and free, the Grecians received religious ideas from every source, and wove them all together in a mythological web of fancy, confused and wavering in its patterns, but full of golden threads. They seem to have copied external rites from Egypt, without troubling themselves to comprehend the symbolical meaning, which priests concealed so carefully. They added ceremonies and legends from other countries, broken into fragments, and mixed together in strange disorder.

They had no Sacred Books, in the usual meaning of the term. Minoa, their first lawgiver, was believed to have received his laws directly from Jupiter; and popular veneration invested with a certain degree of sacred authority the poems of Hesiod and Homer, supposed to have been written about nine hundred years before Christ. These works were believed to be divinely inspired by Apollo and the Muses. This was not a mere poetical figure of speech with the Grecians, as it would be with us; for they had a lively and undoubting faith that Apollo and the Muses were genuine deities, who took cognizance of the affairs of men, and filled the souls of prophets and poets with divine inspiration. It is said by some that

Hesiod was a priest in the temple of the Muses, on Mount Helicon. He seems to have been desirous to inculcate religious reverence, and a love of agriculture. He condemns licentiousness, irreverence to parents, and riches procured by fraud or violence. He strongly insists on the sacredness of an oath, and the laws of hospitality. He teaches to love those who love us, and to return gifts to the generous. He recommends withholding friendly offices from enemies ; but declares that Jupiter will certainly punish those who refuse to pardon a suppliant offender. He gives a rather unintelligible account of the creation of the world from chaos. One of the most conspicuous agents in the work is Love, by which he probably meant the Principle of Attraction, drawing the elements into union, and producing a series of offspring ; thus by the marriage of Heaven and Earth, Ocean was born. The deities, whom he describes as intermarrying, fighting, and plotting against each other, were the popular Gods of the country, the Spirits supposed to preside over planets and elements. He tells of huge giants called Titans, born of Heaven and Earth. One of them, named Chronos by the Greeks and Saturn by the Romans, dethroned his father Coelus, or Heaven, and governed the universe. He is represented as devouring his own children ; an allegorical way of saying that Time, whose Greek name is Chronos, destroys whatever he produces. One of his sons, named Jupiter, who escaped by artifice of his mother, expelled his father, and reigned in his stead. The Titans made war upon him, but he succeeded in chaining them all in the dungeons of Tartarus. These legends are supposed to be symbolical of the struggle of the elements when the world was formed.

Hesiod describes the administration of Saturn as the Golden Age of the world. Men lived like gods, without vices or passions, vexation or toil. In happy companionship with divine beings, they passed their days in tranquillity and joy, living together in perfect equality, united by mutual confidence and love. The earth was more beautiful than now, and spontaneously yielded an abundant

variety of fruits. Human beings and animals spoke the same language, and conversed freely together. Men were considered mere boys at a hundred years old. They had none of the infirmities of age to trouble them, and when they passed to regions of superior life, it was in a gentle slumber. Then followed the Silver Age, when the lives of men were shortened on account of their neglect of the gods, and injustice toward each other. This was succeeded by a Brazen Age of turbulence and insecurity. This degenerated still more into the Iron Age, corresponding to the Cali Yug of the Hindoos. Hesiod laments that his own birth happened in this unfortunate period of time, when the life of man is but a span, when fraud, violence, calumny, and all manner of crimes and diseases, everywhere abound.

Homer resembles Hesiod in his ideas of vice and virtue. Superior power, not moral excellence, is the essential element in his conception of divine beings. He represents them as very human in their passions, motives, and actions. They enjoy oblations of bread, wine, fruit, and the sacrifice of animals, as one man enjoys the hospitality of another. They are wrathful and relentless when offended, and can be appeased only by prayers and gifts. They fall in love with mortal women, by whom a race of demi-gods are produced. They resort to all manner of trickery and violence to accomplish their purposes. Thus Pallas Athena is represented as obtaining permission from Zeus to tempt Pandarus to violate a treaty solemnly sworn to. Such treachery is described as meritorious, by the Greek poets, because it was exercised in favour of their own nation.

A direct supernatural agency guides and controls all things, great and small. Birth, death, health, beauty, riches, all that a man is, and all that he has, are attributed to the gods. Every phenomenon of nature, every great thought, and noble impulse, is ascribed to divine agency. Any person highly gifted is supposed to be peculiarly dear to the deity who presides over that gift. Poets and prophets receive their inspiration from Phœbus, and Helen

owes her extraordinary beauty to the partiality of Aphrodite. Even a hearty laugh is ascribed to the genial influence of the gods. A constant living intercourse is supposed to exist between them and mortals. They descend visibly to this earth to converse with mankind. They often visit cities in the disguise of travellers, to inspect the conduct of men.

Wrong and foolish actions are likewise attributed to supernatural influence. Helen ascribes her elopement from her husband to an infatuation implanted in her heart by Aphrodite. A man, who goes out without his cloak in a cold night, is represented as saying: "A god deceived me that I did this thing."

The rewards of vice and virtue in another life, and all that is said of the condition of departed souls, is exceedingly dim and shadowy.

Succeeding poets enlarged and embellished the history of the gods, sometimes from their own imagination, sometimes from the traditions of various other nations; and the populace received it all with the ready credulity of bright, elastic, youthful natures. Many of the subordinate deities are obviously mere personifications of the elements and the forces of nature. Thus the violence of the ocean is represented as Poseidon swallowing thousands of victims. It is to be presumed that most of these legends were intended to convey, in allegorical form, some truth, physical or metaphysical, astronomical or moral; but at this distance of time, and with altogether foreign habits of thought, we can with difficulty perceive here and there a gleam of meaning; especially in the numerous amours of the gods, which, if taken literally, would make them appear more sensual than mortals.

A religion composed of such various and flexible fragments, of course left great freedom of construction to the worshippers. But the conservative principle which prevents all erratic things from flying entirely out of their orbits, came in, to check the excess of Grecian freedom. Gods from other countries were continually adopted into

their Pantheon, but this was never done until the formal sanction of the state had been obtained. When rites and festivals were once established, and the populace had invested them with the sacredness which belongs to time-hallowed usages, it was extremely difficult for government to abolish them. Thus the custom of running naked through the streets at the festival in honour of Pan, called Lupercalia, was continued long after a large portion of the community had come to regard it as indecent.

All their deities bear traces of a foreign origin, and the histories told of them are obviously the mixed legends of various nations. That their prominent deities were Spirits of the Planets, is indicated by their names: Apollo the Sun, Diana the Moon, Jupiter, Saturn, Mars, Mercury, and Venus. Like Hindoos and Egyptians, they consecrated the days successively to these Planetary Spirits. The seventh day was sacred to Saturn, from time immemorial. Homer and Hesiod call it the holy day.

Zeus, whom Romans called Jupiter, was differently represented at different epochs of their history. As the Son of Heaven, with Metis, the wisest of deities, for his wife, he resembles Brahma of Hindostan, and Amun of Egypt. Hesiod and Homer describe him as the Supreme Creator of heaven, earth, and sea, the Father of Gods and men; strengthening the weak, sustaining the strong, seeing past, present, and future, at a glance, and subject to nothing except the unalterable decrees of the Fates. He alone never appears in person on the stage of human affairs. He is so highly exalted above all beings, that he needs the agency of mediators to converse with mortals. Greeks, as well as Hindoos and Egyptians, believed in an element above the air, called ether. Some descriptions of Jupiter represent him as Son of Ether, armed with a thunderbolt, surrounded by moon and stars. This is a reappearance of Indra, the Hindoo god of the Firmament; and in this capacity he is married to his sister Juno, who represented the Air, and had Iris, the Rainbow, for her attendant and messenger. According to another account, Jupiter was the

Son of Saturn, or Time, and Rhea, the Earth. Cretans were accustomed to show the grotto on Mount Ida where he was said to be born, and the sepulchre where he was buried. But these traditions excited the ridicule and indignation of other Greeks. "All this is fiction," exclaims Callimachus; "for thou, O Father, livest forever."

Pallas Athena, whom Romans called Minerva, resembles the Hindo Sereswati, and the Egyptian Neith. She was goddess of wisdom, presiding over philosophy, poetry, arts, sciences, and military tactics. She is represented as for ever by the side of Jupiter, from whose brain she was born.

Dionysus, or Bacchus, was god of wine and vintage. He resembles Osiris in one department of his beneficence; namely, that of introducing the cultivation of vines. There is great similarity between Rama, Osiris, and Bacchus, in several of their adventures, and the ceremonials of their worship. They are all represented as having taught men agricultural arts, and performed great exploits in India.

Demeter, or Ceres, is Isis limited to the cultivation of the earth and the protection of harvests.

Hermes, or Mercury, was god of merchants, orators, and thieves. Like Thoth, he was messenger between gods and men, and conducted departed souls to the Judges of the Dead.

Pan, god of generation, was represented, like the Egyptian Kham, with the body and legs of a goat. His name signifies All, and was bestowed upon him because the generative principle pervades all things in the universe.

Rhea and Cybele were two very ancient goddesses, whose worship was introduced from different countries, and in process of time mixed together. They both represented the Earth, or Nature in her productive power. One of their names was Maia, the Hindoo name for the goddess of Nature.

Aphrodite, or Venus, goddess of beauty and pleasure, like the Hindoo Parvati, was born of the foam of the sea, and was the mother of Love.

Eros, or Cupid, god of love, is represented, like the Cama of the Hindoos, as a mischievous boy, armed with bow and arrows.

The central figure in Grecian mythology was Phœbus, or Apollo. He was god of light, of poetry, eloquence, and medicine, but was especially honoured as presiding over prophecy. As god of medicine, he was originally worshipped under the form of a Serpent, and men invoked him as the Helper. In later times, his worship was confounded with that of Helios, the visible sun; but, like the Hindoo Crishna, he was the representative of spiritual light and warmth. Poets sometimes called him "king of intellectual fire." Perhaps, like the Persian Mithras, he was the attendant Ferver, or guardian angel of the visible luminary. He excelled in music, and is often represented playing on a flute, with the nine Muses dancing round him, like the nine Gopiæ of Hindostan. Like Crishna, he is said to have killed a huge venomous serpent in his childhood, and to have performed the duties of a shepherd many years in the family of Admetus. Egyptians consecrated the island of Philæ, where Osiris and his twin sister Isis were said to have been born. Greeks had a tradition that the island of Delos had risen suddenly from the sea to provide a birth-place for Apollo and his twin sister, Phœbe, or Diana. No dog was allowed to approach the sacred island, no mortal was permitted to be born or die there, and no diseased person to remain. On the sea-shore stood a very beautiful temple of Apollo, the altar of which was never stained with blood.

In Greek mythology there was no one deity to represent the power of evil. Zeus was supposed to distribute good gifts from an urn at his right hand, and evil from an urn at his left. Among the subordinate deities several were of malign influence. Hades, whom Romans called Pluto, reigned in dismal subterranean regions, seated on a throne of sulphur, presiding over death and funerals. His countenance was gloomy and stern. Men erected no temples to him. The only sacrifices offered were black animals,

and their blood was not sprinkled on altars, but poured into holes in the ground. All unlucky things were sacred to him, especially the number two. Around his throne were seated the three Eumenides, or Furies, employed to execute the vengeance of the gods. On earth they inflicted war, pestilence, famine, and remorse. In the regions of Pluto, they scourged sinners with scorpions and tormented them continually. They were represented with bloody garments, frightful countenances, and snakes wreathed in their hair. Mortals feared to utter their names, or look up at their temples as they passed. If any person guilty of crime dared to approach their altars, it was supposed he would be instantly deprived of reason. The Parcæ, or Fates, were depicted as three old women, who spun the thread of life and cut it in twain. Black sheep were annually sacrificed to them, but no prayers were ever offered, because it was believed that not even Jupiter himself could change their inexorable decrees. It was supposed that no person could die, unless Proserpine, wife of Pluto, or one of the Fates, cut some hairs from his head. It was customary to strew the hair of the deceased on the threshold of the door, as an offering to them.

Every district and town had some tutelary deity to preside over it, who was supposed to be peculiarly connected with its welfare. Athenians considered themselves under the especial protection of Minerva, and Eleans placed themselves under the guardianship of Olympian Jupiter. It was deemed very hazardous to the prosperity, and even to the safety, of a state or district, to neglect any of the accustomed worship to their tutelary deity; therefore they never abandoned any of the ancient gods, though they introduced many new ones. They believed that the priests were possessed of knowledge, originally revealed from above, which enabled them to perform the ceremonies and repeat the words necessary to bring down Celestial Spirits into statues, and even into pillars and consecrated stones; and that prayers addressed to these visible objects were heard by the deities to whom they were dedicated.

Those who gained money by these images and ceremonies naturally encouraged the multiplication of them. To such an extent was this carried, that in Rome, fever, coughing, and sneezing, had each a separate deity.

They believed that departed human souls lingered around their former habitations and families, to protect them. They invoked them in time of domestic trouble, and offered sacrifices to appease them, when they thought they had been wronged, or were angry. They erected remarkable tombs, and at stated seasons repaired thither to offer prayers and oblations to the spirits of departed ancestors, whom they called Manes. The offerings generally consisted of flowers, fruit, wine, and incense; but sometimes animals were sacrificed, and even human beings. Religious rites, observed with regard to ancestors, are supposed to have introduced the worship of their spirits, under the name of Lares and Penates, household gods, protectors of home and hearthstone. Their images, made of silver, ivory, or wax, were worn about the neck, or kept in some safe, secluded corner of every house, and received the same oblations usually offered to the Manes. In process of time, altars and statues were erected to ancestors, as well as magnificent tombs, and every individual was at liberty to confer such honours on his progenitors. If a man had gained great victories, introduced useful inventions, or been distinguished for wisdom, the people naturally carried offerings to his altar, in token of gratitude. This was the beginning of Hero Worship, which prevailed very extensively in Greece and Rome. The old Hindoo idea concerning the ascending destiny of holy men, was transferred to brave men and national benefactors. Their souls, when released from the body, were supposed to become demi-gods, and to perform the office of mediators between mortals and the great deities. It was a common belief that they became stars. A comet that appeared soon after the death of Julius Cæsar was supposed to indicate his reception among the gods. The emperor Adrian named a new star for the beautiful Antinous, his deceased favourite, whose

soul he supposed had in that form taken its station in the heavens. An immortal father or mother was generally assigned to the men who became demigods. *Æsculapius*, celebrated for his skill in medicine, was said to be the son of *Apollo*, from whom he derived the divine gift. The goddess *Thetis* gave birth to *Achilles*, renowned for military exploits. *Hercules*, who relieved the earth from many monsters and tyrants, was the son of *Jupiter* by a mortal mother. When his body was placed on the funeral pile, a cloud descended, on which he was carried up in a chariot to *Olympus*, amid peals of thunder. There he became a god, and married *Hebe*, goddess of immortal youth. His friends, being unable to find his bones or ashes, manifested gratitude to his memory by erecting an altar on the spot where the burning pile had stood.

In addition to gods and demigods, every department of the universe was filled with Spirits, whom Greeks called Demons, whether their offices were good or evil. The good were called *Agatho-demons*, and the bad *Caco-demons*. *Hesiod* says:

"Thrice ten thousand holy demons rove
This breathing world; the immortals sent from *Jove*.
Guardians of men, their glance alike surveys
The upright judgments and the unrighteous ways.
Hovering they glide to earth's extremest bound,
A cloud aerial veils their forms around."

Nine nymphs, called *Muses*, the favourite companions of *Apollo*, presided over music, dancing, poetry, and all the liberal arts. The god of Love delighted to spend his nights with them in dance and song. They are represented as daughters of *Jupiter* and *Mnemosyne*, goddess of Memory, because memory and creative intellect combine to produce the arts. *Hesiod* calls them:

"The thrice three sacred maids, whose minds are knit
In harmony, whose only thought is song.
They sing the laws of universal heaven,
And the pure manners of immortal gods.
Anon they bend their footsteps toward the mount,

Rejoicing in their beauteous voice, and song
 Unperishing. Far round, the dusky earth
 Rings with their hymning voices; and beneath
 Their many rustling feet a pleasant sound
 Ariseth, as they take their onward way
 To their own father's presence."

In the same temple with the Muses were worshipped the Graces, likewise called Charities; three beautiful nymphs, presiding over gracious manners and all kindly offices. This united worship was an instructive custom, since cultivation of mind shou'd always lead to moral graces.

There were countless genii to take care of hills, and streams, and flowers. Oreads frequented mountains, where they sat "listening to the talking streams below," sounding "sweet echoes to the huntsman's horn." Napeads protected valleys and shaded nooks. Dryads loved the groves, where the imaginative eye saw them dance in the bright play of sun and shadow. Ephydriads reclined near springs and fountains, lulled by the rippling waters. Naiads swam playfully in the rivers, and Nereids careered on the ocean billows.

Olympus, which early Greeks considered the loftiest mountain in the world, was believed to be the dwelling-place of the gods. Over its top there was supposed to be an opening into the metallic dome of heaven. In after times, when their ideas of the universe enlarged, they said divine beings dwelt in the exterior sphere of the heavens, revolving round the space which included the planets; and this residence above the firmament they called Olympus also.

The Hindoo idea of a subtle invisible body within the material body, reappeared in the descriptions of Greek poets. They represented the constitution of man as consisting of three principles: the soul, the invisible body, and the material body. The invisible body they called the ghost or shade, and considered it as the material portion of the soul. At death, the soul clothed in this subtle body went to enjoy paradise for a season, or suffer in hell till its

sins were expiated. Then if the Judges of the Dead had decreed it to exist again on earth, it returned and took a material body, more or less honourable, according to its sentence. But when the souls of heroes joined the gods, to return no more to earthly habitations, they parted with this subtile body, and it wandered in Elysium. Ulysses declares that he saw there the divine Hercules; "or rather his shade, for he himself was with the immortal gods, assisting at their festivals." The paradise, which they called Elysian Fields, some supposed to be part of the lower world, some placed them in a middle zone of the air, some in the moon, and others in far-off isles of the ocean. There shone more glorious sun and stars than illuminate this world. The day was always serene, the air forever pure, and a soft celestial light clothed all things in transfigured beauty. Majestic groves, verdant meadows, and blooming gardens, varied the landscape. The river Eridanus flowed through winding banks fringed with laurel. On its borders lived heroes who had died for their country, priests who had led a pure life, artists who had embodied genuine beauty in their works, and poets who had never degraded their muse with subjects unworthy of Apollo. There each one renewed the pleasures in which he formerly delighted. Orpheus, in long white robes, made enrapturing music on his lyre, while others danced and sung. The husband rejoined his beloved wife; old friendships were renewed; the poet repeated his verses, and the charioteer managed his horses. Some poets, rather sensually inclined, describe luxurious feasts, and say nothing can be more mean than the entertainments in Tartarus. In a retired valley, through a dark grove, drowsily glided the sluggish stream of Lethe. When the time arrived for souls to return again to earth, they were presented with a cup of its waters, which made them forget all they had seen and heard.

The subterranean realm where Pluto ruled, was called by the Greeks Hades, and by the Romans Tartarus. It was a deep, dark, awful region, encircled by a river of fire,

and surrounded by a triple wall. Here in the deepest pits were chained the proud Spirits called Titans, who rebelled against Jupiter. Here the condemned were scourged with snakes by the Furies; or were seated under a huge stone for ever ready to fall, wishing to move, but unable; or hungry wolves gnawed the liver, which for ever grew again; or they were consumed with thirst, standing in water that constantly eluded their touch. Some souls wandered in vast forests between Tartarus and Elysium, not good enough for one, or bad enough for the other. Some were purified from their sins by exposure to searching winds, others by being submerged in deep waters, others by passing through intense fires. After a long period of probation and suffering, many of them gained the Elysian Fields. When they had enjoyed a period proportioned to their merits, they were sent back to earth to take mortal bodies again. A few of the purest and noblest ascended to the gods.

The dead were represented as being ferried across the dark river Acheron to the regions of Pluto, by the boatman Charon, for whom a small coin was placed under the tongue of the deceased. He refused to carry over those who had not received burial in this world; they were obliged to wander on the banks for a whole century. In allusion to this, Virgil says:

"There stood the ghosts, and stretched their hands and cried,
Imploring passage to the other side."

The shade of Patroclus thus spoke to Achilles in a dream:

"Thou sleep'st, Achilles; and Patroclus, erst
Thy best beloved, in death forgotten lies.
Haste, give me burial! I would pass the gates
Of Hades; for the shadows of the dead
Now drive me from their fellowship afar."

These ideas originated in Egyptian customs; a fact which may be traced even in the names. On the banks of the Nile was a beautiful plain, surrounded by groves, and in-

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tersected with canals. It lay beyond Lake Acherusia, and being a celebrated place of interment, it was called *Elisiæns*, meaning Rest. On the borders of the lake was a tribunal to inquire into the character of the deceased. If his life had been wicked, they refused to convey his body to the cemetery, and it was thrown into a ditch prepared for the purpose, called Tartar. If the decision of the judges was favourable, eulogiums were publicly passed on his memory, and after the priests had received a small fee, his remains were conveyed across the lake into *Elisiæns*.

The Greeks had an ancient tradition concerning a Tree which grew in gardens of Paradise, and bore the golden Apples of Immortality. It was guarded by three nymphs, and a great Serpent. It was one of the labours of Hercules to gather some of these Apples of life. Ancient medallions represent the Tree with a Serpent twined round it. Hercules has gathered an Apple, and near him stand the three nymphs, called *Hesperides*.

There were several hereditary classes in Greece, but there was no law of caste to exclude men from any employment they chose, or from the investigation of any subject. In times as ancient as Homer, any man venerable for age or wisdom offered prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and performed religious ceremonies for the people. As the country grew older, the priesthood became more established and conspicuous; but an element of freedom was always preserved, which rendered their influence very different from that of the exclusive caste of priests in Hindostan and Egypt. This circumstance doubtless contributed much toward that intellectual energy and freedom of inquiry which so eminently characterized the ancient Greeks. In some places, the priesthood was hereditary in certain families. In others, the prince conferred the office on whomsoever he deemed worthy. Sometimes priests were elected by lot, sometimes by votes of the people. They were required to be of good moral character, in sound health, and not deformed in any way; it being deemed irreverent to consecrate to the gods any thing im-

pure or defective. They were usually chosen from the upper classes, and on all public occasions they took their places with kings and the highest civil officers. In most of the cities the care of worship was intrusted to chief magistrates, who were often themselves consecrated to the priesthood. In some places the king was high priest, and all important sacrifices for the good of the commonwealth were performed by him only. On private or ordinary occasions, the father of the family, or the oldest and most honourable man present, might perform religious rites. But when any great calamity was to be averted, or extraordinary blessing to be obtained, they sought the services of the priesthood; believing that the gods had especially commissioned them, and were more ready to hear their prayers than those of other men. On such occasions, they often ascended mountains to ask counsel of the gods; such places being invested with peculiar sanctity, and deemed nearer to the deities than other portions of the earth. They often performed ablutions in running streams, or were sprinkled with consecrated water, as a necessary preparation for religious ceremonies. All those intrusted with religious affairs were summoned at stated periods to appear before certain magistrates and give an account how they had discharged their duties. In small places, one priest fulfilled all the sacred offices, but in large cities they had various grades of assistants. Each god had a chief priest and subordinate priests; and in every state was a Supreme Pontiff, whose duty it was to superintend the others, and preside at the highest and most sacred rites. Some, who were devoted to the most elevated functions of worship, lived retired from worldly affairs, and observed the strictest temperance and chastity. They drank juice of hemlock and other herbs, to keep the blood cool and the passions in subjection. Some even deprived themselves of manhood, from the idea that they could serve the gods with more purity. A class of them were called Prophets, and expounded oracles. In some places, these never tasted animal food, or any thing boiled. Some orders were allowed

to marry, but second unions were deemed disreputable. Indeed, in the early days of strictness, to have been twice married excluded a man from the priesthood. A tenth part of the harvests, the mines, and the spoils taken in war, were appropriated to the service of the gods. The priests had a prescribed share, and many of them were wealthy.

From Egypt was introduced an order of priests called *Asclepiades*, descendants of *Æsculapius*, god of medicine. The results of medical experience acquired in the temples, they divulged only to the initiated, under solemn promise of secrecy. A healing and prophetic serpent was kept in their temples, and the staff of *Æsculapius* was represented wreathed with a serpent. These medical priests applied magnetic remedies by the motion of their hands, sought to induce soothing dreams, and operated on the imagination of patients by charms and conjurations. They carefully observed the course of diseases, and noted down the results of their practice. The populace considered them both prophets and physicians. *Aristides* eulogized their skill at *Smyrna*, and the first practical physician in *Rome*, twenty years before *Christ*, was of their order. In later times foreigners were freely admitted to their schools. They were the founders of modern scientific medicine.

Women were admitted to the Grecian priesthood, shared its highest dignities, and in such capacities were regarded with great veneration. Several of them are mentioned as wives and mothers, and they seem generally to have been dignified and exemplary matrons. They were of various orders, superior and inferior, and were assisted by young girls of the highest families, who gathered flowers, wove garlands, and embroidered veils for the statues. In the temples of *Venus*, and also of *Cybele*, were troops of young men and women employed as dancers; mostly slaves sent as gifts to the goddess. They are often represented on antique vases, standing on tiptoe, with arms gracefully raised, turning their slender forms in the undulating movements of some sacred dance. All the money these women received from their lovers was paid into the treasury of

the priests. Several temples of Venus were built with funds thus obtained.

The Romans instituted an order of priestesses, six in number, called the Vestal Virgins. They were required to be of good family, free from bodily defects, and not more than ten years old, or less than six, at the time of consecration. They took a vow of strict chastity, the breach of which was supposed to bring calamities on the whole people. If any one was detected in breaking this vow, she was buried alive. In the course of the thousand years, during which this order existed, only thirteen were thus punished for violation of their oath. They wore long white linen robes, with a white vest edged with purple. Their hair was cut short and bound with a close fillet. It was their business to keep the sacred fire of Vesta burning perpetually on the altar of her temple day and night, to offer prayers and sacrifices for the good of the state, and instruct their successors in office. If the fire chanced to go out, it was deemed an omen of some great national calamity. In such a case, the careless Vestal was severely scourged by the High Priest, and the fire was rekindled from rays of the sun brought to a focus with something like burning glasses; the process being accompanied with solemn ceremonies and prayers. When these priestesses appeared in public, they were treated with the greatest veneration. Any insult to them was a capital offence. If they met a criminal on his way to execution, he was set at liberty, if they declared the meeting accidental. They were handsomely maintained at public expense, and after thirty years of service, were at liberty either to remain in the temple, or go out and marry. Polygamy was discountenanced in Greece, and forbidden by law in Rome.

Oblations and sacrifices to the gods varied at different epochs of time, and according to the characters of the deities. In the rude ages, it was customary to sacrifice beautiful girls to Cybele; but afterward, in lieu of this, they made a present of slaves to her temple. Young maidens used to be sacrificed to Diana, but afterward they

were merely scourged at her altar. It was often supposed the gods demanded the sacrifice of a human being, to atone for some sin, or avert some calamity. When the Greek army was detained at Aulis, by contrary winds, the augurs being consulted, declared that one of the kings had offended Diana, and she demanded the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigenia. It was like taking the father's life-blood, but he was persuaded that it was his duty to submit for the good of his country. The maiden was brought forth for sacrifice, in spite of her tears and supplications; but just as the priest was about to strike the fatal blow, Iphigenia suddenly disappeared, and a goat of uncommon beauty stood in her place. The priests judged by favourable omens that the gods accepted the animal for sacrifice, and the princess was consecrated to the service of Diana's temple. In Sparta, it being declared upon one occasion that the gods demanded a human victim, the choice was made by lot, and fell on a damsel named Helena. But when all was in readiness, an eagle descended, carried away the priest's knife, and laid it on the head of a heifer, which was sacrificed in her stead. The Spartans henceforth abolished such immolations, considering this an omen that they were not acceptable to the deities. Such sacrifices were always rare among the Grecians, and when they did occur, it was usually in obedience to some oracle. The infernal gods, and the manes of ancestors, were supposed peculiarly to require human victims. Prisoners taken in war were frequently offered to appease the ghosts of those who had been slain by their countrymen. Achilles sacrificed twelve young Trojans at the funeral of his friend Patroclus. Aristomenes sacrificed three hundred captives at once, one of whom was a king of Sparta. The custom was never favoured at Rome. Numa, who succeeded Romulus, manifested extreme reluctance to offer human sacrifices. Lentulus, Consul of Rome about seventy years before Christ, prohibited the practice. Tiberius, fourteen years after our era, and Adrian one hundred and seventeen years after, published edicts to the same effect. Commodus, more

than half a century afterward, offered a human victim to Mithra. Very rare instances are said to have occurred in some parts of the Roman empire as late as our fourth century.

The old Braminical idea that every sin must have its prescribed amount of punishment, and that the gods would accept the life of one person as atonement for the sins of others, prevailed also in Greece and Rome; but there it mainly took the form of heroic self-sacrifice for the public good. Cicero says: "The force of religion was so great among our ancestors, that some of their commanders have, with their faces veiled, and with the strongest expressions of sincerity, sacrificed themselves to the immortal gods to save their country." An oracle having declared that the Athenians would overcome the Thracians if the daughter of the king was sacrificed to the gods, she cheerfully offered to die. Afterwards, his three other daughters volunteered themselves as victims, to avert a pestilence, supposed to be sent in punishment for the sins of the people. The plague was stayed, and the public testified gratitude by erecting a temple to their memory. In times of calamity it was common in some parts of Italy for a young man to offer himself as an expiatory sacrifice to Apollo. He was very richly dressed, and after certain religious ceremonies ran full speed to a precipice, whence he threw himself into the sea. Codrus, the last king of Athens, sought death in the fore-front of the battle, because an oracle had declared that they whose general should be slain would gain the victory. It is recorded that three hundred and sixty-two years before our era, the earth opened in the Roman forum, and pestilential vapors issued from the chasm. An oracle declared it would close whenever that which constituted the glory of Rome should be thrown into it. A noble youth, named Marcus Curtius, inquired whether anything in Rome was more precious than arms and courage. The oracle having answered in the negative, he arrayed himself in armour, mounted a horse richly caparisoned, solemnly devoted himself to

death in presence of the people, and leaped into the abyss, which instantly closed over him.

In primitive ages, when men lived mostly on vegetables, they offered only water, grain, salt, fruit, and flowers to the gods, to propitiate them, and thereby obtain temporal blessings. But when they began to eat meat and spices and drink wine, they offered the same; naturally supposing the deities would be pleased with whatever was useful or agreeable to themselves. They imagined that some gods were partial to human victims, some to animals, others to fruit and flowers. To the celestial gods they offered white victims, at sunrise, or in open day. To the Manes, and infernal deities, they sacrificed black animals in the night. Each god had some creature peculiarly devoted to his worship. They sacrificed a bull to Mars, a dove to Venus, and to Minerva, a heifer without blemish, which had never been put to the yoke. If a man was too poor to sacrifice a living animal, he offered an image of one made with bread. The aerial deities were thought to delight in harmonious sounds; therefore, while they sacrificed to them, they played on musical instruments, and danced round the altar, singing sacred hymns. Most of the ancient nations believed the gods were affected by music, the same as men. The temples were full of votive offerings, such as garlands, crowns, vases, and golden cups. In the temples of *Æsculapius* were a multitude of eyes, ears, hands, feet, and other members of the human body, made of wax, silver, or gold, and presented by those whom the god had cured of blindness, deafness, and other diseases. Sailors carried small ships to Neptune, in token of gratitude for being saved from shipwreck. Fishermen suspended nets in honour of the Nereids. Groves consecrated to Pan were hung with pipes and garlands, by shepherds, thankful for the multiplication of their flocks and herds. Sometimes tablets were affixed to the walls of temples, explaining the cause of the offering. In solemn promises and contracts, men invoked the gods, and women the goddesses. They swore by the Manes of ancestors, by the Spirits of sun,

moon, stars, earth, and rivers; but they deemed it irreverent to do so on slight occasions. Before every undertaking, great or small, all classes invoked the assistance of the gods. They burned incense, or poured libations of wine on the altars, with prayers, before they started on a journey, or entertained a stranger, or retired to sleep. At the rising and setting of the sun or moon, people throughout Greece might be seen prostrating themselves, and uttering invocations to the deities. Humble dependence on the gods, and frequent prayers, were everywhere strictly inculcated. Mortals were taught to expect divine assistance in the hour of need in proportion to the number and value of their offerings. Some carried their devotional feelings to such an extreme degree, that they spent nearly all their time in offering prayers and sacrifices. The most universal and earnest entreaty was that their children might survive them; it being considered a great misfortune to leave no one in the world who would consider it a sacred duty to perform religious ceremonies for their departed souls. The Spartans never used but one form of prayer, and that was very laconic: "May the gods grant whatever is honourable and good for us, and enable us to endure misfortunes." In every part of Greece the hearthstone was sacred to Vesta, goddess of fire. If any wanderer took refuge there, though he might be the most deadly enemy, he was safe from hostility, and had his wants supplied. They not only scrupulously observed all the religious rites handed down by their ancestors, but in Athens they kept a solemn feast every new moon in honour of all the gods, including those of nations with whom they were connected by commerce. So fearful were they of omitting any, they even erected altars to unknown gods. The welfare of individuals and the prosperity of the state was supposed to be hazarded by any neglect of the established worship. Cicero says: "We may be assured that Rome owes her grandeur and success to the conduct of those who were tenacious of their religious duties."

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On some great national occasions, they sacrificed a hundred, or even a thousand, animals at a time. All persons admitted to solemn sacrifices were required to abstain from sensual pleasures for several days previous, and perform ceremonies of purification with water brought from fresh, flowing streams. In the vestibule of temples stood a marble vase filled with holy water, with which all who were admitted to the interior were sprinkled as they passed. Water consecrated by priests was considered efficacious as a preservative from evil, and to cleanse from all pollution. It was called Lustral Water, from a word signifying to purify. It was used to sprinkle the markets, the fountains, and the streets of cities, in time of pestilence, and was always employed at funerals; the presence of death being regarded as contaminating.

The priests wore rich robes, of colours suited to the occasion, and not bound by any girdle. They sacrificed to Ceres in white, to the celestial gods in purple, and to the infernal ones in black. If they had touched a dead body, or a diseased person, or their garments had been in any way polluted, it was unlawful for them to officiate. Sometimes they wore a mitre, and were always crowned with laurel, or other garlands. While they prayed, they held green branches in their hands, usually of laurel or olive. If doubtful whether their petitions would be granted, they touched the knees of the statues with these boughs; if hopeful, they touched the right hand, but never the left, because that was deemed unlucky. Sometimes, in extreme humility of supplication, they kissed the feet of the statue, and knelt or prostrated themselves on the ground. They prayed to the celestial gods with hands uplifted toward heaven, or the image of him they addressed, and concluded by kissing their right hand to the statue; but when they invoked the subterranean deities, they turned their hands downward. The animals to be sacrificed, having been examined by the priests and pronounced unblemished, were led to the temple covered with garlands. Sometimes, on occasions of solemn thanksgiving, their horns were

gilded. The altar was three times sprinkled by dipping a laurel branch in holy water, and the people assembled round it were three times sprinkled also. Frankincense was taken from the censer with three fingers, and strewed upon the altar three times; that number being scrupulously observed in most religious ceremonies, because an oracle had declared that all sacred things ought to be in threes. Before the sacrifice, the chief priest called upon the assembly to unite with him in prayer that the gods would accept their offerings, and grant them health and happiness. He then took a cup of wine, and having tasted it himself, he caused the people to do the same, and poured the remainder between the horns of the victim. If the beast escaped the sacrificing stroke, or struggled, or bellowed, it was thought an unlucky omen. Portions were reserved for the priests and servitors of the temple, and the remainder was burned with frankincense and wine. When the ceremonies were all completed, they had a grand feast.

They used awful forms of imprecation to invoke the infernal deities. The curses of parents, kings, priests, or prophets, were peculiarly dreaded; it being thought there was no possible way to avoid the effects. Homer thus describes a woman whose son had killed his uncle :

“She beat the ground, and called the Powers beneath
On her own son to wreak her brother's death.
Hell heard her curses from the realms profound,
And the red fiends that walk their nightly round.”

Alcibiades being accused of mutilating the statues of Hermes, and imitating the Mysteries of Ceres, was sentenced to exile from Athens, and to be cursed by all the priests and priestesses. They all obeyed except Theano, who said she was appointed to the priesthood to bless and not to curse. It was a common opinion that prayers were more efficacious in an ancient tongue, because gods better liked the primitive language of men, as being nearer to nature. Hence it was usual for magicians to pronounce their incantations in words unknown to the people.

The religious festivals in Greece were very numerous, and some of them exceedingly magnificent. They had flowery processions in the spring-time, and processions with sheaf-offerings in the autumn. The days observed in honour of deities and heroes were innumerable. It was a law that during any of their great religious festivals no person should be insulted or slandered. The most solemn of them all were the Mysteries of Isis, introduced from Egypt, and called by Greeks the Eleusinian Mysteries, sacred to Ceres. The men and women initiated into these Mysteries were thought to be peculiarly under the care of the gods in this life, and secure of the best places in Elysium. Not to observe them, was a reproach to any public man. The enemies of Socrates brought it as a heavy charge against him. No foreigner was admitted, and if any uninitiated person happened to be present by mistake, he was put to death. If a member divulged any portion of the secrets, he was condemned to die; and it was deemed unsafe to remain under the same roof with him, for fear of some divine judgment. The poet Æschylus was in great danger of losing his life, because he was suspected of having alluded to the Mysteries in one of his dramas. No person who had accidentally killed another, or been guilty of any crime, or convicted of witchcraft, was allowed to enter. To some of the interior mysteries, none but priests were ever admitted. The High Priest who officiated on these occasions, was vowed to celibacy, and required to devote himself entirely to divine things. This festival was observed every five years, and continued nine days. On the last day, the candidates for initiation having gone through a probation of fasting, purification, sacrifices, and prayers, were admitted for the first time to the Mysteries. What these were is unknown, but some of the external circumstances are recorded. At eventide the priests led them to a vast edifice called the Mystical Temple. At the entrance, they washed their hands in consecrated water, being admonished to present themselves with pure minds, without which external cleanness would be of no avail. With a loud voice,

the priests warned all the profane to retire, and the worshippers remained alone. Thunders rolled around them, lightning flashed across the thick darkness, and revealed startling apparitions as it passed. At last, the inner doors were opened. The interior of the temple burst upon them in a blaze of light, and strains of ravishing music floated through the air. The statue of Ceres stood in the midst, splendidly adorned. On her head were the horns of the lunar crescent, and her robe was covered with shining stars. In one hand she held a basket of grain, in the other, the Egyptian musical instrument called a sistrum. One foot rested on the ocean, the other was stepping on the earth. At the foot of this statue, priests crowned the novitiates with garlands of sacred myrtle. Then followed a series of stately pageants, which it is supposed were intended to represent the creation of the world, the progress of society out of barbarism, the passage of the soul through death, frightful pictures of tortures in Tartarus, and enchanting visions of the Elysian Fields. Whatever might have been the purport of these things, the writings of the ancients indicate that they made a profound and solemn impression on those who witnessed them. The garments worn at initiation were deemed very sacred. They were never laid aside till much worn, and then they were preserved as swaddling clothes for their children, or consecrated to Ceres. The Unity of God, the immortal progress and destiny of the soul, and other secret doctrines, were taught in the sanctuary, to an initiated few; but elsewhere, they were veiled in symbols. Nearly all the religious hymns and odes used on this and similar occasions are entirely lost. The sublimity of their character may be inferred from the following prose translation of a Hymn to Jupiter, written by Cleanthes, a stoic philosopher, who died two hundred and forty years before the birth of Christ:

“Hail, Great King, and Father of the Gods! Thou, who hast many names, but who art One, sole, omnipotent Virtue! Jupiter, Author of Nature, who governest all things by thy wisdom! allow mortals to call upon thee;

for all things that exist are thy offspring, images of thy being, echoes of thy eternal voice. I will sing to thee, and exalt thy power without end. The whole universe moves by thy influence. The infinite variety of souls that inhabit earth, sea, and the ethereal spheres, are subject to thy wise control. The lightnings are thy ministers. They flash from thy powerful hand, and all nature trembles. Thus thunder-armed, thou guidest creation by an unerring law, and through the present admixture of evil thou guidest all to good. Thou curbest all excess, and wilt cause all confusion to result in universal and eternal order. Unhappy are mortals ignorant of thy law, which, if they obeyed, would lead them into a virtuous and happy life. In blind frenzy they stray from the chief good, tempted by thirst of glory, or shameless avarice, or voluptuous pleasures. But oh, great Jupiter, giver of all good, who dwellest with lightnings in the clouds of heaven, save mankind from these dreadful errors! Remove all shadows from our minds, and enable us to understand thy pure and righteous laws. Thus honoured with a knowledge of thee, we shall be fitted to return the gift in praises of thy mighty works; and neither mortal nor immortal beings can be more blest than in singing thy immutable, universal law with everlasting hymns."

The Greeks had four national games, intended to excite to honourable ambition, and preserve manliness of character in the citizens. The most solemn and magnificent of these were the Olympian, dedicated to Jupiter. Prizes were given for wrestling, leaping, chariot-racing, music, poetry, eloquence, painting, and sculpture; thus consecrating to the gods all strength of body and cultivation of mind. The prize was simply a crown of olive leaves, but he who obtained it was carried home in a triumphal chariot in the midst of acclamations, was honoured with a high place on all great occasions, and ever after maintained at the public expense. They were celebrated every fourth year, and continued five days. No women except priestesses of Ceres were allowed to be present. All hostilities ceased

during these games, and states at deadly war with each other met in friendship. By general consent of all Greece, no war or violence was ever allowed to enter the sacred territory of Elis, where this festival was observed. Pausanias says: "Many things may a man see and hear in Greece worthy of admiration; but above them all, the doings at Eleusis and the sights of Olympia have somewhat in them of a soul divine."

The Panathenæa was a festival dedicated to Minerva, in which the citizens of Athens of all classes and ages were represented. It was observed once in five years, and lasted several days, during which they had a race through the streets with torches, a mimic sea-fight, performances on musical instruments, circular choruses of many hundred voices, dramatic representations, and dances by young boys in armour. The sacred garment of Minerva, embroidered with gold by two young virgins appointed to that service, was carried in procession through the streets of Athens to her magnificent temple called the Parthenon. There were troops of young girls wreathed with flowers, carrying baskets and vases; the most vigorous old men carrying olive branches, animals for sacrifice covered with garlands, middle-aged men with shields and spears, young men crowned with millet, singing hymns, foreigners and their families bearing little boats, and bands of young children in festal robes. This occasion was considered so holy that all prisoners were released, and men distinguished for bravery or wisdom received a crown of gold.

At Rome, games in honour of the Great Gods were annually performed in the Circus. The festival, which lasted ten days, began with a magnificent procession. The statues of the Great Gods were carried through the principal streets to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Mount. The splendid chariots in which they were conveyed were drawn by superb horses, camels, elephants, stags, and sometimes by lions and tigers. The chief magistrate led the van, and before him was carried the winged Goddess of the Fortune of Rome. There was an immense concourse of nobles on

horseback, boys leading horses for the races, musicians playing on a variety of instruments, women and youths winding through the mazes of a dance, and people dressed as Nymphs, Fauns, Satyrs, and Sileni, carrying large garlands of flowers. The procession closed with the High Priest, the Augurs carrying the Sibylline Books, a long train of subordinate priests, and the Vestal Virgins. After sacrifices to the gods were performed in the Circus, music struck up, and the games commenced. The expense attending these exhibitions was immense. At one of these festivals, it is said that five hundred lions and eighteen elephants were slain in five days, in the combats of wild beasts.

The Dionysia, or Bacchanalia, in honour of Bacchus, were celebrated when the vines began to bud. Magistrates and chief priests presided. In the daytime they had feasts, music, and dramatic representations. In the evening, processions of men and women went about dancing, shouting, feigning intoxication, and making all manner of antic motions. They were masked, crowned with ivy or grape leaves, and dressed in fawn skins, to imitate Pan, Silenus, the Satyrs, and other attendants on Bacchus. They made a great noise with drums, pipes, and rattles. They carried drinking cups, and spears twined with ivy, and poles terminating in a pine cone, or surmounted by the emblem of generation, to signify the fructifying power of the sun upon the earth in spring time. From the worship of Osiris, in Egypt, this emblem was transferred to Greece, where it was called the phallus; thence to Rome, under the name of the lingam. It was sometimes made of gold, twined with garlands, and surmounted by a golden star. The thyrsus, or pine cone of Bacchus, often terminated in the Egyptian Cross, which has already been explained to have a similar signification.

Romans observed a festival called Saturnalia, to commemorate the primeval equality of mankind in the Golden Age of Saturn. It continued five days, during which masters waited upon their servants. Slaves were richly

dressed, and assumed the cap usually worn only by freemen; a custom in which the modern Liberty Cap originated. All labour was suspended, many prisoners were liberated, people interchanged presents with each other, and indulged in all manner of jests with their superiors, without fear of giving offence. The temple of Saturn was brilliantly illuminated, and festivities abounded everywhere.

At the festival of Cybele, Mother of the Gods, a whole day was spent in blowing trumpets. Her image, seated in a chariot drawn by lions, or oxen, was carried in procession, accompanied by the clash of cymbals, and the thundering sound of numerous drums. Like Isis, she was the Goddess of Fruitful Nature, who, under one name or another, was adored in almost every country. Her worship was introduced from Asia Minor, and was characterized by several savage and gloomy customs, inharmonious with the smiling and graceful character of Greece; but it had a place, because it met the wants of stern, fanatical temperaments. Her priests, called Corybantes, deprived themselves of manhood. They excited themselves into strange frenzies, by wild and clamorous music, and their utterance, while under this inspiration, was deemed prophetic. In some parts of Greece, bands of mendicant devotees were continually wandering about, wearing images of Cybele on their breasts, and making a great noise with cymbals, to extort alms. There were generally soothsayers among them, who gained money from the people by predicting their fortunes.

The festivals of Apollo and Diana were celebrated with great pomp at the sacred island of Delos. It was unlawful to put any criminal to death during the preparation and celebration of these ceremonies. When the splendid procession returned through the streets of Athens, people ran to their doors and made profound obeisance as it passed.

On the twenty-fifth of December, a festival in honour of Bacchus was held to commemorate the return of the sun from the winter solstice, to revivify the vineyards and give flavour to the wines. In later times, when many Persian ceremonies were introduced into Rome, the same day was held

as a festival in honour of Mithras, their Spirit of the Sun.

Of all the Grecian states, Sparta alone had a law that men should serve the gods with as little expense as possible. Being asked the reason of this, Lycurgus answered: "Lest at any time the service of the gods should be intermitted;" for he feared, if religion were as expensive as in other parts of Greece, it might happen that out of poverty of some, and covetousness of others, worship would be neglected; and he conceived sincere devotion to be more pleasing to the deities than costly sacrifices. The Athenians being several times defeated by the Spartans, sent to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to inquire why they, who served the gods with more pomp and splendour than all the other Grecians, were conquered by Spartans, who were so mean in their worship. The oracle merely replied, that the simple, sincere service of Spartans was more acceptable to divine powers than the costly offerings of other people.

Two species of divination were employed by the Greeks. The first was supposed to be a direct inspiration of the gods, without any human effort; the second was by the performance of certain mysterious rites, the rules of which were believed to have been made known by the gods to holy men in ancient times. Prophecy by direct inspiration was of three kinds. First, through people believed to be possessed by Spirits, that spoke out of their breast or belly, they themselves remaining motionless and speechless all the while; second, by those who were seized with a sudden and inexplicable frenzy; these were called enthusiasts; third, by those who fell into stupors and trances, and spoke of strange things they saw and heard. The speech of all these classes was deemed oracular. Music was often resorted to to excite prophetic frenzy. Cicero says: "They whose minds, scorning the limitations of the body, fly and rush abroad when inflamed and incited by some ardour, behold things which they predict. Such minds which inhere not in their bodies, are inflamed by various causes. Some are incited by a certain modulation of voices and Phrygian songs."

Of oracles from those in trances, Epimenides of Crete

is an example. It is said, that being sent by his father to tend sheep, he entered into a cave, where he fell asleep and slept for fifty years. After that, he had the power of sending his soul out of his body, and recalling it at pleasure. During such seasons, he appeared perfectly senseless and entranced. The gods held familiar intercourse with him, and endowed him with powers of prophecy. A terrible plague desolated Athens, and people believed the city was infested by Evil Spirits. Having heard the fame of Epimenides, they sent a vessel to bring him to their shores, though Solon strongly disapproved thereof. It is not recorded what medical remedies he advised on his arrival, but he performed many religious ceremonies to cleanse the city. He scattered a flock of black sheep and white sheep, and wherever the white ones lay down he ordered the Athenians to erect an altar and sacrifice to some celestial god; wherever the black ones rested, similar honours were paid to the subterranean deities. The altars "to unknown gods" are said to have originated in this circumstance. The plague ceased soon after, and it was attributed to his influence.

It is likewise said of Hermotimus, a famous prophet of Clazomenæ, that his soul often separated itself from his body, wandered in every part of the world to explain futurity, and after a time returned again. On one of these occasions, his wife burned the insensible body according to the custom at Greek funerals, probably supposing him to be really dead. He received divine honours in a temple which no woman was permitted to enter.

It is not recorded whether Cassandra, princess of Troy, was subject to trances, or any peculiar affection of the nerves; but it is stated that her countrymen considered her insane, and disregarded her predictions, which, nevertheless, came true. Tradition says, that when a child, she and her little brother played in the vestibule of Apollo's temple, and staying too late to be conveyed home, were put to sleep in the temple on a couch of laurel leaves. In the morning, their nurses found them unharmed, though

two serpents were licking their ears. From that time henceforth their hearing was so acute that they could distinguish the voices of the gods. Another tradition was, that Apollo was enamoured of Cassandra, and imparted to her the gift of prophecy; but when she refused his solicitations, he added that her words should never be believed. In all this we can only discover that Grecians believed Apollo, serpents, and laurel, to be in some way connected with prophetic inspiration. She continually foretold the destruction of Troy, and warned her countrymen against the stratagem of the wooden horse, by which the city was taken. She truly foretold the manner of her own death, and that of the Grecian conqueror, who carried her away captive. CEnone, the first wife of Paris, is said to have possessed the gift of prophecy, and to have been able to perceive the medicinal qualities of plants. But we have no information by which we can conjecture the state of her health or the condition of her nerves.

Almost as little is known of the Roman Sibyls, a name bestowed on women supposed to be inspired by the gods. It was believed that Apollo threw them into a kind of ecstasy, in which they could foresee the future. Some philosophers attributed their prophetic power to disease, or a melancholy state of mind. The most famous of them was the Cumæan Sibyl, said to have written the collection of verses known under the name of Sibylline Books. An unknown old woman offered nine of these books to Tarquin, who refused to buy them, on account of the great price. She burned three, and returned to offer six for the same money. Being again refused, she burned three more, and came back to offer the remainder on the same terms she had originally proposed for the whole. The king being struck by her mysterious conduct, sent to consult the augurs. When they had examined into the matter, they told him that what he had despised was a divine gift. The books were accordingly bought at the price demanded, and laid up in a stone chest in the temple of Jupiter. By degrees, twelve more volumes were added, and two men were

appointed to take charge of them. These books were consulted with much formality on all important political occasions. Among other prophecies, they declared that the golden age was the spring of the world, the silver age its summer, the brazen age its autumn, the iron age its winter. Then came Deucalion's Deluge, and all things were destroyed. These completed the Great Astronomical Year, when the same process was renewed, to terminate again in the same way. When the temple of Jupiter was burned, and the books with it, delegates were sent to collect such Sibylline verses as could be found scattered through the country. After the priests had rejected those deemed spurious, about one thousand were retained and placed in the new temple, preserved in chests of gold under the pedestal of Apollo's statue. So many predictions were set afloat by private collections of these verses, some of them not unlikely to be troublesome to the state, that laws were repeatedly passed for the destruction of all except the genuine books in the temple. These were again destroyed by the great fire in Nero's reign; but as late as two hundred and seventy years after Christ, some Roman senators were in favour of consulting Sibylline verses concerning a proposed war.

Of prophecy uttered in sudden frenzy, the most celebrated was the oracle at Delphi. There was a deep cavern at this place, and some goats, that put their heads into the aperture, were observed to leap wildly and make strange noises. When the herdsman peeped in, to discover the cause, he too began to jump about and rave like a madman. The report of this spread rapidly, and many came to examine the miraculous grotto. All who inhaled its atmosphere talked incoherently for a time, and ancient reverence for all unpremeditated speech caused their exclamations to be taken for prophecies. This led to so much confusion that a law was passed forbidding people to approach the cavern. A seat, called a tripod, was placed at the entrance, and a woman, chosen by the priests, was placed there during one month in the spring of the year,

to receive the inspiration of the god, and answer those who came to consult the oracle. This cavern was in a semi-circular declivity, on the south side of Mount Parnassus. The Greeks believed it to be the centre of the world. Here was built a temple to Apollo, which became one of the most splendid monuments of man's reverence for the supernatural. It contained a statue of the god in pure gold. From all surrounding states and nations people flocked thither to consult the oracle. Lawgivers came to ask what would be beneficial for their people; kings sent ambassadors to inquire what would be the result of projected wars; and wealthy individuals sought for guidance in every important transaction of life. As it was customary for all these applicants to make rich presents, Delphi was adorned with an inconceivable number of costly treasures and beautiful works of art. When Nero, in his wars, plundered the temple, he carried away five hundred brazen statues of gods and heroes. The priestess was called Pythia. She was required to dress very simply, and be strictly temperate and pure in her life. At first it was customary to choose young maidens, but the sacredness of their office proved an insufficient protection against the passions of some who came to consult them, and a law was passed that no woman under fifty years old should be appointed. On the east side of the temple flowed a clear, sweet stream from Parnassus, called the fountain of Castalia, believed to impart inspiration to all who drank of its waters. Before the Pythia approached the tripod, she bathed her whole body, especially her hair, in this sacred spring. She shook a laurel tree that grew near it, crowned herself with a garland from it, and ate some of the leaves. As soon as she inhaled the vapour from the cavern, her countenance became pale, her eyes sparkled, and all her limbs trembled. While the priest held her over it, she foamed at the mouth, shrieked, howled, and uttered frantic exclamations. These were supposed to be the voice of the god speaking through her, and priests were appointed to write them down. On one occasion her paroxysms were

so frightful that they all ran away, and she died, after lingering a few days in great distress. Sometimes the symptoms were more mild, and her words more coherent. For a long time oracles were uttered in poetry, but it being observed that the god of poetry made the worst possible verses, they were afterward delivered in prose. It was believed that Jupiter, who held the books of The Fates, and revealed more or less of them as he pleased, had peculiarly intrusted Apollo with the department of prophecy; therefore his oracles were numerous, and in higher reputation than others. The one in the temple at Delos was remarkable for the clearness and directness of its answers. That at Delphi was the most celebrated, and the most ancient, being founded more than twelve hundred years before the Christian era. Its predictions were considered so infallible, that it became a proverb to say: "It is as true as responses from the tripod." By what rules the priests were guided in choosing a Pythia, we are not informed. They probably selected nervous and impressive subjects. That some were better adapted to the office than others, is shown by the concurrent testimony that this oracle sometimes lost its prophetic power, and after a time regained it. Plato represents Socrates as saying: "The prophetess at Delphi, and the priestess in Dodona, have, when insane, produced many advantages, both public and private, to the Greeks; but when they have been in a prudent state, they have been the cause of very trifling benefits, or indeed of none at all."

The most ancient of all the numerous oracles in Greece was that of Dodona, where oaks were said to utter prophecies; a rumor probably caused by the voices of persons secreted in the trees. Being a high point of land, Deucalion here saved himself from the general deluge, stated to have occurred one thousand five hundred and forty-eight years before Christ. In token of gratitude he there erected a building to Jupiter, said to have been the first temple in Greece. The oracles were delivered by a priestess, whom

Herodotus supposes to have been carried away from a temple in Egypt.

Oracles were generally given in very confused and unintelligible language. They often remained unsolved until a long time after, when some event occurred, which was ingeniously explained to have fulfilled them. Sometimes they were so worded that they could be understood one way as well as another. Thus when Pyrrhus inquired whether he should be victorious, the reply was: "I declare, son of Æacus, you the Romans shall conquer." He thought it a favourable omen; but the Romans conquered him, and yet the event did not contradict the prediction. Of the true and clear responses, the most remarkable on record are the following. Croesus, wishing to ascertain which oracle was most deserving of confidence, sent messengers into seven different states, with orders that on the same day of the month they should each ask the chief oracle of the place what Croesus was then doing, and send him word what answers they received. In order to be employed in a manner least likely to be conjectured, he cut in pieces a tortoise and a lamb, and boiled them together in a covered vessel of brass. The answers were all unsatisfactory, except the oracle of Apollo at Delphi. The Pythia replied:

"I count the sand, I measure out the sea;
The silent and the dumb are heard by me.
E'en now the odours to my sense that rise,
A tortoise boiling with a lamb supplies,
Where brass below and brass above it lies."

An oracle at Butis told Cambyses he would die in Ecbatana. Supposing it to mean a great city of that name in Media, he carefully avoided the place. Some years after, when he was suffering from a wound, he dismounted from his horse to rest in a village of Assyria. Feeling that he must die there, he inquired the name of the place, and they told him it was Ecbatana. The prophecy was fulfilled.

Priests took advantage of the general faith in oracles,

and allowed no one to consult them without expensive sacrifices and rich presents. In some places, applicants slept in the temple, and priests interpreted what the gods said to them in dreams. On such occasions, they used a pillow of laurel leaves; for that was universally called "the prophetic plant." Prophets always carried a staff of laurel wood. Sometimes Sibylline verses were written on scraps of paper, shaken in a vessel, and taken out by lot. Sometimes they opened the poems of Hesiod, or Homer, and accepted as a prediction the first verse they glanced at. They had innumerable omens. When a person sneezed, it was customary to say: "The gods bless you!" A sneeze on the left hand was unlucky. A sneeze on Xenophon's right hand, while he was making a speech, was thought a sufficient reason why he should command the army. Certain days were considered so unlucky, that Augustus Cæsar would never go out when they occurred, or consent to begin any important undertaking. Priests learned in the arts of divination were called Augurs. They predicted future events from the course of the lightning, the actions of birds and bees, and the appearance of the entrails in animals offered for sacrifice. Birds, flying about everywhere, were supposed to have universal knowledge of the affairs of men; hence their cries and manner of flight were considered ominous. This idea rendered people cautious what they said before a bird; and is, perhaps, the origin of our saying: "A bird of the air may carry it." One of the most important offices of the Augurs was to select a fortunate day for battle. There was always an altar for worship in the centre of the camp, and a coop of sacred chickens. If the chickens refused to eat, it was a bad omen; if they ate freely, it was propitious. Once when they refused food, Publius Claudius ordered them to be thrown into the water; saying, with a sneer: "Let them drink, since they will not eat." But his fleet being captured soon after, he lamented his rashness with many tears; for the people considered his impiety the cause of their calamities. When the army of Marcus Aurelius was perishing with thirst, the

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priests were summoned to utter conjurations and perform ceremonies to procure rain. A refreshing shower, which soon followed, was considered an answer to their prayers. The augurs were consulted both on public and private occasions, and their counsels had great influence in the state. It was very common to impute national calamities to some neglect of the Auspices. Other priests could be condemned for offences, but no augur could be removed from office, though convicted of the most flagrant crimes. The greatest generals and statesmen were proud of belonging to their sacred order. Pompey and Cicero were augurs; and the latter confesses that the supreme object of his wishes was attained by the appointment.

Numerous miracles are recorded in the annals of Greece and Rome. They were believed by many intelligent and learned persons, and were received as religious truth by the populace. Pausanias, the Roman historian, says that in the temple of *Æsculapius*, at Epidaurus, were many columns inscribed with the names of men and women cured by the god. One of the pillars was erected in commemoration of Hippolytus, who had been raised from the dead. Strabo says the temples were full of tablets describing miraculous cures. One of these tablets, found in the temple of *Æsculapius*, on the island of the Tiber, at Rome, gives an account of two blind men restored to sight, in view of a multitude of people, who with loud acclamations acknowledged the power of the god. The temples of that deity were always thronged with the diseased, imploring assistance, and the cured presenting offerings. It was very common to remain lying prostrate in the temple all night, expecting medicines to be prescribed in dreams. It was believed that *Æsculapius* himself sometimes appeared and conversed with those who devoutly sought his aid. Cicero says: "Time wears away opinions founded on fictions, but confirms the dictates of nature. Whence it is, both among us and other nations, that sacred institutions and divine worship of the gods have been increased and refined, from time to time. This is not to be imputed to chance, or folly

but to the frequent appearance of the gods themselves. Their voices have been often heard, and they have appeared in forms so visible, that he who doubts it must be hardened in stupidity or impiety." Dionysius of Halicarnassus, one of the most accurate historians of antiquity, says: "In the war with the Latins, Castor and Pollux appeared visibly on white horses, and fought on the side of the Romans, who by their assistance gained a complete victory. As a perpetual memorial of it, a temple was erected, and a yearly festival instituted in honour of those deities." The emperor Julian declared that he had familiar intercourse with divine beings. They woke him from slumber, by touching his hand or his hair, and he knew them so well, that he could instantly distinguish their voices and their forms. Homer has recorded that the horse of Achilles spoke to him, professed to see Apollo, and told his master that he would soon be killed.

In the early rude times of Greece, they had neither statues nor temples, but only upright stones, or wooden blocks, with the name of some deity inscribed thereon. To these were added simple altars of turf or stone, over which small chapels were first erected, and afterwards, temples. Mountains, groves, and grottoes, were all favourite places of worship. In a dark rocky ravine, overshadowed by gloomy groves and frowning crags, was a deep subterranean recess, called the cave of Trophonius. Oracles were uttered there, whence worshippers always returned very pale and dejected; doubtless owing to the chemical properties of the atmosphere. On the southern slope of Mount Hymettus is a grotto hung with stalactites. Engraved on a rock at the entrance, is an inscription in verse, announcing that Archedemus, a native of Thessaly, formed this cave by counsel of the Nymphs. In the interior, his figure may still be seen rudely sculptured on the rock, in his shepherd's frock, with a hammer and chisel in his hand. Various inscriptions are scattered about, one of which speaks of a garden planted there in honour of the Nymphs. In ancient times, when the poetic faith of Greece was living in the souls of

men, this place was filled with images of sylvan deities, and the walls covered with votive offerings, shepherds' pipes and reeds, basins of stone, and wooden cups carved with animals and flowers. Here the peasants brought oblations of their first flowers, grapes, and sheaves of grain. This is supposed to be the grotto where Plato, when a young child, was led by his parents with offerings to Pan, the Nymphs, and the Pastoral Apollo, to whom the place was consecrated. While they sacrificed, the boy slept on the grass, and bees left honey on his mouth, which was considered a presage of his future eloquence.

All high places were sacred to some deity. Mount Helicon, covered with fresh rills and flowery glades, was consecrated to the Muses, whose graceful statues stood in the shady recesses of its many groves. There welled the sacred fount of Aganippe, round which they danced, and the clear spring of Hippocrene, in which they bathed. Consecrated groves abounded everywhere, with marble statues of the gods gleaming among their foliage. They were supposed to be a favourite resort for Dryads, Fauns, Satyrs, and other sylvan deities, often seen dancing under the trees; a poetic way of accounting for the flickering play of sunshine and shadow. Religious ceremonies were often solemnized in groves, which on such occasions were hung with so many garlands, bouquets, and various offerings to the gods, that light was almost excluded.

The difference between Egyptian and Grecian character was strongly marked on their temples and statues. Instead of huge piles of granite, hewn into heavy forms, and enveloped in subterranean gloom, temples of pure white marble stood in Doric majesty on the summit of Grecian hills, overlooking a broad expanse of waters; or in the bosom of sunny valleys gracefully rose the slender columns of Ionian architecture. No law of limitation confined the Grecian artist to stiff attitudes and monotonous repose. Genius, left free to express itself, proved its own divinity in the creation of divine forms. It had no need to represent omnipotence by the clumsy contrivance of many heads

and arms. It put power in the statue; made it breathe from the godlike countenance, and bound in graceful motions. Of all their conceptions none was more beautiful than their image of Apollo, the Intellectual Spirit of the Sun, eagerly and gracefully springing forward, in the full vigour of immortal youth, leading the planets through the mazes of their heavenly dance to the music of his golden lyre. No wonder that the untutored minds of Greece, gazing reverently on those statues, should find it easy to believe that Celestial Spirits, descended from the stars, dwelt therein, and irradiated the divine forms with their own immortal life.

The material employed was worthy of the beautiful ideal embodied. Greece was rich in quarries of finest marble, susceptible of exquisite polish. Ivory and gold were often intermixed, and sometimes statues were made of pure gold, adorned with precious gems. The images of pastoral deities were generally cut from citron, olive, ebony, and other durable kinds of wood.

It was a common opinion that some of the gods peculiarly delighted in mountains, others in forests, valleys, fields, or rivers; and it was customary to build temples in places supposed to be most agreeable to the deities who were to inhabit them. The people considered them a blessing wherever they stood, and thought they owed health and abundant harvests to their protecting influence. In cities, they built temples near common houses, but elsewhere they sought for the loveliest and most secluded places, and generally surrounded them with stately groves. The ground was previously consecrated with many prayers and ceremonies, and sprinkled with holy water. Temples always faced the east, to receive the rays of the rising sun. They contained an outer court for the public, and an inner sanctuary for the priests, called the *Adytum*. Near the entrance was a large vessel of stone or brass, filled with water, made holy by plunging into it a burning torch from the altar. All who were admitted to the sacrifices were sprinkled with this water, and none but the unpolluted

were allowed to pass beyond it. In the centre of the building stood the statue of the god on a pedestal raised above the altar and enclosed by a railing. On festival occasions, the people brought laurel, olive, or ivy, to decorate the pillars and walls. Before they entered, they always washed their hands as a type of purification from sin. A story is told of a man who was struck dead by a thunderbolt because he omitted this ceremony when entering a temple of Jupiter. Sometimes they crawled up the steps on their knees, and bowing their heads to the ground, kissed the threshold. Always when they passed one of these sacred edifices they kissed their right hand to it, in token of veneration. All classes, including foreigners and slaves, were free to enter, either from curiosity or devotion; but it was ordained that no unclean action should be committed within the consecrated precincts. There was a law that no person should be forced away from the altars or statues, or be subject to any violence there; and it was believed that such an action would bring down certain vengeance from the gods. The princess Laodamia fled to Diana's altar for protection, during a sedition of the people, and was killed in the tumult. A terrible famine and civil wars followed, which were all attributed to this circumstance. The institution was intended to protect abused slaves and persecuted debtors; but in process of time all sorts of knaves and criminals took refuge in the temples, and no authority could expel them. The evil finally became so great, that only one or two were allowed to be places of protection for offenders, and those under certain regulations.

Each deity had consecrated plants and animals, often represented near them in the sculptures and paintings. The oak and eagle were sacred to Jupiter, the owl and olive to Minerva, the swan and laurel to Apollo. Serpents were often introduced in connection with Apollo and Æsculapius; they were twined round the rod of Mercury, and sometimes lay at the foot of Minerva's spear. A large serpent was kept in the citadel at Athens, to which they every month offered cakes of honey. The pomegranate, which

Hindoo Siva carries as a symbol of his reproducing power, was placed in the hands of the dead on Grecian monuments, as a sign that they would live again. A butterfly emerging from its chrysalis is often represented on such monuments, as a type of transmigration, which they called metempsychosis, or change of soul.

Among the innumerable temples of Greece, the most beautiful was the Parthenon, meaning the Temple of the Virgin Goddess. It was a magnificent Doric edifice, dedicated to Minerva, the presiding deity of Athens. It was surrounded by three rows of stately columns of pure Pentelic marble, and, standing on the highest eminence in the city, it was seen from afar relieved against the clear blue sky. The eastern front was covered with figures sculptured in bold relief, representing Jupiter in the centre, and a procession of the gods following the car of Minerva to his throne. On either side was represented the Panathenaic pomp of Athenian citizens carrying offerings in solemn procession to the altar of their patron goddess. The figures were relieved by a groundwork of painting in metallic colours; rich purple, bright azure, glowing red, and brilliant sea-green. Wreaths of honeysuckle and festoons of gold adorned the cornice. "This profusion of vivid colours threw around the fabric a joyful and festive beauty, harmonizing admirably with the brightness and transparency of the atmosphere which encircled it." All the ornaments, within and without, were wrought with the exquisite finish of a cameo. Sculptured groups of deities and demi-gods, the most beautiful the world has ever seen, abounded everywhere. In the centre of the temple stood the celebrated colossal statue of Minerva in full armour, by Phidias. It was sixty feet high, made of ivory and gold. The amount of six hundred thousand dollars in gold was taken from the public treasury for its completion. The offerings in this temple were of immense value. Statues without number, superb paintings, golden vases, golden shields, splendid armour taken in war, lyres of ivory inlaid with gold, golden wreaths of victory, golden medals and

rings. It was sixteen years from the commencement to the completion of this superb structure. Every Athenian was eager to have some share in the glorious work. The women embroidered rich veils for the statues, the wealthy gave their gold, the artists their genius, the labourers their strength. Even the animals which dragged the marble from the quarry were honoured for the service, and a law was passed that the best pastures around the city should thenceforth be reserved for them.

In Athens also was a magnificent temple to Jupiter, half a mile in circuit. It was supported by one hundred and twenty marble columns, richly sculptured, sixty feet high, and six in diameter.

The temple of Diana at Ephesus was one of the most superb edifices ever dedicated to any form of worship. It was four hundred and twenty-five feet long and two hundred broad, supported by one hundred and twenty-seven marble columns, lofty and beautiful. The interior was ornamented with innumerable statues and paintings from the best Grecian masters, and the amount of wealth in votive offerings could hardly be calculated. All the nations of Asia Minor contributed to its erection, and were employed two hundred and twenty years in its completion. Diana was there worshipped as the Goddess of Fruitful Nature, as Isis was in Egypt. The amulets and talismans consecrated by the priests were in great demand.

In the territory of Elis was a temple containing a colossal statue of Olympian Jupiter, by Phidias. It was sixty feet high, and reckoned one of the wonders of the world. It was formed of ivory, crowned with a golden wreath, and adorned with a mantle of beaten gold, which fell in ample folds from the waist to the feet. In his right hand was a statue of the Goddess of Victory, likewise made of ivory and gold. The left hand held a sceptre richly adorned, and surmounted by a golden eagle. The expression of the countenance was serene, benevolent, and godlike in its majesty.

One of the most renowned edifices consecrated to this

form of worship, was built by the Macedonian kings in Syria. It was called Apollo Daphnæus, because it was intended to commemorate Apollo's love for the beautiful nymph Daphne, who, it is said, was here changed into a tree of laurel. The capacious sanctuary was almost filled by a colossal statue of the god, wrought with the most perfect skill of Grecian art, and enriched with gold and gems. He was slightly bending forward, to pour a libation on the earth, from a golden cup. The temple was embosomed in thick, impenetrable groves of laurel and cypress, which reached as far as a circumference of ten miles, and "suffered not the Sun to kiss their mother Earth." Within the enclosures were gardens filled with flowers, whose fragrance floated through the balmy air, mingled with soft strains of seducing music. Many streams of pure water flowed from the hills; one of them was supposed to be derived from the same source as the Castalian Spring at Delphos, and to be endowed with the same prophetic power. The emperor Adrian is said to have read the history of his future fortunes on a leaf dipped in these waters. The grounds were enlarged and beautified by successive emperors, and every generation added something to the splendour of the temple. For many centuries it was visited by crowds of worshippers, both natives and foreigners. But soldiers and philosophers, who dreaded to lose their reputation by becoming effeminate, generally avoided those cool and shady groves, it being considered impossible for human nature to resist the voluptuous and seductive influences of a place so expressly consecrated to love.

In Athens was a large edifice called the Pantheon, because it contained statues of all the gods. One on the same model, and with the same name, was afterward built at Rome. That city alone was said to contain a thousand temples. Every part of Greece abounded with monuments of religious reverence. Gracefully ornamented, or severely simple in their grandeur, they crowned every city, gleamed through the foliage of every valley, and often on the

summit of solitary hills refreshed the traveller with a vision of unexpected beauty.

The spirit of freedom, conspicuous in poetry and the arts, manifested itself in all forms of thought. Theories of God and the soul escaped from the locks and keys of priests into the minds of philosophers, who lectured upon them openly, excited other minds to investigation, and led the way to general discussion. The world was beginning to pass out of the age of childhood, which receives unquestioning all it is taught. It was entering the age of youthful, inquiring intellect, poetic, erratic, allured by castles in the air, but eager, buoyant, and free. These teachers of the people, not included in the priesthood, differed much in doctrines and character. The earliest of them taught the old Braminical idea that God and Nature were eternally one; and that by an inherent necessity, without any exertion of the will, material forms must at certain times be evolved by energy of the Divine Spirit indwelling in Nature, like the soul in the human body. Others, like the Hindoo rationalists, maintained that God and Nature were eternally two distinct principles, differing entirely in essence, and forever opposed to each other. Some believed there was a Central Soul diffused throughout the universe, the original cause of all things. Others denied any Primary Intelligence, and said Nature existed by an accidental collision and combination of atoms. Some said the universe had always existed, and would forever remain as it was. Others believed that deluges and conflagrations destroyed the earth at long intervals, returning as regularly as summer and winter; that all the forms of nature were renewed by energy of the indwelling Divine Soul, and so would be dissolved and renewed forever; that at every renovation the first race of men would be innocent and happy, and gradually degenerate more and more to the end. Some philosophers were absorbed in scientific studies and abstract metaphysical questions. Others renounced all science and speculative philosophy as useless and troublesome, and attended solely to the inculcation of

moral habits and proper manners. Some held that pleasure was the object of existence, and wisdom valuable only because it taught the means of rational enjoyment. Others relied entirely on the sufficiency of virtue to happiness, preached stoical submission to irresistible fate, said pain was no evil, and suicide, under some circumstances, a noble action. Some delighted in harmonious sounds, graceful forms, and rich clothing, believing that cultivated taste and love of beauty helped to elevate the moral character. Others held all external advantages in contempt, practised rigid abstinence, wore coarse clothing, and carried a wallet to beg for daily bread. One class prided themselves on proving that nothing could be proved; that there was no such thing as good or evil, truth or falsehood, but everything was a matter of opinion.

Enlightened minds understood the numerous deities symbolically, and regarded them merely as names of various effects produced by One Great Cause. Employed in upper ether, it was Jupiter; in the lower atmosphere, Juno; in the sciences, Minerva; in the sun, Apollo; in the sea, Neptune. That which to us appears absurd in their mythological legends, they explained satisfactorily to themselves, by regarding them as allegories; a method universally employed by the human intellect when devoutly inclined to discover sacred meaning in incomprehensible traditions. Philosophers of all opinions conformed more or less to popular observances; partly from the hold which the religion of one's age and country generally keeps upon the soul, and partly from motives of personal safety; for the priests, who lived by offering prayers and sacrifices for the people, were naturally very jealous of any teaching that lessened the importance of prescribed ceremonies. That some of the philosophers looked very sceptically upon their religious rites, may be readily conjectured. When Crates asked Stilpo whether he thought the gods took pleasure in the honours paid to them by mortals, he replied: "You fool, do not question me upon such subjects in the public streets, but when we are alone." The friends of Diagoras

showed him many votive tablets suspended in the temples by those who had escaped dangerous storms at sea. He replied: "I see the offerings of those who were saved, but where is the record of those who were wrecked, notwithstanding their supplications to the deities?" Protagoras began a treatise with these words: "Concerning the gods, I am unable to arrive at any knowledge whether they exist or not; for there are many impediments to our knowledge; especially the shortness and uncertainty of human life." The Athenians considered this sentiment so impious, that they banished the writer, and ordered his books to be burned in the market-place.

The celebrity of Egypt drew thither the inquiring minds of Greece, both in her ancient and modern times. In later ages, they came directly in contact with Oriental philosophers and devotees. Alexander the Great, in his Asiatic expedition, was attended by Grecian philosophers, some of whom he sent to hold conferences with the wise men of the East, particularly the Persian Magi, and the Bramins of India. The continual communication between India and Egypt by commerce, through the city of Alexandria, tended to spread a knowledge of the East among the Greeks. Their later writers mention East Indian and Ethiopian devotees, whom they describe as Gymnosophists, which means naked philosophers. They speak of them as divided into two sects, Brahmans and Sarmans, both of whom refrained from animal food, practised great austerities, and sought to unite themselves with Deity by constant meditation and complete subjugation of the senses. One of them wandered as far as Athens, where he voluntarily burned himself to death, to purify his soul from all connection with matter. Another did the same in the presence of Alexander's army. Being asked by the emperor whether he wished to say anything before he died, he replied: "I shall see you again shortly." This answer made a great impression, for it was generally believed that at the approach of death the soul could converse with

Spirits, and was gifted with prophecy ; a belief strengthened by the fact that Alexander died soon after.

The earliest of the Grecian teachers of whom we have any record is Orpheus. The general testimony is, that he was a native of Thrace, who, some twelve hundred years before Christ, founded a colony in Greece, and spent most of his life there. Being well acquainted with the religious tenets and ceremonies of his own country, he travelled into Egypt, where he obtained some knowledge of their religious mysteries, and became skilful in music, poetry, philosophy, astrology, and medicine. Thus accomplished, he returned to the Greeks, who were at that time in such a rude condition, that any man of moderate attainments would have seemed a prodigy. Accordingly, he became as famous among them as was Hermes among the Egyptians. It was said his music allured birds, tamed wild beasts, calmed whirlwinds, and drew rocks and trees after him. When his wife Eurydice died, he descended to Tartarus, charmed by his music the three-headed dog that guarded its gates, melted the heart of grim Pluto, and obtained leave to have his beloved wife follow him back to earth, provided he did not look behind him till he arrived in upper air ; but, in his eagerness to see Eurydice, he looked too soon, and she disappeared for ever. It has been suggested that this merely signified his great skill in medicine, whereby he rescued his wife from dangerous illness, and afterward lost her by a relapse. He brought from Egypt the doctrine that stars were animated by Spirits, and the world hatched from a mundane egg by rays of the sun. He taught that there was One invisible God, who contained within himself the germ of all things, and was alternately active and passive. In his active state, successive grades of beings emanated from him, by virtue of an inherent necessity ; all partook of his divine nature in different degrees, and all would return to him after progressive purifications. The universe would be destroyed by fire, and renewed. He is said to have been the first who taught the Greeks that the soul lived after death, and would suffer or be rewarded ac-

ording to deeds done in the body. It is recorded that he introduced a triform image of Deity. It was a Serpent, with the head of a Lion, the head of a Bull, and in the centre the head of a majestic Man, with golden wings upon its shoulders.

The following are among the recorded maxims of Orpheus: "There is One Unknown Being, prior to all beings, and exalted above all. He is the author of all things, even of the ethereal sphere, and of all things below it. He is Life, Counsel, and Light, which three names all signify One Power, the same that drew all things visible and invisible out of nothing. We will sing that eternal, wise, and all-perfect Love, which reduced the chaos into order."

"The empyrean, the deep Tartarus, the earth, the ocean, the immortal gods and goddesses, all that is, all that has been, and all that will be, was originally contained in the fruitful bosom of Jupiter. He is the first and the last, the beginning and the end. All beings derive their origin from him. He is the Primeval Father, the immortal virgin, the life, the cause, the energy of all things. There is One only Power, One only Lord, One Universal King."

"Souls are in this world as a punishment for sins committed in a pre-existent state. The body is a prison, wherein the soul is kept till its faults are expiated."

The next celebrated teachers were the Seven Wise Men of Greece; among whom the most conspicuous was Thales, about six hundred years before Christ. According to the general custom, he went to Egypt in search of wisdom, and is said to have spent several years in intercourse with the learned priests. He seems to have carried knowledge with him, for he taught them how to measure the height of the pyramids by their shadow at noon; a process previously unknown to their mathematicians. After his return, he foretold a celebrated eclipse, which happened as predicted. By astronomical calculations, he likewise foresaw that a certain year would be uncommonly productive, and he bought up all the olives in the neighbourhood before their season. The crops proved very abundant, and he

made large profits; but he assembled the neighbouring traders and voluntarily divided with them. The following are recorded among his sayings:

“The most ancient of all things is God, for he is uncreated.”

“The universe is the beautiful work of God.”

“Be careful not to do that yourself, which you would blame in another.”

“True happiness consists in perfect health, a moderate fortune, and a life free from effeminacy and ignorance.”

“In misfortune it may be some consolation to learn that our tormentors are as unhappy as ourselves;” a maxim in which he certainly did not rise above the level of his age. He maintained that death does not differ from life; that one is the same as the other. Being asked if a man could conceal evil actions from the gods, he replied: “How can actions be concealed, when even our most secret thoughts are known to them?”

Pittacus, another of the wise men, said: “Do not that to your neighbour, which you would take ill from him.”

“Speak evil of no one; not even of your enemies.”

Bias said: “If you are handsome, do handsome things; if deformed, supply the defects of nature by your virtues.”

“Whatever good you do, ascribe it to the gods.”

Pythagoras, one of the most celebrated of the ancients, is supposed to have been born about five hundred and eighty-six years before Christ. There are many stories of his having visited wise men of different countries, but some of them are positively contradicted by dates. One fact, as reliable as anything we can learn from ancient history, is that he went into Egypt, carrying an introduction from the king of Samos to Amasis, king of Egypt, who was a great patron of learned men, and particularly partial to Grecians. Amasis requested the priests of Heliopolis to instruct him in the mysteries, but their aversion to admit a foreigner was so strong, that they evaded the royal recommendation by advising him to go to the college at Memphis, because it was of greater antiquity. When he arrived there, the

same pretext was used to dismiss him to Thebes. The Theban priests, unwilling to refuse the express wish of their king, and yet reluctant to grant it, ordained such troublesome and severe ceremonies of admission as they thought would discourage the importunate stranger. But so great was his eagerness for knowledge, that he patiently endured all they required, though he nearly lost his life in the process. He is said to have passed twenty-two years in Egypt, during which he became familiar with their most learned priests, and perfect master of their three styles of writing, the common, the hieroglyphic, and the sacerdotal. He returned to his own country at the age of forty, and soon after established a school of philosophy in that part of Italy called Magna Grecia, on account of the number of Grecians settled there. He is said to have been beautiful and majestic beyond all the men of his time. He used to wear a long white robe, and a flowing beard; some say, a golden crown on his head. He preserved great gravity and dignity of demeanour, and had such command of himself that it is said his countenance was never seen to express grief, joy, or anger. He confined himself to frugal vegetable diet, and rejected pulse and beans. He was much influenced by music, and often sang hymns from Hesiod, Homer, and Thales, to preserve the tranquillity of his mind. He was opposed to the sacrifice of animals, and worshipped at an altar which had never been polluted with blood. Seeing a large draught of fishes in a net, he is reported to have purchased them, and put them back into the sea, as a lesson of humanity. Deeming it irreverent to invoke the deities by name, he advised his disciples, when they wished to asseverate very solemnly, to swear by the number four; in which, for certain mysterious reasons, he believed the perfection of the soul consisted. He was married and had sons, but taught, very strictly, the union of one man with one woman only. Before his time, it was usual to call a teacher a sage, signifying a wise man; but he called himself by the new name of philosopher, a lover of wisdom, saying: "There is none wise but

God." People of all classes flocked to hear him, and listened with the greatest reverence. The Crotonians urged him to preside over their senate, consisting of a thousand men. Wherever his teachings prevailed, sobriety and temperance displaced licentiousness and luxury. He had two methods of teaching, one public and the other private. His public teaching consisted principally of practical morals, such as respect to parents and magistrates, conformity to the laws and customs of one's country, strict regard to truth, and worship of the gods by simple offerings and with purity of heart. He gave rational maxims concerning the union of the sexes and birth of children. He taught that it was a wrong done to offspring when parents indulged in licentiousness, or ate or drank to excess, or partook of unwholesome food; that it was a duty to avoid everything which might render children otherwise than healthy, vigorous, and well formed. He exerted his influence to suppress wars and quarrels. He used to say, we ought to wage war only against ignorance of the mind, passions of the heart, distempers of the body, sedition in cities, and ill will in families. He attached mystical significance to numbers, especially three, and three times three. When speaking of God and the soul, instead of words, he often made use of figures, which were incomprehensible to all but the initiated. This was perhaps done to avoid alarming popular prejudices. To his private school only a select body of disciples were admitted, after careful observation of their countenances, characters and manners, and a strict probationary discipline. They were required to eat no animal food, and drink only water, except a very small portion of wine measured out to them in the evening. They must be inured to fatigue, sleep little, dress very simply, never return reproaches for reproaches, but bear contradiction or ridicule with the utmost humility. An initiatory silence of two years, sometimes of five, was enjoined, to cure them of conceit and loquacity. During these years of probation, they were only permitted to hear his teachings through a curtain. Those who had

patience to pass through the ordeal were at last admitted to the inner school, and received a full explanation of doctrines which were taught to others obscurely, under a veil of symbols. When admitted into his band of brethren, they put all their possessions into a common stock, to be distributed by proper officers, as occasion might require. They took an oath never to reveal the doctrines of their master beyond the limits of their own sect. If any one became discontented and wished to withdraw, he was dismissed with twice as much as he had put into the treasury, a tomb was erected to his memory, and he was ever after considered among them as a dead man.

Marriage was permitted, but much restrained by law. It was allowable to have but one wife, to whom strict fidelity was required; and intercourse, except for the sake of offspring, was considered shameful. The Pythagorean brethren at Crotona, about six hundred in number, lived with their wives and children in a public building, where all the arrangements were on a perfect equality. Each day began with deliberation how it should be spent, and ended with a careful retrospect. They rose before the sun, that they might pay him homage; then they repeated select verses from Homer and other poets, and attuned their spirits with music, vocal and instrumental. Several hours were employed in study of the sciences; then there was an interval of leisure, usually spent in solitary walks and contemplation. The hour before dinner was devoted to athletic exercises. After they were initiated, they drank no wine, and their repast consisted chiefly of bread, honey, and water. The remainder of the day was devoted to civil and domestic affairs, conversation, bathing, and religious ceremonies. They had the utmost veneration for their master's oracular wisdom, and thought it sufficient to silence all doubts when they replied: "*He* has said it." They committed his sayings chiefly to memory, and if they ventured to use writing, they kept it carefully within their own limits. He and his disciples mutually exhorted each other not to divide asunder the God that was in them, but

be careful to preserve their union with God and one another. His delight in musical and mathematical studies led him to the idea that the spheres in which the planets move, striking upon ether as they pass, must produce sounds varying according to their magnitude and relative distance. This induced his disciples to say that he was the only mortal ever so favoured by the gods as to hear the music of the spheres. It is a singular coincidence that modern science expresses the intervals of music by precisely the same numbers that mark the distances of the planets.

Pythagoras taught that "there is One Universal Soul diffused through all things—eternal, invisible, unchangeable; in essence like truth, in substance resembling light; not to be represented by any image, to be comprehended only by the mind; not, as some conjecture, exterior to the world, but in himself entire, pervading the universal sphere." From this Soul proceeded three successive emanations of spiritual intelligences, which he calls Gods, Demons, and Heroes. Men and animals were likewise portions of the same Soul; the subtile ether assuming grosser clothing the farther it receded from its divine source. Therefore he refrained from killing or eating animals, because he considered them allied to men in their principle of life. Demons were Spirits, both good and evil, dispersed throughout the universe, causing sickness or health to man, and communicating knowledge of future events by dreams and modes of divination. Tradition asserts that Pythagoras himself professed to cure diseases by incantations, which cast out Evil Spirits. Heroes were defined to be "rational minds in luminous bodies;" a class of spirits intermediate between demons and human beings. Man, being allied with all things, the highest and the lowest, he conceived to be a microcosm, or compendium of the universe. He supposed him to be composed of three parts; a rational immortal mind, which is a portion of divinity, and seated in the brain; a sensitive irrational spirit, the seat of the passions, residing in the heart; and

a mortal body, assumed as a temporary garment. At death, the ethereal portion of man being freed from the chains of matter, was conducted by Hermes to the region of the dead, where it remained in a state according to its merits, until sent back to earth to inhabit some other body, human or animal. When sufficiently purified by successive probations, it ascended to a region of pure ether, above the atmosphere of this earth, among the stars, which he believed to be inhabited by Spirits. Finally, it returned to the Immortal Source whence it emanated.

Tradition reports that Pythagoras professed to have direct intercourse with the gods, by manifest visions, and to remember what bodies his own soul had previously animated. First, he was Æthalides, son of Hermes, and obtained from that god the gift of remembering all that might happen to him, whether in this life or after death. Then he was Euphorbus, and killed at the siege of Troy; then the prophet Hermodotimus; then Pyrrhus, a fisherman at Delos; and lastly, Pythagoras. During these transmigrations, he occasionally passed into birds, and sometimes did penance in the lower regions for a season. He is said to have seen there Hesiod chained to a brazen pillar, and Homer hung on a tree, surrounded by serpents, as a punishment for degrading the character of the gods by poetic fictions. But Pythagoras, in common with all the wise men of ancient times, doubtless had many things imputed to him which he never said or did. The Golden Verses, ascribed to him, are generally supposed to have been written by some of his early followers, and to contain the summary of what he taught. The following are among his recorded sayings:

“Unity is the principle of all things, and from this unity went forth an infinite duality.”

“By our separation from God, we lost the wings which raised us toward celestial things, and were thus precipitated into this region of death, where all evils dwell. By putting away earthly affections and devoting ourselves to virtue, our wings will be renewed, and we shall rise to that

existence where we shall find the true good without any admixture of evil."

"The soul of man being between spirits who always contemplate the Divine Essence, and those who are incapable of contemplating it, can raise itself to the one, or sink itself to the other."

"Every quality, which a man acquires, originates a good or a bad Spirit, which abides by him in this world, and after death remains with him as a companion."

"Truth is to be sought with a mind purified from the passions of the body. Having overcome evil things, thou shalt experience the union of the immortal God with mortal man."

"Man is perfected first by conversing with gods, which he can only do when he abstains from evil, and strives to resemble divine natures; second, by doing good to others, which is an imitation of the gods; third, by leaving this mortal body."

"The noblest gifts of heaven to man, are to speak truth and do good offices. These two things resemble the works of God."

"The discourse of a philosopher is vain if no passion of a man is healed thereby."

"Strength of mind depends on sobriety, for this keeps reason unclouded by passion."

"Youth should be habituated to obedience, for it will then find it easy to obey the authority of reason."

"A man should never pray for anything for himself, because every one is ignorant of what is really good for him."

"Honour the gods, and revere an oath."

"Every man ought to act and speak with such integrity, that no one would have reason to doubt his simple affirmation."

"Do what you believe to be right, whatever people think of you; despise alike their censures or their praise."

"The rational mind of man is more excellent than his

sensitive soul, as the sun is more excellent than the stars."

The strong bonds that united the disciples of Pythagoras, and the secrecy they observed, excited jealousy; and he was accused of strengthening his influence from motives of political ambition. He fled from one place to another, to avoid his enemies. It is supposed that he finally took refuge in the Temple of the Muses, where, unknown to his friends, he died of starvation at eighty years of age. His followers took refuge in Egypt. They are said to have paid him divine honours after his death. In token of veneration, they always swore by his name when they wished to affirm very solemnly. He continued to have many followers for several centuries. Among other peculiarities, they sowed no beans, would not touch them, or pass through a field where they grew. His doctrines were much adulterated, and received many additions from those who succeeded him. Many marvellous traditions have been handed down by his admirers. They say that he had power over Evil Spirits; that he cured diseases miraculously; that he understood the language of animals; that by speaking a word, he tamed a ferocious Daunian bear, that had committed great ravages; and freed Italy from a venomous species of snake, which had long infested it; that he prevented an ox from eating beans by whispering in his ear, and caused an eagle to come down from the sky at his bidding; that he was seen and heard publicly discoursing in Italy and Sicily on the same day; that he correctly predicted storms and earthquakes, and truly foretold future events; that when he was crossing a river with his friends, the water called out: "Hail, Pythagoras!"

Among the many followers of Pythagoras, was a Sicilian named Empedocles. He inherited wealth, but devoted it chiefly to maintaining the rights of the people against tyranny, and bestowing marriage-dowries on poor girls. His knowledge of philosophy and the sciences gave him a reputation for miraculous power. He was said to have cured those whom no physician could save; to have restored to life a woman who had lain senseless thirty days; to have

checked by music the fury of a young man about to inflict instant death on his enemy; to have stopped epidemics, and driven away noxious winds. When he went to the Olympic games, the eyes of all people were fixed upon him, as if he were a supernatural being. It was reported, that one night, after a festival, he was visibly conveyed into the heavens, amid the radiance of celestial light. Others said he threw himself into the burning crater of *Ætna*, that the manner of his death might not be known, and that the volcano afterward threw out one of his brazen sandals. The third and most probable account is that he went into Greece and never returned. A statue was erected to his memory.

Anaxagoras, born five hundred years before Christ, travelled in Egypt, and in various parts of Greece, in pursuit of knowledge. He is supposed to have been the first among the Greeks, who conceived of God as a Divine Mind, entirely distinct from Matter, and acting upon it, not by blind inherent necessity, but with conscious intelligence and design in the formation and preservation of the universe. He taught that the sun was an inanimate fiery substance, and therefore not a proper object of worship. Eclipses were universally imputed to the immediate action of the gods, and when he attempted to explain them to the people by natural causes, he brought himself into great danger. On one occasion, he ridiculed some Athenian priests for predicting disasters from the unusual appearance of a ram with one horn. To convince the populace there was nothing supernatural in the affair, he opened the head of the animal and showed them it was so constructed as to prevent the growth of one horn. He paid the usual penalty for being more wise than the majority of contemporaries. He was accused of not believing in the gods, and was condemned to die; to which he answered very quietly: "That sentence was passed upon me before I was born." Pericles had been his pupil, and cherished great respect and affection for the good old man; but even his powerful influence scarcely availed to change the sentence of death into one

of banishment. He died in exile at Lampsacus, at the age of seventy-two. When he was dying, the senate sent messengers to inquire in what way they could most acceptably express their respect for his memory. He replied: "Let all the boys have a play-day on the anniversary of my death." His request was complied with, and the custom continued for several centuries.

Socrates, born four hundred and sixty-nine years before Christ, was a common citizen of Athens, who first served as a soldier, and afterward earned his living by making images. His excellent character and earnest desire for improvement attracted the attention of a wealthy man, who enabled him to receive instruction from the best teachers, in various branches. Having thus received knowledge, he wished to use it for the benefit of the public. But he established no school, and had no secret doctrines for the initiated only. Seeing the youth of Athens were becoming demoralized by luxury, and led astray by witty scoffers at all sacred things, he relinquished business, and devoted all his time to talking in the markets, workshops, or public walks, wherever he could get an audience to listen to him. With mechanics, sailors, artists, magistrates, and philosophers, he discoursed familiarly concerning moral principles, religious and social duties, or even the sciences, arts, or trades, in which they were engaged.

He had a large intellectual head, but his personal ugliness was a subject of jesting both with friends and enemies, who were wont to compare him, in that particular, with Silenus and the Satyrs. A physiognomist, who was unacquainted with him, declared that his countenance indicated a very immodest and corrupt nature. His disciples were much incensed at this declaration; but Socrates cooled their anger, by confessing that the stranger had rightly judged his natural propensities, which, however, he had brought under the control of reason. His constitution was so robust, that he endured hunger and cold with indifference. He was very abstemious in his diet; the same homely clothing served him for summer and winter; and he always

went barefoot, even when serving in the army amid the severe frosts of Thrace. He would never receive any pay for his instructions, and frequently refused rich presents, though urged to accept them. He passed his life in voluntary and contented poverty, sustained by a firm conviction that he was sent into the world to fulfil a special religious mission. He bore injuries with the greatest patience; and he not only treated insults with quiet indifference, but even felt a degree of compassion for those who were capable of bestowing them. His teaching was eminently moral in its character. He thought philosophers expended too much time and ingenuity in metaphysical arguments concerning the nature of God and the soul. On such high themes he deemed it becoming to speculate but little. Following the practical bias of his mind, he reasoned from external effects to spiritual causes.

He said to his hearers: "Reflect that your own mind directs your body by its volitions, and you must be convinced that the Intelligence of the Universe disposes all things according to his pleasure. Can you imagine that your eye is capable of discerning distant objects, and that the eye of God cannot at the same instant see all things? Or that while your mind can contemplate the affairs of distant countries, the Supreme Understanding cannot attend at once to all the affairs of the universe? Such is the nature of the Divinity, that he sees all things, hears all things, is everywhere present, and constantly superintends all things. He who disposes and directs the universe, the source of all that is fair and good, who amid successive changes preserves the course of nature unimpaired, and to whose laws all beings are subject, this Supreme Deity, though himself invisible, is manifestly seen in his magnificent operations. Learn then, from the things which are produced, to infer the existence of an invisible power, and to reverence the Divinity."

"If thou wouldst know what is the wisdom of the gods, and what their love is, render thyself deserving the communication of some of those divine secrets, which may not

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be penetrated by man, and which are imparted to those alone who consult, adore, and obey the Deity. Then shalt thou understand that there is a Being, whose eye pierceth through all nature, and whose ear is open to every sound, extending through all space, pervading all time, and whose bounty and care can know no other bounds than those fixed by his own creation."

"The Deity sees and hears all things, is everywhere present, and takes care of all things. If men believed this, they would abstain from all base actions, even in private, being persuaded that nothing they did could be unknown to the gods."

"There is no better way to true glory, than to endeavour to be good, rather than seem so."

He inferred the immortality of the soul, from the fact that it gives life to the body; from the phenomena of dreaming; from the universal belief of former ages; and from the eternity of the Divine Being, to whom he believed the soul was allied by similarity of nature, not by a participation of his essence. He described the sufferings of the wicked by representing their souls as ulcerated and horribly diseased, and subject to fearful pains, occasioned by the vices of their bodies. The true interpreter of the will of Deity he considered to be a moral sense in man, which distinguishes between right and wrong. He thought it a duty for every one to perform religious rites according to the customs of his country. But he always declared that divine favours could not be purchased; they must be merited; and that could only be done by a blameless life, the truest and best manner of serving Deity. He disapproved of swearing by the gods, and thought the popular legends concerning them tended to produce irreverence. He inculcated the duty of prayer, and taught his disciples this simple form: "Father Jupiter, give us all good, whether we ask it or not; and avert from us all evil, though we do not pray thee to do so. Bless our good actions, and reward them with success and happiness." Plato, who was familiar with his habits, represents him as saying to Phœdrus, when

about to return home from an excursion: "Must we not offer up a prayer before we go?" And thus did the devout man pour forth his reverential feeling in the Grecian form: "O beloved Pan, and all ye gods whose dwelling is in this place, grant me to be beautiful in soul; and may all that I possess of outward things be at harmony with those within. Teach me to think wisdom the only riches; and give me only so much wealth as a good and holy man could manage and enjoy." Xenophon says: "He sacrificed on the public altars of the city, and often at his own house. He also practised divination in the most public manner." He himself asks: "Do I not believe, as well as others, that the sun and moon are gods? Do we not believe demons to be gods or sons of gods?" He often declared, with great solemnity, that the devotion of his time and talents to the instruction of others had been enjoined upon him "by the gods, by oracles, by *the* god, by dreams, and every other mode in which by divination they order things to be done."

He made frequent allusion to "a demon," who he says warned him what to avoid. This divine voice had accompanied him from his youth. It often forbade him to do things, but never prompted him to any particular action. Sometimes it made suggestions with regard to the conduct of others; and he declared that whenever, from this warning, he signified the will of the gods to any of his friends, he never found himself deceived. Plato represents him as saying, in conversation: "When I was about to cross the river, the usual demoniacal sign was given me; and whenever this takes place, it always prohibits me from accomplishing what I am about to do. In the present instance, I seemed to hear a certain voice, which would not suffer me to depart, till I had made an expiation; as if I had in some way offended a divine nature. I am therefore a prophet, though not a perfectly worthy one; but just such a one as a man who knows his letters indifferently well—merely sufficient for what concerns himself."

This "demon" of Socrates has greatly puzzled modern inquirers. Some have conjectured that he merely meant

the voice of conscience, or of reason, within his own soul. But we know from his own testimony, and from Xenophon, that he adopted the universal belief of his age concerning Spirits, who mediated between gods and men. Both Greeks and Romans believed in the Oriental doctrine, that every human being, as well as every other form of being, had an attendant Spirit, who introduced him into life, accompanied him through the whole course of it, and at death conducted him out of the world. The Genii of men were masculine, those of women were feminine. Some believed that each person had two; one bright and good, to whom he was indebted for the favourable events of life, the other black and evil, the cause of his misfortunes. Some supposed the same Genius was either white or black, friend or enemy, according to a person's behaviour. Hence it was a common caution: "Be careful not to incense thy Genius." "Be reconciled with thy Genius." The more perfect the friendship entertained by the Genius for the person under his protection, the greater was his happiness and good fortune. When a man died, this guardian returned to the Universal Source of Spirit, whence he had emanated. The Greeks, who always clothed abstract ideas in graceful forms, represented the Genius of Human Nature by statues of a beautiful youth, sometimes naked, with wings, sometimes wearing a wreath of flowers and a garment covered with stars. It seems very likely that "the demon" of the Athenian philosopher belonged to this class of beings. He himself never personified it, but always spoke of it as "a divine sign," or "supernatural voice."

Socrates was distinguished for cheerfulness, equability of temper, and the most inflexible integrity. He is reported to have had an extremely irritable wife, whose reproaches he bore with the utmost patience. He twice served in the councils of state, and several times in the army. He was so universally honoured, that the most distinguished citizens of Athens constituted themselves his stewards, and sent him provisions as they thought he needed, in order that he might devote himself entirely to

public instruction. He took what necessity required, and returned the remainder. Xenophon says of him: "He was so pious, that he undertook nothing without asking counsel of the gods; so just, that he never did the smallest injury to any one, but rendered essential services to many; so temperate, that he never preferred pleasure to virtue; and so wise, that he was able, even in the most difficult cases, to judge what was expedient and right." His manner of discoursing in public seems to have produced a powerful effect on his hearers. The wealthy and dashing Alcibiades said of him: "No mortal speech has ever excited in my mind such emotions as are kindled by this magician. My heart leaps like an inspired Corybant. My inmost soul is stung by his words, as by the bite of a serpent. It is indignant at its own rude and ignoble character. I often weep tears of regret to think how vain and inglorious is the life I lead. Nor am I the only one that weeps like a child and despairs of himself; many others are affected in the same way."

When Socrates was sixty-three years old, he was chosen member of the senate, and carried into political life the same firmness and honesty that had marked his character in all other relations with his fellow men. He incurred great unpopularity, and some personal hazard, by refusing to obey orders that he deemed unjust, or to put to vote an unconstitutional question. His diligence and directness in contending against all pretension and false appearances likewise made him many enemies among artful and conceited men. Notwithstanding his wisdom and his virtues, he was summoned before the tribunal of Five Hundred, to answer the charge of corrupting the youth of Athens, of despising the tutelary deities of the state, and teaching the worship of new divinities, not sanctioned by law. Lysias, one of the most celebrated orators of the age, composed an eloquent speech in his defence, but the philosopher declined his assistance, declaring to his judges that "the Divine Voice" had forbidden him to make any defence; and that not only once, but twice. In an address to them,

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distinguished for simplicity and earnestness, he confessed that he knew nothing, but he said it had always been his wish to promote the welfare and happiness of his fellow citizens; that whatever he possessed had always been devoted to their service; that he fulfilled this duty by special command of the gods; he added, emphatically, "whose authority I regard more than I do yours." He was condemned by a majority of six votes. When requested, according to custom, to choose what death he would die, he would not consent to any greater punishment than a fine, on the security of Plato and other friends. Instead of acknowledging himself guilty, or seeking to excite compassion, he said: "For my efforts to teach the young men of Athens justice and moderation, I better deserve to be maintained at the public expense, than do the victors in the Olympic Games; for they make their countrymen more happy in appearance, while I have made them so in reality." This coolness and dignity of deportment offended the judges, and they condemned him to drink poison, by a majority of eighty. He received the sentence with perfect equanimity. After a short speech, in which he commended his children to the care of the senate, he concluded by saying: "In death we either lose all consciousness, or, as it is said, go into some other place. If so, it will be much better; for we shall then be out of the power of partial judges, and come before those who are impartial."

An embassy was annually sent to the sacred island of Delos, the birthplace of Apollo, and no one was allowed to be put to death till the vessel returned, and the solemnities of the Delian Festival were concluded. As the condemnation of Socrates occurred at that time, he remained thirty days chained in prison. His friends urged him to escape, and one of them bribed the jailer for that purpose. But he declined to avail himself of the opportunity thus offered, saying, with his usual pleasantry: "Where can I fly, to avoid the irrevocable doom passed on all mortals?" His friends and disciples were with him almost constantly. He talked calmly and cheerfully with them concerning the ex-

istence and destiny of the soul. When one of them wept that he, being so innocent, should be condemned to die, he replied: "What then, would you have me die guilty?" A few hours before his death, he said to those around him: "I must die, while you continue in life. The gods alone can tell which is to be preferred, for in my opinion no man can know." To one who doubted the existence of Deity he said: "O Aristodemus, apply yourself sincerely to worship God. He will enlighten you, and then all your doubts will be removed." After drinking the poison, he said: "It would be inexcusable in me thus to despise death, if I were not persuaded that it will conduct me into the presence of the gods, who are most righteous governors, and into the society of just and good men; but I derive confidence from the hope that something of man remains after death, and that the condition of good men will then be much better than that of the bad." Again he said: "The soul, which cannot die, merits all the moral and intellectual improvement we can possibly give it. A spirit formed to live forever should be making continual advances in virtue and wisdom. To a well cultivated mind the body is merely a temporary prison. At death, such a soul is conducted by its invisible guardian to the heights of empyrean felicity, where it becomes a fellow commoner with the wise and good of all ages." When Crito asked in what manner he wished to be buried, he replied, with a smile: "Any way you please, provided I do not escape out of your hands." Then, turning to his other friends, he asked: "Is it not strange, after all I have said to convince you I am going to the society of the happy, that Crito still thinks this body to be Socrates? Let him dispose of my lifeless corpse as he pleases, but let him not mourn over it, as if *that* were Socrates." A few moments before he expired, he reminded Crito not to forget to sacrifice a cock, which he had vowed to Æsculapius. He died in the seventieth year of his age. The tidings of his death occasioned such general indignation throughout the states of Greece, that the Athenians became

thoroughly ashamed, and manifested their repentance by a decree of public mourning and the erection of a statue to his memory.

Plato, born four hundred and twenty-nine years before Christ, was a pupil of Socrates. When his father first conducted him to the school, the teacher was just saying that he dreamed a young swan flew from the altar of Eros and alighted on his lap, whence he soared singing into the air, alluring all who heard his high sweet voice. Plato entered while he spoke, and he said: "Behold the swan!" This illustrious pupil was accused of preferring metaphysical speculations, and the mysteries of Egypt, to the plain practical wisdom of his master, for whom, however, he had great reverence. His own soul was of another mould. It was essentially poetic, and gave that tinge to everything it touched. After the death of Socrates, he went to Magna Grecia and staid some time with the followers of Pythagoras, of whom he is said to have purchased some of his recorded opinions at a high price. He afterward went to Egypt, where he spent thirteen years at the most celebrated priestly schools. He is supposed to have been more than forty years old when he returned to Athens, and opened a school of philosophy in the beautiful grove of Academus, shaded by lofty plane trees, intersected by a gentle stream, and adorned with temples and statues. In the midst of his fame, he evinced as much desire to learn of others, as to teach. One of his friends, observing this, asked him how long he intended to be a scholar. He replied: "As long as I am not ashamed to grow wiser and better." He adopted the Egyptian fashion of concealing his opinions on spiritual subjects; partly, perhaps, because he was warned by the fate of Socrates.

"It is a difficult thing," says he, "to apprehend the nature of the Creator of the universe; and it would be impossible, and even impious, to expose the discovery to common understandings." He did not shut his gates, or demand an oath of secrecy from his disciples, like Pythagoras, but he purposely threw a veil of obscurity over his

public instructions, and removed it only with very confidential friends. He inculcated temperance, prudence, justice, and self-control. His own command of temper was so great, that once when he had raised his hand to strike a servant for some offence, he stopped and kept his arm in that position. A friend coming in asked what he was doing. "I am punishing an angry man," replied he. But the strongest tendency of his mind was toward the supernatural; and more than all philosophers he reasoned about the origin and destiny of the soul. He taught the existence of one Supreme Being, without beginning, end, or change. This being he called The Good, and compared him to the sun, "which not only makes objects visible, but is the cause of their generation, nutriment, and increase. So The Good, through superessential light, imparts being, and the power of being known, to everything which is the object of knowledge."

He supposed God and Matter to be two eternally distinct principles, opposite in their nature. Matter, which he calls "the mother and receptacle of forms," had within it an inherent perversity, a refractory force, which distorted whatever of the Divine became connected with it; thus it was the origin of evil. The first emanation from The Good was Mind; immortal, indivisible, unchangeable, a portion of Deity himself. This Power being mingled with the feminine principle of Matter caused the birth of a third, which he calls The Soul of the World, and supposes to be the pervading and animating principle of the universe. This Platonic Trinity was purely figurative. It related to the attributes of the Divine Being, not to persons. It was merely a metaphysical way of saying that the Good Being, by agency of his Wisdom, produced a manifestation of his ideas, which was the Model World, according to which this visible earth was made. In the same metaphorical way, he often calls the world The Son of God. Sometimes he asserts that it was without beginning; in other places he speaks of it as begotten. He doubtless means that the Model World of ideas was eternal, being co-existent with

the Divine Mind; but that the inferior world was produced by union with Matter.

From the Soul of the World, God separated inferior souls, equal in number to the stars, and assigned to each its proper celestial abode. These souls, not being direct emanations from pure Divinity, but through the intervention of The Soul of the World, which was itself debased by an admixture with Matter, have in them two dominant springs derived from their two different origins; the love of good, and the desire of pleasure. These are the wings of the soul, and so long as they are not separated, all is well; but when the love of pleasure becomes divided from the love of good, then souls descend in the scale of being.

He represents Jupiter, followed by subordinate Gods and Spirits, traversing the heavens and admiring the wonders of the universe. They ascend above the spheres, to a region where souls contemplate that True Existence, which has neither colour nor form, and can be perceived only by the eyes of the spirit. There they see Goodness and Truth as they exist in Him who is Being itself. They contemplate this glory till they can no longer endure its radiance; then they descend to Olympus, where they refresh themselves with nectar and ambrosia. Souls who faithfully follow Jupiter in this mode of life remain pure. But if they prefer nectar and ambrosia to the contemplation of truth in its Divine Essence, they become dull and heavy, lose their wings, and fall downward, instead of ascending. For such souls was this earth provided, and human bodies.

He supposes the world to be divided into three parts, or zones; the ethereal, the aerial, and the material. The ethereal, in the pure regions of heaven, where are the stars, is the former residence of our souls, before we fell. That is the permanent world; there are the real ideal types of being, fresh from the Divine Mind. "All is beautiful, harmonious, transparent. Fruits of exquisite flavour grow spontaneously; rivers of nectar flow; they breathe light, as we breathe air, and drink water more pure than air itself." "We who live in this profound abyss (the material

world) imagine that we are in an elevated place, and we call the atmosphere heaven; as if a man looking at sun and stars from the bottom of the ocean, and seeing them reflected through the water, should imagine the sea itself was the sky. If we had wings to rise on high, we should see that there is the true heaven, the true light, and the true earth. As in the sea all is troubled, and disfigured by the salts which abound there, so in this present world all is deformed and ruined, in comparison with that primitive world."

Our perceptions of the true and the beautiful are merely "recollections of what the soul formerly saw, when it dwelt with Divinity, in a perfect state of being; when it despised what we now consider realities, and was supernally elevated to the contemplation of that which is true. Unless the soul of man had once perceived divine realities, it could not have entered the human form. But few remember the sacred mysteries they once perceived; and these, when they behold any similitude of supernal forms, are astonished, and, as it were, rapt above themselves. But at the same time, they are ignorant what this passion may be, because they are not endowed with sufficient perception."

He compared souls in this world to men fettered in a deep cave, where the only light admitted proceeded from a fire burning far above and behind them. Many objects passed and repassed in the light, but the prisoner could only see shadows on the wall, caused by the reflection of the fire. All things in this material world he considered mere transitory illusive phantoms, deformed by connection with Matter. Souls imprisoned in mortal bodies, subject to debasing and distorting passions, he likened to Glaucus, who, plunging into the sea, is imagined by poets as half transformed into a fish, his manly figure rendered shapeless by incrustations of sand, shells, and sea-weed.

Of the multitude of Spirits intermediate between gods and men, he says: "Their office is to convey and interpret to the gods the prayers and offerings of men, and bring to men the commands of the gods. These demons are the

source of all prophecy, and of the art of priests in relation to sacrifices, consecrations, and conjurations. Deity has no immediate intercourse with men. All communications between gods and mortals is carried on by means of demons; both in sleeping and waking." Elsewhere he says of them that "they are clothed with air, wander through heaven, hover over the stars, and abide on the earth. They behold unveiled the secrets of time to come, and regulate events according to their pleasure." He believed every human being received at birth a guardian Spirit, who accompanied him to the end, witnessed all his thoughts and actions, conducted his soul to the Judges of the Dead, and testified concerning his motives and actions.

He supposed man to consist of three parts: the rational mind; the soul's image; and the body. This image is described as "the feminine faculty of the soul, and her vital energy upon the body." He taught that the rational soul could never die; it only changed forms. As waking ends in sleep, and sleep terminates in waking, so life ends in death, and death in life. Souls that fell from their high estate, and so came to inhabit human bodies, could gradually regain their glory, by striving to disengage themselves from animal passions, and to rise above external circumstances to the contemplation of divine realities. But if they gave themselves up to sensual pleasures, they wandered long upon the earth, entering successive forms. "For all voluptuousness ties the soul to the body, persuading her that she is of the same nature, and rendering her, so to speak, corporeal; so that she cannot wing her way to a higher life, but, impure and heavy, plunges anew into Matter, and thus becomes incapable of reascending toward pure regions, and uniting with her essence." The soul of a depraved man might, in its second condition, assume the form of a woman, and finally even descend into that of a beast. An animal might become a man, if his soul had once been that of a man; but a soul which had never, in some period of its existence, perceived divine realities, could not possibly enter a human form. Some souls, after they were judged,

would be sent to a subterranean place, there to endure punishments they had deserved; others would ascend to their kindred stars, to enjoy themselves in a manner corresponding to the life they had lived as men. At the end of one thousand years, all of them would return, with liberty to select a second life on earth agreeable to their own desire. Their choice would be influenced by the degree to which they had allowed themselves to become imbruted, and the processes of purification they had undergone. Those who thrice chose to devote themselves to a life in which they could sincerely seek wisdom and love beautiful realities, would fly away to their primeval abode of glory, at the end of three thousand years. But those who did not, through three successive lives, "philosophize sincerely, and love beautiful forms," would have to wait ten thousand years, before they regained their lost wings. This was sometimes called "The soul's orbit of necessity."

Plato, in common with most of the philosophic minds of Greece, was troubled with the stories told by Homer, and other popular poets, concerning the gods; because he considered such descriptions calculated to promote irreverence toward divine natures. But he strove to reconcile the faith of his childhood with the requirements of his spiritual growth, by allegorical interpretations, which transformed them from imaginative legends into significant myths. He discountenanced, as dangerous, any attempts to change established modes of worship. Those who despised oaths, omitted sacrifices, and neglected the gods, he thought ought to be put to death if they were deliberate and rational. If they did it in a kind of madness, he thought they ought to be imprisoned not less than five years, and the citizens not allowed to communicate with them. He believed that men had gradually degenerated from a primeval state of innocence and equality, and that the world would be alternately destroyed and renewed, after the lapse of vast astronomical cycles. He favoured the popular idea that spirits of the dead often hovered round the ashes of their

old bodies, waiting until the new forms were ready for their reception.

Like all other poets and philosophers, he looked back upon a Golden Past, and hoped for a Golden Future. He thus describes the reign of Saturn: "God was then the Prince and common Father of all. He then governed the world by himself; whereas he now governs it by the agency of inferior deities. In those happy days, the fertile fields yielded fruit and corn without tillage. Men had no need of clothing, for there was no inclemency in the seasons. They took their rest on beds of moss perpetually verdant. Cruelty and anger, war and sedition, were unknown. There were no magistrates or civil policy, as now. All men were governed by reason and the love of order."

After that, Saturn was hurled from his throne, and "hid himself in an inaccessible retreat. The foundations of the world were shaken by motions contrary to its first principles, and its beauty and order were lost. Then were good and evil blended together."

"In the end, lest the world should be plunged into an eternal abyss of confusion, the Author of Primitive Order will appear again, and resume the reins of empire. He will change, amend, embellish, and restore the whole frame of nature, and put an end to decay, disease, and death."

The following sayings may be found scattered through the writings of Plato:

"The soul, withdrawn from the influence of the Muses and Graces, sinks into disorder, loses its moral harmony, and often requires the aid of music to attune its jarring strings."

"To say that the gods are easily appeased, is to compare them to dogs or wolves, which are pacified by giving them a portion of the plunder."

"The divine race of stars must be considered as celestial creatures, with most beautiful bodies and happy souls. That they have souls, is evident from the regularity of their motions."

"All see the body of the sun; but the Soul, that ani-

mates it, is not the object of any of our senses; it is perceived by the mind only."

"It is impossible that there should be much happiness in this life; but there is great hope, that after death every person may obtain the things he most wishes for. This is not new, but is known both to Greeks and barbarians."

"The universe belongs to the Deity, and he will not neglect what is his own. He cannot be called a wise physician who only attends to the body in general, and not to particular parts. Nor do governors of cities, or masters of families, neglect small things. Let us not then suppose that God, who is wisest of all, is less wise than men. He is the Shepherd of mankind, taking the same care of them that a shepherd does of his sheep and oxen. He provides for all things, the smallest as well as the greatest."

"He is the Architect of the World, the Father of the Universe, the Creator of Nature, the Sovereign Beauty, and the Supreme Good, the Ruling Mind, which orders all things, and penetrates all things."

"He made the heavens, the earth, and the gods. He is the original life and force of all things in the ethereal regions, upon the earth and under the earth."

"He is the Being, the Unity, the Good, pre-eminently the same in the world of Intelligences that the sun is in the visible world."

"He is Truth, and Light is his shadow."

"What light and sight are in this visible world, truth and intelligence are in the real, unchangeable world."

"The One, better than intellect, from whom all things flow, and to whom they all ultimately tend, is The Good."

"The end and aim of all things should be to attain to The First Good; of whom the sun is but the type, and the material world, with all its host of ministering Spirits, is but the manifestation and the shadow."

"As light and vision resemble the sun, but are not the sun, so knowledge and truth resemble The Good, but are not The Good; which is itself something more venerable."

"As nothing is like the sun, except through solar influ-

ences, so nothing can resemble The Good, but by an emanation of his divine light into the soul."

"To be like the Deity, is to be holy, just, and wise. This is the end of man's being born, and should be his aim in studying philosophy."

"He alone is truly happy who has attained to the divine science of the Deity. To arrive at this state, it is necessary to be convinced that the body is a prison, from which the soul must be released, before it can arrive at the knowledge of those things which are real and immutable."

"The light and spirit of Deity are as wings to the soul, raising it into communion with himself, and above the earth, with which the mind of man is prone to bemoir itself."

"The soul of each of us is an immortal Spirit, and goes to other gods to give an account of its actions."

"Pure souls, who here below have sought to withdraw themselves from terrestrial stains, enter after death into an invisible place, unknown to us, where the pure unites itself to the pure, and our immortal essence is united with the Divine Essence."

"The perfectly just man would be he who should love justice for its own sake, not for the honours and advantages that attend it; who would be willing to pass for unjust, while he practised the most exact justice; who would not suffer himself to be moved by disgrace or distress, but would continue steadfast in the love of justice, not because it is pleasant, but because it is right."

"Prayer is the ardent turning of the soul toward God; not to ask any particular good, but good itself; the universal, supreme good. We often mistake what is pernicious and dangerous for what is useful and desirable. Therefore remain silent before the gods, till they remove the clouds from thy eyes, and enable thee to see, by their light, not what appears good to thyself, but what is really good."

"Beauty ought to be loved for itself, the Source and Centre of all beauty, the Creator, Ruler, and Preserver of all things. It has no similitude on the earth, or in the

heavens. Whatever is beautiful, is so merely by participation of the Supreme Beauty. All other beauty may increase, decay, change, or perish; but this is the same through all time, and in all places. By raising our thoughts above all inferior beauties, we at length reach the Supreme Beauty, which is simple, pure, and immutable, without form, colour, or human qualities. It is the splendour of the divine image. It is the Deity himself. Love of this Supreme Beauty renders a man divine. When the soul rises above herself, and becomes united with it, she brings forth, not the shadows of virtues, but the virtues themselves. She becomes immortal, and the friend of God. There is no one so bad, but love can make a god of him by virtue; so that his soul becomes like unto the Supreme Beauty."

"Look at the sun, and the stars, and the moon! at the earth, with its changing seasons, and all its beauties! Are they not in themselves a power beyond you? a power more grand, more permanent, more lovely, than anything you can create? Is not the very essence of religion, the acknowledgment of such a power? The external world may be but a shadow of the Deity; a symbol of a far higher Power beyond it; a veil to hide his presence; a school to lead you up to him. But in itself it is divine; therefore, there is a Deity, and all mankind believe it."

"How can we, without indignation, reason against men, who compel us to argue, to prove the existence of Deity? In infancy, when lying on the breast, they used to hear, from their nurses and mothers, stories told to soothe or awe them, and repeated, like charms, above their cradles. At the altar they heard these stories blended with prayers, and with all the pomps and ceremonials so fair to the eye of childhood. They saw those same parents offering up their sacrifices with all solemnity, and heard them earnestly and reverently praying for themselves and their children, and with vows and supplications holding communion with Deity, as indeed a living Spirit. When the sun and the moon rose and set, they witnessed all around them the kneeling or prostrate forms of both Greeks and barbarians; all men,

in their joys and their sorrows, clinging as it were to the Deity, not as an empty name, but as their all in all; and never suffering the fancy to intrude that God has no existence. If they have despised all this, and, without one justifying cause, would now compel us to reason, how can such men expect that with calm and gentle words, we should be able to teach them the existence of a Deity?"

"The heavens, the stars, the earth, the souls of men, the divine beings who teach us the religion of our fathers, all these are the Deity."

Much has been said concerning Plato's ideas of Three in One, in the Deity. According to the general testimony of scholars familiar with his writings in their original language, allusions of that kind are exceedingly few, and very vague. The following are examples:

"God gave a Mind to the soul, and a Soul to the body, and constituted the whole world after these, the most perfect and excellent in Nature."

"All things are about the King of all, and all things are for the sake of him, and he is the author of every thing that is fair and good. But the second are about the Second, and the third are about the Third."

"We may call that which receives, the Mother; that from which it was derived, the Father; and the offspring between them is Nature."

"The Divine Word established the movements of the celestial orbs."

"God is the Governor of all things that are, and that are to come; and the Lord is the Father of the Governor."

This dark mode of expression was, doubtless, intentional, and was resorted to either to veil mysteries forbidden to be revealed, or from fear of collision with popular and established opinions.

Such is a very imperfect sketch of the elevated philosophy of Plato. Ideas derived from ancient sources became gloriously transfigured in the light of his poetic mind, and inferior natures cannot give a true reflection of them. The divine and indestructible nature of the soul was the central

point in his system. Purification from the contagions of animal life, by the principles of divine wisdom, he regarded as already a beginning of the immortal life of the gods; and this inward unity with celestial natures, he thought ought to be manifested in outward beauty. Therefore, he loved to be surrounded by majestic and graceful statues, to hear harmonious sounds, to wear clothing made of soft and fine materials, and to observe a becoming propriety in his words and actions.

A short time before his death, he is said to have dreamed that he was changed into a swan. He fell gently asleep among his friends at a wedding banquet, a healthy old man, on his eighty-first birth-day. Some of the Eastern Magi, who happened to be at Athens, are reported to have thought it very significant that his mortal life should have exactly completed the most perfect number: nine times nine. Long after other Grecian sects had fallen into oblivion, his doctrines kept their hold upon the minds of men, and they remain interwoven with much of the philosophy and theology of the present day.

Proclus, one of his followers, several centuries after his death, expresses the opinion that all theology among the Greeks originated in the mystical doctrines of Orpheus. He says: "What Orpheus delivered in hidden allegories, Pythagoras learned when he was initiated into the Orphic Mysteries; and Plato next received a perfect knowledge of them from Orphic and Pythagorean writings."

All three of these men had been in Egypt to obtain instruction concerning spiritual theories. All their systems have the same outline, and harmonize with what can be gathered from Egyptian monuments, and the scanty records that remain concerning the ancient faith of that remarkable people. Plato, therefore, may be taken as a sublimated specimen of Egyptian theology as it existed in their highest and purest minds. The resemblance to Hindoo doctrines must strike every observing reader who compares Plato's theories with the extracts from the Vedas. Strabo, who had good opportunities to become acquainted with the

most prominent ideas prevalent in India, notices the similarity between them and the veiled teaching of Plato. This adds one more to the many proofs already adduced to show that the religions of Hindostan and Egypt were substantially the same.

Aristotle, contemporary with Plato, was more prone to look outward for the evidence of things; being more logical than poetic. But he also accepted the conclusions at which contemplative Hindoos had arrived concerning God and the soul. He describes Deity as "The Eternal Living Being, most noble of all beings; distinct from Matter, without extension, without division, without parts, and without succession; who understands everything, and continuing himself immoveable, gives motion to all things, and enjoys in himself a perfect happiness, knowing and contemplating himself with infinite pleasure." "There are many inferior deities, but only One Mover. All that is said about the human shape of those deities is mere fiction, invented to instruct the common people, and secure their observance of good laws. The First Principle is neither fire, nor earth, nor water, nor anything that is the object of sense. A Spiritual Substance is the cause of the universe, and the source of all order, all beauty, all the motions, and all the forms, which we so much admire in it. All must be reduced to this One Primitive Substance, which governs in subordination to the First." "There is One Supreme Intelligence, who acts with order, proportion, and design; the source of all that is good and just."

"This is the genuine doctrine of the ancients, which has happily escaped the wreck of truth, amid the rocks of vulgar errors and poetic fables."

"After death, the soul continueth in the aerial body till it is entirely purged from all angry and voluptuous passion; then doth it put off, by a second death, the aerial body as it did the terrestrial. Wherefore the ancients say there is another heavenly body always joined with the soul, which is immortal, luminous, and star-like."

This "aerial body" mentioned by Aristotle, is the same

as the "sensuous soul" described by Plato. It was this which seems to have been the "shade" of Hercules in the Elysian Fields, while his *soul* was on Olympus with the gods. The "sensuous soul" was the seat of the passions and sensations. The ancients supposed that this subtle vehicle of the "rational soul" exercised *all* the functions of sense, in *every* part of it; that it was "all eye, all ear, all taste."

Cicero, the Roman orator, who died forty-three years before Christ, was so great an admirer of Plato, that he was accustomed to call him "a god among philosophers." Like his Grecian model, he conformed to the religious institutions of the country, and sincerely believed in the divine origin of prophecy; but he attacked several of the popular opinions of his time with so much boldness, that many thought his works ought to be suppressed. He believed in One Supreme God, who controls the universe, as the human soul controls the body. He rejected the idea of anything vindictive in the future punishment of the wicked, considering it a blasphemy against Deity to suppose him capable of anger, or any other passion. He regarded the numerous tutelary deities as subordinate agents of the Supreme Being, and ridiculed the stories told of them by poets. He thought all knowledge was a reminiscence of experience obtained in former states of being. The eternal nature of the soul seemed to him fully demonstrated by its longing for immortality, its comprehensive faculties, its recollections, and its foresight. His writings were very extensively known, and greatly contributed to raise the previous standard of morality.

He says: "No man was ever truly great without divine inspiration."

"Whatever name custom hath given to the gods, we ought to reverence and adore them. The best, the purest, the most religious worship, of the gods, is to reverence them always with a sincere, unpolluted, and perfect mind."

"The true primeval law is the Supreme Reason of the great Jupiter. It is eternal, immutable, universal. It does

not vary according to time and place. It is not different now from what it was formerly. The same law sways all nations, because it proceeds from the King and common Father of all. A crime is none the less criminal because there is no human law against it. The law imprinted on the hearts of all men is to love the members of society as themselves. Love of order is the sovereign justice, and this justice is excellent for its own sake. Whoever loves it for its utility, is politic, but not good. The highest injustice is to love justice only for the sake of recompense. The eternal, unchangeable, universal law of all beings is to seek the good of one another, like children of the same Father."

Cicero informs us that philosophers of all schools agreed in believing the Supreme Deity incapable of inflicting punishment, or feeling resentment; that anger toward one, and favour toward another, were equally inconsistent with an immortal, wise, and happy nature. Therefore, they all agreed that fear could have no place in the mind of man with regard to God.

Like Plato, he was very conservative with regard to established forms, regarding them as necessary for the preservation of good order. He says: "When religion is in question, I do not consider what is the doctrine thereon of Zeno, Cleanthes, or Chrysippus, but I am guided by what the Chief Priests say of it. From you, who are a philosopher, I am not unwilling to receive reasons for my faith; but to our ancestors I trust implicitly, without receiving any reason at all."

He thought those who disturbed popular belief in the auguries ought to be punished. For that reason he entered a complaint against two men who sailed contrary to the auspices; because, according to his views, the established "religion is to be obeyed, and the customs of our forefathers are not to be discarded."

The Stoics, founded by Zeno, about three hundred years before Christ, had numerous adherents, especially among the Romans, to whose stern and lofty character their doc-

trines were well adapted. They explained virtue as the true harmony of man with himself, and with the laws of nature, without regard to reward or punishment. This state was to be attained by mastery over the passions and affections, and complete indifference to external things. Self-denial and resolute endurance were prominent points in their moral teaching. They were characterized by abstemiousness, plainness of dress, and strict regard to decorum. They held that a man was at liberty to lay down his life whenever he deemed it no longer useful. Zeno, and others of their teachers, committed suicide in old age. They believed the universe was pervaded by a Divine Intelligence, as by a soul. The elements and the heavenly orbs partook of this divine essence, and were therefore suitable objects of worship. They did not adopt the common doctrine of successive transmigrations of the human soul, but held that it returned to the Supreme Soul, after death. Epictetus says: "There is no Tartarus. You do not go to a place of pain. You return to the source from which you came, to a delightful reunion with your primitive elements." They were taught not to deprecate impending calamities, but to pray for resignation and fortitude to endure them. Marcus Antoninus says: "Either the gods have power, or no power. If they have no power, why do you pray? If they have power, why do you not rather pray that you may be without anxiety about an event, than that the event may not take place?"

In common with many of the Grecian sects, they believed in the old Hindoo, Chaldean, and Egyptian calculations concerning the destruction of the world by water and by fire. This universal devastation was to take place at stated intervals, with vast astronomical intervals between. All was to be restored to a state of order, innocence, and beauty; the old tendency to degeneracy would end in similar destruction, to be again renovated; and so on alternately forever. Seneca says: "A time will come when the world, ripe for renovation, will be wrapped in flames; when the opposite powers in conflict will mutually destroy

each other. The constellations will dash together, and the whole universe, plunged in the same common fire, will be consumed to ashes. The world being melted and re-entered into the bosom of Jupiter, this god will continue for some time concentrated in himself, immersed in the contemplation of his own ideas. Afterward, a new world will spring from him, perfect in all its parts. The whole face of nature will be more lovely; and under more favourable auspices, an innocent race of men will people this earth, the worthy abode of virtue."

The religious doctrines and customs of Greece were adopted by Rome without essential alterations. Something of their gracefulness was lost under the influence of her less poetic character, but a stronger moral element was infused. In the days of the Roman Republic, temples were erected to Concord, Faith, Constancy, Modesty, and even to Peace. Venus Verticordia presided over the purity of domestic morals, and the most virtuous woman in Rome was chosen to dedicate her statue. Religion was intimately connected with the state. The Emperor was the Supreme Pontiff; and High Priests were chosen among the most illustrious senators. The priests, both of the city and the provinces, were mostly men of wealth and rank, who received, as an honourable distinction, the care of some celebrated temple, or some public sacrifice, or the sacred games, which were frequently exhibited at their own expense. They acted as magistrates, and claimed none of the peculiar sacredness which so strongly riveted the power of Hindoo and Egyptian priests.

Numa, second king of Rome, forbade the people to put images or pictures in their temples; giving as a reason that God was to be apprehended only by the mind, and it was wrong to represent the most excellent being by such mean things. For one hundred and sixty years, their temples contained neither statues nor paintings. It was the policy of government to exclude foreign worship, and for a time they tried to enforce it rigidly. But Rome, being the centre of power, was the point of confluence for all nations of

the earth, and it became necessary to allow foreign residents and visitors the practice of their own religious rites. This toleration was easily granted, because it was a common opinion among polytheistic nations that every country had the religion best suited to its climate and character, and that the deity it worshipped, whoever he might be, was one of many beneficent Spirits, appointed to preside over various divisions of the earth, and manifold departments of the universe. From Egypt, Carthage, Gaul, Persia, and numerous other countries, the conquering armies of Rome brought back foreign customs and opinions with the spoils of war. The popular feeling in favour of adding the gods of other nations to their own established worship became too strong for the policy of government or the wisdom of sages to resist. The worship of Serapis was first celebrated in private chapels at Rome, then publicly prohibited; the first temples erected to him were ordered to be destroyed; afterward, it was permitted to build them within a mile of the city; and at last he was formally acknowledged and established among the deities. The Persian Mithras was enrolled in the same calendar. The Magi, resident in Rome, introduced his Mysteries, which were solemnized in a cave. In the process of initiation, candidates were subjected to severe ordeals, such as long fasts in solitude and darkness, passing through deep waters and through fire. It is said that one of the ceremonies of admission was to eat bread and drink wine, and to receive the mark of a Cross on the forehead; probably the Hindoo and Egyptian Cross, already described. When the Jews became tributary to Rome, they were protected in their own forms of worship; it being readily admitted that Jehovah might be a true national deity, though not the only Governor of the Universe. Solemn embassies were sent to invite Cybele from Phrygia, and Æsculapius from Greece. The image of Astarte was brought from Carthage to Rome, to be married to the image of the Sun; and the day of their mystic nuptials was kept as a festival throughout the empire. It was a common custom to tempt the deities of besieged cities, by

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promising them more distinguished honours in Rome than they received in their own country.

Roman priests, as well as those of Hindostan, were acquainted with a chemical process, which enabled them to resist fire. Strabo says that many persons, every year, walked barefoot over burning coals without receiving the slightest injury, and crowds assembled to see it. The more rational citizens of Rome strongly disapproved of nocturnal assemblies, as occasions for revelry and licentiousness, under the disguise of religion. They discountenanced the impure rites practised in temples of Venus, and the mad orgies connected with the worship of Bacchus; and at last their influence so far prevailed, that the festivals of Bacchus were prohibited by law.

Rome was the great gathering-place for all the nations of the earth. To the general admixture of religious forms and creeds was added almost unlimited freedom of inquiry in the philosophical schools. The ceremonies consecrated by long established custom were observed for reasons of state, and to satisfy the requisitions of the populace; but they gradually degenerated into mere lifeless forms. Cicero argues that it was impossible the oracle at Delphi could have gained so much reputation in the world, and been enriched with such costly presents from almost all kings and nations, had not the veracity of its prophecies been confirmed by the experience of ages. But he informs us that it had declined very much before his day; the Pythia being often accused of taking bribes of the rich and powerful.

A belief in the existence of the soul after death was indicated in all periods of the history of Greece and Rome, by the fact that they were always accustomed to address prayers to the Spirits of their ancestors, when overwhelmed with trouble, or about to undertake any important enterprise. They likewise offered sacrifices for the benefit of the dead, and performed such games at their tombs as they most delighted in while living on this earth. But though they thus implied a belief that spirits of the departed were pres-

ent, and took cognizance of the affairs of this world, their writers never urged the rewards of another life as inducements to virtue, or its punishments as furnishing motives to avoid crime. They inculcated a stoical resignation to the will of the gods, and reconciled themselves to death because mortals were thus released from the calamities of this world.

In the latter times of Greece and Rome, educated minds retained very little belief in the popular forms of theology. Philosophers had long risen above them to the contemplation of One Supreme Mind, and poets had long been accustomed to play with them as mere graceful fancies. Still the idea prevailed that fables were necessary for the populace. Strabo says: "It is impossible to govern a mob of women, or the whole mixed multitude, and to exhort them to piety, holiness, and faith, by philosophic reasoning. We must also employ superstition, with its fables and prodigies. The thunder, the ægis, the trident, the serpents, the torches, the thyrsi of the gods, are fables, bugbears to those who are children in understanding; as is all the ancient theology."

Cicero represents an Epicurean as saying: "It is marvellous how one of the Augurs can look another in the face without laughing."

Plutarch thus describes a philosopher of the same school: "He hypocritically enacts prayer and adoration, from fear of the enemy. He utters words directly opposite to his philosophy. While he is sacrificing, the ministering priest seems to him no more than a cook; and he departs, uttering the line of Menander: 'I have sacrificed to gods in whom I have no concern.'"

Juvenal tells us that poets indulged their imagination to such a degree concerning future rewards and punishments, that even the Roman children ceased to believe them.

"The silent realm of disembodied ghosts,
The frogs that croak along the Stygian coasts,
The thousand souls in one crazed vessel steered,
Not boys believe—save boys without a beard."

Pliny the Younger, in the opening of his *Natural History*, speaks of the immortality of the soul as an idle notion, a mere vision of human pride; equally absurd whether under the form of transmigration, or that of existence in another sphere.

The custom of deifying great men was carried to such an extent, that it became a regular custom for the Roman senate to decree divine honours to every emperor, after death, without reference to character. *Vespasian*, being ill, said jestingly: "I am a god, or at least not far from it." All the old forms were occasionally a theme for mirth or satire, except the *Eleusinian Mysteries*. Down to the latest period of their religion, Greek and Roman writers always approached that subject with the deepest reverence.

The declining oracles continued to be occasionally consulted till the fourth century of our era, when the Roman emperors became converts to Christianity. The oracles were soon after silenced, the order of *Vestals* abolished, the sacred fire extinguished, and most of the temples destroyed.

Thus passed away from the face of our earth the beautiful pageantry of a religion which for more than two thousand years had expressed the aspirations of the human soul in its search after the infinite unknown. Its solemn train of priests and prophets disappeared; its voice of prayer and music no longer descended from the mountain tops, or rose in swelling chorus from processions winding through the valleys. But such truth as there was in it fell into the bosom of philosophy, and brought forth flowers, which still cast their seed into the future. Even its allegories linger in our literature, like the illustrious shadows in their own *Elysian Fields*. School-boys of every nation are familiar with the Grecian gods; *Cupid* rides on roses in our *Valentines*; *Diana* holds our lamps; the Italian peasant still swears by *Bacchus*; and the American poet of yesterday invokes the *Muses*.

THE CELTIC TRIBES.

Yet shall it claim our reverence, that to God
 These jealous ministers of law aspire,
 As to the One sole Fount, whence wisdom flowed;
 And yon thick woods maintain that primal truth,
 Debased by many a superstitious form,
 That fills the soul with unavailing ruth.

WORDSWORTH.

THERE was a country in Asia called Scythia, the boundaries of which are extremely uncertain. Tribes migrated thence, and gradually spread over a large portion of Europe. They bore a variety of names in different places; but those who settled in the countries now called Germany, France, Spain, and Great Britain, were known by the general appellation of the Celtic tribes.

The religious doctrines of the Celts were known only to the priests, who never allowed them to be committed to writing. Therefore we have only slight information concerning them, obtained from Romans who came in contact with those nations by conquest. Tacitus says the ancient Germans, called Teutones, believed in the existence of One Supreme Being, to whom all things were obedient. The whole universe was animated by this Divinity, portions of whom resided in all things. For this reason, they worshipped sun, moon, stars, earth, and water. They kept a sacred fire burning in their forests, and had a religious festival, during which they universally lighted great fires. Tacitus says: "They suppose Hertha, or Mother Earth, to interfere in the affairs of men, and visit different nations. In an island of the ocean stands a sacred and unviolated grove, in which is a consecrated chariot, covered with a veil, which the priest alone is permitted to touch. He

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perceives when the goddess enters this secret recess; and with profound veneration he attends the vehicle, which is drawn by yoked cows. At this season all is joy. Every place which the goddess deigns to visit is a scene of festivity. No wars are undertaken; every hostile weapon is laid aside. Then only are peace and repose known, then only are they loved. After a time the same priest reconducts the goddess to her temple, satisfied with mortal intercourse. The chariot and its covering, and, if we may believe it, the goddess herself, then undergo ablution in a secret lake. This office is performed by slaves, whom the lake instantly swallows up. Hence proceeds a mysterious horror, and a holy ignorance of what that can be, which is beheld only by those who are about to perish."

The ancient Germans worshipped a deity called Tuisco, or Teut, from whom they derived their name, Teutones. Their traditions affirmed that Tuisco produced mankind by marrying Hertha, or the Earth; which of course had an allegorical meaning concerning the union of Spirit and Matter. The image of a woman with a child in her arms was common in their consecrated forests, and was held peculiarly sacred. They had magnificent religious processions in honour of the sun, and greeted the New Moon and the Full Moon with torchlight processions.

They held the river Rhine in great veneration, and threw rich gifts, sometimes silver and gold, into rivers and lakes, as an offering to the deity presiding over waters. They believed in a multitude of Spirits, gliding about everywhere, and animating all things, great and small. Among these were the elves, some good and some evil. One of them delighted in producing the nightmare; others caused various diseases and inconveniences.

The Celtic priests were called Druids; supposed to be derived from a word meaning an oak, because they worshipped in groves of oak. Greek and Roman writers believed them to have been a very ancient order, a branch of the Chaldean Magi, or Hindoo Bramins. It is recorded by several authors that they made their appearance in Europe,

from eastern parts of the world, soon after the time of Abraham. Julius Cæsar, who was a close observer of the nations he conquered, says they believed in the immortality of the soul, and its transmigration into different bodies. Their austere lives, in the solitude of mighty forests, impressed even him with awe. They were a distinct hereditary caste, and elected their own chief, who retained his office during life. Their employments divided them into three classes. Bards, who chanted hymns to the gods, and sang the praises of heroes, to the accompaniment of the lyre; another class, who decided judicial questions, and attended to the education of youth; and a still higher order, who superintended religious ceremonies and magical rites. All things appertaining to worship were intrusted solely to them. They alone were exempted from taxes and military duty. They administered justice, and pronounced decrees of reward and punishment. The power of striking and binding criminals, and of inflicting the penalties they had decreed, was vested in them. No important enterprise was undertaken till the prophets among them had been consulted. In all cities they appointed the highest officers, who never ventured to do anything without their advice. If any one refused to submit to their ordinances, they publicly excommunicated him from all share in sacrifices and worship, and declared him to be henceforth one of the profane. By this process, he was rendered incapable of holding any honourable office, and was deprived of the benefit of the laws in questions of property. Such persons were deemed so infamous, that their most intimate friends did not dare to talk with them, even at a distance, for fear of being infected with the terrible curse that rested upon them. Sometimes the Druids pronounced solemn maledictions against a whole city or nation; and this was dreaded as a great public calamity. They studied the course of the stars, and predicted future events from their motions. Such knowledge as there was of medicine was confined to them. They had various magical rites for casting out Evil Spirits and imparting mysterious power to plants and minerals.

The oak was to them the most sacred of all trees. On occasions of solemn ceremony they always crowned themselves with garlands of its leaves. The mistletoe, a parasitic plant, which takes root in the trunk of oaks, they regarded with peculiar veneration, and believed it to be a panacea for all the diseases of mankind. They always cut it with a golden knife. Black hellebore was another remedy much in use among them. None but Druids might gather it, and they must be sure to go barefooted, dressed in white. Before they plucked the sacred plant, they offered oblations of bread and wine, and covered the right hand with their robe. It was considered extremely efficacious to rub diseased people with juice of vervain. Sprinklings of it, accompanied by prayers, were supposed to reconcile hearts at enmity, and make the melancholy cheerful. They were careful to gather the herb at the rising of Sirius, or of the sun. The Lunaria, or Moon-Plant, was gathered only when the moon shone on it. Hindoo Sacred Books make reverent allusions to a Moon-Plant. Indeed the general resemblance between the Celtic and Hindoo religions is observable.

The Druids had schools in the forest, where youths committed to memory certain maxims in verse, inculcating the worship of the gods, bravery in battle, respect to the chastity of women, and implicit obedience to Druids, magistrates, and parents. These verses sometimes contained allegorical meaning, which was explained, under an oath of secrecy, to those educated for the higher orders of the priesthood. It was not allowable to commit them to writing; and even if they had been written, few could have spelled them out; for princes and warriors in those days did not know how to sign their names, and labouring people were almost in the condition of animals. The Druids were in full power in Gaul and Britain at the time of Julius Cæsar's conquests, half a century before Christ. Our English ancestors at that period lived in huts and covered themselves with skins of beasts.

Women performed an important part in the Druidical

religion. The highest order of priestesses were vowed to perpetual celibacy, and lived in consecrated places. A second order were allowed to live with their husbands on certain days, when their services were not wanted in religious ceremonies; some say it was only one day in the year. A third order, attendants upon the others, resided with their families, and reared children for the priesthood. Among Asiatic nations, voluptuousness is the only feeling excited by women; and the female character is consequently feeble and shallow. Never allowed to think or act for themselves, the intellectual and high moral qualities of human nature slumber in complete inaction. The customs of Celtic tribes in Europe were remarkably the reverse of this. Men were themselves in a rude and barbarous condition, but such as it was, women were on the same level. Both sexes held consultation together in councils of state, and fought in battle with equal bravery. Among the Teutones, women were the only physicians. In Asia, there were always ten prophets to one prophetess. But Celtic nations believed that women were endowed with supernatural powers in a pre-eminent degree. Tacitus says: "The Germans suppose some divine and prophetic quality resident in their women, and are careful neither to disregard their admonitions nor neglect their answers." Strabo relates that the Cimbri were followed to war by venerable gray-haired prophetesses, barefooted, in white linen robes, fastened with clasps and girdles of brass. "These go with drawn swords through the camp, strike down the prisoners they meet, and drag them to a brazen kettle. The priestess ascends a platform above it, cuts the throat of the victim, and from the manner in which the blood flows into the vessel, she judges of future events. Others tear open the bodies of captives thus butchered, and from inspection of the entrails presage victory to their own party."

The Druids alone had power to determine whose blood would be most acceptable to the gods. They generally sacrificed captive enemies or convicted criminals; but sometimes innocent natives were chosen for that purpose,

and the dread of such a fate greatly increased the fear and reverence which the populace entertained toward priests and priestesses. In all cases where the life of a man was concerned, they supposed the deities could be appeased only by the life of a man. Thus, if one man had shed the blood of another, his own must be shed. If a man was in danger from desperate illness, or about to incur uncommon perils, they supposed the danger was incurred by sins, and that they might be atoned for by the sacrifice of another man. In such cases they made vows to the gods to sacrifice a human victim, if their own lives were spared; and such vows they were religiously bound to perform. Sometimes, to atone for national sins, or avert national calamities, they sacrificed whole hecatombs of human beings, as the Hindoos used to sacrifice a thousand horses at once, and the Greeks a hundred oxen. On such occasions, they made a huge image of basket-work, in the shape of a man, and filled it with men, women, and children. Then they surrounded it with combustibles, and they all perished in the flames. These victims were generally captives and criminals, who were sometimes reserved for several years, till an occasion occurred to offer them all together. The cruelty of this custom was softened to their own minds by a belief that victims offered to the gods were purified from all mortal stain by the process, and raised to an equality with superior natures.

It was the universal faith that all events happened according to unalterable laws of destiny, known only to the gods, and revealed by them to certain favoured mortals. They fully believed that criminals could be detected by subjecting suspected persons to ordeals, such as walking on red-hot metals, or plunging the arm into boiling oil. If they were guiltless, people believed that Good Spirits would interfere for their protection, and they would escape unharmed. Earthquakes, tempests, and other convulsions of nature, were supposed to be occasioned by the death of some great man.

Their morality was rather of an external character, but

extremely strict in its laws. Bravery was the crowning virtue in men, and chastity in women. A high proud sense of personal honour was the restraining principle in both. Licentiousness was much detested, and of rare occurrence. Heroes, who died fighting for their country, were perfectly certain of passing at once into a paradise of eternal joy, whatever might be their character in other respects. This belief inspired men with wild and furious courage, and a reckless contempt of death. They gave strong proof of faith in a future existence; for they frequently loaned money on a solemn promise that it should be repaid to them in another world. It was likewise common to put letters in the hands of the dead, with the fullest belief that they would deliver them to departed souls, according to direction. If people killed themselves, from a wish to accompany deceased friends, it was supposed that their souls would dwell together.

Druids had the Persian feeling concerning statues. They never represented the gods by images. Their religious ceremonies were performed in consecrated caverns and groves of the forest. They supposed such dark and solemn places were the favourite resort of powerful spirits, from whom oracular communications could be obtained by the performance of appropriate rites. Military standards were kept in the hallowed recesses of these sacred caverns. When the Druids delivered them to warriors going to battle, they pronounced terrible imprecations on the heads of their enemies, devoting them all as victims to Tuisco, god of war. The consecrated groves were approached with religious awe. Men would have been terrified with fears of vengeance from offended deities, if they had cut down one of the trees, even by mistake. They hung them with garlands and trophies, and the remains of victims that had been offered. On altars among the trees were placed oblations of fruit, grain, and flowers; and through thickly interwoven boughs rose the smoke of burnt-offerings; of men and animals sacrificed to propitiate the gods.

Celtic nations adopted some of the Roman deities, after

they became a portion of that empire; but they worshipped them according to their ancient fashion, in caverns, or groves, or on huge altars of stone reared in the open plain. Many vestiges of these old Druidical monuments remain in France and England. On the island of Anglesea are the ruins of a temple, that enclosed twenty-two acres; and a single one of the stones, when broken in pieces, made twenty cart-loads. The famous ruins at Stonehenge, in England, are supposed to have been an ancient Temple of the Sun. The masses of stone are so immense, that the neighbouring peasantry to this day believe they must have been brought together by agency of the devil. In some places, rocks of prodigious size are poised on small ones, in such a manner that they can be easily put in motion, though the strength of a giant could not destroy their balance. There were but few temples erected for this worship, and some of them are said to have resembled those of Hindostan. Another proof of the Asiatic origin of these tribes is found in the fact that the ancient language of Germany, called Teutonic, bears a very strong resemblance to Sanscrit.

In the century preceding the Christian era, Roman emperors abolished human sacrifices among these people, and deprived the Druids of power, on account of their dangerous political influence.

J E W S.

JEHOVAH ! shapeless Power above all powers,
 Single and one, the omnipresent God,
 By vocal utterance, or blaze of light,
 Or cloud of darkness, localized in heaven ;
 On earth enshrined within the wandering Ark ;
 Or out of Zion thundering from his throne
 Between the Cherubim.

WORDSWORTH.

THE history of the Jews commences with Abraham, their most celebrated patriarch, the tenth generation from Noah. It is supposed he was born in Chaldea, about two thousand years before Christ. He was doubtless educated in the planetary worship of the Chaldeans, and accustomed to adore the images by which they represented the Spirits of sun and stars. Joshua, addressing the tribes of Israel, long after Abraham's day, says: "Your fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood [the river Euphrates] in old time; even Terah, the father of Abraham, and the father of Nahor; and they served other gods." The Greek historian, Suidas, asserts that Terah was a statuary, and made images of the gods for sale. Among the traditions of Jewish Rabbis, it is recorded that Terah, having occasion to take a journey, left his business in the care of Abraham. A man, who came in, apparently to purchase, asked Abraham how old he was. He replied: "I am fifty." "Yet you worship an image made but yesterday!" rejoined the stranger. These bold words made a deep impression upon Abraham. Some time after, a woman brought flour as an offering to the gods; but Abraham, instead of presenting the oblation, placed a hatchet in the hands of the largest

image, and broke all the others in pieces. When his father returned and asked the meaning of this destruction, he replied that the gods had quarrelled which should have an oblation of flour, and the strongest one had destroyed the others. "You are bantering," said Terah; "for images have not sense to do that." "Say you so?" rejoined Abraham; "then how absurd it is to worship them!"

The same traditions declare that Abraham was persecuted by the Chaldean government, on account of his infidelity concerning the popular gods; that he was condemned to pass through fire, but escaped from the ordeal unharmed. Terah afterward removed to Haran, in Mesopotamia, accompanied by children and grandchildren. Abraham was then seventy years old. According to Josephus, historian of the Jews, "he was a person of great sagacity, both for understanding all things, and persuading his hearers; and not mistaken in his opinions. For which reason he began to have higher notions of virtue than others had, and he determined to renew and to change the opinion all men had concerning God. He was the first who ventured to publish the idea that there was but One God, the Creator of the universe; that as to other gods, if they contributed anything to the happiness of men, they each afforded it according to His appointment, and not by their own power. His opinion was derived from the irregular phenomena visible both at land and sea, as well as those that happen to the sun, moon, and all the heavenly bodies. If, said he, these bodies have power of their own, they would certainly take care of their own regular motions; but since they do not preserve such regularity, they make it plain that, so far as they co-operate to our advantage, they do it not of their own abilities, but as they are subservient to Him, who commands them, to whom alone we ought to offer honour and thanksgiving. For which doctrine, when the Chaldeans, and other people of Mesopotamia, raised a tumult against him, he thought fit to leave that country, and at the command, and by the assistance of God, he came and lived in the land of Canaan." Nahor, his brother, remained with

his family in Mesopotamia, and his descendants adhered to the worship of images.

Josephus says: "After this, when famine invaded the land of Canaan, and Abraham had discovered the Egyptians were in a flourishing condition, he was disposed to go down to them, both to partake of the plenty they enjoyed, and to become an auditor of their priests, to know what they said concerning the gods; designing either to follow them, if they had better notions than he, or to convert them into a better way, if his own notions proved the truest." He conversed with the most learned among the Egyptians, and conferred with various sects, by whom "he was admired as a very wise man, and one of very great sagacity."

Among ancient nations and tribes, it was a general custom to marry very near relatives, with a view to sustain particular families, by strengthening the bond between them. According to the testimony of Josephus, Abraham married his own niece; but in Genesis he himself is recorded as saying: "She is my sister; the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife." We are told he returned from Egypt "with sheep and oxen, he-asses and she-asses, men-servants and maid-servants." Sarah, his wife, being childless, requested him to take one of these bondwomen for a concubine. Her name was Hagar, which signifies a stranger. She bore Abraham a son, and they called his name Ishmael. Sarah at first loved the child, as if it were her own; but when she herself gave birth to a son, she became jealous of the older boy, and dealt hardly with his mother. She said to her husband: "Cast out this bondwoman and her son; for the son of this bondwoman shall not be heir with my son, even with Isaac." Hebrew Scriptures inform us that "the thing was very grievous in Abraham's sight, because of his son. But God said, Hearken unto the voice of Sarah in all she has said unto thee." So the poor stranger from a foreign land was sent forth with her child into the wilderness, where they came

near perishing with thirst. After Sarah's death, Abraham married Keturah, by whom he had sons. That he likewise had descendants from mothers whose names are not mentioned, is implied by the record in Genesis: "Abraham gave all that he had unto Isaac. Unto the sons of the concubines, which Abraham had, he gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son, unto the east country, while he was yet alive."

Little is known concerning the religious views of Abraham, except his belief in one Supreme God. Faith in subordinate Spirits is implied by the frequent mention of angels. In Hebrew, the word angel simply means a messenger. The young men who ate bread and veal in Abraham's tent, and seized Lot by the hand to hurry him away from Sodom, appear by their proceedings to have been mortal messengers; but Josephus calls them "angels of God." When Hagar and Ishmael were perishing in the wilderness, it is said "the angel of God called to her out of heaven;" and when she raised her eyes, she perceived a fountain. On several occasions, we are told that "the angel of God called to Abraham out of heaven." God himself is represented as talking familiarly with him. That he appeared in some visible form, seems to be implied by the words: "And God left off talking with him and went up from Abraham."

Wherever Abraham sojourned, he erected an altar and sacrificed to the Lord. A heifer, a ram, a goat, a turtle-dove, and a young pigeon, are mentioned among his offerings. It was a prevailing opinion with ancient nations, that human sacrifices were acceptable to the deities, and of higher value than the sacrifice of animals. That Abraham admitted such an idea, is implied by his belief that the Divine Being required him to sacrifice his gentle and virtuous son Isaac, then twenty-five years old. Hebrew Sacred Writings, as they have come down to us, merely state that "God did tempt Abraham, and said, Take now thy son, thine only son Isaac, whom thou lovest, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains I will

tell thee of." But when all was in readiness, the angel of the Lord called to him out of heaven, to say that his willingness was a sufficient proof of his obedient faith. "And Abraham, lifting up his eyes, saw a ram caught in the thicket by his horns; and he offered him up for a burnt-offering instead of his son." Josephus gives a more amplified account of the transaction. He says: "God being desirous to make an experiment of Abraham's religious disposition toward himself, appeared to him, and enumerated all the blessings he had bestowed on him; how he had made him superior to all his enemies, and that his son Isaac, who was a principal part of his present happiness, was derived from him; and he said he required this son of his as a sacrifice and holy oblation. Accordingly, he commanded him to carry him to Mount Moriah, build an altar, and offer him for a burnt-offering upon it. Abraham, who thought it was not right to disobey God in anything, prepared to follow the injunction. When it became necessary to make his intentions known to the unconscious victim, he said: 'O my son, I poured out a vast number of prayers that I might have thee; and when thou wast come into the world, I was greatly solicitous for everything that could contribute to thy support. There was nothing wherein I thought myself happier than to see thee grown up to man's estate, that I might leave thee successor to my dominions. It was by God's will that I became thy father, and since it is now his will that I should relinquish thee, bear this consecration to God with a generous mind. I resign thee up to God, who has thought fit to require this testimony of honour to himself, on account of the favours he has conferred on me, in being to me a supporter and defender. Accordingly, thou, my son, will now die, not in any common way of going out of the world, but sent beforehand to God, the Father of all men, by thy own father, in the nature of a sacrifice. I suppose he thinks thee worthy to get clear of this world, not by disease, or war, or any of the severe modes by which death usually comes upon men; but he will receive

thy soul with prayers and holy offices of religion, and will place thee near to himself, and thou wilt there be to me a succour and support to my old age, on which account I principally brought thee up, and will thereby procure me God for my comforter, instead of thyself.' Isaac replied that he was not worthy to be born at first, if he should oppose the will of God and his father; since it would have been wrong not to obey even his father alone, if he had so resolved. So he went immediately to the altar to be sacrificed. But God called loudly to Abraham by name, and forbade him to slay his son; saying he was satisfied by the surprising readiness he showed in this his piety, and was now delighted that he had bestowed so many blessings upon him. He foretold also that his family should increase into many nations; that those patriarchs should obtain possession of the land of Canaan, be envied by all men, and leave behind them an everlasting name. When God had said this, he produced a ram for the sacrifice, which did not appear before."

The common idea of the sacredness of groves seems to have been inherited by Abraham; for we are told that "at Beersheba he planted a grove, and called there on the name of the Lord, the everlasting God." Of the rite of circumcision no mention is made until twenty-four years after his visit to Egypt, and fourteen years after he had taken an Egyptian concubine. Hebrew Scriptures inform us that when her child was thirteen years old, and Abraham was ninety-nine, "God made a covenant with him, saying, Every male child among you shall be circumcised;" and the rite was accordingly performed on Abraham and all his household.

Jewish traditions say the soul of Adam passed into Abraham; the same soul afterward inhabited the form of king David; and it will again animate the Messiah, whom they expect. Some Rabbis relate that the mere sight of a precious stone hung about Abraham's neck, cured all manner of diseases; and after his death, God hung that jewel on the sun.

Abraham was the first who was called a Hebrew, from Hibri, meaning beyond the Euphrates. Some derive the appellation from Heber, one of the ancestors of Abraham; but this is probably erroneous.

In the times of Isaac and Jacob, the Hebrews were merely one nomadic family of herdsmen and hunters. The oldest in every family performed their simple religious ceremonies; for as yet they had no priesthood. Isaac and Jacob both married descendants of Abraham's brother Nahor, who had remained in Mesopotamia when other members of the family departed for Canaan. The nature of their worship is indicated by the fact that when Rachel left her father's house, she stole his images of the gods. Similar ideas were doubtless mingled with the education of her children, who were men and women when Jacob removed to Bethel. Before he sacrificed to the God of Abraham on the altar he had erected there, "he said to his household, and to those that were with him, Put away the strange gods that are among you. And they gave unto Jacob all the strange gods that were in their hands, and he hid them under the oak."

The patriarchal modes of worship resembled those of all the nations round about. That ablution was practised before they performed religious ceremonies, is shown by Jacob's injunction to his household to make themselves clean and change their garments before they sacrificed to the Lord. Wherever they had a remarkable adventure, or a prophetic dream, they set up a pillar of stone, anointed it with oil, and "poured a drink-offering thereon." Altars were generally built on mountains or hills, where they sacrificed animals, or offered oblations of fruit and grain. Jacob vowed a place for worship called Bethel, which means God's house; and there he promised to pay tithes of all God should give him.

Angels are spoken of as appearing to the patriarchs not only in dreams, but visibly in waking moments. "Jacob went on his way, and the angels of God met him; and when Jacob saw them, he said, This is God's host." Jo-

sephus says: "Jacob meeting with an angel, wrestled with him; the angel beginning the struggle. But he prevailed over the angel, who used a voice and spake to him in words, exhorting him to be pleased with what had happened to him, and not to suppose the victory was a small one; for he had overcome a divine angel, and ought to esteem the victory a sign of great blessings that should come to him. He also commanded him to be called Israel, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies one that struggled with the divine angel. These promises were made at the prayer of Jacob; for when he perceived him to be the angel of God, he desired he would signify to him what should befall him hereafter. When the angel had said what is before related, he disappeared. Jacob was pleased with these things, and named the place Phaniel, which signifies the face of God. Now when he felt pain upon his broad sinew by this struggling, he abstained from eating that sinew afterward; and for his sake it is still not eaten by us." Hebrew Sacred Books relate the adventure more briefly. Jacob remarks: "I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved;" which implies a belief that he had wrestled with God himself. The ancient idea that a spirit of prophecy descends on souls about to quit this world, seems to have existed here also; for Jacob on his death-bed foretold the destiny of all his sons. Blessing his grandchildren before he died, he said: "The God of Abraham and Isaac, the Angel which redeemed me from all evil, bless the lads." Some of the Jewish Rabbis, in their commentaries on this text, say their ancestor did not directly pray to angels, but invoked God through intermediate Spirits, as petitions are presented to the king through his ministers. Others say Jacob prayed to God for blessings, and to the Angel to avert evils.

God is represented as saying to Moses: "I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, as Elshaddai; but by my name Jehovah was I not known unto them. Elshaddai is translated the Almighty God. From the few fragments of history which have come down to us, it is not possible to ascertain clearly what ideas of the Divine

Being were entertained by these wandering patriarchs. Reverence for the supernatural, which covered ancient Hindostan with altars, filled Egypt with temples, and sent up incense from all the Grecian hills, inspired them also with faith in spiritual agencies, prompted them to offer to God the first-fruits of their fields and flocks, and mingled religious observances with all the events of life. Their moral perceptions were influenced by the rudeness of the age in which they lived; and the same remark applies to the founders of all ancient nations. Hebrew records describe them as men of God; but they also tell us that they quarrelled about their flocks and herds, and resorted to many tricks and falsehoods. Abraham, to ensure his own safety, represented his wife as his sister, and by so doing brought "great plagues on Pharaoh and his house." While Esau had gone out hunting to bring venison for his aged father, Jacob disguised himself in Esau's clothes, and made his hands hairy, in order to obtain the blessing intended for his elder brother. And when the blind old man inquired how he had obtained venison so quickly, he had the hardihood to answer: "Because the Lord thy God brought it to me." While he served Laban, we are told he artfully managed to have all the strong cattle of such a colour as Laban had promised to him for wages; but, in conversation with his wives, he devoutly ascribed it all to God: "If your father said, The speckled shall be thy wages, then all the cattle bare speckled. If he said, The ring-straked shall be thy hire, then all the cattle bare ring-straked. Thus God hath taken away the cattle of your father and given them to me." Josephus informs us that "Jacob was envied and admired for his virtuous sons." But we find eight of them conspiring to murder their younger brother, and dissuaded from their cruel purpose only by the suggestion of one of them to sell him into slavery. Reuben was guilty of dishonourable conduct with his father's concubine. Judah ordered his son's widow to be put to death for incontinence, and was induced to recall the sentence only because she proved to him that he was himself the

father of her child. Shechem, the son of a neighbouring chieftain, in a sudden fit of amorous passion, took Jacob's daughter to himself without asking the consent of relatives, or offering the customary purchase-money. He afterward sought to atone for his too violent love, by offering marriage, and whatever dowry her friends required. Her brothers replied that such a marriage would be impossible, unless he and all his tribe consented to be circumcised, according to the custom of the Hebrews. The ardent young chieftain agreed to these hard terms; but when they had been fully complied with, Jacob's sons slew him and all his people, seized all their possessions, and carried their wives and little ones into captivity.

The sale of Joseph by his brethren was the first circumstance that brought the posterity of Israel into close connection with Egypt. By his skill in the interpretation of dreams, Joseph rose high in favour with one of the Pharaohs, who named him Psathom Phanec, which signifies the revealer of secrets, and subsequently invited his relatives to reside in a district of his kingdom. How far he assumed the customs of his adopted country, we are not informed. That he did so in some degree, is implied by the fact that he married an Egyptian wife of high rank, daughter of Poti-pherah, priest of On, which Greeks called Heliopolis. That he practised the magical rites then in vogue, is shown by his describing the cup found in Benjamin's sack, as "the cup whereby he divined." When he died, his body was embalmed and buried by Egyptians; but it was afterward carried to the land of Canaan, according to a promise he had required of his brethren. Josephus says the posterity of Jacob remained in Egypt four hundred years. They dwelt apart, in a district assigned to them, because "shepherds were an abomination unto the Egyptians." But though they were a separate people, with a foreign language, the opinions and customs of others gradually mingled with their own, in the course of centuries.

Hebrew Sacred Books inform us that the Egyptians, in process of time, became jealous of the rapid increase of

Hebrews, and therefore ordered their male children to be put to death. Josephus gives an additional reason. He says: "One of the sacred scribes among the Egyptians, who were very sagacious in truly foretelling future events, told the king that about this time a child would be born to the Israelites, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low, and would raise the Israelites." This prediction so alarmed the monarch, that he ordered all their new-born sons to be drowned. Amram, grandson of Levi, was informed in a dream that a babe about to be born to him was the remarkable child predicted by the Egyptian prophet. When the boy came into the world, he was thrown into the river, according to the royal command; but he was carefully enclosed in a strongly woven basket, and his sister watched it as it floated down the stream. When the daughter of Pharaoh went with her attendants to bathe in the Nile, she saw the basket, and caused it to be brought to her. Struck with the uncommon beauty of the infant, she at once adopted him, and sent for a nurse. The babe naturally turned away from the breast of a stranger, and his sister Miriam made this a pretext for calling his own mother to nurse him. Pharaoh ratified his daughter's adoption, notwithstanding the alarm which Josephus says he felt concerning the prophecy. They bestowed on the foundling the name of Moses, from Egyptian words, signifying saved from the waters. This is supposed to have happened about one thousand six hundred years before our era.

Two sets of influences acted on the child thus rescued, and produced a character which has strongly marked itself on the history of the world. He was born a Hebrew, and his people, as herdsmen and labourers, belonged to a caste despised by the upper classes of Egypt. He was nursed by his own mother, and would naturally keep up a subsequent connection with his relatives. Under such circumstances, he could scarcely fail to hear the prophecies and exploits of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, told with all the exaggerating pride of family and clan,

which to this day marks the traditions of nomadic tribes. That sympathy for his people was kept wide awake within him, is manifest by the fact that at forty years old he slew an Egyptian because he saw him beating a Hebrew. But while the posterity of his ancestors were in the condition of ignorant slaves, he himself received the best instruction the world then afforded. Writers of his own nation thought they awarded him the highest intellectual praise when they declared "he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." From all sources there is concurrent testimony that Egypt was universally considered the fountain-head of wisdom and science. Knowledge was shut up from the common people, and monopolized by the priesthood, which included the royal family within itself. Moses, as the adopted son of the king, who was always inducted into the sacerdotal ranks before his inauguration, must necessarily have been educated by priests, and of course familiar with the secret doctrines taught at the solemnization of their Great Mysteries. From fitful gleams of light, which history throws on the subject, there is reason to suppose these Mysteries inculcated a belief in One Invisible God, whose attributes were merely symbolized by the numerous popular deities. Similar ideas would be instilled by his mother and Hebrew relatives, when they repeated Abraham's abhorrence of images, and traditionary prophecies that his descendants were destined to become a mighty nation under the especial guidance of the "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Thus trained in sympathy with his people, and educated far above their level, he was peculiarly prepared to be their leader; an office which he is supposed to have undertaken when he was about eighty years of age.

The only light we have concerning the departure of the Israelites from Egypt, is imparted by Hebrew Sacred Books and fragments of Manetho, an ancient historian of Egypt, as quoted by Josephus. The book of Exodus informs us that Pharaoh became jealous of their increasing numbers, lest in case of war they should join with his

enemies. This was a very natural fear, considering how much Egypt had suffered from the irruption of a Shepherd race from the East, and their consequent dread of wandering and predatory tribes; but it produced a policy so oppressive toward the Hebrews, that God commanded Moses to bring them out thence, and take possession of the promised land of Canaan; and when they went out, "a mixed multitude went with them."

Manetho, as quoted by Josephus, states that the provinces of Egypt rose against the Shepherd race, who had subjugated them. A long war ensued, which ended in the expulsion of the Shepherds. They were permitted "to depart from Egypt with all their families and effects, in number not less than two hundred and forty thousand, and bent their way through the desert toward Syria. But as they stood in fear of the Assyrians, who then had dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country which is now called Judea, of sufficient size to contain this multitude of men, and named it Jerusalem." Some suppose the name of Palestine to be derived from Pali-stan, the Land of the Pali, which means of Shepherds. Manetho goes on to say: "The king Amenophis was desirous of beholding the gods, as Orus, one of his predecessors in the kingdom, had seen them; and he communicated his desire to a priest, who seemed to partake of the divine nature, both in his wisdom and knowledge of futurity. He told the king that it was in his power to behold the gods, if he would cleanse the whole country of lepers, and other unclean persons that abounded in it. Well pleased with this information, the king gathered together out of Egypt all that laboured under any defect in body, to the amount of eighty thousand, and sent them to the quarries, which are situated on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them, and be separated from the rest of the Egyptians. Among them were some learned priests, who were affected with leprosy. The prophet, fearing the vengeance of the gods would fall both on himself and the king, if it should appear that violence had been offered to these priests,

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added, also in a prophetic spirit, that certain people would come to the assistance of these unclean persons, and would subdue Egypt, and hold it in possession thirteen years. He dared not communicate these tidings to the king, but left in writing what would come to pass, and then destroyed himself, at which the king was fearfully distressed. When those sent to work in the quarries had continued some time in that miserable state, the king was petitioned to set apart for their habitation and protection the city of Avaris, which had been left vacant by the Shepherds; and he granted their desire. But when they had taken possession of the city, and found it well adapted for a revolt, they appointed for themselves a ruler from among the priests of Heliopolis, one whose name was Osarsiph, and they bound themselves by oath that they would be obedient to him. Osarsiph, in the first place, enacted a law that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from those sacred animals which Egyptians held in veneration, but sacrifice and slay any of them; and that they should connect themselves with none but such as were of their own confederacy. When he had made such laws as these, and many others of a tendency directly in opposition to the customs of the Egyptians, he gave orders that they should employ the multitude of hands in rebuilding the walls about the city, and hold themselves in readiness for war with Amenophis the king. He then took into his counsels some others of the priests and unclean persons, and sent ambassadors to Jerusalem, to those Shepherds who had been expelled by king Tethmosis. He informed them of the position of affairs, and requested them to come up unanimously to his assistance in this war with Egypt. He promised to provide a plentiful maintenance for their host, and reinstate them in their ancient city Avaris, assuring them that he could easily reduce the country and bring it under their dominion. The Shepherds received this message with great joy, and quickly mustered to the number of two hundred thousand men, and came up to Avaris." The king of Egypt retreated

into Ethiopia, fearing the vengeance of the gods if he attacked the lepers, on account of the sacredness of the priests, who were among them. "When these people from Jerusalem had come down, with the unclean of the Egyptians, they treated the inhabitants with such barbarity, that those who witnessed their impieties believed their joint sway was more execrable than that which the Shepherds had formerly exercised alone. For they not only set fire to the cities and villages, but committed every kind of sacrilege, destroyed the images of the gods, and roasted and fed upon those sacred animals that were worshipped; and having compelled the priests and prophets to kill and sacrifice them, they cast them naked out of the country. It is said that the priest who ordained their polity and laws was by birth of Heliopolis, and his name Osarsiph, from Osiris, the god of Heliopolis; but when he went over to these people his name was changed, and he was called Moses. After this, Amenophis and Rampses his son came with a great force, and encountering the Shepherds and the unclean people, they defeated them, and slew multitudes, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria." Such is the Egyptian version of the story, and Josephus quotes it to prove that his ancestors were descended from the Shepherd kings.

Whether Moses ever was an Egyptian priest, it is now impossible to ascertain. But it seems likely that the Israelites departed from Egypt about thirty years after Cecrops left the same country, to found the city of Athens. A man called Moses bound them together by laws, which gave a new impress to their character, and strongly influenced the whole of their future destiny. These laws are in many respects obvious copies of what he had learned in Egypt; but he infused some elevated ideas, greatly in advance of his time; ideas which dawned upon his soul by the same divine influence which in all ages and all nations has guided every human being who has been enabled to help the world forward even one single step in its slow progress. All surrounding nations had adopted some of

the subordinate Spirits for their especial guardians, while priests, or philosophers, taught among themselves the secret doctrine of One Invisible God. Moses declared to the Hebrews that the One Supreme God was *their* tutelary deity; their peculiar guardian and friend, and the sworn enemy of all *their* enemies. He was wiser and stronger than any of the gods who protected other nations; however powerful those deities might be, he ruled over them all; and therefore the people whom he had chosen for his own would rule over other nations, if they obeyed him. He himself chose their ancestor Abraham to be the founder of a great nation. He himself had spoken to the Patriarchs with his own voice, and guided them in every step of their wanderings; he had appeared to them visibly, and in dreams, and had pledged his word that their posterity should possess the land of Canaan. Again and again Moses repeated: "Thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God. The Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all the nations that are upon the earth." In the name of the Lord he prophesied: "Thou shalt lend unto many nations, but thou shalt not borrow; and thou shalt rule over many nations, but they shall not reign over thee." Such were the doctrines and promises which fired the zeal and concentrated the energies of the Hebrews, and at the same time produced an exaggerated estimate of their own importance.

But though one undivided object of worship was presented, instead of a multitude of deities, the ritual prescribed by Moses bore very strong resemblance to the Egyptian models, with which his mind had been long familiar. When the people inquired the name of the great God who had chosen them, he told them it was Jehovah; a word which contains the present, past, and future tenses of the Hebrew verb to be; and therefore signifies I am, was, and will be. On a very ancient temple in Egypt has been found the inscription, "I am whatever is, was, and will be." Hebrews had such reverence for the name of Jehovah, that it was never uttered except by the High

Priest; and when the people heard it, they all fell prostrate to the ground. They never wrote it, but expressed it in their Sacred Books by a short mark, which they pronounced Adonai, meaning the Lord. The names of Egyptian deities were never written in the popular language of the country; they were always expressed by symbols; and even in their sacred language the names of some divinities were always written in one way, and pronounced in another. Hindoos had similar scruples concerning the name of Brahm.

Judges in Egypt, who were always priests, wore a breastplate ornamented with jewels, containing the images of two deities, Thmè, goddess of Truth or Justice, and Rà, god of the Sun, signifying Light, or Manifestation. The Urei, or Asps, were emblems of royalty in Egypt, and often affixed, in hieroglyphics, to the disc of the sun, because he was the king of planets. Moses ordained that Hebrew High Priests should wear a breastplate set with precious stones, and that the Urim and Thummim should be placed therein. There has been much controversy among commentators concerning the Urim and Thummim. The sun in Hebrew is Aur; plural, Aurim. Truth is Thmè; plural, Thmim. When learned Jews translated their Sacred Scriptures into Greek, they translated Urim and Thummim into Greek words signifying Manifestation and Truth. Philo, a learned Jew, informs us that the breastplate of their High Priest contained "images of the two Virtues, or Powers."

The portable temple, which Moses made in the form of a tent, and called the Tabernacle, was constructed on the same principles as Egyptian temples. It faced the east; it had a tank of water for ablution; it had an outer enclosure, another within, called the Sanctuary, or Holy, and another inmost, called Sanctum Sanctorum, or Holy of Holies; veiled from the congregation by a gorgeous curtain of blue, purple, and scarlet. In the inmost sanctuary of Egyptian temples was a chest or shrine, surmounted by a sacred image, overshadowed by creatures with wings.

In the Sanctum Sanctorum of the Tabernacle was a chest, or ark, plated with gold, and overshadowed by the wings of cherubim, touching each other. There has been much discussion concerning these cherubim. Josephus says they were "flying animals, like to none which are seen by men, but such as Moses saw figured in the throne of God." Ezekiel, alluding to these emblems, describes the same face in one place as the face of an ox, and in another as the face of a cherub. The word cherub in Hebrew means to plough. It is now the general opinion of scholars that the Hebrew cherubim were creatures resembling the winged bulls, so common as sacred emblems in Chaldea and Egypt. The Hebrew Ark had rings, through which poles were slipped, that it might be carried on the shoulders of priests. In many of the religious processions sculptured in ancient Egyptian temples, priests are represented carrying their sacred shrine in the same manner.

Kings and priests in Egypt were anointed with sacred oil. Moses prepared fragrant oil, consecrated it, and laid it up in the Tabernacle to anoint the Hebrew priests. In Egypt, the High Priesthood descended in the same family; it was the same with the Hebrews. In Egypt, portions of land were set apart for the sacerdotal order, and the same provision was made for Hebrew priests. In both countries, the priests wore pure white linen, and performed many ablutions. In both countries, the government was a theocracy; everything being decided by oracles delivered to priests in the temple.

Egyptians welcomed the New Moon with religious ceremonies; so did the Hebrews. They had harvest festivals, during which they offered the first sheaves of their grain to Isis; Hebrews did the same in the service of Jehovah. Sculptures in Egypt, made long before the time of Moses, represent priests offering cakes, meal, wine, turtledoves, and young pigeons, to their gods; and precisely these oblations to Jehovah are prescribed by the Hebrew Law. Hindoos and Egyptians had an idea that the fumes of animal sacrifices were acceptable to the deities, and in some

sort necessary to them. In the Laws of Moses, burnt-offerings of animals are continually called "a sweet savour unto the Lord." Hindoos and Egyptians believed fragrance was peculiarly agreeable to divine beings; and Hebrews were commanded to wave incense before the Lord.

Egyptian priests, with solemn ceremonies, laid the sins of the nation on the head of a bullock, sacrificed the victim, and removed far from them the head, on which the sins were supposed to rest. Moses ordained that the sins of the priesthood should be laid on the head of a bullock, to be afterward sacrificed; and the sins of the people to be laid on the head of a goat, who was afterward thrown over a precipice, that he might carry the sins off with him. Both Hindoos and Egyptians attached peculiar sacredness to cows. The ashes of cow-dung, prepared with solemn ceremonies, is prescribed in the Vedas to be mixed with water as an appropriate purification to keep away the Spirits of Death. Moses commanded the children of Israel to burn a red heifer, "skin, flesh, blood, and dung." The ashes thus obtained was gathered up, and kept for purposes of purification. The priest mixed it with water, and sprinkled it with a bunch of hyssop upon whoever had touched a human bone, or a grave, or a dead body, or had entered a tent where a corpse was lying.

From time immemorial it has been the custom for travelling parties in Hindostan to take with them a pole with the image of a serpent wreathed round it. Serpents of brass and serpents of silver abounded in Egyptian temples, and were mysteriously connected with their ideas of the healing art. From them Greeks learned to attach similar medical importance to the serpent; and the emblem of their Æsculapius, god of medicine, was a serpent wreathed round a pole. Hebrew Sacred Books tell us that Moses made a serpent of brass and put it upon a pole; "and it came to pass that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived."

Egyptians had great abhorrence of swine, and considered the flesh unclean above all other food. Priests purified themselves with religious ceremonies if they touched the beast, even accidentally; for it was the common belief that Evil Spirits were peculiarly prone to take up their abode in them. Moses said to the children of Israel: "The flesh of swine shall ye not eat, and their carcass shall ye not touch; they are unclean to you." If they happened to touch one, they went through ceremonies of purification before they ventured to approach any sacred place.

Why Moses was not circumcised, being a descendant of Abraham, and adopted by Egyptians in infancy, is not explained; but the fact is implied by his saying to the Lord: "Behold I am of uncircumcised lips; how then shall Pharaoh hearken unto me?" The question plainly indicates that the rite was deemed of importance by the Egyptians. While Moses dwelt with Jethro, priest of Midian, he seems to have neglected the circumcision of his son. But when he was about to return to Egypt, the rite was performed, though Zipporah, his wife, appeared averse to the custom.

Hindoos and Egyptians, being ignorant of the fact that rain is caused by continued exhalations from the earth and ocean, supposed that there was a great reservoir of waters above the sky. That Hebrews entertained the same idea, is shown by their statement that when Jehovah created the world, "he divided the waters which were under the firmament from the waters which were above the firmament."

Many more points of resemblance would doubtless become obvious, if Egyptian records had come down to us as fully as the Hebrew. But Moses took some very important steps in advance of the country where he was educated. The descendants of his ancestor Levi were ordained a line of hereditary priests; and the family of his brother Aaron was instituted a perpetual order of High Priests. But with this exception, he did not divide the people into castes. Egyptian priests kept the higher por-

tions of their religion as mysteries carefully concealed from the populace. But the religion taught by Moses was equally open to all classes. In the name of the Lord, he announced to all the Hebrews: "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, a holy nation." When one ran and told him that two men were prophesying in the camp, he nobly replied: "Enviest thou for my sake? Would God that *all* the Lord's people were prophets, and that the Lord would put his spirit upon them." Some of the Levites took advantage of this equalizing doctrine, and said to Moses and Aaron: "Ye take too much upon you, seeing *all* the congregation are holy, every one of them, and the Lord is among them." Nevertheless, a line of separation was, to some extent, established between the initiated few and the rude tribes they governed. Moses and Aaron, and all the succeeding series of High Priests, are represented as in possession of some means of direct communication with Heaven, unknown to the common people, and carefully preserved from them.

The greatest step in advance was the idea of God as an Invisible Being, never to be represented by any image or symbol. There is much reason to suppose that enlightened Egyptians also believed in One All Including Being, from whom Amun and the other deities emanated. But their Supreme Cause was probably a mere abstraction, like the Hindoo Brahm, and the Persian Zeruâné Akeréné. And even that metaphysical idea was known to the priests only, while the multitude were left to worship cats and dogs, bulls and crocodiles. Moses, on the contrary, represented the One Invisible God as living in the midst of the people, sustaining, protecting, rewarding, and punishing them. In most contemporary nations, the division of the gods into masculine and feminine, had led to many gross ideas and licentious practices in religious ceremonies. There were no traces of such in the teachings of the Hebrew law-giver; and the consequence was a much higher and purer worship than belonged to any of the surrounding nations. But their ideas of God were not sufficiently elevated for

them to imagine him above *all* human passions. Anger, jealousy, and revenge, are perpetually imputed to him. Of a Hebrew who offered any homage to the gods of other nations, it was said: "The Lord will not spare him; but the anger of the Lord, and his jealousy, shall smoke against that man." And God said: "If thou afflict any widow, or fatherless child, my wrath shall wax hot, and I will kill you with the sword." It was common, in describing offenders, to say: "The Lord rooted them out in anger, and wrath, and great indignation." Sometimes he is represented as changeable of purpose, repenting of the evil he had done, or intended to do. When the golden calf was made, the Lord said unto Moses: "Behold it is a stiff-necked people; now, therefore, let me alone that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them. And Moses besought the Lord his God, and said, Lord, why doth thy wrath wax hot against thy people, which thou hast brought forth out of the land of Egypt? Wherefore should the Egyptians say, For mischief did he bring them out, to slay them in the mountains, and consume them from the face of the earth? Turn from thy fierce wrath, and repent of this evil against thy people. Remember Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, thy servants, to whom thou swarest by thine own self, I will multiply thy seed as the stars of heaven, and all this land will I give unto your seed, and they shall inherit it forever. And the Lord repented of the evil which he thought to do unto his people." When the children of Israel murmured in the wilderness, "the Lord said unto Moses, How long will this people provoke me? I will smite them with the pestilence, and disinherit them. And Moses said unto the Lord, Then the Egyptians shall hear of it, and they will tell it to the inhabitants of this land. They have heard that thou Lord art among this people, that thou art seen face to face, that thou goest before them by day in a pillar of cloud, and in a pillar of fire by night. Now if thou shalt kill all this people, then the nations which have heard of thee will say, Because the Lord was not able to

bring this people into the land which he swore unto them, therefore he hath slain them in the wilderness. I beseech thee pardon the iniquity of this people, according unto the greatness of thy mercy. And the Lord said, I have pardoned, according to thy word." The commands and actions attributed to God constantly manifest the same tendency to judge of the Supreme Being as if he were like unto themselves. He is represented as commanding them to "buy bondmen and bondwomen of the heathen round about. They shall be your bondmen forever. And if a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished; for he is his money."

"Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling."

"Of the cities of these people, which the Lord thy God doth give thee for an inheritance, thou shalt save alive nothing that breatheth. Thou shalt utterly destroy them."

"If a man cause a blemish in his neighbour, as he hath done so shall it be done unto him. He that killeth a man, he shall be put death. Breach for breach, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe; as he hath done, so shall it be done unto him again."

While the children of Israel were dwelling in the vicinity of Moabites, they were invited to attend some of the festivals of the gods of Moab. They consented, "and did eat, and bowed down to their gods." "And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel; and he said unto Moses, Take all the heads of the people and hang them up before the Lord against the sun, that the fierce anger of the Lord may be turned away from Israel."

Concerning those who were drawn toward other modes of worship than the Hebrew, the Lord commanded: "If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son, or thy

daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend, which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, saying, Let us go and serve other gods; thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him; neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare, neither shalt thou conceal him. But thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death, and afterward the hand of all the people. And thou shalt stone him with stones, that he die."

While the children of Israel were in the wilderness, they found a man that gathered sticks upon the Sabbath day. "And the Lord said unto Moses, The man shall surely be put to death. All the congregation shall stone him with stones without the camp. And all the congregation brought him without the camp, and stoned him with stones, and he died."

The remarkable familiarity with God which characterized patriarchal times, is likewise conspicuous in the history of Moses. Hebrew Scriptures declare that "the Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend." On one occasion, Moses and Aaron, and seventy of the elders of Israel, went up unto the Lord. "And they saw the God of Israel: and there was under his feet as it were a paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness. And upon the nobles of the children of Israel he laid not his hand; also they saw God, and did eat and drink." On another occasion, Moses said unto the Lord: "I beseech thee show me thy glory. And the Lord said, Thou canst not see my face; for there shall no man see me and live. Behold there is a place by me, and thou shalt stand upon a rock, and I will cover thee with my hand as I pass by; and I will take away mine hand, and thou shalt see my back parts; but my face shall not be seen."

Among all ancient nations, mountains were venerated, partly owing to the awful majesty they imparted to scenery, and partly from a conviction that the higher the earth ascended, the nearer it approached the residence of

divine beings, and the more certainty was there that they would hear the invocations and prayers of mortals. Hence we find anchorites and prophets of all lands had the custom of ascending mountains, in order to receive spiritual communications. Moses went up Mount Sinai and remained forty days in the midst of its awful solitudes, to inquire of God what laws he should give the Israelites; and the people were told to tarry for him in the valley below. During this interview, as related in Hebrew Sacred Books, he received ten commandments graven on stone. "And the tables were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God." Not only the moral precepts and the civil code, but all the ceremonies, and minutest practical details, rules for weaving cloth, for trimming the hair and beard, the length and breadth of the Ark, fringes on the priests' garments, the number of branches on the golden candlestick, and the number of knobs on each branch, were all prescribed by God, in familiar conversation with Moses. When envy was excited because Moses held the office of Lawgiver, and his brother Aaron that of High Priest, the Lord gave Moses special directions how to act in this emergency. He commanded that the chief of each of the twelve tribes should bring a branch of almond tree to Moses, who was instructed to write every man's name on his branch, and deposit them all in the Tabernacle. And the Lord promised to show the people whom he had chosen for the priest, by causing his branch to blossom during the night. Accordingly, in the morning, the branch which Aaron had brought for the tribe of Levi was covered with buds, blossoms, and fruit; and by this miracle the family of Aaron became an hereditary priesthood during the national existence of the Hebrews.

In some cases, the divine commands are represented of a contradictory character; as when God commanded the Israelites to borrow ear-rings and other jewels of the Egyptians, and carry them away, though He had previously commanded them not to steal.

On one important occasion, the Hebrew lawgiver acted upon the suggestion of Jethro, his father-in-law, and no mention is made that either of them took counsel of God. Jethro, seeing Moses wearied with settling the innumerable cases brought before him from morning till night, advised him to choose elders from among the people to settle minor questions. Moses acted upon his suggestion, and appointed seventy elders, called the Sanhedrim.

Trial by ordeal was prescribed in the law of Moses, as it was in the Hindoo, and other ancient codes. If a man was jealous of his wife and wished to test her innocence, it was ordained that he should bring her to the priest, who took "holy water in an earthen vessel, and put into the water dust from the floor of the Tabernacle." He then administered an oath to the woman, and solemnly pronounced curses upon her, if she said she was guiltless, and swore falsely. He wrote the curses and blotted them out with the water, and then gave it to the accused to drink. "And the Lord said to Moses, When he hath made her drink the water, then it shall come to pass that if she have done trespass against her husband, the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her and become bitter, and her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall rot; and the woman shall be a curse among her people."

One passage in the Mosaic dispensation appears like a recognition of human sacrifices. It is as follows: "No devoted thing, that a man shall devote unto the Lord of all that he hath, both of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed. Every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord. None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed: but shall surely be put to death." Jephthah burnt his daughter as a sacrifice to the Lord; but there is no record that Moses sanctioned such a practice, or that it prevailed among the Hebrews at any period; unless the slaughter commanded by Moses, as atonement for worshipping the golden calf, be considered as a human sacrifice. He ordered the sons of Levi to "put every man his sword by

his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour. And the children of Levi did according to the word of Moses; and there fell of the people about three thousand men. For Moses had said, Consecrate yourselves to-day to the Lord, even every man upon his son, and upon his brother; that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day." The first-born of all cattle were set apart to be sacrificed to the Lord; but the first-born of human beings were redeemed by consecrating an equal number of men to the religious services of the Tabernacle. This substitution was the origin of the order of Levites. Moses counted the whole tribe of Levi, and then counted all the first-born of the Israelites, from a month old and upward. The first-born of the people exceeded the tribe of Levi, by two hundred and seventy-three; and these were redeemed by paying five shekels each to the priests. The same sum continued ever after to be paid for all first-born children. All the tribe of Levi were consecrated to the service of God; and this was considered in the light of an atoning sacrifice for the sins of the whole people. But as they were not put to death, and as it was supposed God required blood for atonement, two bullocks were sacrificed in their stead. The Levites laid their hands upon the heads of these victims, that the sins, which the whole nation laid upon the tribe of Levi, might be transferred to the beasts, whose blood was shed as an expiation. God said to Moses: "The life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls; for it is the blood that maketh atonement for the soul."

In the writings ascribed to Moses, nothing is said concerning the immortality of the soul, nor is there any record by which his opinions on that subject could be ascertained. The rewards promised to the Israelites, and the punishments threatened, are altogether of a temporal nature. It is declared that "God will visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth gen-

eration." "If thou shalt hearken diligently unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to observe and do all his commandments, the Lord shall make thee plenteous in goods, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattle, and in the fruit of thy ground. The Lord shall cause thine enemies that rise up against thee to be smitten before thy face: they shall come out against thee one way, and flee before thee seven ways. Thou shalt lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow. And the Lord shall make thee the head, and not the tail. But if thou wilt not hearken unto the Lord thy God, to observe and do all his commandments and statutes, cursed shall be thy basket and thy store. Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, and the fruit of thy land, the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep. The Lord will smite thee with consumption, and fever, and inflammation, and extreme burning, and with the sword, and with blasting, and mildew. And the Lord shall cause thee to be smitten before thy enemies: thou shalt go out one way against them, and flee seven ways before them. The Lord will smite thee with the botch of Egypt, with the emerods, with the scab, and with the itch, whereof thou canst not be healed. The Lord shall smite thee with madness, and blindness, and astonishment of heart. Also every sickness, and every plague, which is not written in the book of this Law, them will the Lord bring upon thee, until thou be destroyed. As the Lord rejoiced over you to do you good, and to multiply you, so the Lord will rejoice over you to destroy you, and to bring you to naught."

That the policy of Moses was illiberal toward foreigners, is to be attributed to the circumstances in which he was placed. He appears to have been a wise and far-sighted man, greatly in advance of the age in which he lived; but he had to deal with ignorant and barbarous tribes, incapable of appreciating his motives, or understanding the high destiny marked out for them. All the energies of his great soul were employed to form them into a distinct nation, and raise their religious ideas above the worship

of images. To promote these objects, it was necessary to forbid marriage with other nations and tribes, to inculcate detestation of their worship, to discourage commerce, to avoid foreign literature and the arts, with all of which the worship of images was intimately connected. In preserving themselves a distinct and peculiar people, the Hebrews necessarily became narrow and exclusive. In all their regulations, there was a marked distinction between themselves and foreigners. At the end of every seven years, all debts due from one Hebrew to another were released; but debts due from a foreigner might be exacted. If a Hebrew became very poor, he might sell himself, and one of his own nation might buy him for a term of years; "not as a bondservant, but as an hired servant." At the end of every seven years he might go out free, if he wished, and the master was enjoined to supply him liberally with grain, wine, and flocks. The Lord said to Moses: "They shall not be sold as bondmen. Both thy bondmen and thy bondmaids shall be of the heathen that are round about you. Of the children of the strangers shall ye buy. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit them for a possession; they shall be your bondmen forever. But over your brethren the children of Israel ye shall not rule with rigour." Though it was not allowable for one Hebrew to sell another to a person of any other nation, a poor Hebrew might sell himself as a servant to a rich sojourner, who dwelt in the midst of them; but he had the privilege of being redeemed at any time, either by himself or his relatives. There were gleams of a kindly spirit even toward foreigners. Moses ordained: "If a stranger dwelleth with you in your land, ye shall not vex him. He shall be unto you as one born among you; and thou shalt love him as thyself; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt." In all that related to their own internal policy, great liberality is manifested. All the regulations tended to promote equal distribution, moderate abundance, respect for domestic institutions, and unstinted kindness to the poor.

If a man had built a new house and not dedicated it, or planted a vineyard and not eaten of it, or married a wife and not taken her home, he was not required to go forth with the tribes to battle, lest he should die without a taste of his promised happiness. To prevent the land from passing into the hands of strangers, or becoming accumulated in large estates belonging to a few of the wealthy, there was a great Jubilee appointed every seven times seven years. If any Hebrew had sold his estate, and been unable to redeem it, the land was returned to him, or his heirs, at the Jubilee. All Hebrews who were sold as servants, either to their own people, or to sojourners, became free at that joyful festival. The Lord said: "Thou shalt hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, and unto all the inhabitants thereof. Ye shall return every man unto his possessions, and unto his family." "The land shall not be sold for ever; for the land is mine, saith the Lord." "Thou shalt not make clean riddance of the corners of thy field, when thou reapest the harvest of thy land, neither shalt thou gather any gleanings of thy harvest. If thou hast forgot a sheaf in the field, thou shalt not go again to fetch it. Thou shalt leave them unto the poor and the stranger. When thou beatest thine olive tree, thou shalt not go over the boughs again; it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and for the widow. When thou gatherest the grapes of thy vineyard, thou shalt not glean it afterward; it shall be for the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow." In addition to these benevolent provisions for every year, a portion of the proceeds of every man's land was set apart for the poor every third year. Six "Cities of Refuge" were provided, where he who had killed a man might remain in safety, till the matter was fairly investigated by established tribunals. The purity of women was carefully guarded from such customs as contaminated the worship of many neighbouring countries. For these humane and equalizing regulations, for teaching the same religion to priests and people, and for holding up the doctrine of one Supreme

Being, in the midst of most discouraging obstacles, our gratitude and reverence are due to Moses. Deservedly he stands conspicuous among the agents, whom God has chosen in all ages, and from all nations, to bring the world gradually out of darkness into light.

After the death of Moses, Joshua led the people over Jordan, and conquered many of the tribes of Canaan. He taught the Israelites, as his predecessor had done, that they were the chosen agents of Jehovah, to exterminate idolaters and take possession of their lands. But tribes, who had cities and vineyards thus violently wrested from them by foreign invaders, naturally viewed the subject in another light. Procopius, a Greek historian, native of Cæsarea, in Palestine, supposed to have died six hundred and fifty years after our era, speaking of a nation in Libya, says: "They were the Gergesites, Gebusites, and other nations, who were driven out of Palestine, by Joshua the son of Nave." [Nun.] He testifies that he himself saw the following sentence, engraved in Phœnician characters, near a fountain in Libya: "We are they who fled from the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Nave." The author of Ecclesiasticus calls Joshua the "son of Nave," that being a change in the name by Jews who spoke Greek.

When Grecians represented their deities as conniving at falsehood, and assisting to break solemn treaties, their perfidy was sanctified to popular imagination, by its being always done in favour of the Greeks, who believed themselves especial favourites of the gods. In a similar spirit, Hebrews represented Jehovah as commanding his chosen people to steal from the Egyptians, and to kill by thousands, men, women, and infants, from whom they had received no injury; and when the bloody work was accomplished, they devoutly thanked the Lord, because he had given them "vineyards they had not planted, and harvests they had not sowed."

Hebrew Sacred Books declare that Joshua was "full of the spirit of wisdom; for Moses had laid his hands upon

him: and the children of Israel hearkened unto him, and did as the Lord commanded Moses." He also is said to have acted under the immediate and perpetual guidance of Deity. "After the death of Moses, it came to pass that Jehovah spake unto Joshua."

Concerning the rite of circumcision, we are told that "the Lord said unto Joshua, Make thee sharp knives and circumcise the children of Israel the second time. And this is the cause why Joshua did circumcise. All the people that came out of Egypt were circumcised, and they had all died in the wilderness by the way; but all those that were born in the wilderness they had not circumcised." The fact that Egyptians considered all uncircumcised men unclean, is implied in the record of this transaction; for after the rite had been performed on all the Hebrews, "the Lord said to Joshua, This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you."

The directions Joshua received from God are characterized by the same austerity as those to Moses. He was commanded to exterminate the Canaanites; "to destroy them utterly, and leave nothing to breathe." When one of the Hebrew soldiers concealed under his tent some gold and silver taken from images or temples, among the spoils of war, "the Lord commanded Joshua to burn him, and all that he had, with fire. So Joshua, and all Israel with him, took him, and his sons, and his daughters, and his oxen, and his asses, and his sheep, and his tents, and all that he had, and all Israel stoned them with stones, and burned them with fire, after they had stoned them with stones."

The Tabernacle had been carried with the Israelites in all their wanderings through the wilderness. Wherever it rested, there they pitched their tents; and whenever it moved, though in the middle of the night, they rose and followed it. This prompt obedience originated in their belief that it was God's house, where he actually dwelt; and that He himself went before them as a guide, in the form of a cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night.

Joshua brought the Tabernacle into the land of Canaan. Seven years it remained at Gilgal, guarded by a strong force, while the Israelites encamped there. When they went to battle, the Ark was taken out of it and carried before them, that the Lord might be always present with them, ready to be consulted in case of difficult emergencies. When Israel had more quiet possession of the land of Canaan, the Tabernacle was removed to Shiloh, and enclosed within walls. At Mount Ebal, Joshua built an altar of whole stones, and wrote on the stones a copy of the Law of Moses, and "read all the words before all the congregation of Israel, with the women and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them. And they offered upon the altar burnt-offerings, and sacrifices, and peace-offerings, to the Lord God of Israel."

The Hebrews, and "the mixed multitude" who, according to their Sacred Records, came up with them from Egypt, were so imbued with the customs of that country, that even Aaron consented to make a golden calf for them to worship, and himself erected an altar before it. Notwithstanding the severe edicts of Moses, and the efforts of Joshua to impress them on the minds of the people, they manifested in Canaan the same proneness to idolatry. Joshua found it necessary to assemble the tribes and earnestly remind them of the temporal blessings they had received from their tutelary God: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I brought your fathers out of Egypt. And I brought you into the land of the Amorites. And I sent the hornet before you, which drove them out before you, even the two kings of the Amorites; but not with thy sword, nor with thy bow. And I have given you a land for which ye did not labour, and cities which ye built not, and ye dwelt in them; of vineyards and olive yards, which ye planted not, do ye eat." And Joshua said: "Now therefore fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and truth; and put away the gods, which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, [the river Euphrates] and in Egypt. But if it seem evil to you to serve the

Lord, choose ye this day whom ye will serve; but as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord. And the people answered, The Lord our God brought our fathers out of the land of Egypt, and drove out from before us all the people, even the Amorites, which dwelt in the land; therefore will we serve the Lord. And Joshua said to the people, He is a jealous God; he will not forgive your transgressions nor your sins. If ye forsake him and serve strange gods, he will turn and do you hurt, and consume you, after that he hath done you good. Now therefore put away the strange gods that are among you, and incline your heart to the God of Israel. And the people said, We will serve the Lord our God, and his voice will we obey. And Joshua made a covenant with the people, and set them a statute and an ordinance, and wrote the words in the book of the Law of God, and took a great stone and set it up there under an oak, that was by the sanctuary of the Lord. And he said, This stone hath heard all the words of the Lord, which he spake unto us; it shall therefore be a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God."

Hebrew records declare that the very next generation of "the children of Israel forsook the Lord God of their fathers, and served Baal and Ashtaroth." The first is supposed to have been the Chaldean representative of the Sun, and the other the Syrian representative either of the Moon, or of the planet Venus. Wild and troubled times followed the death of Joshua. Israelites intermarried with neighbouring tribes, and "forgot the Lord their God, and served Baalim and the groves. Therefore the anger of the Lord waxed hot against Israel." The king of Mesopotamia conquered them, and they served him eight years before they were delivered out of his hand. Forty years after, the king of Moab conquered them, and they served him eighteen years. He was finally murdered by one of the tribe of Benjamin, and the Israelites had rest for eighty years. After that, they were conquered by the king of Canaan. At that period, Hebrews were governed by

judges; and it is a very remarkable feature in such unsettled times that "Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth, judged Israel." By pursuing her advice the king of Canaan was conquered, and "the land had rest forty years." Then the Midianites conquered Israel and kept them in subjection seven years, so that they were compelled to "hide in dens in the mountains." In their distress, they cried unto the Lord, and a prophet named Gideon rose up to remind them of the God who brought their fathers out of Egypt. "The Lord said unto Gideon, Throw down the altar of Baal, which thy father hath, and cut down the grove that is by it; and build an altar unto the Lord thy God, and take thy father's young bullock and offer a burnt-sacrifice with the wood of the grove, which thou shalt cut down." Gideon obeyed the command; but so popular were the foreign gods, that he did it in the night-time, not daring to do it by day. When the men of the city discovered who had done it, they insisted he should be put to death; but his father warded off the present danger, and Gideon afterward secured the affections of the people by fighting successfully against the Midianites. He requested the men of Israel to bring him all the golden ear-rings they took with the spoils of war, and they willingly gave them, "beside ornaments, and collars, and purple raiment, that was on the kings of Midian, and chains that were about their camels' necks. And Gideon made an ephod thereof, and put it in his city." There is no explanation concerning the use made of this ephod, but the natural supposition would be that it was consulted as an oracle. That it came in some way to be regarded as an idol, is implied by the remark that "all Israel went thither a whoring after it; which thing became a snare unto Gideon and his house."

"As soon as Gideon was dead, the children of Israel turned again, and went a whoring after Baalim, and made Baal-berith their God." When the Ammonites conquered them, "and vexed and oppressed them eighteen years," they began again to cry unto the Lord. But "the Lord

said, Go and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen. Let them deliver you in the time of your tribulation. And the children of Israel said, We have sinned against thee, both because we have forsaken our God, and also served Baalim. And they put away the strange gods from among them, and served the Lord; and his soul was grieved for the misery of Israel." Jephthah, "a mighty man of valour," was raised up to rescue his countrymen from the Ammonites. He ruled over Israel six years, as judge and general. In his history occurs the only instance of human sacrifice recorded in the Hebrew Sacred Writings. Before he went forth to battle, he made a vow that if he were victorious, he would sacrifice to God, as a burnt-offering, whatever should first come forth from his house to meet him on his return. His daughter, his only child, came out to welcome him, and "he did with her according to his vow." This circumstance is told in the Book of Judges, without any expressions of disapprobation.

During the times of Joshua and the Judges, the visits of angels are still described as common occurrences. "It came to pass when Joshua was near Jericho, that he lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold a man was standing beside him with his sword drawn in his hand. And Joshua went to him and said, Art thou for us, or for our foes? And he said, Neither; for I am come as the prince of Jehovah's host. And Joshua fell on his face to the earth, and did homage to him, and said, What would my Lord say to his servant? And the prince of Jehovah's host said to Joshua, Loose the shoe from thy foot, for the place thou standest upon is holy." An angel, who came up from Gilgal to admonish the nation, speaks as if he were Jehovah himself, saying: "I made you go out of Egypt." An angel of the Lord came and sat under an oak, and talked with Gideon while he was threshing wheat. Gideon prepared food for him, and was told to spread it on the rock. When the angel touched it with his staff, fire came out of the rock and consumed the food, and the angel vanished. Such visits appear to have been regarded as omens of

death; for Gideon was alarmed, and said: "Alas, because I have seen an angel of the Lord face to face!" And the Lord said to him: "Fear not; thou shalt not die." An angel appeared to the wife of Manoah and predicted the birth of Samson. She described him to her husband as "a man of God, whose countenance was like an angel of God, very terrible." Afterward he appeared to her again, and she ran to call her husband, who offered him food; "for he knew not that he was an angel of the Lord." The mysterious visitor refused to eat, or tell his name; but commanded that the kid prepared for food should be burnt on the rock, as a sacrifice to the Lord; and when the flame rose, the angel ascended in it. Manoah and his wife fell on their faces to the ground, and said: "We shall surely die, because we have seen God."

A regular, established priesthood was incompatible with such unsettled times. Men consecrated their own priests, who were sometimes of the tribe of Levi, sometimes of other tribes. It is to be presumed that the people received little instruction in the Laws of Moses, for it is obvious enough that they were perpetually infringed, without meeting the punishment he affixed to such offences. It is recorded that a man of Mount Ephraim, whose name was Micah, took eleven hundred shekels of silver from his mother, and afterward restored them, confessing the theft. "And his mother took two hundred shekels of the silver, and gave them to the founder, who made thereof a graven image and a molten image; and they were in the house of Micah. And Micah had an house of gods, and made an ephod, and teraphim, and consecrated one of his sons, who became his priest. "And a young man of the family of Judah, who was a Levite, came to the house of Micah and sojourned there. And Micah said, Dwell with me, and be unto me a father and a priest, and I will give thee ten shekels of silver by the year, and a suit of apparel, and thy victuals. And the Levite was content to dwell with the man, and Micah consecrated the Levite, and he became his priest." He was probably called a Levite merely be-

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cause he was acquainted with the prescribed Levitical ritual; for he is said to have been of the tribe of Judah. That it was considered fortunate to obtain possession of such a private chaplain, is implied by Micah's remark: "Now I know the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest." Yet Moses would have "stoned him with stones till he died;" for he was priest to "a graven image and a molten image."

At that time the tribe of Dan were looking about to seize land wherever it best suited them to dwell. Hebrew Sacred Books tell us that when their messengers came to Laish, they found that the inhabitants thereof dwelt quiet and secure, had no commerce with other men, were too far from the Sidonians to be protected by them, and had no magistrate in the land to put strangers to shame for anything they might do. These were deemed suitable reasons for seizing on their possessions for the tribe of Dan. Accordingly, when the pioneers went back and gave information concerning the state of things, their brethren mustered six hundred men, with weapons of war, and went to attack Laish. Their ancestors had slaughtered men, women, and children, because Moses and Joshua told them it was the divine command that they should utterly exterminate idolaters. But these warriors were impelled by no such zeal in the service of one invisible God. For when they came to Mount Ephraim, and passed the house of Micah, the messenger, who had previously been sent to spy out the land, said: "Do ye know there is in these houses an ephod, and teraphim, and a graven image, and a molten image? And they came in thither and took the graven image, and the molten image, the ephod, and the teraphim. Then said the priest unto them, What do ye? And they said, Hold thy peace; lay thine hand upon thy mouth, and go with us. Is it better for thee to be a priest unto one man, or that thou be a priest unto a tribe and a family in Israel? And the priest's heart was glad; and he took the ephod, and the teraphim, and the graven image, and went in the midst of the

people. When they were a good way from the house, Micah and his neighbours overtook them. And Micah said, Ye have taken away my gods which I made, and the priest and ye are gone away; and what have I more? And the children of Dan said unto him, Let not thy voice be heard among us, lest angry fellows run upon thee, and thou lose thy life, with the lives of thy household. And when Micah saw they were too strong for him, he turned and went back to his house. And the children of Dan went their way, and came unto Laish, unto a people that were quiet and secure, and they smote them with the edge of the sword, and burnt their city with fire. And they called the city Dan, after the name of their father, who was born unto Israel. And they set up Micah's graven image, and Jonathan and his sons were priests to the tribe of Dan." The people publicly resorted thither, to worship and consult the teraphim of Micah, until the tribes of Israel were carried away captive.

We are told that, in the days of the Judges, "every man did that which was right in his own eyes;" and some of their recorded transactions certainly prove a very savage state of society. There is a story related in Hebrew Sacred Books, concerning a young Levite, who was bringing home his concubine from his father's house in Bethlehem-Judah. In the course of their journey, they came among the Benjamites, who had not sufficient hospitality to offer them a shelter for the night. An old man of Mount Ephraim, seeing them in the street, invited them to his house. In the course of the night, some Benjamites came and beat at the door, and made indecent demands concerning the traveller. Frightened by their violence, he at last agreed to let them have his concubine. The poor woman died in the hands of the brutal multitude, and in the morning her corpse was found at the door. Her husband cut her in pieces, and sent a fragment to each of the tribes of Israel, calling upon them to revenge the wickedness done by some of the Benjamites. In obedience to this summons, the tribes came up to battle against

Benjamin; but they were defeated, with twenty-two thousand slain. Phineas, the priest, a descendant of Aaron, stood before the Ark of the Covenant, where oracles were received from God. There "he asked counsel of the Lord, saying, Shall we again go up to battle against the children of Benjamin our brother? And the Lord said, Go up against them." Accordingly, they went forth the second day, and were defeated, with eighteen thousand slain. The priest again inquired at the Ark whether the children of Israel should go to battle against Benjamin. And the Lord answered, "Go up against him." They attacked the Benjamites a third time, and destroyed twenty-five thousand and a hundred of them. The sequel of the story implies that the women of Benjamin, though not implicated in the offence, were slaughtered almost to extermination. "The men of Israel had sworn in Mizpeh, saying, There shall not any of us give his daughter unto Benjamin to wife." But after the Benjamites were nearly destroyed, "the people wept sore, saying, O Lord God of Israel, why has this come to pass, that there should be one tribe lacking in Israel? They repented them for Benjamin their brother, and said, How shall we do for wives for them that remain, seeing we have sworn by the Lord that we will not give them of our daughters for wives?" In this dilemma they concluded to send twelve thousand valiant men to attack Jabesh Gilead, and destroy all the men, and all the married women. They did so, and brought away captive four hundred maidens, and gave them to the Benjamites for wives. But the number did not suffice them. And "the elders of the congregation said, How shall we do for wives for them that remain? There must be an inheritance for them, that a tribe be not destroyed out of Israel. Howbeit, we may not give them wives of our daughters; for the children of Israel have sworn, saying, Cursed be he that giveth a wife to Benjamin." The people of Shiloh annually observed a festival, and came forth with songs and dances in honour of some deity; and it happened that the time for this festival was

near at hand. The elders of Israel advised the Benjamite widowers to wait for this opportunity, and hide themselves in the vineyards, in order to catch the young women as they came out to dance. "And the children of Benjamin did so, and took them wives of them that danced, whom they caught."

In such unsettled and marauding times, the priesthood could not have been in a very flourishing condition. The only mention made of them is in connection with Eli; and his children are described as "sons of Belial, who knew not the Lord." "It was the priests' custom with the people, that when any man offered sacrifice, the priest's servant came, while the flesh was in seething, with a flesh-hook of three teeth in his hand; and he struck it into the pan, or kettle, or caldron, and all that the flesh-hook brought up the priest took to himself." But when any of the Israelites went up to Shiloh to sacrifice, the sons of Eli, who were priests by hereditary right, sent their servant to say: "Give flesh to roast for the priest; for he will not have sodden flesh of thee, but raw." And if the sacrificer asked him to wait till the fat was first burned on the altar, a sacrifice to the Lord, he answered: "Nay, thou shalt give it to me now; if not, I will take it by force." Such conduct made the people abhor to offer sacrifices to the Lord; and their aversion to the young priests was increased by the charge brought against them, that "they lay with the women who assembled at the door of the Tabernacle."

Hebrews, in common with most nations of antiquity, had the custom of dedicating their children to the service of a Deity, by vows made in some peculiar emergency. Hannah, the wife of Elkanah, was exceedingly grieved because she had no children. She went up to Shiloh to worship, and wept before the Lord, saying: "If thou wilt give unto thine handmaid a man-child, then I will give him unto the Lord all the days of his life." She afterward gave birth to Samuel. As soon as he was weaned, his parents took him up to the house of the Lord, in Shiloh,

and offered three bullocks, and an ephah of flour, and a bottle of wine; and they left the little boy with Eli the priest, saying: "As long as he liveth, he shall be lent to the Lord." "And the child was girded with a linen ephod, and ministered before the Lord. Moreover, his mother made him a little coat, and brought it from year to year, when she came up with her husband, to offer the yearly sacrifice." Hebrew Sacred Writings declare that God chose him, and appointed him to an especial mission, even in his childhood. One evening, when he lay down to sleep, he heard a voice calling him; and he rose and went to Eli, saying: "Here I am; for thou didst call me." The aged priest made answer: "I called thee not, my son. Lie down again." And "the Lord called yet again. And Samuel went to Eli and said, Here am I. And he answered, I called thee not, my son. Lie down again. The Lord called Samuel the third time. Now Samuel did not yet know the Lord, neither was the word of the Lord yet revealed to him. And he went to Eli and said, Here am I; for thou didst call me. And Eli perceived that the Lord had called the child." He told him to lie down, and when he again heard the voice, to answer: "Speak, Lord, for thy servant heareth." He did so; and the Lord informed him that he would visit the family of Eli with heavy judgments, "because his sons made themselves vile, and he restrained them not."

As Samuel grew to manhood, he spoke boldly against the evil practices he witnessed, and became famous, as "a prophet to whom the Lord had revealed himself." At that time, the Israelites renewed their attacks on the Philistines. No reason is assigned for it; but it probably arose from their abiding conviction that they had a divine right to take possession of their neighbour's land, on account of the promise made to Abraham. According to custom, the army took with them the Ark of the Covenant, that the presence of God might ensure to them the victory. But the event proved disastrous. A messenger came to Eli and told him that Israel fled before the Philistines, that his

two sons were slaughtered, and the Ark of God was taken. At these tidings the old priest fell down and died; and the wife of one of his sons gave premature birth to a boy, whom, with her dying breath, she named Ichabod, which signifies departed glory. "The glory is departed from Israel," said she; "for the Ark of God is taken."

It was the universal opinion of ancient nations that tempests, famine, pestilence, and all other remarkable afflictions, were owing to the anger of some deity, on account of his neglected worship. The Ark of the Hebrews remained seven months with the Philistines, and they kept it in a temple which they had built to a god called Dagon. In the course of these seven months, their land was unusually infested by mice, and a troublesome disease, called the emerods, prevailed extensively. It was suggested among them that the God of the Hebrews sent these plagues, because the Ark, in which he dwelt, had been taken away from the people whom he protected, and he was thus deprived of his accustomed worship. Their priests and divines, being consulted, advised them to put the Ark of the Hebrews into a new cart, drawn by two young cows, which had never worn a yoke; and to make five golden images of mice, and five golden images of the emerods, one for each of their five cities, and put them in a box beside the Ark, as a trespass-offering to the god of the Hebrews, whom they had probably offended. They were further instructed to send the cows away without a guide; and if they of their own accord took the road to Beth-Shemish, then they should know for a certainty that the pestilence had been sent upon them by the Hebrew god. When the cows were fastened to the cart, they went straight to Beth-Shemish, whose name signified the House of the Sun, probably on account of some temple to the Sun erected there. It was one of the cities apportioned to priests of the tribe of Judah, after the conquest of Canaan. The men of Beth-Shemish were reaping wheat when the cart containing the Ark stopped in a field near them, and stood by a great stone. They were rejoiced at the sight, and Levites

went and took the Ark, and the box containing the golden images, and laid them on the great stone. And the men of Beth-Shemish cut up the wood of the cart, and with it burnt the two young cows, as an offering to the Lord. Some of the men of the place had the curiosity to peep into the Ark. It is not stated whether they were Israelites who did this; but the record declares that the Lord punished their curiosity by the death of more than fifty thousand men. When the people saw that the Lord had smitten them with such great slaughter, they became afraid of the Ark, and sent to the inhabitants of Kirjath-jearim, begging them to come and take it away. So it was carried thither, "to the house of Abinadab in the hill; and it is said, "the men of Kirjath-jearim sanctified Eleazar, son of Abinadab, to keep the ark." For twenty years it remained thus obscurely in the hands of a private family.

The more pious among the Israelites felt deeply humiliated under the conviction that the presence of Jehova was withdrawn from them on account of their sins. They sought counsel from Samuel, in whom they found a second Moses. The office of Judge was conferred upon him, and he ruled Israel for twelve years. He earnestly repeated, what had so often been impressed upon the Hebrew mind, that Jehovah was a jealous God, and if they would propitiate him, they must put all other gods entirely away. Under the influence of Samuel, the children of Israel again resolved "to put away Baal and Ashtaroth, and serve the Lord only." They gathered together unto Samuel, and poured out a libation of water before the Lord, and Samuel prayed for them. It is supposed that he first established seminaries, called Schools of the Prophets, where young men of all the tribes were instructed in the Law of Moses, in the history of their own nation, in medicine, music, and sacred poetry. The course of teaching did not embrace general information, but was entirely confined to subjects connected with the Hebrew religion.

In Samuel's old age, the people became discontented, on account of the corruption of his sons. They demanded to

have a king, and he anointed Saul to rule over them. More than four hundred years before that time, the tribe of Amalek had laid wait for the children of Israel as they came up out of Egypt, and fought with them. Samuel said to Saul: "The Lord sent me to anoint thee king over his people Israel. Now, therefore, hearken unto the voice of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, I remember that which Amalek did to Israel, when he came up from Egypt. Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass." Saul accordingly went up against the Amalekites and destroyed them; but he was induced to save Agag their king, and the best of the sheep and oxen. Samuel was exceedingly offended that his orders had not been literally obeyed. When Saul humbly acknowledged his error, and pleaded in excuse that the people wished to spare the fattest of the sheep and oxen, to sacrifice to the Lord their God, he sternly answered: "To obey is better than sacrifice." Then he ordered Agag to be brought, "and he hewed him in pieces before the Lord." Samuel afterward consented to appear at a public sacrifice with Saul; but thenceforth there was coolness between the powerful prophet and the king whom he had anointed. It is recorded that "the word of the Lord came to Samuel, saying, It repenteth me that I have set up Saul to be king." Soon after the Lord told him to fill a horn with oil, and go to Bethlehem, and secretly anoint David the son of Jesse to be king. David had his own armed band of followers, and became an object of great jealousy to Saul. Nob was then the chief town of the priests, where religious ceremonies were daily performed by descendants of Eli, though the Ark still remained at Kirjath-jearim. David and some of his followers came to Nob, and being hungry, asked the priests for bread. They replied that they had none, except the sacred show-bread, which was dedicated to the Lord. But when David represented that his necessities were very pressing, they gave him five loaves

of the holy bread, and armed him with the sword of Goliah, which had probably been kept in some sacred place as a trophy. When Saul heard of this, he sent soldiers to Nob, who slew eighty-five priests, and all the men, women, children, oxen, and sheep.

In the second year after David became king, he went with thirty thousand chosen men to bring the Ark of the Covenant from Kirjath-jearim, and place it in a new Tabernacle on Mount Zion. The Laws of Moses expressly required that the Ark should always be carried on staves, slipped through rings, and borne on the shoulders of Levites. But on this occasion, it was placed in a new cart drawn by oxen, after the fashion of surrounding nations, who were accustomed thus to carry images of their gods, and other sacred symbols. David and all the people went in procession before the Ark, dancing and playing on a variety of musical instruments. When they came near Mount Zion, the oxen jostled the Ark, and Uzzah, a Levite, put forth his hand to steady it. Now, by the Laws of Moses, a Levite was not allowed to see the Ark unveiled, much less to touch it. "And the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah, and God smote him there for his error; and he died there by the Ark of God." This sudden disaster excited such consternation, that David did not dare to have the Ark brought into Jerusalem. It was accordingly "carried aside into the house of Obed-Edom the Gittite." When it had remained there three months, it was told king David that the Lord had blessed the house of Obed-Edom, because of the Ark. These tidings removed his fears, and again he went forth with a great multitude, and brought it to Mount Zion with songs and dances, and the sound of trumpets. The king himself danced before it, having taken off his royal robes, and girded himself with the linen ephod of a priest.

With David's reign commenced a new and important era in the history of the Hebrews. In the time of Abraham, there was a city called Salem, said to have been governed by a king named Melchisedec. David found it in the posses-

sion of the Jebusites. Perceiving that its situation was well adapted for a central point of union to all the tribes of Israel, he conquered it and fortified it, and named it Jeru-Salem, from Hebrew words signifying He shall see Peace. When the new city was well established, he opened commerce with his neighbours the Tyrians, a much more wealthy and cultivated people than the Hebrews. The character of the laws given by Moses, and the subsequent wandering and predatory habits of the tribes, had been extremely unfavourable to the cultivation of the sciences, or the arts. Architecture was in the rudest state among Hebrews, but the Tyrians were skilful workmen. Therefore, when David "grew great," and wished to build himself a palace, he was obliged to send to the king of Tyre for cedar-trees, carpenters, and masons.

While the Israelites themselves dwelt in tents, they had made a tent-temple for the Ark of God. But now, when the king had built a royal house for himself, it seemed to him that the Deity he worshipped ought not to dwell less honourably. He said to Nathan the Prophet: "See now I dwell in an house of cedar, but the Ark of God dwelleth within curtains." Nathan at first encouraged his idea of building a temple, but in the night the Lord revealed to the prophet that it was his will to have the temple built by a son of David, whose posterity he promised should be forever established on the throne. In one place, Hebrew records declare that David could not find time to build a temple, on account of "the wars that beset him on every side;" in another place, it is said the Lord forbade him to do it, "because he had shed so much blood upon the earth." He was successful above all the leaders of his nation. He took rich spoils in war, and kings who sought his alliance rewarded his powerful assistance with treasures more splendid than had ever been seen in Israel. He consecrated a large portion of these to religious uses, as thank-offerings to Jehovah for his great prosperity. So that at his death there was a large supply of gold and silver, marble and cedar, in readiness for the temple. In the

mean time, he introduced great improvements into the public worship. Trumpets were the only instruments prescribed by Moses; but David, who was himself a skilful player on the harp, introduced into the service of the Tabernacle trained bands of singers and musicians, who performed on harps, psalteries, cymbals, and an instrument with small tinkling bells. He encouraged the cultivation of sacred poetry, and himself composed religious songs, which breathed devout aspirations in some of the sublimest language of lyric poetry.

This illustrious monarch, the object of so much pride and reverence to Hebrews, is called in their Sacred Writings, "a man after God's own heart." The ideas men formed of God at that period are therefore indicated by the prominent points of his character. He was a man of great energy and powerful passions; fierce and revengeful toward his enemies, but endowed with susceptibility of feeling, which made it natural for him to weep over a fallen foe. He was constitutionally ardent, with the devout tendency which usually belongs to such temperaments; hence he rushed into sins, and then "humbled himself before the Lord," with repentance as earnest as his crime. The generosity of his character, and the strong attachment he inspired, are implied by the following anecdote related of him: During one of his severe campaigns among the Philistines, being sorely afflicted with thirst, he expressed a longing for some water from the well of Bethlehem, his native town. Three of his followers, who heard the wish, forced their way through the enemy's host, at peril of their lives, and brought the water he so much desired. Touched by this proof of their affection, he refused to drink it. Famishing as he was, he poured it out a libation before Jehovah, saying, Be it far from me, O Lord, that I should do this. Is not this the blood of the men who went in jeopardy of their lives?" By his wise policy he cemented the tribes together in strong bonds of union. His success flattered their pride; and his constant habit of attributing all good fortune to Jehovah, greatly strengthened their re-

liance on that powerful God, who had chosen them for his especial favourites. The reverential tendencies of the royal Psalmist are abundantly indicated by his forbearing to kill Saul when he was in his power, because he was "the Lord's anointed," by the tone of his grand old temple-songs, by his careful observance of religious ceremonies, and by the frequency with which he sought counsel of God, through the agency of oracles and prophets. But his devout aspirations and pious resolutions were far above his practice. He prayed like a saint, and poured forth sublime poetry like an inspired prophet, and he did so sincerely and earnestly; yet in many things he acted like an ambitious politician, and a ferocious man of blood. During the conflict between his followers and the adherents of Saul, Jonathan, the beloved friend of David, and son of Saul, had a child of five years old who was lamed in both his feet; for his nurse let him fall when she was fleeing from the horrors of civil war. It was not till the royal house of Saul were entirely subdued, and David had nothing further to fear from them, that he inquired whether any of the descendants were left, to whom he could "show kindness for Jonathan's sake." The lame, disinherited boy had by that time grown to manhood, and become a father. He was proffered a seat at the royal table all the days of his life, and received back the estate which belonged to his grandfather. After the war occasioned by Absalom's rebellion, there was famine in the land. This might very naturally arise from neglect of crops during civil commotions; but David, according to the prevailing ideas of his time, believed it to be the direct vengeance of God, in punishment for some sin. Accordingly, he inquired of the Lord what was the cause of the famine. And the Lord answered: "It is for Saul and his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites." It seems the Israelites had sworn not to molest the Gibeonites; but Saul, for some unmentioned reason, had slain a number of them. He had been thirty years in his grave, when David was informed that the Lord was punishing all the

people for his old transgressions. He went to the Gibeonites and asked what atonement would satisfy them. They refused to take gold or silver as a ransom for their slaughtered brethren, and demanded seven of Saul's descendants, that they might "hang them up unto the Lord;" in other words, offer them as a human sacrifice. David spared the descendants of Jonathan, on account of an oath he had sworn to his early friend. But he gave up two of Saul's sons by a concubine, and five sons of Michal, Saul's daughter. "And the Gibeonites hanged them on the hill, before the Lord." Michal had loved David in his days of comparative obscurity, and had been the first wife of his youth. Afterward, when there was civil war between Saul and David, her father gave her in marriage to another man, by whom she had these five sons. When David became king, he demanded her again, though he then had two other wives. Perhaps he thought his regal power would be more securely established, as the acknowledged son-in-law of Saul. Michal's second husband seems to have loved her tenderly, for when she was carried away from him, "he followed her weeping," until the king's messengers ordered him to turn back. From what is recorded, she and David do not appear to have lived on good terms after this forced reunion. Still worse was his conduct to one of his generals, named Uriah. Having accidentally seen his beautiful wife, while she was bathing, he fell in love with her, and caused her to be brought to his palace, while Uriah was absent fighting his battles. When she afterward informed him that she was likely to be a mother, he sought to shield himself from disgrace, by bringing Uriah home. Failing in that attempt, he caused him to be slain, and afterward married the beautiful widow. His acts of cruelty were not always of a kind to be excused as hasty impulses of a zealous temperament. A fierce spirit of retaliation often marked his conduct and his writings, and in some cases it seems to have been cherished by him for years. When he conquered the Moabites, he caused the inhabitants of all their cities to be executed by various

modes of torture, described as "putting them under saws, and under harrows of iron, and passing them through the brick-kiln." On his death-bed, when he was a very old man, he charged his successor not to let the hoary head of Joab go down to the grave in peace. Joab had brought odium on David's administration by some unauthorized acts of military zeal against the house of Saul; he had likewise slain Absalom, the beautiful son of David, in the days of his rebellion. At that time, Shimei, who belonged to the same tribe as Saul, cursed David, and expressed his gratification that one of his own sons had risen against him, as he had formerly risen against Saul, his benefactor. Shimei afterward humbly asked forgiveness, and David solemnly promised, before all the people, that he would do him no injury. But ten years after, when he was dying, he charged Solomon to "bring down the hoary head of Shimei to the grave with blood;" saying that he himself could not do it, because he had sworn to him by the Lord that he would not put him to death. Yet Hebrew Sacred Records, after recounting all these things, declare David did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, and turned not aside from anything he commanded him all the days of his life, save only in the matter of Uriah the Hittite."

Solomon fulfilled the sanguinary injunctions of his dying father, and likewise put to death a brother, whose priority of birth gave him a claim to the throne. These transactions do not seem to have made him too much "a man of blood" to be a fitting instrument in building the projected temple. In the fourth year of his reign he began this great work, on which an army of labourers are said to have been employed. He numbered the foreigners in Israel, who were probably made bondmen by conquest. Hebrew Sacred Records inform us that eighty thousand of these were employed to hew and work stone, and seventy thousand to bear burdens, under the control of three thousand six hundred overseers. Thirty thousand Israelites cut timber in Lebanon, by courses; ten thousand in

each month, while the others rested. The ornamental work was done by skilful artificers from Tyre. Notwithstanding the number of workmen, it was seven years before the temple was completed. The wrought stones were so fitted to their places before they were brought to Jerusalem, that they were put together without noise. Hebrews had a tradition that they were not hewn or smoothed by any instrument, but a worm called Samir was created by God on purpose to do that business; and the stones, thus miraculously prepared, moved to the temple of their own accord, where angels laid them in their places.

A mass of buildings for the priests, and various other religious purposes, was enclosed within a wall. In the centre, and overlooking them all, was the famous temple. It had an outer court surrounded by a wall, and an inner court separated from the outer by colonnades with brazen gates. Sacrifices and prayers were offered in the inner court, which contained a brazen altar for burnt-offerings, and an immense tank, or basin of brass, supported on the backs of twelve brazen oxen. This was for the convenience of the priests, who were required to perform ablutions before they entered the temple. A pipe supplied it with water from a well, and it contained enough for two thousand baths. There were likewise ten large lavers of brass, supported on small pillars, and engraved with likenesses of bulls, lions, and eagles. These were for washing portions of the animals offered in sacrifice.

The temple was an oblong building of white stone. According to the dimensions given, it must have been about the size of a small European cathedral. On three sides were corridors rising above each other to the height of three stories, supported by stately pillars, and containing apartments in which sacred utensils and treasures were kept. The fourth and front side was open, with a portico at the entrance supported by two brazen pillars, highly ornamented with representations of palm trees, lilies, and pomegranates. The body of the temple, separated and veiled from the porch, was called the sanctuary, or holy

place. The doors were carved with cherubim, palm trees, and flowers, gilded, and covered with an embroidered curtain. The walls were carved with the same figures, laid in gold, and in some places adorned with precious stones. Here stood an altar of gilded Arabian wood, used solely to sustain a golden dish, in which frankincense burned perpetually. It was a Hebrew tradition that fragrance diffused from this table might be smelled from Jerusalem to Jericho. The great number of animals slaughtered, and the blood poured out and sprinkled in multifarious religious ceremonies, would probably have been disagreeable without this precaution. On a golden table was laid an offering to the Lord of twelve loaves of bread, one from each tribe. These were renewed every Sabbath, and the old loaves divided among the priests. Ten branching candlesticks of gold sustained golden lamps, filled with pure olive oil, not pressed out in a mill, but such as exuded, drop by drop, from bruised olives, and was thus perfectly free from sediment. They were kept burning day and night, the sanctuary not being lighted by any other means.

Within the sanctuary was a secret apartment, called the *sanctum sanctorum*, or holy of holies. The floor was of cedar overlaid with gold. The ceiling was covered with plates of gold fastened with golden nails. The walls were of polished marble lined with cedar, carved with cherubim, palm trees, and flowers, richly gilded. The door, carved and gilded after the same patterns, was separated from the sanctuary by chains of gold, and an embroidered curtain of blue, purple, and crimson. In the inmost recesses of this holy place, Solomon put two gigantic images of cherubim, fifteen feet high, of gilded olive wood. Their outer wings touched the wall on either side, and the inner wings met together. Immediately under their wings was placed the Ark of the Covenant, whose golden cover was called the Mercy Seat, because God there showed himself propitious, after being appeased by the blood of sacrifices. Golden images of cherubim were on the Mercy Seat, one

on either end, bending toward each other, and forming with their outstretched wings a kind of seat, called the Throne of God. Over it was a visible cloud, called the Shechinah, or Divine Presence, in which Jehovah was supposed to be actually present. Hence he is often spoken of, in the Hebrew Sacred Books, as "dwelling between the cherubim." The Ark was the same one constructed by Moses, from money, ear-rings, and other jewels, which the people dedicated for that purpose. All other things connected with the temple were made anew by Solomon, according to patterns prescribed by Moses, though greatly exceeding them in splendour. The colossal cherubim placed on each side of the Ark, and the representations of bulls, lions, and eagles, seem like an infringement of the command that no graven images should be made. They were probably additions suggested to Solomon by his intercourse with Tyrians and Egyptians.

A great number of gold and silver utensils were made for the use of the temple, and these were continually increased by gifts from devotees, who expected thereby to gain favours from their God.

Before the building could be fit for worship, the altar for burnt-offerings must first be purified from pollutions it had acquired by the hands of workmen and the touch of tools. For this purpose, a bullock was sacrificed, and the priest put some of the blood on the horns of the altar with his finger. When this had been repeated seven days, the altar was ready for sacrifice, and thenceforth sanctified everything that touched it. The altars, and all the utensils, were anointed with oil made fragrant by spices; a quantity of which had always been kept in the holiest place, by command of Moses, to be used only for consecrating kings, high priests, and vessels belonging to the House of God.

When everything was duly prepared, all the tribes of Israel assembled with their elders, and, with the king at their head, went in procession to Mount Zion to bring thence the old Ark of the Covenant. When it was opened, it was found to contain only the two tables of

stone, with graven commandments, which Moses had placed therein at Horeb. Priests, sanctified for the purpose, took up the Ark, carried it to the new temple, and placed it in the holy of holies. At that moment, a hundred and twenty priests in the sanctuary sounded their silver trumpets; bands of musicians began to play, and Levites, clad in white linen, sang, "Praised be the Lord! for he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever." "The trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard in praising the Lord." While this great chorus was resounding through the temple, the Shechinah, or Divine Presence, which five hundred years before had descended over the Mercy Seat in the Tabernacle, descended in the same visible form of a cloud, and rested over the Mercy Seat in the Temple. It was probably accompanied by sudden light; for it is stated that "the glory of the Lord filled the house; so that the priests could not stand to minister by reason of the cloud."

When Moses offered a burnt-offering to the Lord, "fire came out from before the Lord, and consumed upon the altar the burnt-offering and the fat." The flame thus kindled was not allowed to go out, and no other was used for religious purposes. When two sons of Aaron burned incense before the Lord, kindled with common fire, Hebrew Sacred Writings declare that "fire came from the Lord and devoured them, and they died." Whether the sacred fire was afterward lost, in the course of their wanderings and their wars, is not stated. But when Solomon offered his first burnt offering on the new altar of the temple, we are told that fire came running out of the air, and consumed the sacrifice. And when all the children of Israel saw it, "they bowed themselves with their faces to the ground." This heavenly fire was tended night and day by priests, who fed it with perfectly clean wood, stripped of its bark, and free from all imperfections. It was deemed sacrilege to resuscitate this holy flame by blowing upon it with the breath.

"The king and all the people offered sacrifices to the Lord,

twenty-two thousand oxen, and a hundred and twenty thousand sheep; so the king and all the people dedicated the House of God. And Solomon kept the feast fourteen days, and all Israel with him." Kneeling on a high platform above the crowd, he spread out his hands and prayed: "O Lord God of Israel, there is no God like unto thee, in the heaven, nor on the earth. But will God in very deed dwell with men upon the earth? Behold heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this house which I have built! But hearken unto the supplications of thy servant, and of thy people Israel, which they shall make toward this place. Hear thou from thy dwelling place, even from Heaven, and when thou hearest forgive."

It was an universal custom to choose the highest site within a city for the temple of its presiding deity. Solomon's temple stood on Mount Moriah, in the centre of Jerusalem, which was thenceforth called the Mountain of the Lord's House. According to Hebrew traditions, it was the place where Cain and Abel offered oblations, and where Abraham made ready to sacrifice Isaac. People believed the temple was actually God's house; that he had a local and personal residence in the Holy of Holies, and manifested himself in the form of a shining light. The High Priest went there to ask questions of him, and received answers, which were considered oracles. They spread a golden table with bread for Jehovah, as they would have done for a temporal king in his own palace. They supposed he enjoyed the fragrance of incense and the savour of burning sacrifices; and Jerusalem was considered pre-eminently safe, happy, and glorious, because he was supposed to be more peculiarly and permanently present there than elsewhere.

Before the temple was built, the people had always been accustomed to sacrifice in "high places." Hills that supplied the shade and solemnity of groves were preferred by the devout of all nations; and in such places altars and images were sure to abound. The extreme proneness of

the Israelites to pay homage to these foreign gods, and to consider the groves themselves holy, induced Moses to command them not to plant any trees near an altar of the Lord their God. Afterward, such localities seem to have been deemed allowable, amid the inconveniences of their unsettled condition, provided they were careful not to direct their worship toward any other object than the God of the Hebrews. But when the temple was built, the old caution against groves was renewed, and it was expressly forbidden to plant a single tree on the mountain where it stood. The entire hill was considered holy ground. Any unclean action, immodest gesture, idle talking, or laughing, was deemed sacrilegious there. If a leper, or a person who had eaten unclean food, or touched the dead, or stepped on a grave, entered the court of the temple without purification, he was driven out and severely scourged. None of the Gentile nations were allowed to pass in farther than the outer court. All who came from a foreign land, even if they were Hebrews, were obliged to go through a process of cleansing before they were allowed to enter the sacred enclosure; among these ceremonies were ablutions and cutting off the hair. Neither priests nor people were allowed to sit or lean within the precincts of the temple, however weary they might be. Only kings of the house of David were allowed to sit there.

It was contrary to the policy of the Hebrew government to multiply temples, because the constant object was to consolidate the tribes into a nation, and there was no bond of union so strong as one central place of worship, and the habit of consulting the same oracle in all cases of emergency. Those at a distance from Jerusalem built courts for prayer, generally in high solitary places, but they always prayed with faces turned toward their Holy City. If they prayed within the circuit of Jerusalem, they always turned toward the temple; if within the precincts of the temple, they always turned toward where the Ark stood. Three times a year, on the recurrence of great annual festivals, every man was required to go up to Jerusalem to

present offerings to the Lord, and tithes to the priesthood. Both piety and pride bound the Israelites strongly to this centre of national worship.

Moreover, the public services of religion were more interesting than they had been in the olden time. In schools of the prophets, poets composed songs for the temple, and music repeated them with its inspiring voice, on which the souls of devout listeners rose into high calm regions, far above the prosaic routine of external ceremonies. Solomon perfected the work his father had begun. Four thousand singers were employed in the service of the temple, to sing in courses, by turns; and twenty-four bands of musical instruments, each under the care of a presiding officer. Both men and women were employed in this service, for we are told of "damsels playing with timbrels" in religious processions, and it is recorded that Heman, a musician of the temple, had fourteen sons and three daughters, "all under the hands of their father for song in the House of the Lord." The service was hereditary, the duties and emoluments descending from father to son.

When Nathan the prophet announced to David that the Lord had appointed his son to build a temple, he likewise told him that God had sworn to establish his family on the throne forever. This promise, so flattering to the king, and to the hopes of the people, was often repeated in songs for worship, composed by the royal troop of poets and musicians. David himself alluded to it in one of his latest compositions. When the temple was completed, and Solomon dedicated it with prayer in the presence of all Israel, he publicly reminded Jehovah of the covenant he had made with his father's house. The promise, thus strongly impressed on the popular mind, had a powerful and abiding influence. Their national greatness began with David, and all their future hopes were intertwined with his family and tribe. In seasons of darkest discouragement, there always loomed above the gathering clouds bright visions of a "lion of the tribe of Judah," destined to come to their rescue. No prophecy ever had such permanent

and extensive influence on human affairs, as that promise made by Nathan to the most popular king of the Hebrews.

Yet Solomon seems to have soon forgotten the conditions on which that promise was given, viz. : that "the sons of David should take heed to their way, and walk before God as their father had done." Contrary to the Law of Moses, he married the daughter of Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and took numerous wives from other foreign nations. They "turned away his heart after other gods." "He went after Ashtoreth, goddess of the Sidonians;" and on a hill before Jerusalem, he built places of worship for the god of the Moabites, and the god of the Ammonites. "Thus did he for all his strange wives, who burned incense, and sacrificed unto their gods;" and he did this, it is said, notwithstanding the Lord God of Israel appeared to him twice, and told him that he should not go after other gods.

A few fragments preserved in Sacred Books of the Hebrews are all that remain of the much-praised wisdom of Solomon. There is no contemporary history, by which we can judge how other nations regarded him. The national mind, hitherto fettered by the limitations of pastoral life, doubtless began to expand somewhat under the prosperous reigns of David and his enterprising son. The learned commentator, De Wette, says: "It may be maintained with highest probability that literary productions in Hebrew scarcely extend beyond the period of David and Solomon. Here is the first *sure* ground in the history of the language."

Solomon's reputation for wisdom did not shield him from popular dissatisfaction, which, according to the usages of those times, soon expressed itself in a prophetic form. An energetic man, named Jeroboam, had been appointed by the king to superintend certain public works. There was at that time a prophet named Ahijah, for whom the people entertained great reverence. One day, when he and Jeroboam met alone in the fields, the prophet seized hold of his garment and tore it in twelve pieces, saying: "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, I will rend the kingdom out

of the hand of Solomon, and give ten tribes unto thee. Because he has forsaken me, and worshipped Ashtoreth, goddess of the Sidonians." Solomon was well aware what a powerful influence prophecy had on the minds of the people, and how naturally it tended to produce its own fulfilment. Therefore, as soon as this proceeding was noised abroad, he became suspicious of Jeroboam, and sought to slay him. He saved himself by escaping to Shishak, king of Egypt, under whose protection he remained till the death of Solomon.

Rehoboam, the only son of Solomon, succeeded to his throne. His mother was of the Ammonites, and had always continued to worship the gods of her childhood. Therefore, it is not surprising that during the reign of Rehoboam "there were groves on every high hill, and images under every green tree." The people "provoked the Lord to jealousy with their sins; and Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the House of the Lord, and the treasures of the king's house. He even took away all." But before that happened, the exiled Jeroboam had returned, and excited ten of the tribes to rebel against their king. Henceforth there were two kingdoms; one called Judah, whose capital was Jerusalem; the other called Israel, whose capital was Samaria. Ahijah, whose prophecy excited this revolt from the idolatrous descendants of David, did not have his hopes fulfilled by the conduct of Jeroboam. For he also "made a house of high places," and set up two golden calves for the people to worship, saying: "Behold, O Israel, thy gods, which brought thee up out of Egypt." It is mentioned as one of his great offences, that "he made priests of the lowest of the people, who were not of the sons of Levi." He likewise neglected some of the sacred days of the Hebrews, and kept the Feast of Tabernacles a month later than they did at Jerusalem. Writers belonging to the kingdom of Judah continually speak of him with great severity, as "Jeroboam, son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin." Yet, from what is recorded, it seems diffi-

cult to determine which was the greatest patron of image-worship, Jeroboam, king of Israel, or Rehoboam, king of Judah.

Of Abijam, son and successor of Rehoboam, it is briefly related that "he walked in all the sins of his father." But when his son Asa became king, a different course was pursued. He demolished all the images his fathers had made, and removed his mother from being queen, because "she had made an idol in a grove." "Asa's heart was perfect with the Lord all his days. And the silver, and gold, and vessels, which his father had dedicated, and which himself had dedicated, he brought into the House of the Lord." Yet it is said he imprisoned a prophet, "and was in a rage with him," because he reproved him for using gold and silver belonging to the temple, to sustain himself in time of war.

From the reign of Rehoboam, there was continual warfare between Judah and the revolted kingdom of Israel. The successors of Jeroboam did as he had done. They worshipped Baal and golden calves, and set up altars in groves. One of them, named Ahab, married Jezebel, a Sidonian, and built a temple for her god Baal, and surrounded it with a grove, and himself worshipped there. She persecuted the prophets of the God of Israel, so that they were obliged to hide in caves, sustained by bread and water, while four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal fed at the royal table. Among all the people, there were "only seven thousand who had not bowed the knee to Baal, or kissed his image." In time of severe famine, Elijah the prophet went boldly to king Ahab, and demanded that the people should be gathered together at Mount Carmel, and that the prophets of Jehovah and the prophets of Baal should both be summoned, that the people might see which were true prophets. The prophets of each deity agreed to sacrifice a bullock, and he on whose altar fire came down from heaven and consumed the sacrifice, was to be considered the true god. It is said the prophets of Baal prayed to him from morning till

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evening; but no fire descended on their altar. But when Elijah called on the God of Israel, fire immediately came down from heaven, and consumed the bullock, "and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench. And when the people saw it, they fell on their faces, and said, The Lord he is God." Then Elijah commanded them to slaughter all the priests of Baal, and let none escape; and they did so. When queen Jezebel heard what had happened to her prophets, she swore by her gods that Elijah should share their fate; and he deemed it prudent to escape and hide himself.

Jehoshaphat, son of Asa, is described as the most pious and prosperous king of Judah, after the time of David. "His heart was lifted up in the ways of the Lord, and he took away the high places and groves out of Judah. And the priests had the Book of the Law of the Lord with them, and went about throughout all the cities of Judah, and taught the people." However, when the power of Syria was growing dangerously strong, he combined with Ahab, king of Israel, to attack their common enemy; and afterward he married his son Jehoram to Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. The prophets did not fail to rebuke Jehoshaphat. On his way home from the wars, "a seer went out to meet him, and said, Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord? Nevertheless, there are good things found in thee, in that thou hast taken away the groves out of the land, and hast prepared thine heart to seek God." "And Jehoshaphat went out again through the people, and brought them back to the Lord God of their fathers."

His son Jehoram, and his grandson Ahaziah, when they succeeded to the throne, worshipped the same gods as Ahab king of Israel, with whom they were allied by marriage. They "made high places in the mountains of Judah," and commanded the people to worship there.

Meanwhile political changes were fermenting in the kingdom of Israel. Elijah received a command from the Lord to anoint Jehu king of Israel, and instruct him to

slay the reigning monarch with all his family. So Jehu headed a rebellion, "and slew Ahab, and all his great men, and his kinsfolk, and his priests, until he left none remaining; according to the saying of the Lord, which he spake unto Elijah." Ahaziah, king of Judah, who was visiting his kinsman, the king of Israel, was slain also. Jehu at first professed to be a worshipper of Baal, and ordered a great sacrifice in his honour, to which his priests throughout the kingdom were summoned. But as soon as they were assembled, he ordered every one to be slain, and tore down the temple of Baal, and burnt his image. Yet he by no means fulfilled the hopes of Elijah; for he manifested no faith in Jehovah, and publicly worshipped the golden calves of Egypt, which Jeroboam had set up.

The kingdom of the revolted ten tribes had a struggling and troubled existence. They were enfeebled by civil commotions, and by frequent wars with Syria and Judah. When the powerful Assyrians attacked them little more than three centuries after David, they found Israel an easy prey, and they carried off the inhabitants into a captivity from which they never returned.

The smaller kingdom of Judah, though they had Solomon's temple, and an established priesthood, were very unsteady in their reliance on Jehovah. Scarcely two kings in succession sustained his worship, and it was very evident that the popular mind was never really elevated to a genuine and strong belief in one invisible Deity. Prophets constantly taught that it was impossible for God's chosen people to meet with any disasters, unless as a punishment for some sin they had committed; and that the worship of foreign gods was great above all other sins. In times of prosperity, the people adored Baal and Ash-toreth, and kissed their hands to the stars. If famine or pestilence came, they ran back to the God of their fathers, and like terrified children inquired what they should do to abate their punishment. But as soon as the panic subsided, they resorted to the groves again, and the prescribed festivals in honour of Jehovah were neglected.

Joash, the son and grandson of two idolatrous kings, began his reign at seven years old, an orphan, under the tutelage of the High Priest. He manifested his zeal for Jehovah's worship, by ordering funds to be collected to repair the temple on Mount Moriah, which had then stood about one hundred and thirty years. All the dedicated gold was to be used for this purpose, a tax was likewise levied on the people, and the priests were instructed to obtain voluntary donations. Seven years passed on; the priests continually received contributions from the people, but the temple was not repaired. That the king distrusted the integrity of the priests, is implied by the fact that he forbade them to receive any more money. He ordered a box, with a hole in its lid, to be made and placed near the altar; and whatever the people chose to give, they dropped into the orifice. At stated times the royal secretary, in conjunction with the High Priest, took out the money, counted it, and hired masons and carpenters to execute necessary repairs. After the death of the Pontiff, there was a feud between the king and the priests. It is not stated whether it was because he had doubted their honesty, or because they were offended with him for taking golden vessels out of the temple, to bribe the king of Syria, when he threatened to attack Jerusalem. It is recorded that he and his companions "left the House of the Lord, and served groves and idols." The Lord sent prophets to remonstrate with them, but they would not listen. One of these messengers was stoned to death, by order of the king, who was soon after assassinated in his bed.

Amaziah, his son, "did what was right in the sight of the Lord" in the beginning of his reign; but when he returned from a victory over the Edomites, he brought with him some of their images, and "set them up to be his gods, and bowed down himself before them, and burned incense unto them."

Uzziah, his successor, "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord;" and his son Jotham was also a pious

prince, who built a gate to the temple. But Ahaz, the grandson of Uzziah, "sacrificed and burnt incense in the high places, and on the hills, and under every green tree." When the Syrians defeated him in battle, he worshipped the Syrian gods, and raised altars to them in every city of Judah, and every corner of Jerusalem; giving as a reason that deities must be powerful who thus protected the people that trusted in them. Having been pleased with an altar he saw in Damascus, he caused one to be made after the same pattern, and placed in the temple at Jerusalem. He removed the twelve brazen oxen from under the great brazen tank; probably because he needed the brass to pay the king of Assyria for helping him in the wars. Finally he shut up Solomon's temple, and made images of Baal, which he caused to be worshipped. The ceremony of passing through fire, as an emblem of higher purification than water, formed a part of the worship of Baal, who is sometimes called Moloch. Some suppose that parents carried children on their shoulders through the fire; others think the priests led them through, or simply waved a child over the flame, to signify that he was consecrated to the God of the Sun. To avert some great calamity, children were sometimes consumed as burnt-offerings to Moloch. King Ahaz caused his own son to pass through the fire; but he could not have been materially harmed by the process, for he afterward succeeded his father on the throne. How completely the worship of images was mixed up with faith in Jehovah, is shown by the fact that the prophet Hosea, who lived in the reign of Ahaz, enumerates images and teraphim [household gods] among the desirable apparatus of a religious state. He prophesies sorrowful times, when "the children of Israel shall abide many days, without a king, without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without a teraphim. Afterward they shall return and seek the Lord their God."

Hezekiah, son of Ahaz, endeavoured to lead the people back to Jehovah, giving as a reason that while the temple

on Mount Moriah had been shut up, their sons had fallen by the sword, and their wives and children had been taken captive. "He removed the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves." When he found the children of Israel burning incense to the brazen serpent Moses had made, he brake the image in pieces, calling it Nehushtan, which means a brass bauble. He opened Solomon's temple, and summoned the priests and Levites to sanctify themselves and the house, and make preparations for a great public sacrifice. The people, in obedience to royal command, brought up to the temple seventy bullocks, a hundred rams, and two hundred lambs, for a burnt-offering to the Lord. "And when the burnt-offering began, the song of the Lord began also, with the trumpets, and with the instruments ordained by David, king of Israel. This continued till the burnt-offering was finished, when the king and all present with him bowed themselves and worshipped. And Hezekiah rejoiced that God had prepared the people; for the thing was done suddenly." After that, proclamation was made, and messengers sent to all the children of Israel, wherever they could be found, to come up to Jerusalem to keep the great feast of the Passover. The neglect into which the laws of Moses had fallen, is implied by the statement, "for they had not done it of a long time, in such sort as it was written." The people flocked to Jerusalem in great numbers, and "the king gave the congregation a thousand bullocks, and seven thousand sheep; and the princes gave one thousand bullocks, and ten thousand sheep; and a great number of priests sanctified themselves. So there was great joy, for since the time of Solomon there was not the like in Jerusalem."

Manasseh, son of Hezekiah, reversed all his father had done. "He built up again the high places, which had been broken down. He reared altars to Baal, and made groves, and worshipped the host of heaven. He observed times, and used enchantments, and dealt with wizards, and set a carved image in the House of God." Afterward,

when he was in severe affliction, by reason of the Assyrian armies, he took the idol out of the temple, pulled down the altars he had built to foreign gods, and offered sacrifice and prayer to the God of Israel. But after his death, his son Amon set up the carved images again, and sacrificed to them.

Josiah, son of Amon, succeeded to the throne at eight years of age, and it is said he even then began "to seek after the God of David." In the eighteenth year of his reign, he sent orders to the High Priest to count over the sums of money which had from time to time been dedicated to the temple of the Lord, and apply the sum to necessary repairs. His messenger returned and announced that the High Priest had obeyed the royal mandate, and had likewise sent by him the Book of the Law, which he said had been found in the temple. It is a very singular fact, and one for which commentators are puzzled to account, that the pious young king seemed entirely ignorant of the existence of such a book. When it was read to him, and he learned that the worship of images was declared to be a great sin, which Jehovah was sure to punish with fierce anger, he rent his clothes with grief and terror. Hulda, a famous prophetess, then dwelt in the college at Jerusalem, and priests were sent to her, to inquire concerning the words of the book. She returned answer to the king that the Lord would surely punish the people for burning incense to other gods; his wrath was kindled against them, and would not be quenched. But she promised that he should not witness the evil, because he had humbled himself before the Lord, and rent his garments, when he heard the denunciations of the Law. Yet if the chief magistrate of the nation was ignorant of the existence of such laws against idolatry, the people surely were not likely to be better instructed than their monarch. Josiah forthwith commenced the work of atonement with great zeal. The image of the goddess Ashtoreth was brought out from Jehovah's temple, burned, stamped to powder, and strewn on the graves of those who had sacrificed to her. The

horses and chariot of the Sun, which had been placed over the entrance of the temple, were taken down and destroyed. The groves were cut down, and human bones burned on the high places, that they might be so effectually polluted, no one would dare to approach them. From every corner of his kingdom, he hunted out all the priests "who burned incense to Baal, to the Sun and the Moon, and the planets, and all the host of heaven;" and he slew them, and burned their bones on their own altars. He even carried his zeal so far as to send messengers into Samaria, to demolish the altars Jeroboam had erected. After this thorough purgation of the land, he commanded all the people to keep the Passover. The record states: "Surely there was not holden such a Passover from the days of the Judges that judged Israel, nor of the kings of Judah." "Notwithstanding, the Lord turned not from the fierceness of his great wrath. And the Lord said, I will remove Judah out of my sight, as I have removed Israel."

When the son of Josiah began to reign, "he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord." Pharaoh carried him captive to Egypt, placed his brother Jehoiakim on the throne, and compelled the kingdom of Judah to pay tribute. Then Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, came up against Jerusalem, carried the royal family into captivity, robbed the Lord's House of many treasures, compelled the people to pay tribute to him, and left Zedekiah, a third son of Josiah, to rule over them. Josephus states that king Jehoiakim went out of Jerusalem during the siege, and voluntarily resigned himself and all his family into the hands of the Babylonians, on condition that they would not burn the temple; "on which account, the Jews have celebrated him in all their sacred memorials, and his name has become immortal." But this is one of many instances in which Josephus states what is not to be found in the Hebrew Sacred Books.

It is recorded of king Zedekiah, that he and the chief priests, and the people, all transgressed very much concerning the worship of other gods, "and polluted the house of

the Lord, which he had hallowed in Jerusalem, and despised the words of his prophets." After a reign of eleven years, he ventured to rebel against the king of Babylon, who sent an army upon him, that slaughtered men and maidens, old and young, without mercy. The walls of Jerusalem were utterly demolished, the temple and palaces burned to the ground, and nearly all the inhabitants, who escaped the sword, were carried captive into Babylon; among these was king Zedekiah, who had his eyes put out. This memorable captivity happened four hundred and sixty-seven years after David, and five hundred and eighty-eight years before Christ.

In the course of numerous wars, civil and foreign, the temple of Solomon was repeatedly robbed of its treasures; but they were again renewed by offerings from devotees, according to their wealth and piety. Warlike weapons were thus dedicated after a victory, the same as in Grecian and Phœnician temples; for it is recorded that Jehoiada, the High Priest, armed his followers "with spears and shields, that were in the temple of the Lord." Shishak, king of Egypt, robbed the temple only thirty-five years after it was built. Asa, king of Judah, took gold and silver from it, to pay the Syrians for helping him against the rival kingdom of Israel. Joash, king of Judah, took valuable offerings from the temple and bribed the king of Syria not to attack Jerusalem. Jehoash, king of Israel, attacked Judah, and carried off all the gold, and silver, and precious vessels, he could find in the temple. Ahaz, king of Judah, took silver, gold, and brass, from the House of the Lord, to procure help from Assyria, to fight against the Syrians. Hezekiah, his successor, being unable to raise sufficient money to pay the required tribute to the king of Assyria, was obliged to strip from the doors and pillars of the temple, the plates of gold, with which he himself had overlaid them. And finally, Nebuchadnezzar despoiled it utterly.

A few of the poorer class of Hebrews, "vine-dressers and husbandmen," were left to till the soil of their conquered

country, and a mild, just man, named Gedaliah, was appointed to rule over them. Jeremiah the prophet was in favour with Nebuchadnezzar, because he had always advised submission to him, in opposition to a strong party of his own countrymen, who favoured an alliance with Egypt against Babylon. He was offered his choice either to go to Babylon, or remain in his native land. He chose to take up his abode at a city called Mispah, and Gedaliah the governor received orders to protect him, and supply him whatsoever he needed. When the Babylonian army had gone, many fugitive Israelites, who had hidden in mountains and caves, came to Gedaliah at Mispah. He told them that whoever would cultivate the land, and pay tribute to Babylon, should be protected, and have assistance in rebuilding their houses and sowing their crops. The justice and humanity of the governor rendered him generally popular; but a near relative of the exiled king being invited with others to a feast, treacherously attacked Gedaliah and his Babylonian guards, and slew them. The infant colony, alarmed lest this murder should be revenged upon them, fled into Egypt. Jeremiah prophesied against this proceeding, but the people distrusted his advice, and he followed them into exile. Thus were the last of the Israelites banished from the land of Canaan.

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PROGRESS

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RELIGIOUS IDEAS.



JEWS AFTER THE EXILE.

"Judea's homeless hearts, that turn
From all earth's shrines to thee,
With their lone faith for ages borne
In sleepless memory."

THE captives in Babylon did not reside in a district by themselves, as their ancestors had done in Egypt. They were dispersed in all parts of the country, and effectually mixed with the inhabitants. Nebuchadnezzar gave orders that the handsomest and most intelligent lads belonging to the higher classes among them should be placed in the schools of the Magi, and instructed in all Chaldean learning. At these schools, which were very famous in their day, young Hebrews had an opportunity to study divination, for the interpretation of dreams; astrology, in connection with prophecy; astronomical calculations, in which were included the periodical destruction of the world; and chemical knowledge, made use of by priests, to resist ordeals by fire or poison. Daniel, and his kinsmen of the royal line of Judah, were educated at these schools. By

his skilful interpretation of a dream, he became a favourite with Nebuchadnezzar, who appointed him Chief of all the Magi, and the governor of a province, and bestowed upon him the name of Baaltasar, from Baal, the tutelary deity of Babylon. It seems marvellous that he could have been advanced to such high honours, especially to priestly dignity, without considerable conformity on his part to the established worship of the country. But the Sacred Books inform us that he clung to his religion with Hebrew tenacity, and even at the peril of his life turned his face toward Jerusalem and prayed publicly, three times a day, to the God of Israel.

The old prophecy of Nathan concerning the house of David sustained the hopes of pious exiles, who never allowed themselves to doubt that Israel would be restored to the promised land. When Cyrus the Great, of Persia, conquered Babylon, five hundred and thirty-six years before Christ, he likewise acquired possession of the land of Canaan. Hebrew prophets pointed toward him as a deliverer; and whether he was informed of that circumstance, as some have said, or whether he was merely influenced by good policy in having the soil cultivated by colonies warmly attached to it, certain it is, he gave the captives leave to return to their native land, and offered them many inducements. A large proportion, probably including the wealthiest, preferred to remain in the Persian empire, where they had acquired possessions, and formed connections in business. It was a common saying among themselves that only the bran returned to Jerusalem, while the fine flour was left in Babylon. For many ages after, the number of Jews in Chaldea, Assyria, and Persia, was thought greatly to exceed those of Palestine. A large multitude never returned.

Forty-two thousand men, with their families, accepted the permission of Cyrus to return to Jerusalem, and rebuild the temple. They belonged to Judah and Benjamin, with perhaps a few scattered individuals from other tribes. Judah, to whom pointed all the prophecies concerning a

future deliverer and prince, being by far the most numerous, gave their name to the whole people, who were thenceforth called Jews. A month after their return, as soon as they had provided shelter for their families, they assembled at Jerusalem, built an altar on Mount Moriah, and offered sacrifices to the God of Israel. But their plans for rebuilding the temple met with obstructions from an unexpected quarter.

The ten tribes which formed the kingdom of Israel had been carried captive into Assyria, two hundred years before the time of Cyrus. Salmanassar, their conqueror, not wishing to leave the soil uncultivated, when it might be productive of revenue, sent thither colonies of men from various nations, probably mixed with some fugitive Israelites. These new settlers found the country infested with lions; and, according to the prevailing ideas of that period, they supposed the tutelary god of the place was angry, because the worship to which he had been accustomed was neglected. They accordingly sent messengers to the king of Assyria, begging to be instructed how the God of the Hebrews was worshipped, that they might turn aside his wrath, and thus be relieved from the plague of the lions. The king sent them some priests from among the Israelitish captives. Thus the ritual of Moses was restored in Samaria, but became very much mixed with the worship of various foreign gods. When these Samaritans heard that Judah had returned from Babylon, with many privileges granted by Cyrus, they wished to strengthen themselves by friendly alliance with the new comers. Accordingly, they proposed to unite with them in rebuilding the temple, saying: "We worship your God in the same manner as ye do." But the elders of Judea scornfully replied that they were not descendants of Israel; that they were a mixed race of idolaters, and altogether unworthy to assist in rebuilding their temple. This was the beginning of a deadly enmity between Jews and Samaritans, which continued to the end of their history. As soon as the foundations of the temple were laid, the Samaritans

sent ambassadors into Persia to say that the Jews had always been a people greatly given to insurrections, and thereby troublesome to kings; that they were building a citadel under the name of a temple, and planning to set up a government for themselves. By these and similar representations, the active animosity of the Samaritans defeated the rebuilding of the temple during nine years; for which the priests and elders of Judea solemnly pronounced a public curse upon them. At last, in the reign of Darius, king of Persia, permission was obtained to complete the work. The Jews had contributed generously in the beginning, and laid the foundations with great joy; the priests blowing trumpets, and Levites singing Psalms of thanksgiving. But finding themselves unexpectedly impeded in the work, their zeal relaxed; and when the king of Persia allowed them to resume their labours, they neglected to do so, until famine came upon them. Then the prophet Haggai proclaimed in their ears the old doctrine of temporal rewards and punishments: "Thus saith the Lord, I called for a drought upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the corn, and upon the new wine, and upon the oil, and upon that which the ground bringeth forth, and upon men and upon cattle, and upon all the labour of the hands. Ye have sown much, and lo it came to little; and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it. Because of mine house that is waste, and ye run every man to his own house. Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the Lord."

Thus exhorted, the people applied themselves with renewed diligence. The workmen were obliged to go constantly armed, by reason of attacks from the Samaritans and other nations round them; but in seven years they completed a new temple where the old one had stood. It was of the same size and form, but much inferior in splendour, and the remembrance of more glorious days made aged men weep as they looked upon it. Cyrus had given orders that the sacred vessels carried away by Nebuchad-

nezzar should be restored. But it is supposed the Ark of the Covenant, the altar of incense, the golden table for show-bread, and the golden candlestick, were destroyed. They were never brought back from Babylon, and new ones, of similar pattern, were made for the second temple. The Shechinah did not again appear over the Mercy Seat, in a visible cloud, from which oracles were given. The Urim and Thummim were gone. The sacred fire had been extinguished when the old temple was demolished, and no flame descended from heaven to kindle sacrifices on the new altars of Judea. The holy oil, prepared and preserved by Moses, was wanting now; and the High Priest could not be consecrated by anointing, according to immemorial custom. However, they observed ancient rites with as much exactness as possible, and the people were satisfied. "The priests, and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house of God with joy. They offered a hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs; and for a sin-offering for all Israel, twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel. And they set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, as it is written in the book of Moses."

Henceforth, we hear no more of image-worship in Jewish history. Their aversion to that kind of idolatry remained strong and permanent. During their long years of exile, prophets constantly reminded them that they had been carried into captivity as a punishment for idolatry; that because they had avariciously neglected to give rest to their land, by observing the Sabbatical Year, as the Lord had commanded Moses, therefore their once fruitful fields and vineyards were resting in desolation; that the words of the old prophets would not fail; that a royal branch certainly would spring from the root of David, and restore prosperity to Israel, if they would turn to the Lord their God, and worship him only. And when a remnant were brought back to their holy land, as some of the prophets had predicted, they were again and again reminded that

the God of Israel was a very jealous god, and would not suffer his glory to be given to another. Moses had expressly ordained that all the people should be instructed in religious matters; but in the course of their many changes, this had often, and for long periods, been entirely neglected. After their restoration to the Promised Land, a regular and permanent system of public instruction was, for the first time, established; and strict injunctions against idolatry were repeated with redoubled diligence.

The restoration of the old ritual of worship devolved on Ezra, a priest, whose education and habits rendered him very likely to impress on the people a character of austere devotion, and rigid observance of ceremonials. He was a direct descendant from the High Priest who was slain by Nebuchadnezzar. He had probably been much occupied with sacerdotal studies during his residence in Babylon, for he is praised as "a ready scribe in the Law of Moses." The Jews held him in high estimation, and were wont to call him the second founder of their Law. It was a common saying among them, that "if the Law had not been given by Moses, Ezra was worthy it should have been declared by him." He talked with the aged people, who returned from captivity, and gathered all they remembered to have seen or heard concerning ancient usages. He collected the old writings of the nation, which he probably found in a dislocated and fragmentary state. To these he added what was necessary to connect and complete them, and caused copies to be made, one of which was kept in the temple, as an authentic record, by which others might be corrected. He was assisted in these labours by a council of one hundred and twenty learned elders, called the Great Synagogue. A series of these ecclesiastical councils continued, under the same name, down to the time of Alexander the Great. When the revised copy of the Law was ready for public use, Ezra called all the people together, and read it to them, from a high pulpit, while all stood up and listened; "men and women, and all that could hear with understanding." It was the more necessary that the

Law of Moses should be well understood, because, like the Hindoo Code of Menu, it comprised both the religious and civil code of the country, and thus regulated all questions of trade or inheritance, as well as matters of worship.

Prayers three times a day, morning, noon, and evening, were prescribed in Hindoo Vedas, and scrupulously repeated in all Braminical colleges and Buddhist Lamaseries. It was believed that laws which kept the hierarchy of beings in order, and planets in their places, would be disturbed, if these ceremonials were neglected. The Hebrew king David said: "Morning, noon, and evening, will I pray." Three times every day prayers were offered in the temple. It was a general and devout feeling among the Jews that the universe would fall into disorder, if they stopped praying to Jehovah. After Ezra's time, places of worship called synagogues, were erected. Prayers were read there three times a day, and people assembled three times a week, the Sabbath included, to hear the Law of Moses read and expounded by learned teachers called Rabbis. It was not allowable to use the synagogues for any secular purposes, but the word Jehovah was never uttered there, that being reserved for the temple only.

Jewish rabbis greatly eulogize the zeal of Ezra in restoring the Mosaic ritual, even in the minutest particulars. They inform us that after the return from captivity, he burned a red heifer, with all the ceremonies ordained by God, that the people might have holy ashes to purify themselves whenever they had touched the dead, or passed over a grave. If the heifer had one single hair white or black, she was deemed unfit for this purpose.

The idea of atonement by blood, common in all ancient religions, remained prominent in the Jewish system, as renewed by Ezra. If a man was killed, and the murderer could be found, his blood must be shed as a compensation for the crime. But if the murderer could not be found, a heifer was beheaded; because it was supposed the sin would be imputed to the whole nation, and God would punish them for it, unless his wrath was pacified by blood.

The laws of Moses permitted and regulated polygamy, merely providing for the interests of children, by ordaining that a man should not set the son of a beloved wife above a first-born son by a wife that was hated. A previous contract was made with parents, and legal ceremonies performed. Poor women, who had no dowry, were taken as concubines, or inferior wives. Their children received such gifts as the father chose to bestow, but the children of his superior wives succeeded to the inheritance. Taking a concubine implied nothing disreputable to either party. Wives themselves often promoted such connections, when they had no children. Jacob married two sisters, and they gave him two of their servants for concubines. Abraham took Hagar at the request of his wife, though she afterward made the poor foreigner a victim of her jealousy. Gideon had many wives, and seventy sons. Samuel's father had two equal wives. Only one wife and one concubine is mentioned as belonging to Saul, the first king. But David had at least eight wives. Solomon had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines. Rehoboam had eighteen wives and sixty concubines. Rabbinical expounders of the Law limited the number of wives to four, by way of counsel. The general tendency was not to have more than one. The condition of Hebrew women, both married and unmarried, was, at all periods of their history, very honourable and free, compared with other nations where polygamy prevailed. Something of this might perhaps be owing to impressions Moses had received in Egypt. For the Egyptians married but one wife, and their customs awarded a singular degree of respect and freedom to women. The entire absence of voluptuous rites or customs in Hebrew worship was likewise favourable to the same result. In many countries, votaries gave women as donations to the temples, in the same spirit that they offered doves, or sheep, or golden vases; and the money obtained by a sale of their persons was put into the sacred treasury. But all such customs were excluded from Egyptian temples, and they were also an abomination unto the

Hebrews. It was expressly ordained by Moses: "There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel. Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore into the house of the Lord thy God, for any vow." When the daughters of Zelophehad complained to Moses that their father's estate had passed away from his descendants, because he had died in the wilderness without sons, he immediately made a law: "If a man die and have no sons, then he shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter." Women never belonged to the priesthood, but they are often mentioned as prophets. Deborah was both a prophetess and a judge in Israel. Hulda the prophetess dwelt at the college in Jerusalem, and Anna the prophetess lived in the temple. Men and women always worshipped apart. Women had seats by themselves in the Synagogues, and an outer court provided for them at the temple.

Moses forbade the descendants of Israel to marry any woman out of their own tribes. The general violation of this law was a source of great grief to Ezra. He said sorrowfully: "The people, the priests, and the Levites have not separated themselves from the people of the lands. For they have taken of their daughters for themselves and for their sons; so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people of those lands. Yea, the hand of princes and rulers hath been chief in this trespass. And for our iniquities have we, our kings, and our priests, been delivered into the hand of the kings of the lands, to the sword and captivity." Ezra rent his garments and plucked the hair from his head and beard, and fell on his knees, and spread out his hands in prayer to God. And the people came to him and wept very sore, and offered to put away all their wives of foreign extraction, and all the children that had been born of them. He ratified a covenant with them to that effect. The foreign women were sent away with their children, and sacrifices were offered to the Lord for the trespass that had been committed.

Strangers were allowed to live within the gates of Jewish cities, without conforming to Mosaic ceremonies, provided

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they renounced idolatry, and observed what were called the seven precepts of Noah, viz: "To worship one God; not blaspheme holy things; not murder; not steal; not commit adultery; to deal justly; and not to eat flesh with the blood in it;" by which they meant flesh cut from any living creature. Jews believed the observance of these moral precepts was all God required, except of their own nation. Therefore they allowed such to live among them, under the name of Sojourning Proselytes, or Proselytes of the Gate. Being uncircumcised, they were deemed unclean, and therefore not permitted to enter the temple, or to dwell in Jerusalem.

There was another class of foreigners, called Proselytes of Righteousness, who were thorough converts to the Jewish system, and regularly adopted among them by the initiatory rites of circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice. The proselyte was not deemed sufficiently purified, if any of his hair, or even the tip of his finger, remained unwashed. When he came out of the water, he recited a prayer that he might be clean from Gentile pollution, and become a sound member of the Jewish church. Children were likewise admitted by immersion in water, generally at the same time with their parents; but they had liberty to retract, if they chose, when they were old enough to judge for themselves. This class of proselytes were bound by the same obligations as Jews, and shared all their privileges, except that some of them were forever excluded from intermarrying with Israelites, and those of other nations were not permitted to intermarry for several generations.

When the promised land was divided among the children of Israel, descendants of Levi had no portion assigned them. They were set apart for religious services, and were scattered through all portions of the country to prevent each tribe from setting up an independent priesthood for itself. None of them were priests, except the families descended from Aaron. Descendants of all the other families of the tribe were called Levites, whose business it

was to attend upon the priests. They had forty-eight cities assigned them in different sections of the country, with the suburbs thereof for tillage, but they paid to the priests a portion of the increase of the fields adjoining those cities. The people supported them by tithes of their harvests and their flocks. Common Levites were often objects of charity. Moses said: "Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the Levite, as long as thou livest upon the earth; for he hath no inheritance with thee. The Levite, the stranger, the fatherless and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come and eat and be satisfied." Levites carried the Tabernacle and the Ark whenever they were removed, guarded the temple, took charge of ecclesiastical funds, and performed the sacred music. Persons not of the tribe of Levi, if they were remarkably skilful, were permitted to join the instrumental bands, but only Levites were allowed to unite their voices in religious service. In David's time, there were thirty-eight thousand of them. They came in and went out of the temple by set numbers, in twenty-four courses; thus each course served but one week in twenty-four, except on great festivals. When exempted from temple-service they were employed as lawyers and judges to decide controversies, as scribes, or writers, to copy the Sacred Books, and keep exact genealogies of the tribes, and as teachers to instruct the people in moral, ceremonial, and judicial portions of the Law. They were required to read the whole Law once in seven years to the people. Sometimes they were counsellors of state, and generals of armies. Schools of the prophets were generally established on hills or mountains; for there was such a fixed habit of worshipping on high places, that it was deemed judicious to have holy men stationed at such localities, to instruct the people, and bless their sacrifices. These seminaries were under the government of Levites. Some prophet, venerable for age or piety, presided. The pupils, who were called sons of the prophets, sat at his feet, listened to his instructions, and wrote down his prophecies. They were generally

young Levites, of superior excellence and intelligence; but members of other tribes were sometimes admitted. If a Levite presumed to perform any of the functions appropriated to priests only, he was put to death. They were not allowed to enter the sanctuary, or touch the Ark, or handle any of the holy vessels. When such articles were removed, they were closely veiled by priests, and placed on poles; and Levites touched the poles only.

Priesthood conferred high rank, and was practically an order of nobility. During the reign of David, there are supposed to have been about six thousand priests. Four thousand two hundred and eighty-nine persons descended from Aaron were among those who returned from captivity. The slightest personal deformity excluded a man from the sacred office. Not only the blind and the lame were forbidden to minister at the altars, but even those who had one eye or ear larger than another, or the nose too much flattened, or the eyebrows meeting on the forehead. Any transient disease or blemish unfitted a man for the performance of sacerdotal duties, until it was cured. They wore mitres or bonnets made something in the fashion of a Turkish turban; white linen drawers, and a short linen robe, usually fastened by a girdle of divers colours; but on the holy Day of Expiation, the girdle also was of pure white linen. If there was the slightest impurity on the garments, even if an insect happened to get crushed in the folds, the priest was considered unclean, and his ministration was of no effect. If any one ventured to assist in divine service, knowing that he had in any respect neglected the purification required by law, the young priests thrust him out and killed him with billets of wood. They always bathed, and left their shoes behind them, when they entered the sanctuary; and they always retired from the apartment backward, that the face might never be turned away from the place where the Ark stood. Their clothes were never washed or mended, lest some pollution should be accidentally acquired in the process. When they became unfit to wear, they were ravelled to

make wicks for lamps in the temple. When a descendant of Aaron was consecrated, in order to enter upon the duties of his office, he sacrificed a ram, and priests put some of the blood upon the tip of his right ear, his right thumb, and great toe, upon his garments and upon the altar. During the time of their ministry, they were forbidden to taste of wine, or any intoxicating drink. Their courses at the altar were fixed by lot. Some were to blow on the silver trumpets, some to wave incense, some to feed the sacred fire, others to carry out the ashes. This was done, because, as their numbers increased, they overthrew each other, and created confusion by scrambling for the same employment. Every morning trumpets sounded from the temple, to give the Levites notice to come to their appointed tasks. It was deemed sacrilege for any but priests to blow on those instruments, or to burn incense before the Lord. When king Uzziah presumed, in the pride of his heart, to offer incense with his own hands, we are told that he was instantly struck with leprosy, and remained a leper to the day of his death. The people appropriated all the first-born of their flocks and herds, and a tenth of all their produce, to religious purposes. The oblations of wheat, bread, fruit, wine, and oil, were waved before the Lord, or a portion poured out as libations, and then divided among the priesthood. Of the animals sacrificed, a small portion was consumed, and priests and their attendants feasted on the remainder. Any money found when the streets of Jerusalem were swept belonged to the priests. They derived considerable revenue from the practice of paying five shekels for every first-born son; a law instituted by Moses, in lieu of human sacrifice. Voluntary vows were another source of profit. When people were in great distress, or when they had received any unexpected blessing, they often made a vow to dedicate a piece of land, or a house, or money, or jewels, or a certain number of animals, to sacred uses. The priests had likewise thirteen cities near Jerusalem allotted

to them. The criminal law was the same for priests and people.

The first-born of the oldest branch of the family descended from Aaron, was High Priest by lineal succession, provided he was free from physical blemishes. Hence it sometimes happened that the Pontiff was not religiously inclined above other men, or otherwise remarkably qualified for his office. If the candidate was healthy, and perfectly formed, but poor, his priestly brethren must make him the richest among them by donations. He was consecrated by being invested with the sacred garments, and having his forehead anointed with holy oil, in the form of a letter, or a cross. All priests were forbidden to marry a prostitute, or a divorced woman; but the High Priest was not allowed to marry a widow, or even a maiden who had been betrothed to another. His wife must be nobly born, though not necessarily of his own tribe. If she died, he might marry again; but if he took a second wife while the first was living, he must give one of them a bill of divorce before the great Day of Expiation; otherwise he was incapable of performing the holy offices, which then devolved upon him. He was polluted by the presence of a dead body, and must not even enter the house where his own father and mother lay dead. He had a dwelling within the precincts of the temple, called the High Priest's Parlour. He generally remained there during the day, and at night returned to the home of his family, which must be within the precincts of Jerusalem. Whenever he went abroad, or entered the temple, he was attended by other priests. It was deemed unsuitable for him to converse with the commonalty, or frequent public feasts or baths, where he could be too familiarly seen by the people. The holiest portions of divine worship were entrusted to him. He was considered the appointed mediator between God and man, to make atonement for the sins of the whole people. He alone was permitted to enter the holy of holies, to utter the name of Jehovah, and to ask counsel of God by Urim and Thummim. Nothing impor-

tant, in peace or war, could be undertaken without his sanction. Though the administration of justice was committed to particular judges, the last appeal was made to him in difficult cases, even in temporal affairs. His office continued for life; for the laws of Moses made no provision against a priest who should prove faithless to his trust. He was not obliged to testify in courts of justice, except in cases relating to the king; and even to that no one could compel him, except the Great Sanhedrim. In some respects he was on a level with other people. He might be witnessed against, and judged, as well as judge. If he committed an offence, which by law deserved whipping, the Sanhedrim whipped him, and then restored him to his dignity. The vestments of the High Priest were extremely rich. On his forehead was a golden semicircle, with "Holiness to the Lord" inscribed upon it in embossed characters. Over a tunic and loose trowsers of fine white linen, he wore a blue robe, woven in one piece, the edges richly embroidered with pomegranates, and the lower rim, which reached to his feet, hung with little bells of gold, which tinkled as he moved, and gave the people notice to fall to prayers, while he offered incense. Over the robe was a splendid garment, called the Ephod, which fell down the back, and in front, was fastened at the waist by a rich girdle. The Ephod was of blue, scarlet, and purple, interwoven with golden threads. It had two shoulder pieces, with large beryl-stones set in gold, on which were engraved the names of Jacob's sons, progenitors of the twelve tribes. From these, suspended by gold chains, hung a breastplate, formed of cloth of gold, in which twelve precious stones were set in rows, each stone engraved with the name of one of the tribes. In this breastplate were the images, or words, or symbols, called the Urim and Thummim. Moses, we are told, talked with God face to face, and received verbal instructions what the people were to do. But after his death, judges and kings were obliged to consult Deity through the agency of the High Priest. For this purpose, he presented himself in full priestly costume, before the

veil which separated the Holy of Holies from the Sanctuary. With face turned toward the Mercy Seat, he proposed whatever question he had been desired to ask of the Lord, while the king, judge, or general, who thus sought guidance, remained at a distance, reverentially waiting for the answer. How the oracular response was given, has been a subject of great controversy. It was a very ancient belief among the Jews, and is still a common opinion, that certain of the letters engraved on the priest's breastplate protruded and shone with peculiar lustre on such occasions; and he, being endowed with a spirit of prophecy, could spell out the answer from these radiant letters. Some commentators have maintained that an audible voice was heard to reply from the Shechinah, or visible cloud; because it is said, when Moses had gone into the Tabernacle to consult with God, "he heard the voice of one speaking to him from off the Mercy Seat, between the two cherubim." This process was called asking counsel of God by Urim and Thummim. It was not allowable for any private affairs, but only for such as related to the general interests of the nation. An ark was made to contain the breastplate with Urim and Thummim, and when Israel went to battle, it was carried with the army, on the shoulders of Levites, in the same manner as was the Ark of the Covenant. The High Priest either went with it himself to ask counsel of God, in cases of emergency, or he appointed a deputy for that purpose, who was called the Anointed for the Wars. On the verge of conflict, he blew a trumpet, and roused the courage of the people with the following speech: "Hear, O Israel! This day you approach unto battle against your enemies. Let not your hearts faint. Do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them; for the Lord your God goeth with you, against your enemies, to save you."

The power of the priesthood varied very much at different epochs. A priest anointed Solomon king; but the sacerdotal influence was subordinate to the royal; for Solomon discharged a priest and afterward restored him.

There is no account of a priest that attained much wealth or political influence until after the return from Babylon. The evils which result from investing a class of men with spiritual power over others were as conspicuous among the Jews, as in the priesthood of other nations. As early as the times of Eli, when pious people brought animals to be sacrificed to the Lord, priests seized the flesh by force, to gratify their own luxurious appetites. In the reign of Joash, they received, year after year, contributions to repair the temple, but totally neglected the work. Jeremiah says of his own times: "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests rule by their means." The Levitical order became consolidated after the time of Ezra, and their ambition increased with their power. John the High Priest slew his brother Jesus in the temple, on account of a quarrel between them concerning the succession to office. Antiochus tried to apologize for his cruel persecution of the Jewish religion, by saying he was thoroughly disgusted with the avarice and political intriguing of their priests. The people, though strongly bound to their religious teachers by tradition and the force of habit, occasionally manifested diminished reverence. The payment of tithes was sometimes neglected until officers were sent to enforce it. Such a state of things at one time drove all the Levites and singers from the temple, to seek other employments. In the days when judges ruled the land, priests were very unceremoniously thrust in and out of office. In the turbulent times preceding the final destruction of Jerusalem, different factions chose the High Priest by lot. On one occasion, Josephus says they invested with the ephod and golden crown "a man who scarcely knew what the high priesthood was, such a mere rustic was he."

To express adoration Hebrews used a word which signified kissing; it being a general custom among ancient nations to kiss the hand, in token of reverence, to sun, stars, statues, and other sacred objects. Hebrews always prayed standing, with hands upon their breasts, in the attitude of servants before a master. To express deep humili-

ation, they sometimes prostrated themselves on the ground; but more generally bent the knees, or bowed the head low. If any priest prayed sitting, his ministry was vain; so likewise if the left hand was used instead of the right, in any of the ceremonies or sacrifices. When the priest blessed the congregation, he did not look upward to heaven, or toward the people, but turned his eyes to the ground. While he pronounced the benediction, his hands were raised to his forehead, the palms spread out, the thumbs and the forefingers joined together. On such occasions, all the people covered their faces, afraid to be struck blind if they looked up; because the Divine Majesty was supposed at that moment to rest on the hands of the priest. This Egyptian posture of praying with uplifted hands was as old as the time of Moses. Great importance seems to have been attached to the mere attitude, for when he wished to secure the blessing of God on a battle which lasted all day, Aaron and Hur held up his hands, when he became too weary to sustain them himself.

So far as we have any record of ancient usages, it was the custom of all nations to offer prayers and sacrifices to certain deities, on days appropriated to each; and having fulfilled that duty, the people went about their customary labours or amusements. Phœnicians, Babylonians, Arabians, and other nations where the Spirits of the Planets were worshipped, peculiarly observed the seventh day, because the number of the planets was seven, and the Sun, in their estimation, was king of the planets. Jews were peculiar for consecrating every seventh day so entirely to their God, that they refrained from any work, or recreation, themselves, their servants, and their cattle, from sunset to sunset. It came on the day which we call Saturday, and was named the Sabbath, signifying rest; because it was regarded as a memorial of God's resting from his labours, after he had completed the work of creation in six days. They were not allowed to light a lamp, or kindle fire to cook on the Sabbath. Food was prepared, and the table laid on Friday. On that day, at three o'clock in the

afternoon, began what was called the Vesper of the Sabbath, or Day of Preparation. After that time, it was not allowable to begin any journey, or undertake any business, even in courts of justice, unless it could be completed before sunset. All foreigners who were with them, all the slaves, and the cattle, rested from labour. All the people washed their hands and feet, and arrayed themselves in their best garments, as a preparatory purification. When the sun was on the point of setting, trumpets sounded from the temple, to give notice that it was time for candles to be lighted in all their houses. It was necessary to have them burn all night, it being a desecration of the holy time to kindle fire in any way, upon any emergency. Those who were too poor to buy oil, begged it from their neighbours. Morning and afternoon, people assembled in the synagogues, to hear the Law of Moses read, and prayers recited. In addition to the sacrifice offered every day in the temple, two young lambs were sacrificed, and twice as much wine and oil presented as oblations to the Lord. At sunset, each master of a house signified that the Sabbath was ended, by blessing a cup of wine and presenting it to every member of the family. This was considered the most holy of their religious observances, and any wilful profanation of it was punished with death.

As every seventh day was a Sabbath, so every seventh year was a Sabbatical year, during which they were commanded to let the land rest. It might not be sowed, tilled, or manured; no tree, or vine, might be pruned of dead branches; no smoke made under them to destroy insects. Whoever disobeyed these injunctions, was punished by scourging. If any grain sprang up from seed scattered the preceding year, the owner of the land was not allowed to gather it into his garner. He, in common with every person that passed, was at liberty to shake it out and eat it; and the same rule was observed with regard to fruit. Moses promised, in the name of the Lord, that the harvests of the sixth year should always be sufficiently abundant

to provide for the wants of the seventh. Whether the Hebrews found themselves disappointed in that respect, we are not told, but at some periods of their history, they generally neglected the prescribed regulations, from an unwillingness to relinquish so much of their agricultural profits. The Sabbatical Year was sometimes called The Lord's Release, because all who were Israelites, or Proselytes of Righteousness, were released from obligations to creditors. Only foreigners, or Proselytes of the Gate, could be compelled to pay their debts. At the close of the year, the Law of Moses was publicly read by the ruler of the land, in presence of all the people.

After seven weeks of years, that is, after seven times seven years, the fiftieth was a year of Jubilee. Trumpets were sounded in all the highways, with proclamation of "liberty to all the land and all the inhabitants thereof." Those whom poverty had compelled to part with their estates, had them restored to them or their heirs, even if they had meanwhile been sold a hundred times over. All prisoners and Hebrew servants were set free, and feasted and rejoiced, with garlands on their heads.

Jews had a tradition, which they believed originated with Elijah, that the world would continue six thousand years. They supposed it had existed two thousand years before the Law was given to Moses; that it would remain two thousand years under the Law, and two thousand under the government of the Messiah. At the end of that period, the world would be destroyed by fire, and there would be a thousand years of rest, before God renewed all things. Some scholars think their custom of observing Sabbaths was typical of this prophecy.

Moses ordained three annual festivals, when all the men of Israel were required to come up to the House of the Lord with offerings. The most important was the Pass-over, so called from a Hebrew word meaning to pass over; because the destroying angel, when he slew the first-born of Egypt, passed over the houses of the Israelites. Whoever was able to attend this festival and did not, was con-

demned to forfeit all his goods to the priests, for sacred uses. It occurred at a season of the year corresponding with our March. Every master of a family went up to Jerusalem, and carried a lamb or a kid to the temple. Each animal must be examined by priests, and pronounced perfectly unblemished. The lamb was then slaughtered in the court of the temple. A row of priests stood ready with gold and silver vials, into which some of the blood was poured and passed up to the altar; empty vials being continually passed down. The priest, who stood nearest to the altar, sprinkled the blood upon it. The fat of the inwards and the kidneys were consumed as a burnt-offering; and while they were burning, bands of Levites sang Psalms. Each master of a family caused the body of his lamb to be conveyed to the place where he intended to sup, and there it was roasted whole. When all were seated at the table, a vessel of red wine and water was prepared. The master of the feast pronounced a blessing over it, drank, and passed it round to each member of the company. Then they all washed their hands, saying: "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and hast commanded us concerning the washing of our hands." Then they ate bitter herbs, reminding each other that they did it in remembrance of their bitter bondage in Egypt. Psalms were sung by singers provided for the occasion. Then the master of the feast took two loaves of unleavened bread, brake them in pieces, ate a portion himself, and passed the remainder to all present. Before they parted, a Psalm was sung, beginning and ending with Hallelujah, which means Praise to the Lord. At the Feast of the Passover, it was customary to release some prisoner, who was under sentence of death.

The next day began the Feast of Unleavened Bread. It continued seven days, during which special sacrifices of animals were offered every day, in addition to the customary sacrifices. On the first day, every man was required to send a bullock, or other animal, to the temple for sacrifice. On the second day, they brought offerings

of the first fruits of their barley-harvest, which was ripe at that season. Each man cast a handful of barley into the fire on the altar, and the remainder was left for the priests. Until this ceremony had been performed, the people did not reap their harvests, or partake of them.

People from all the tribes of Israel came up to Jerusalem in their best attire, to attend this great festival of eight days, commencing with the Passover. Every master of a house came up to the temple with his Paschal lamb on his shoulder, or had it carried before him by servants. In the days of Jewish prosperity, a million of human beings often assembled there. All the environs of the city were covered with tents; for though the most unbounded hospitality prevailed, it was impossible to accommodate all the strangers in houses. The number of cattle brought from afar was so great, that the hills round Jerusalem were covered with them, and every blade of grass was devoured. Some preferred to buy animals on the spot, and this led to the establishment of a great cattle-market in the outer courts of the temple, from which priests and Levites obtained considerable revenue. There were likewise chests and tables for money-changers, who sat there to receive pay for things purchased to offer in the temple; likewise to take the redemption money, which every Israelite paid for the life of his first-born son. These Levites demanded a fee for changing money, which in process of time led to great extortion.

When seven times seven days had passed, after the wave-offerings from their barley-harvest, a festival of thanksgiving was held for the ripened wheat. It was called Pentecost, meaning the fiftieth, because it occurred fifty days after barley-harvest. It was instituted in commemoration of the promulgation of the Law on Mount Sinai. All the men of Israel were required to come up to the temple with loaves of bread and sheaves of wheat. These were waved before the Lord, and reserved for the priests. Bulls, rams, lambs, and kids, adorned with flowers and fillets, were brought for burnt-offerings. Priests

sprinkled the blood of these animals on the altar, waved the fat of the inwards before the Lord, toward the four winds of heaven, and then burnt them on the altar, while priests blowed on silver trumpets, and Levites sang Psalms. Certain portions of the meat were reserved for the priests, and the remainder made a feast for those who offered the sacrifice. This festival continued seven days, but the first was observed with most solemnity. The poor rejoiced at this season, for reapers were ordered not to glean the fields clean, and not to go back to pick up a sheaf they had dropped.

Six months after the Passover, a great festival was held in gratitude for the ripened grapes and olives. On this occasion, also, all Israel were required to come up to the temple. They came in long procession, bringing abundant offerings of fruit, leading a fat ox for sacrifice, with his horns gilded, and head crowned with a garland of olive leaves. Bands of singers and musicians preceded them. As they approached Jerusalem, workmen left their shops, and magistrates went forth to meet them, exclaiming: "O, our brethren, ye are welcome!" Every one, even the king, carried on his shoulder a basket of offerings up to the court of the temple. Turtle-doves, wreathed with flowers, were fastened to the baskets, to be offered in sacrifice. The fruits belonged to the courses of priests at that time in service. This festival was called the Feast of Tabernacles, because all the people dwelt in booths, or tabernacles, to commemorate the time when they lived in tents in the wilderness. The booths were made of green boughs, so slightly woven that the rain could descend through them, and sun or stars could be plainly seen. Here they ate, drank, and slept, during the whole festival; only invalids, women, and children, were exempted from the obligation. Some erected booths in the court-yards of their houses, or on the roofs. They tied palm-branches together, intertwined with threads of gold or silver, and carried them in their hands every day of the feast, whither-soever they went. They entered the court of the temple

daily, and waved their palm-branches toward the altar, shouting: "Hosanna! O Lord, send us prosperity." Meanwhile, the trumpets sounded. On the seventh day, called the Day of Psalms, they all walked seven times round the altar, waving their palm-branches, while trumpets sounded, and Levites sang "Hosanna!" Then priests brought a golden tankard filled with wine and water, and poured it out at the foot of the altar, a libation to the Lord. Again the people waved their branches, trumpets sounded, musicians played, and Levites joined in a chorus of hosannas. In the evening, the court of the temple was brilliantly lighted, Levites played on harps and cymbals, while the people, including doctors of the Law, members of the Sanhedrim, and other dignified officers, sang, danced, and leaped about, with lighted torches in their hands, till the night was far spent. When it was ended, the priests bore a testimony against Sun-worshippers, by passing out at the east gate of the temple, and turning toward the west, to repeat these words: "Our fathers, who were in this place, turned their faces toward the east, where the sun rises, and turned their backs upon the temple of the Lord. But as for us, we turn our faces toward God, and worship him." This festival continued eight days. The last was called the Feast of Ingathering; when they brought to the temple oblations of wine, and oil, and threshed wheat. When these were presented, Psalms of thanksgiving were sung in full chorus, with trumpets and bands of music. No man was allowed to require any work from his servants on that day. Moses enjoined that scattered fruit should not be picked up, and that bunches of grapes should be left hanging, for the benefit of those who had no vineyards of their own. Some were doubtless niggardly in their obedience; but it is probable there always existed many kind hearts, who delighted in this delicate mode of conferring obligation, without the embarrassment of receiving thanks. Moreover, the selfishness of devout believers urged them to the same result, for giving to the poor was regarded as one form of offering to the Lord; and Hebrew theology always

taught that God rewarded his worshippers with external prosperity, in proportion to their devotional zeal. During the Feast of Tabernacles, prayers were offered for all people in the world, and seventy bullocks were sacrificed for the seventy nations, which Jews supposed comprised all the inhabitants of the earth. They were designated by the common term Gentiles, which simply means the nations. From the time of Joshua to the captivity in Babylon, the people neglected to live in booths during this festival, though Moses expressly enjoined it; but after their return from exile, Ezra restored the ancient usage.

Jews, in common with most Asiatic nations, believed that the world was created in autumn; therefore they dated their year from that time. On the day of the first new moon of the year, they held a new year's festival, called the Feast of Trumpets. No man was allowed to require work from his labourers on that day; and the provisions for food were more abundant than usual. It was customary to serve up a ram's head, in memory of the ram slain instead of Isaac. At sunrise, they offered thanks, saying: "Blessed be God who has hitherto preserved us in life, and brought us unto this time." Then the priests began to blow trumpets, and continued blowing them by turns, until sunset.

Every new moon was observed as a festival. Men were stationed on all the heights and watch-towers, to announce when the moon began to show itself above the horizon. As soon as the high priest heard the tidings, he said: "The new moon is hallowed;" and the Sanhedrim, who were assembled for the occasion, replied: "It is hallowed." Fires were kindled on all the hills, and messengers sent in every direction, to remind people that the Feast of the New Moon must be celebrated. At such times, in addition to the sacrifices daily offered in the temple, they slaughtered two bulls, seven lambs, and a kid, for sin-offerings.

Nine days after the Festival of Trumpets, they observed a very severe national fast, called the Great Day of Expiation. During this interval of nine days, they prepared

for expiation by applying themselves to works of piety and alms-giving with uncommon diligence. The very devout often rose at midnight, and went to the synagogues to pray till morning dawned. Seven days previous to the fast, the High Priest was escorted to the temple by the Sanhedrim and a band of priests, that he might live there, apart from his wife, away from the world, and out of danger of contamination by anything unclean. He took a substitute with him, to be duly prepared, in case any sudden disease, or accident, should render him unfit for the holy office of atonement. Both of them were sprinkled with the ashes of the red heifer, lest they had in some way contracted pollution unawares. The High Priest watched all the night previous. When the day dawned, he laid aside the rich dress, which he wore in the sanctuary on all other occasions, performed prescribed ablutions, and clothed himself in pure white linen. The people assembled at the temple as soon as it was light, and a young bullock was brought to him, as a sin-offering for the descendants of Aaron. He laid his hands on the head of the beast, and said: "O Lord, I have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed before thee, I and my house. O Lord, expiate the sins, perversities, and transgressions, whereby I have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed, I and my house." Then two goats, of equal colour, size, and price, were brought to him as a sin-offering for all the people. One of them was to be sacrificed to the Lord, the other was for a scape-goat. The goat for the Lord was chosen by drawing lots from an urn. The bullock and the goat were sacrificed, and the blood sprinkled on the holy of holies, the altar, and the sanctuary. A long piece of scarlet was tied to the other goat. The High Priest laid his hands on the head of the animal, and said: "O Lord, thy people, the house of Israel, have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed before thee. I beseech thee, O Lord, to expiate the sins, perversities, and transgressions, which the house of Israel have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed before thee. As it is written in

the Law of Moses, thy servant: for on this day he will expiate for you, to purge you from all your sins, that you may be clean before Jehovah." This was the only occasion on which the name of Jehovah was ever uttered, and then only by the High Priest. As soon as the priests and people heard it, they prostrated themselves to the ground, saying: "Blessed be the name of his glorious kingdom for ever and ever." The goat was carried with all speed to a wilderness ten miles from Jerusalem, and being led to the top of a precipice, was thrown off, with all the sins of the people on his head. The men who performed this office were considered unclean for the remainder of the day, and went through ceremonies of purification before they approached any sacred place. When the sacrifices were finished, the High Priest took coals from the altar, placed incense upon them, and went into the holy of holies to burn incense before the Lord. This was the only day when he entered that apartment, which no other human foot was allowed to touch. He went in four times. Once to burn incense, once to sprinkle the blood of the bullock, once to sprinkle the blood of the goat, and a fourth time, to bring out the censer in which incense was burning. If he entered it a fifth time, Jewish writers say he died for his presumption. By his prayers and sacrifices on this important Day of Expiation, the whole nation believed God was reconciled to them, and all their sins forgiven.

There were innumerable other observances and ceremonies attending birth, marriage, death, and all the most interesting events of life. In addition to prescribed sacrifices and oblations, there were many voluntary ones, to avert calamities, or express gratitude for good fortune. In the Hebrew language the same word denoted peace and prosperity; therefore offerings of thanksgiving were called peace-offerings. When a man was too poor to offer beasts or birds, the priests accepted an oblation of flour, in lieu of more expensive donations.

The character and mission of the prophets differed essentially from that of the priests. The priesthood rarely

opposed the progress of any prevailing corruption. They were chiefly occupied in the mechanical routine, of lighting lamps, tending the sacred fire, replenishing the frankincense, changing the loaves of show-bread, and other similar ceremonies. They took care of the mere externals of religion, while the spirit and life of it seemed to dwell with the prophets, on whom, in degenerate times, devolved the task of preaching the ancient purity of the Law. They encouraged and threatened with promises of temporal rewards and punishments, as Moses had done. Thus Jeremiah, rebuking the people for their idolatry and impenitence, says: "There shall be no grapes on the vine, nor figs on the tree, and the leaf shall fade. Behold I will send serpents among you, which will not be charmed, and they shall bite you, saith the Lord." The power of prophets over the public mind was sustained by fervid faith in divine communication, by mysterious symbols, and by the inspiration of poetry and music. Prophecy, and the oracle of Urim and Thummim, were in fact the basis on which Hebrew theocracy, or God government, always rested. The populace did not regard Moses as their ruler. They believed Jehovah dwelt in the Holy of Holies, and told Moses, his prophet, just what he was to do. Afterward, judges, kings, and generals of armies, were supposed to be guided by God, through the prophetic voice of the High Priest, when he consulted the oracle; and likewise by a succession of inspired messengers called prophets, whom God perpetually raised up for the guidance of his people Israel. Through all their misfortunes, they constantly maintained the faith that they, above all other nations, were God's peculiar favourites, and that his word was constantly imparted to some holy men in their midst.

The priesthood was hereditary, but no man became a prophet by birth. He must have some special call to his mission. By what signs this special call was indicated, does not seem to have been certainly known; for false prophets were continually mistaken for true ones. Jeremiah constantly complains of those who are "prophets of

the deceit of their own heart; who prophesy false dreams, and cause the people to err by their lightness." "Behold I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that use their tongues, and say, He saith; yet I sent them not, nor commanded them."

It has been common to reproach the Jews for not having believed the true prophets sent to warn and admonish them; but how kings or people could be enabled always to distinguish between false and true is not easily explained. In Hebrew Sacred Writings it is stated that God himself sent a false prophet, on purpose to deceive the king to his ruin. "The Lord said to the Spirits that stood around his throne, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth a Spirit and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying Spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also. Go forth and do so."

Moses told the children of Israel, if a prophet predicted anything and it did not come to pass, that was a sign the Lord had not spoken by him, but the prophet had spoken it presumptuously. This was the only criterion he gave. Of what value would prophecy be in difficult emergencies, if there could be no certainty of its truth until after the event? Moreover, the criterion itself was a moveable one; for Moses cautioned the people that prophets who believed in false gods might arise among them, and "give them a sign or a wonder, saying, Let us go after other gods;" and he adds: "If the sign or the wonder come to pass, thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet; for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart and all your soul. And that prophet shall be put to death." This admits that believers in the gods of the Gentiles might prophesy truly. That they were sometimes conscientious with regard to their prophetic mission,

is shown by the story of Balaam, a prophet of the Moabites, who could not be induced by offers of money or honours to please the king of Moab by speaking contrary to his own inspiration. Jewish Rabbins account for it, by saying that he prophesied in favour of the Israelites by will of their God, but did not understand what he prophesied.

The prophets themselves do not appear to have had any infallible method of ascertaining the truth of each other's inspiration. One of the Hebrew sacred writers describes a prophet of Judah sent by God to warn Jeroboam, king of Israel, concerning his idolatrous altars. An old prophet, who dwelt in Israel, hearing of this, followed the prophet from Judah, and invited him to go home with him, and eat bread. The traveller replied that he could not possibly do so, because God had expressly ordered him not to turn back in his way, and not to eat or drink in that place. The old men of Israel rejoined: "I also am a prophet, as thou art; and an angel spake unto me by the word of the Lord, saying: Bring him back with thee into thine house, that he may eat bread and drink water. But he lied unto him." It was customary for young prophets to treat the old prophets with reverence; and perhaps this habit caused the messenger from Judah to yield to the old man from Israel. He went back with him, and ate bread in his house, and drank water. While they sat at table, the word of the Lord came to the prophet who had lied to the traveller; and he began to reprove his guest, for having complied with the invitation, which he himself had given in the name of the Lord. He said: "Because thou camest back, and hast eaten bread and drank water, in the place of which the Lord did say to thee, 'Eat no bread and drink no water, therefore thy carcass shall not come unto the sepulchres of thy fathers.'" Accordingly, when the prophet from Judah departed, a lion met him by the way, and slew him. Messengers came and told this to the old prophet, who had induced the traveller to disobedience by lying to him. And he went and brought the carcass

back to the city, and laid it in his own grave; "and they mourned over him, and said, Alas, my brother!" And he said to his sons: "When I am dead, bury me in the sepulchre wherein the man of God is buried. Lay my bones beside his bones. For the saying which he cried by the word of the Lord against the altar in Bethel, and against all the houses of the high places in Samaria, shall surely come to pass."

If there was no way to test the truth of predictions, except by the event; if prophets of other gods could predict truly, and the God of Israel sometimes permitted them to do so, that he might test the faith of his people; and if even a true prophet, like the man from Judah, could be deceived by a lying message in the name of the Lord, how could kings and people be expected to avoid mistakes?

The popular idea was that a true prophet could bring down fire from heaven, as Moses had done. Hence when a man professed to have communication with God, the multitude were wont to say: "Show us a sign from heaven."

Jews always assigned to Moses the highest place among the prophets; because he alone is represented as "talking with God face to face, as a man talketh with his friend." "There arose afterward no prophet like unto him, who knew God face to face." Prophets who, in a state of ecstasy, sleeping or waking, saw visions, or heard a voice speaking to them, were estimated as the next highest in degree. The prophetic influx came upon such with greatest force, when they fasted and were in complete solitude. Sometimes they fell into a trance, during which the soul was entirely abstracted from external objects. Balaam is described as "the man who saw a vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance with his eyes open." That they were sometimes in a state of religious frenzy, seems to be implied by the fact that the same word in Hebrew means to prophesy, and to be mad. They were called prophets, from Greek words meaning to foretell; men of God; angels of God, which simply means messengers of

God; also seers, because they could see past and future. The lowest degree of divine influence, called inspiration of the Spirit, came to men when they were wide awake, and in full possession of their senses. They talked like other men, but felt the Divine Spirit resting upon them, suggesting words to be uttered concerning religious or civil affairs.

Music seems to have been frequently used to excite the prophetic state. In schools of the prophets they composed Psalms by its aid, and were sometimes transported above themselves by a kind of divine furor. Psalms composed in such states of mind were regarded as prophecy. Samuel said to Saul: "When thou shalt come to the hill of God, thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place, with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp, before them; and they shall prophesy. And the Spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them." When the kings of Israel and Judah went together to consult Elisha, the prophet said: "Bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him."

Men who believed themselves called to the prophetic vocation were usually distinguished by a peculiar dress. They wore cloth of hair next their skin, tied about the waist with a leathern girdle. Over the shoulders was thrown a lamb-skin, called the Prophetic Mantle. The prophets of Baal were wont "to cut themselves with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them." It would seem that Hebrew prophets had a similar custom; for we are told that "a certain man, of the sons of the prophets," wishing to prophesy to king Abab, "said unto his neighbour, By the name of the Lord, smite me, I pray thee." When the man refused to do it, the prophet told him that a lion would meet him in the way and slay him, "because he had not obeyed the voice of the Lord." Accordingly, "when he departed, a lion found him and slew him." Then the prophet said to another man: "Smite

me, I pray thee. And the man smote him, so that he wounded him." The prophet then departed, and waited for the king. Zechariah speaks of "rough garments and wounds in the hands," as external signs of a prophet, assumed by those who wished to deceive.

Some customs of the prophets, called symbolic actions, strongly remind one of similar practices among the devotees of Hindostan. When Saul prophesied before Samuel, he lay down naked all day and all night. Apparently this was not an unusual proceeding, for it is mentioned without censure or surprise. Isaiah, by command of the Lord, walked naked and barefoot three years, "for a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and Ethiopia," to show that they should be led away captive by the king of Assyria, like him, "naked and barefoot, with their buttocks uncovered." Zedekiah wore horns of iron on his head, and thrust with them, to show that Israelites were to thrust down the Syrians. Jeremiah wore a yoke about his neck to show that Israel should come under the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar. God told Ezekiel to lie on his left side three hundred and ninety days, with a tile before him, on which was portrayed the city of Jerusalem besieged; and then to lie on his right side forty days more, during which he was to drink a small measure of water prescribed for each day, and eat a prescribed quantity of bread, baked with cow-dung for fuel. And the prophet did according to the word of the Lord, to foreshow what Jerusalem would suffer in time of siege. The Lord commanded Hosea to live with a prostitute, that he might thereby symbolize the continual fornications which the people committed by going after other gods. He said: "Go take unto thee a wife of whoredoms, and children of whoredoms; for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord. Go love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress, according to the love of the Lord toward the children of Israel, who look to other gods." Hosea adds: "So I bought her to me for fifteen pieces of silver, and for an homer of barley, and an half homer of barley. And I said unto her, Thou shalt

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abide for me many days. Thou shalt not play the harlot, and thou shalt not be for another man. So will I also be for thee."

All manner of miracles were attributed to prophets. When Moses stretched forth his hand, the waves of the Red Sea retired, and left a dry path for the Israelites. Joshua did the same with the river Jordan. We are likewise told that he caused the sun to stand still; a statement which shows that Hebrews received the mistaken idea of astronomy, prevailing among ancient nations, that the earth stood still, and the sun moved round it. The ass of Balaam is said to have been even more clairvoyant than his master; for he saw the angel who stood in the road, and spake with a human voice to inform his rider of the vision. Elijah brought down fire from heaven to consume his sacrifice; and, at another time, to burn up a hundred men, whom the king had sent to summon him. Ravens brought food to him in the wilderness, and angels were sent to bake cakes for him. He cured diseases, raised a dead child to life, and imparted to oil and meal such a miraculous power, that they reproduced themselves as fast as they were used. The waters of Jordan divided when he touched them with his mantle; and when he died, a whirlwind took him up to heaven in a chariot of fire with horses of fire. Divine power was imparted even to the clothes he had worn; for when Elisha picked up the mantle he dropped in ascending, he touched the waters with it, "and they parted hither and thither." Miraculous power seems to have been imputed to the staff on which a prophet leaned. The staff of Elisha was laid upon a dead child to restore him to life; and when the prophet went in and stretched himself upon the corpse, the eyes opened. He fed a hundred men with twenty barley loaves, caused iron to swim, and made the shadow on a sun-dial pass ten degrees backward. Even after death, his miracles did not cease; for a dead body, that was placed in his tomb, came to life merely by touching his bones. This prophet did not always make magnanimous use of his power. When some children amused

themselves concerning the baldness of his head, "he turned back and cursed them in the name of the Lord. And there came forth two she-bears out of the wood, and tare forty and two children of them."

In addition to these wonders, related in their Sacred Books, the Jews told many more, which were handed down by tradition. It was commonly said that Elijah was not a man, but an angel. When he was born, it was said that the golden calves set up by Jeroboam bellowed so loud they could be heard at Jerusalem. Upon which the High Priest consulted the Urim and Thummim, and found that a prophet was just born, who would destroy the idols. His father dreamed that men in white garments saluted the infant, covered him with flame, and made him swallow fire. He went to Jerusalem to consult the oracle at the temple, and was informed the dream signified his son should dwell in light, and judge Israel by fire and sword. Malachi declared: "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord." There was also a Rabbinical tradition that "when the Lord shall deliver Israel, three days before the coming of the Messiah, Elias shall come, and shall stand on the mountains of Israel, mourning and wailing concerning them. . . . After that he shall say unto them, Peace cometh to the world! As it is written, How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." From these predictions there grew up a universal belief that Elijah had been carried bodily to heaven or to some far off terrestrial paradise; that he sent from thence a letter to king Jehoram, seven years after he ascended in the flaming chariot; that he was there occupied in writing the history of all ages; and that shortly before the coming of the Messiah he would reappear on earth in person.

It was also believed that Jeremiah would rise from the dead, at the coming of the Messiah, and lead the people to the mountain cave where he had hidden the Tabernacle

and the Ark, when the Temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar.

Prophets rose up among all classes of people. Some were uneducated, others were great poets and orators. Isaiah's parentage is not certainly known. Rabbins had a tradition that he was the son of a prophet. Elisha was an agriculturist. Jeremiah and Ezekiel were descendants of priests. Amos was a herdsman. It was customary for those who sought counsel of them to take with them offerings of bread, honey, oil, and other articles of food or clothing. The personal reverence paid to them was exceedingly great, and their power over the people rendered them very important to the government. No one was allowed to be buried in the holy city of Jerusalem, except prophets, and kings of the line of David. They were consulted in all emergencies, civil and ecclesiastical. When Ahab and Jehoshaphat entered into an alliance against the Syrians, they assembled all the prophets, four hundred in number, to advise with them. The monarchs sat in royal robes on a throne before the gate of Samaria, "and all the prophets prophesied before them." Ezekiel often speaks of the elders of Israel coming to consult with him. The important part they performed in political affairs is everywhere conspicuous. Ahijah the prophet stimulated the ten tribes to revolt from the house of David, under the command of Jeroboam. When Rehoboam proposed to fight them, his army dispersed because a man of God forbade the battle. Elisha treated the king of Israel very contemptuously, saying: "As the Lord liveth, if it were not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, I would not look toward thee, nor see thee." The prophets appear almost continually hostile to the reigning power. Such a class of men, made bold by their great influence over the people, must have been a source of perplexity to kings, in times of danger or difficulty; especially as false prophets everywhere abounded, and the only test of truth was whether their predictions came to pass. Jeremiah said to king Zedekiah: "Bring your necks under the king of

Babylon, and serve him and his people ; for thus saith the Lord, I will punish with sword, famine, and pestilence, the nation and kingdom that will not serve Nebuchadnezzar." There was a political party who gave the same advice, deeming it safest to submit to Babylon without any attempts at resistance. Another party, who were in favor of seeking aid from Egypt to oppose the invader, had also a prophet, named Hananiah. He declared, in presence of all the people: "Thus saith the Lord, I will break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, from the neck of all nations, within the space of two years." As a symbol that he spoke truly, "he took the yoke from off Jeremiah's neck, and brake it." To which Jeremiah replied: "Hear now, Hananiah. The Lord hath not sent thee; but thou makest this people to believe a lie. Thou hast broken the yokes of wood, but thou shalt make for them yokes of iron." The king imprisoned Jeremiah, because he persisted in saying: "The king of Babylon shall certainly come and destroy this land." Rulers were well aware that such prophecies, proclaimed in the ears of the people, would tend to destroy their courage, and thus produce their own fulfilment. In common with politicians of all nations, and all times, they felt the importance of trying human means. But prophets, burning with religious zeal, despised the assistance of foreign allies, and rebuked those who relied upon such aid, for their want of faith in Jehovah, the Lord of Hosts, the Great Leader of the armies of Israel. They said, "A horse is a vain thing," and spoke contemptuously of "those who put their trust in chariots."

Prophecies were by no means so clear and distinct in all cases, as were the declarations of Jeremiah and his opponent, in the court of king Zedekiah. Their language was generally indefinite; often couched in symbolic language, hard to be understood. Their predictions might be recalled. If judgments threatened by a prophet did not come to pass, it was said God was merciful, and had forgiven the people because they had repented. If they foretold good fortune, and the prediction failed, that did not

necessarily prove the messenger a false prophet; for the people might have forfeited their promised reward by some unworthiness.

Prophecies partook of the character of the times in which they were written. Micah lived at a time when the Assyrians were formidable enemies, and he prophesied of a Messiah who would deliver Israel from the Assyrians. Ezeiel, who lived in the time of Babylonian captivity, prophesied of a new David, who was to gather Judah and Israel "from the heathen nations, whither they were gone." All prophesied of a time when the Messiah would come to destroy all nations that refused to conform to the Jewish religion. Jerusalem, restored to more than its ancient glory, would become henceforth and forever the political and spiritual centre of the world. Isaiah predicts that when the Lord comes "to plead with all flesh by fire and by his sword," the Gentile nations will bring back all the Hebrews that are sojourning among them. "They shall bring them for an offering unto the Lord, out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the Lord, as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord. For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed remain." Zechariah says: "Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of Hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord. In those days it shall come to pass that ten men, out of all languages of the nations, shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you; for we have heard that God is with you."

Contradictions occasionally occur between the sacred prophecies of the Hebrews and their sacred history. Jeremiah foretold concerning Jehoiakim, son of Josiah: "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem. His dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost; and he shall have none to sit upon the throne of

David." But in the annals of the Hebrew Kings it is recorded that "Jehoiakim slept with his fathers, (that is, in the royal sepulchres,) and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead." Jeremiah said of Zedekiah: "He shall surely be delivered into the hands of the Chaldeans. He shall go to Babylon. His eyes shall behold the eyes of the king of Babylon, and he shall speak with him mouth to mouth." But the history of Hebrew kings declares that Nebuchadnezzar's generals put out Zedekiah's eyes, before they carried him captive to Babylon. Ezekiel, who prophesied later than Jeremiah, said of the same monarch: "Thus saith the Lord, I will bring him to Babylon; yet shall he not see it, though he shall die there."

In some instances, the spirit of prophecy seems to have fallen upon men quite irrespective of any holiness of character. When Moses gathered the seventy elders round about the Tabernacle, "the Lord came down in a cloud and spoke to Moses, and took of the Spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders; and it came to pass, that when the Spirit rested upon them, they prophesied, and did not cease." "When Saul sent messengers to take David, and they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, the Spirit of God was upon the messengers of Saul, and they prophesied also. When it was told Saul, he sent other messengers, and they prophesied likewise. And Saul sent messengers again, the third time, and they prophesied also. Then went he to Ramah; and the Spirit of God was upon him also, and he prophesied. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?" The High Priest was supposed to be endowed with prophecy by virtue of his office; for thus was he enabled to decipher the oracle by Urim and Thummim. That prophetic inspiration was modified by individual character, is manifested by the contrast between Ezekiel's formal, circumstantial style, and the bold, fervid eloquence of Habakkuk, or the sublimity and power of Isaiah.

Private individuals often went to consult prophets con-

cerning their own affairs; and the time chosen was generally the Sabbath, or the New Moon. In time of drought great reliance was placed on their prayers for rain. On some occasions, people resorted to them as they would to fortune-tellers, to tell of goods lost or stolen. Saul's going to consult Samuel where to find the asses of Kish indicates a popular belief that seers were useful for such matters. By the laws of Moses, magical arts and divination were forbidden; and prophets in subsequent times often reproved the people for consulting "wizards that peep and mutter." But this tendency of the public mind was exceedingly strong, at all periods. One very common species of divination was by Teraphim; a kind of images, or household gods, supposed to have been consecrated by astrologers under certain aspects of the stars. Other arts were practised by people supposed to be familiar with Evil Spirits, from whom they obtained information concerning the future. "When Saul inquired of the Lord, and the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets," he went to a woman at Endor, "who had a familiar spirit;" and it is recorded that she raised up the ghost of Samuel to answer his inquiries.

It was a common saying among Jews that God spake to men by Urim and Thummim during the days of the Tabernacle; that he spake by Prophets in the time of Solomon's temple; and when the temple was rebuilt, after the return from captivity, he spake by Bath Kol, which means the Daughter of a Voice. They applied this name to a voice from heaven, which they say succeeded the voice of God, that formerly proceeded from the Mercy Seat. Others say it derived its name from the fact that it came out of thunder; the thunder being heard first, and the Bath Kol afterward. The following story is told in illustration of this kind of prophecy. "Two Rabbins desiring to see the face of Rabbi Samuel, a Babylonish doctor, they said, Let us follow the hearing of Bath Kol. Passing by a school, they heard a boy reading, from the book of Samuel, the words, 'And Samuel died.' From this they inferred that the Rabbi

Samuel of Babylon was dead; and they afterward found that it was so." Many similar things are mentioned in the writings of Jews. It was very common with them to open their Sacred Writings, as they would consult an oracle; and whatever passage was glanced at first was considered prophetic. An imitation of the Urim and Thummim was made for the second temple, but no oracular answers were obtained from it. The prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, lived till forty years after the second temple was begun. With them, the spirit of prophecy departed; therefore, Malachi is called the "seal of the prophets."

Hebrew Sacred Writings abound with conflicts between true prophets and false ones, and are full of complaints concerning the consequent unbelief of rulers and people. On one occasion the altercation between two prophets proceeded to blows. Zedekiah and Micaiah, being called to prophesy before the kings of Israel and Judah, disagreed in their testimony. "And Zedekiah smote Micaiah on the cheek, and said, Which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me to speak unto thee?" It is not unlikely that such scenes as this had greatly diminished popular reverence for the prophetic character, before the time of Zechariah. That it had fallen into disrepute, from some cause or other, seems to be implied by his words: "Thus saith the Lord, I will cause the prophets and the unclean Spirit to depart out of the land. And it shall come to pass that when any shall yet prophesy, then his father and mother shall say to him, Thou shalt not live; for thou speakest lies in the name of the Lord. And it shall come to pass in that day that the prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision when he hath prophesied; neither shall they wear a rough garment to deceive. But he shall say, I am no prophet; I am an husbandman; for men taught me to keep cattle from my youth."

After the prophets had departed, Rabbis say that revelations were sometimes made to individuals; but the Spirit was imparted in small measure. Of Hyrcanus, one of the latest rulers among the Jews, Josephus declares that "God

considered him worthy of the three greatest privileges; the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy; for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurity." It was revealed to him in a dream that his two oldest sons would not succeed him, but that the youngest would inherit his kingdom. When his sons gained a victory, he announced it at the very moment, though he was at Jerusalem, two days' journey from the field of battle. They said it was told to him by Bath Kol. Josephus also assumes something of this gift for himself. He tells us that he "dreamed dreams in the night time, whereby God signified to him the future calamities of the Jews." He foretold on what day the city he was defending would be taken by the Romans, and himself made prisoner. He likewise predicted that Vespasian, who was then a general, would become emperor. Philo, the learned Alexandrian Jew, describes a prophet as being "a mere interpreter during the time he is under enthusiasm; being himself in ignorance, his reasoning faculties receding and withdrawing from the citadel of his mind, and the Divine Spirit coming upon and dwelling in him, impelling and directing the organism of his voice to a distinct manifestation of what the Spirit predicts."

The learned commentator De Wette remarks that "the miraculous diminishes in proportion as we approach historical times. In the earliest times, men have intercourse with angels; at a later period, angels appear as messengers between God and men; still later, the prophets perform the miraculous; in times after the exile, from which we have contemporary accounts, the miraculous ceases altogether."

It is evident that Hebrews, at all periods of their history, adopted the prevailing idea of subordinate Spirits employed by The Highest as mediums of communication with men. In the most ancient portion of their Sacred Writings, God is called Elohim, which, being a plural word, necessarily implies more than one. The "Spirit of God" is likewise spoken of as "moving on the face of the

waters." God said: "Let us make man after our image. Man is become as one of us. Let us go down and confound their language." Jewish Rabbins explained these passages by saying that God addressed himself to his council of angels. Hindoo Sacred Books describe Gandharvas, beautiful "Spirits of Singing Stars," who rejoice together and sing, when any great or good work is accomplished by superior deities. Job also says: "When the foundations of the earth were fastened, and the cornerstone thereof was laid, the Morning Stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for joy." In the Psalms it is promised, "He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways." In the book of Kings, the Lord is described like an Asiatic monarch, "sitting on his throne, with all the host of heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left." Moses accused the people of sacrificing "unto Devils, not unto God." The Hebrew word used signifies Destroyers, Spirits delighting in mischief. "An Evil Spirit from the Lord" is said to have taken possession of Saul. Isaiah alludes to "Lucifer, son of the morning." The name signifies Bringer of Light, and was probably applied to the Spirit of the Morning Star. The author of the book of Job says: "The sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them." The captivity in Babylon greatly influenced Hebrew habits of thought, by making them familiar with Chaldean and Persian ideas. They had always believed in Evil Spirits employed by Jehovah to accomplish his own purposes; but not until the Babylonian captivity do they seem to have formed the idea of one great rebellious Spirit, in opposition to Deity, like the Persian Arimanes. Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, who wrote after that period, make frequent allusion to Spirits. Zechariah is the only one who mentions Satan. He describes him as the adversary of Jerusalem, standing before the angel of the Lord, to resist Joshua the High Priest. That each nation had its own guardian spirit, was the universal idea. Daniel alludes to the archangel Michal, as if

he believed him to be the peculiar protector of the Jewish nation. The author of the book of Tobit mentions Seven Spirits, which seem very like the Persian Amshaspanda. Raphael is represented as saying: "I am one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and go in and out before the glory of the Holy One."

In order to state clearly some spiritual changes that took place among the Jews, it is necessary to glance at the progress of their external history. From the time of Cyrus, Judea remained more than two hundred years dependent on Persia; but their internal affairs were under the direction of High Priests and Elders, who governed according to the Mosaic constitution. This remnant of the children of Israel were more enterprising than their fathers had been. Commerce, which the old prophets had always stigmatized as "harlotry" with other nations, was continually on the increase; and as all Jews were obliged to make annual pilgrimages to the temple, and pay tithes of their revenue, more wealth was accumulated at Jerusalem than had been sent there even in the days of Solomon. When Alexander the Great conquered Persia, Palestine became tributary to him, and was involved in subsequent wars of his generals. One of these, Ptolemy, king of Egypt, besieged Jerusalem and took it. The place, being strongly fortified, both by nature and art, might perhaps have held out long against him, had he not been sufficiently cunning to attack it on the Sabbath, when he knew the inhabitants deemed it unlawful to do anything, even for the defence of their lives. The Jews did not suffer by this change of masters, for Ptolemy did not interfere with their internal government, or with any of their peculiar customs. The successors of Alexander the Great, who governed the Syrian portion of his empire, contended with those who governed the Egyptian portion; and Judea passed under the dominion of Syrio-Macedonian kings. One of these, Antiochus Fourth, issued a decree that all people under his government should conform to the religion of their king, and worship the same gods in the same

manner he did. This was doubtless aimed principally at the Jews; for the worship of other nations under his sway too much resembled his own, to provoke such a law. He sent overseers into all the provinces of his empire, to instruct people how to worship according to one model. Jews were forbidden to circumcise their children, to observe any of their religious festivals, or offer sacrifices to the God of Israel. They were ordered to eat the flesh of swine, and other animals, which their law pronounced unclean. Copies of the Law of Moses were hunted up, and destroyed wherever they could be found. The temple was robbed of its ornaments, and polluted by the introduction of things abhorrent to Jewish feeling. An image of Jupiter was set up in the inner court, with an altar for sacrifice before it. Statues and altars were placed in all the groves. People were commanded to worship them, and whoever disobeyed was put to death. Fear, and a desire to gain favour with the king, induced some to comply; but great numbers cheerfully sacrificed their lives, rather than prove false to their religion. Mattathias, a man of rank and character among the priests, was offered riches and honours if he would set the people an example in the worship of Jupiter. But with a loud voice, in hearing of all, he proclaimed that no commands, and no rewards, should ever induce him or his family to depart from the law of their God. When he saw one of the Jews approach the altar of Jupiter, to worship as the king had decreed, in the heat of his zeal he fell upon him and the royal commissioner and slew them. He then fled with his family to the mountains, whither many of the people followed him. The mountains and deserts of Judea were filled with fugitives from the persecution of Antiochus. A thousand of them being assembled in a cave near Jerusalem, military forces were sent out to reduce them to obedience. They were offered forgiveness for the past, if they would submit in future; but they all declared they had rather die than desert the faith of their fathers. Antiochus, being aware of their religious scruples, ordered

them to be attacked on the Sabbath; in consequence of which they were all cut off, men, women, and children. When Mattathias heard the sad tidings, he became alarmed lest all the faithful followers of Moses should be destroyed by the same stratagem. He and his adherents held a consultation, and came to the conclusion that laws were not strictly binding in cases of such extreme necessity. They unanimously resolved to defend their lives, if they were attacked on the Sabbath; and this rule was afterward adopted by all the Jews. Antiochus, meeting such obstinate resistance to his decree, went to Judea in person, and tried to enforce obedience by terrible severity. "Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, an aged man, and of a well-favoured countenance, was constrained to open his mouth and eat swine's flesh. But he, choosing rather to die gloriously, than to live stained with such an abomination, spit it forth." Some who were with him took him aside and begged him to substitute privately some other flesh, and pretend that he was obeying the royal command. But he said it did not become the honour of his gray head to dissemble, and thereby induce young persons to suppose that "Eleazar, being fourscore years old and ten, had now gone to a strange religion." He declared himself ready to die, rather than mislead others by such hypocrisy; adding, "Though for the present I should be delivered from the punishment of men, yet should I not escape the punishment of the Almighty, alive nor dead." And so the brave and true old man was scourged to death, saying with his last breath: "I am well content to suffer these things, because I fear the Lord." Afterward, a mother and her seven sons were tormented with whips to make them eat swine's flesh. The king, enraged by their refusal, mutilated the young men, one after another, before the eyes of their mother, and threw their limbs into the fire. They resolutely held forth their hands and tongues to be cut off, saying to their royal tormentor: "We suffer these things for having sinned against our God; therefore marvellous things are not done for us. Yet think not our

nation is forsaken of God; but abide awhile and behold his great power, how he will torment thee and thy seed. Though put to death by men, we have hope in God, to be raised up again by him. As for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life." When all were dead but the youngest, Antiochus offered him wealth and honours if he would submit, and he exhorted the mother thus to counsel her only surviving son. But she said to the youth: "Fear not this tormentor, be worthy of thy brethren, and take thy death; that I may receive thee in mercy with them again." The young man could scarcely wait for her to finish before he replied: "I will not obey the commandment of the king; but I will obey the Law given unto our fathers by Moses." They both died courageously, mother and son, under treatment more cruel than the others had suffered.

When Antiochus had left Judea, Mattathias, the priest, who had lain concealed with a band of followers in the mountains, came forth, and collected a small army of faithful Jews, resolved to fight to the last for liberty to worship God according to their own consciences. They went through the cities of Judea, collected all the copies of the Law, circumcised all the uncircumcised children, pulled down the foreign altars, cut off all apostates who fell into their hands, slaughtered their persecutors wherever they came, and caused religious service to be again performed in the synagogues. The aged Mattathias died in the midst of this campaign, and left his sons to carry on the war. The eldest, Judas Maccabæus, took command of the increasing army, bearing a standard on which was inscribed, "Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah?" He defeated the forces of the Syrian king, and took Jerusalem out of their hands, one hundred and sixty-five years before Christ. He purified the temple, and dedicated it anew to the God of Israel, with songs and citherns, harps and cymbals, oblations and sacrifices, for eight days. Rabbis say they found but one bottle of pure oil in the temple, sufficient for one day only; but by a miracle it

kept the lamps burning eight days. In commemoration of this joyful event, they ever after observed a festival of eight days, during which Hallelujahs were daily sung in the temple. It was called the Feast of Lights; because, in whatsoever country an Israelite happened to be on that occasion, he lighted his house with lamps, one for each member of the family, and kept them burning all night. If very poor, he was bound to beg oil for the purpose, or sell his garments to obtain it.

The first account of intercourse between Jews and Romans occurs in the time of Judas Maccabæus, who sent ambassadors to Rome, to strengthen his power by alliance. He and his brothers were successively invested with the dignity of High Priests and Rulers of the nation; and the dignity descended in the line of his family, called Asmonean, or the Illustrious. Civil war finally broke out between two brothers concerning succession to the throne; and the bitterness of these internal dissensions was greatly increased by the wrangling of two hostile sects, the Pharisees and Sadducees. One of the contending brothers called the Romans to his aid; and for three months Jerusalem was besieged. The Jews availed themselves of the precedent established by Mattathias, and no longer scrupled to defend their lives on the Sabbath. But they put such literal construction on his words, that they deemed it unlawful to exert themselves unless their lives were actually attacked. Any preparations for defence were considered a desecration of the holy time. Pompey, having ascertained this fact, ordered his troops not to assault them on the Sabbath, but to spend the whole day placing battering-rams against the walls of Jerusalem, and bringing up engines of war in readiness for the attack.

The Holy City was captured by the Romans, sixty-three years before Christ, on the very day kept as an anniversary fast, in commemoration of the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar. When the sacred building was seized by Roman soldiers, priests went on offering prayers and sacrifices, though in the general confusion their own blood

mingled freely with the blood of sacrifices. Pompey found much money, and valuable utensils of gold and silver; but he left them all to be applied to the sacred uses for which they were dedicated. He even ordered the temple to be cleansed, and worship to be performed there as usual. In this he acted according to the general policy of Romans, who always endeavoured to conciliate conquered nations by allowing them the free exercise of their religion. But he greatly offended the Jews by going into the Holy of Holies, which they deemed it profanation for any one, except their own High Priest, to do. That it should have been entered by a Gentile, seemed to them a more grievous calamity than anything which had happened during the siege; and all Pompey's subsequent misfortunes were by them attributed to this audacious offence against the God of Israel.

Hyrcanus, a descendant of Judas Maccabæus, was left at the head of affairs in Judea. Thenceforth, Roman governors and soldiers resided there, and the country paid tribute to its conquerors; but the people were unmolested in their peculiar customs, and ecclesiastical affairs were managed by their own priesthood. About thirty-five years before Christ, Herod the Great was appointed chief ruler. He was a Jew by birth, and married to a descendant of the illustrious house of Judas Maccabæus. But in order to ingratiate himself with the Romans, he devoted himself to their interests, and in many things acted contrary to Jewish laws; urging in excuse that he was compelled to do so. He dissolved the national council of elders, and appointed high priests and removed them, without any regard to the rules of succession. He built temples in Grecian style, placed statues in his palaces, and adopted many Roman customs. For these reasons, many of his subjects reproached him with being a half Jew. Yet he had a very strong party in his favour, and many believed him to be the promised Messiah, on account of his power and magnificence.

The temple built in Ezra's time had stood about five

hundred years. Being in the strongest part of Jerusalem, and well fortified, the inhabitants were accustomed to take refuge there in time of war. It had consequently suffered much by violence, as well as by gradual decay. Herod rebuilt it on a larger scale, and surrounded it by four courts rising above each other, like terraces. The lowest was called the Court of the Gentiles, because individuals of all nations were there admitted indiscriminately; but an inscription on the railing, both in Hebrew and Greek, warned them to proceed no further. The temple was of white marble, richly ornamented with gilding. It was constructed on a model similar to that of Solomon, but was much larger, and some say more magnificent. Forty-six years were expended in the completion of it.

The numerous historical changes, briefly alluded to in preceding pages, produced effects on the religious character and opinions of Jews, which it is necessary to explain. Before the captivity in Babylon, Hebrews had lived almost entirely apart from other nations, being insulated by their peculiar customs, their prejudice against commerce, and their total ignorance of foreign literature. But in Babylon they did not reside in a district by themselves, as they had done in Egypt, in the time of Joseph. They were scattered through the whole length and breadth of the land, and mixed with all classes of people for more than half a century. The devout among them doubtless adhered to Mosaic regulations with the tenacity characteristic of their race. But no efforts of the old could effectually guard rising generations from the new ideas with which they came in contact on every side. The strength of this foreign influence is implied by the fact that they lost their language in the process. The original dialect of Abraham was the Chaldean, spoken in Babylon. When he removed to Palestine, he was made familiar with the language of Canaanites, called by the Greeks Phœnician. This, with some modifications, became the vernacular tongue of his descendants, and from them called Hebrew. But when they were carried to Babylon fourteen hundred years after Abraham,

they heard the Chaldean language spoken all around them, and were obliged to use it in their daily intercourse with others. Thus the young people, who grew up in a foreign land, acquired a mixed language, called the Aramæan, with which they returned from exile. When Ezra copied their ancient writings, he wrote Hebrew words in Chaldean characters. The old language was understood by the aged, and by the learned; but when the Law of Moses was read in the synagogues, it was necessary for an interpreter to explain it to the populace in the new dialect. From that time henceforth Hebrew ceased to be spoken, and existed only as a written, or dead language.

The whole tendency of Hebrew teaching was to inculcate implicit faith in the laws and doctrines revealed by Moses. Intellect, having nothing to do, did not wake from its lethargy. On every subject there was but one question to be asked: *Has Moses so commanded?* Where there is no progress, there are no sects; accordingly there appears to have been no collision of opinions until after the return from exile; and even when minds began to exert a little freedom, they did it very timidly, covering their innovations with professions of allegiance to their lawgiver.

The first separation was between Jewish and Samaritan worshippers of the same God. Jews indignantly refused assistance from Samaritan neighbours, in building the second temple, because they were not Israelites by descent, and because their religion was mixed with many foreign adulterations. This occasioned a rancorous feeling, and induced the Samaritans to do all they could to hinder the building of the temple. They called Ezra an impostor, who was guilty of sacrilege in writing the Law of Moses in Chaldean letters, and of unjust partiality toward the descendants of David, in the books he compiled and wrote. But when Palestine submitted to Alexander the Great, they renewed their efforts to effect a civil and ecclesiastical alliance with Judea. For that purpose, the Governor of Samaria married his daughter to a brother of the Jewish High Priest. This matrimonial alliance out of their own tribes

so deeply offended the Jews, that they banished their priest's brother, and forever excluded him from the succession. The Governor of Samaria took the exile under his protection, built a magnificent temple on Mount Gerizim, similar to that at Jerusalem, and appointed him its High Priest. A powerful body of disaffected Jews went with him, and much care was taken to conform their doctrines and ritual of worship to the Law of Moses. They practised circumcision, and observed the Sabbath with even more strictness than Jews; for in whatever posture a person happened to be when the holy time commenced, so he was obliged to remain until it ended. They expected a great prophet to arise among them, a Messiah, who was to deliver them from calamity, and teach them all things. They insisted that Mount Gerizim was the place Moses intended to designate, when he told the people to offer oblations and sacrifices "in the place that God should choose out of all their tribes, to put his name there." To prove that it was the actual "hill of blessing," they asserted that it was the place where Abraham and Jacob built altars, and where Joshua erected an altar of twelve stones, on which he inscribed the Law of Moses. Jews considered them profane imitators of their religion, and would not admit that they had any part or lot in the God of Israel. A deadly enmity existed between them, which frequently broke out in open hostilities. Several sects arose among the Samaritans; one of them abstained from marriage, and tasted no animal food.

During the persecution of the Jewish religion by Antiochus, Samaritans, fearing to be involved therein, sent him a petition, stating that they were descended from Sidonians, Medes, and Persians, and were in no way related to the Jews. They admitted that they also sacrificed to a God without a name, and observed the same religious rites; but they alleged that it was merely because their fathers had introduced this worship in old times, to free the country from lions. They declared that their temple had as yet been dedicated to no especial deity, and begged that it might be

consecrated to Jupiter Xenios, the Protector of Strangers, because they were strangers in the land, and not of the race of Israel. Antiochus forbade his deputies to molest them, and while the persecution lasted, they paid homage to Jupiter. They were finally conquered by Jews, and their temple on Mount Gerizim was destroyed.

After the return from captivity, many changes took place among the Jews themselves in their customs and modes of thinking. When Ezra attempted to restore the Hebrew religion, he not only collected all the fragments he could find of old writings, but he likewise consulted aged people, and gleaned from their memories all that could be gained concerning ancient usages. This was assumed as a standard of practice, under the name of traditions. This Traditionary Law, which related to prayers, fastings, purifications, and other ceremonies of religion, came to be regarded by many as of equal authority with the Written Law. They said, when Moses waited upon God forty days on the mountain, he received a double law. One portion he was commanded to commit to writing. The other portion, likewise spoken to him by the mouth of God, contained a full explanation and detailed application of the more compendious Written Law. When Moses returned to his tent, he repeated this Oral Law, first to Aaron, then to his sons Ithamar and Eleazar, then to the seventy elders constituting the Sanhedrim, and lastly to all the people. Aaron, being always present, heard it four times repeated; and it was repeated again and again, until the whole congregation had heard it four times. Moses, on his death-bed, repeated it to Joshua; he repeated it to the elders; they repeated it to the prophets; the prophets repeated it to the wise men of the Great Synagogue; and the wise men carefully transmitted it to their successors. This succession of Fathers, whom they call Doctors, were regarded with extreme veneration. The accounts given of them abound with miracles. It is said they were often guided by Bath Kol; that they had power to restrain sorcerers, command devils, and speak with angels. Hebrews, from the infancy

of their nation, had always been taught to consider themselves the only people on earth to whom God revealed divine truth. When circumstances forced them to mix with foreigners, and their habits of thought unavoidably became modified by the process, they were extremely reluctant to acknowledge that they received any ideas, or customs, from others. Everything which commended itself to them as wise or good, they maintained must have been, somehow or other, communicated by God to Moses; because they honestly believed that no important religious truth had ever come into the world through any other medium. From Egypt, Babylon, and neighbouring nations of Syria, they imbibed many ideas concerning successive emanations from God, a hierarchy of Spirits, the transmigration and immortality of the soul, the infestation of devils, occasioning insanity and other diseases, the magic power of certain sacred formulas, and astronomical predictions concerning the destruction of the world. To acknowledge such notions to be of Gentile origin, would lay them open to condemnation at once. The written Law of Moses contained none of these things. Moreover, being framed for a rude nomadic people, it was in many respects ill adapted to the wants of Jews in later times; yet it was deemed sacrilege to add or alter a single word. Communications of which there was no standard copy, were more elastic in their nature. The Traditionary Law could be stretched to meet any emergency, and made to include everything under its veil of commentaries. But the process naturally gave rise to various sects. These all agreed in acknowledging themselves bound by the Law of Moses, all conformed to the established ceremonies of religion, all believed that divine revelations were confined solely to the Hebrews, and all expected that a great Deliverer would rise up among them, to restore their former glory, and give them dominion over other nations. Nevertheless, they were always disputing with each other. Their controversies never embraced general questions of literature, science, and philosophy, as did the discussions of Greek or Roman

scholars. They were peculiarly exclusive and Jewish in their character, chiefly relating to the comparative value of their written and traditionary Law, the importance of certain ceremonies, and the adaptation of ancient rules to present wants, by means of subtile distinctions and elaborate commentaries.

The most numerous and influential among the sects were the Pharisees, who are supposed to have become prominent about three hundred years before Christ. Their name signified The Separated; because they were separated from others by their peculiar sanctity. They were chiefly distinguished by their great reverence for the Traditionary Law. They likewise maintained that there was a double meaning in the Written Law; one relating merely to the external words, another to an inward mystical significance. From these two sources, they ingeniously derived arguments to sustain all new opinions and practices. From some source or other, they had received the old Hindoo idea, that a man might perform of meritorious works more than enough for justification with God; that he might lay up an additional fund, like stock in a bank, for future benefit. Hence they were profuse in alms-giving, repeated many more prayers than other men, and were much more scrupulous with regard to numerous washings, purifications, fasts, and other ceremonies. They never, under any circumstances, ate bread with unwashed hands. If there was not water enough to wash and drink, a devout Pharisee preferred to die with thirst, rather than not wash. They had hot controversies with other sects concerning what articles were subject to tithes. Of mint, anise, and cummin, others paid a hundredth part to the priests, but they paid a tenth. They wore their robes longer than common, so that the fringe, which was a peculiarity of Jewish costume, swept the ground. In these fringes they often fixed sharp thorns, to torment them as they walked. Moses had commanded the children of Israel to write certain sentences of his Law on their gates and door-posts, and to bind them upon their hands and between their eyes. These texts

were written on strips of parchment and placed in small cases, one bound on the forehead, the other on the left arm. They received the name of Phylacteries, from a Greek word, meaning, I watch, I guard. Pharisees wore these holy badges very large, and conspicuously placed. Some zealots among them always walked very close to the wall, and carefully avoided those that passed, lest they should contract pollution, by touching something morally, physically, or legally unclean. Some wore a deep cap, like a mortar, pulled down so far that they could see nothing but their own feet. Some walked with their eyes shut, lest they should be tempted by the sight of a woman. In this situation they often struck their heads against the wall. This sect believed that everything was predestined, and that man could do nothing without divine influence; but they maintained that they held this doctrine in a way not inconsistent with human freedom. They believed that every good work received its degree of reward, and every bad one its degree of punishment; and these rewards and punishments extended both to the body and the soul. Souls of the very wicked would be confined to a prison under the earth. Those who had been less criminal, were punished by being again sent into bodies, afflicted with disease. Therefore, if a man was born blind or deaf, they regarded it as a penalty for sin committed, either by his progenitors, or by himself, in some previous state of existence. They believed in the resurrection of the body, but confined it to Jews only. Other nations would remain in their graves. Many held the opinion that the soul died with the body, and would be raised with it. But the general belief was that the souls of pious Israelites were transferred at death to a region of Paradise, where they would remain waiting till the Messiah recalled them to their bodies, on the day of resurrection. It was a prevalent opinion, that the valley of Jehoshaphat would be the scene of this great rising; therefore many Jews wished to be buried there. This doctrine was tinged with the national exclusiveness which marked all their opinions. They maintained that

God created a certain number of Jewish souls, which would return on earth as long as Jews were to be found there. By way of penance for sin, they sometimes sojourned awhile in the bodies of animals; but at the day of resurrection they were all to be purified, and in the forms of just men revive on the soil of the promised land. Rabbinical writings show very plainly that their belief in the immortality of the soul involved the doctrine of transmigration. Josephus, who belonged to the sect of Pharisees, says: "All have mortal bodies, formed of corruptible matter; but the soul is immortal, being a portion of the Divinity inhabiting our bodies. Pure and obedient souls remain about to receive a most holy place in heaven, from whence, after the revolution of ages, they shall be again appointed to inhabit new bodies. But the souls of those who have madly laid violent hands on themselves shall be consigned to the darkest grave, or hell." In another place, he says: "What man of virtue is there, who does not know that those souls, which are severed from their fleshly bodies by the sword in battle, are received by ether, the purest of the elements, and joined to that company who are placed among the stars? That they become good demons, and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity afterward? Those souls that wear away in and with their distempered bodies dissolve away to nothing in subterranean night, and a deep oblivion takes away all remembrance of them; even if they be clean from all spots and defilements of this world. So that, in this case, the soul comes, at the same time, to the utmost bounds of its life, its body, and its memorial also."

Pharisees adhered to the worship of One God, but believed in a multitude of Spirits, good and bad. The first of these Sons of the Supreme was with God from the beginning, and capable of manifesting himself on earth for benevolent purposes. It was a common opinion that Jehovah had placed the nations of the earth under the guidance of the Spirits of the Stars; each country having its own particular guardian; but that Hebrews were

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solely under the direction of the One Supreme Being, and not subject to any of his subordinate ministers. Moses forbade them to lift their eyes in worship to the sun, moon, or stars, giving as a reason, "For the Lord thy God hath divided them unto all nations under the whole heaven; but he hath taken you to be unto him a people of inheritance."

Jews accounted prayer an inner sacrifice of the heart, and there was a general belief that it healed sickness, and drove away Evil Spirits. Pharisees were pre-eminently men of prayer, and the services of the most devout among them were often sought. It is recorded that the Rabbi Gamaliel sent to the Rabbi Chanina, begging prayers in behalf of his son, who was very ill. The messengers were requested to wait, while the pious man retired to the house-top, where the Alijah, or private apartment for prayer, was situated. When he returned, he assured them the young man had already recovered; and they found it had so occurred at the hour he had spoken.

The conspicuous charity and superior sanctity of the Pharisees gave them such hold on the popular mind, that the great found it good policy to court their favour. They were called pious men, by way of distinction above righteous or just men, who considered it sufficient to obey the Written Law. They were always prone to punish heretical opinions more severely than offences against morals. Zealots among them not unfrequently stoned to death, or otherwise destroyed, those whom they regarded as blasphemers, or as Sabbath-breakers. This sect continued to increase in numbers and power, and in the later days held chief sway in the Sanhedrim and synagogues. Relying upon popular veneration, they carried matters with so high a hand, that they did not fear to offend either magistrates or princes. Their zeal and pertinacity often produced civil dissensions, and were a constant source of vexation to the Roman government. It was a favourite theme with them that it was unlawful to pay tribute to Cæsar; because Moses had said: "Thou mayest not set a stranger over

thee, who is not thy brother." They greatly disliked Herod, because he manifested so little Jewish exclusiveness. They constantly reminded the people that Jehovah could not forsake the descendants of Israel; that he was bound by his own solemn promise to send a Messiah, who would free them from all foreign yokes, and bring them eternal prosperity.

One sect, called Galileans, adopted the doctrine of a fierce zealot, Judas of Galilee, who maintained that it was wrong to acknowledge allegiance to any government, except the direct government of God. This sect was soon suppressed, but it propagated a violent spirit of insurrection, which subsequently produced disastrous effects.

The prophets had frequently repeated that oblations and sacrifices did not atone for intentional sins, unless accompanied by sincere repentance. But the teaching of the Pharisees had such an effect on the popular mind, that the multitude expected temporal prosperity and future reward, in proportion to the number of their sacrifices, ablutions, and prayers. Some minds were offended by these views, and regarded them as altogether low and external. Among these, Antogonus Sochceus was conspicuous for his dislike of traditionary institutions, and pious works of supererogation. He insisted that men ought to serve God from pure disinterested principle, and not for the sake of hire. One of his disciples, named Sadoc, maintained that not merely promises of temporal prosperity, but the doctrine of future rewards, appealed to the selfish feelings in man; that a just person ought not to require or expect any compensation for his justice. He declared there would be no resurrection from the dead, and no future existence. From him the sect of Sadducees took their name. They were strongly attached to the Written Law of Moses, which they said contained nothing further than the literal signification of the words, without any hidden mystical meaning. They rejected, as mere human inventions, all laws and traditions not comprehended therein. They worshipped one God, who created the world and continually governed

it. They denied the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, because the literal meaning of the Books of Moses conveyed no such ideas. They considered those doctrines as among the foreign additions to Judaism, which it was their wish to restore to its original simplicity. They did not believe that Spirits of any kind existed without the vestment of a mortal body. They consequently rejected the prevailing idea that diseases were occasioned by the infestation of Evil Spirits, who could be cast out by a form of sacred words. They denied predestination, and said God had made man master of his own actions, with freedom to choose between good and evil. This opinion led them to judge moral delinquencies with great austerity. They held the sanctified practices of Pharisees in great contempt, and Pharisees despised them as mere respectable moralists; but the two parties often united in the common cause of defending the Jewish religion. The Sadducees were a small sect, mostly composed of men of quality. They were less inclined to controversy than the Pharisees, and were satisfied to rest their claim to public respect on the propriety of their manners and actions. They often held honourable offices, and were sometimes even promoted to the highest sacerdotal dignity.

A third sect were called Karaites, which means Scripturists; because, like the Sadducees, they believed only in the Sacred Writings, and rejected traditions. They admitted that the Traditionary Law was of some value, as expressing the opinions of learned men on obscure passages of the Written Law; but they denied its claim to divine authority. They held the common belief concerning Jehovah, as the one uncreated God, who rewarded goodness and punished wickedness. They believed true repentance took away sin; that the human mind was subject to divine influence, but perfectly free in its volitions. They were strict observers of fasts and other ordinances of religion. They believed in the immortality of the soul; that spirits of the good ascended after death to a world of

bright and happy Intelligences, and wicked souls descended to places of suffering.

There were some classes of votaries among the Jews in whom the ascetic, or monastic, tendencies were exhibited in greater or less degrees. The Rechabites, or descendants of Rechab, were a distinct society by themselves. They strictly observed all the Hebrew rites, and were bound by additional vows made to their father, that they and their posterity would drink no wine, plant no vineyards, sow no fields, build no houses, but dwell forever in tents; that they might "live many days in the land."

Sometimes men dedicated themselves to the Lord by a voluntary vow to perform certain acts of religion over and above those prescribed by the Law. The term might be for months, for years, or for life. This was called the Great Vow, or Separation unto the Lord; and those who took it were termed Nazarites, which means separated or sanctified. If young women made this vow without permission of their fathers, or married women without consent of their husbands, their masters could cancel the obligation. But women free from the power of parents, or husbands, could become Nazarites whenever they were so inclined. This class of people must have existed from an early period; for Moses is represented as giving special laws for them. When they dedicated themselves, they offered sacrifices, and the priest shaved their heads. The hair that grew afterward, was sacred to the Lord, and must not be touched by razor or scissors during the whole period of the vow, even if it was for life. A Nazarite was not allowed to enter a house which contained a corpse, even if it were the body of his own father or mother. If a person died suddenly in his presence, he was polluted by the accidental vicinity of the dead body, and was obliged to renew his vow. The time he had previously consecrated was lost, "because his separation was defiled." It was necessary to shave his head again, offer sacrifices, perform ablutions, and be sprinkled with water containing ashes of the red heifer. Hair cut off under such circumstances was con-

sidered unholy, and could not be burned in sacrifice to God. But if he purely performed the whole period of his vow, the hair he had consecrated to Jehovah was cut off at the expiration of the term, and burnt as a sacrifice on the altar. Nazarites were forbidden to taste wine, or strong drinks, to eat grapes, either fresh or dried, or anything "made of the vine tree, from the kernels even to the husk." Some of them wore garments of hair, and dwelt apart from the multitude, either in the temple, or in solitary places. Sometimes parents vowed a child to the Lord before he was born; as was the case with Samson and Samuel. In that case, the mother was bound to observe, before his birth, the same restrictions that it would be necessary for himself to observe afterward. For fear of polluting herself by contact with the dead, or with anything unclean, she usually hid herself, or lived apart from company. It seems likely that the hair of the head, when thus consecrated, was supposed to protect the owner, or to be in some way endowed with supernatural power; for Samson told his mistress, "I have been a Nazarite unto God from my mother's womb. If I be shaven, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak, and be like any other man." When enemies cut off his hair, "the Lord departed from him," and he was completely in their power. But afterward, when it grew again, it is said his miraculous strength was renewed.

In the course of historical changes, other influences than Chaldean were brought to act powerfully on the Jewish mind. When Ptolemy, king of Egypt, conquered Jerusalem, about three hundred and twenty years before Christ, he induced many Jews to emigrate to Alexandria. It was good policy to attract enterprising and wealthy foreigners to the capital of his new empire; and for that purpose, he gave them great commercial advantages, and allowed free exercise of their national religion. Jews emigrated thither in great numbers, until they became about as numerous in Egypt as they were in Palestine. The basis of the population in Alexandria was Grecian. The language was

Greek, the customs were more after Grecian patterns than any other. But all nations congregated there, and teachers of all creeds were allowed to promulgate their doctrines. Jews in Egypt were zealous in their attachment to the Law of Moses. They built a temple to Jehovah, and established synagogues for the instruction of the people. But in process of time, they forgot the language of Palestine, called Aramæan, and spoke Greek only. As for the old Hebrew, in which their Sacred Books were written, it was rare to find a man among them who could read it. At last, the inconvenience became so great, it was necessary to translate the Law into Greek. Notwithstanding the habitual aversion of Jews to mingle with foreigners, it was impossible, under such circumstances, for their young men to resist the love of novelty, and the free spirit of inquiry which formed an atmosphere around them. They frequented Alexandrian schools, and acquired such a taste for Grecian philosophy, that some of their zealous priests thought it necessary to pronounce a solemn anathema upon any father who allowed his children to acquire such unhallowed learning. The emigrants were mainly devoted to commerce, and in pursuit of wealth they branched off through all the cities of the Roman empire. Wherever they went, they spoke Greek, which was the universal medium of communication at that period. They were generally called Hellenistic Jews, which means Grecian Jews. They observed all the ceremonies of the Mosaic Law as strictly as Jews of Palestine; but their brethren in the old country reckoned them inferior, because they inhabited Gentile lands, and spoke a Gentile tongue.

From intercourse with foreigners in Babylon, Egypt, Greece, and elsewhere, arose new habits and forms of opinion, which the learned cannot accurately trace to their source. It has been shown that the Hindoo, Egyptian, and Chaldean religions were exceedingly similar. Their doctrine concerning the evil nature of Matter was floating abroad extensively, and mixing with the theories of all nations. Its natural tendency was to produce anchorites,

and communities of hermits, whose principal object it was to free the soul from the thralldom of material laws, by subjugating or annihilating the body. It is not unlikely that the Jews, during their exile in Babylon, might become acquainted with associations of hermits, resembling those of ancient Hindostan. In the course of their numerous wars, overturns, and persecutions, they often fled to Egypt; and refugees, hiding in the mountains and deserts, would be almost sure to encounter devotees, who had there secreted themselves from the world. The theories of Pythagoras are obviously derived from ancient Egypt; and after his death, his persecuted disciples took refuge in the land where their master had learned the Mysteries. Exiled Jews might have become acquainted with such individuals, or communities, and have adopted some of their ideas and customs, while they still retained tenacious attachment to the Law of Moses. The tendency to monasticism, which began to manifest itself during the later centuries, might have grown out of the same principles of human nature, which produced it elsewhere; but, though modified more or less by old Hebrew ideas, it was mixed with doctrines of dissimilar character, and of opposite tendency, indicating a foreign origin.

Josephus says he lived three years with a hermit in the desert, who used no other clothing than what he obtained from trees, ate only such vegetable substances as grew of their own accord, and bathed himself with cold water frequently, night and day, in order to preserve his chastity. He also gives an account of peculiar associations of men called Essenes, who had long been an established sect, and in his time were scattered about in various parts of Palestine. About two hundred years before Christ, a band of pious men withdrew from the storms and temptations of the world, and took up their residence near the Dead sea. The name of Essenes is supposed to have been given them from a Chaldean word signifying physician; for they were reputed to have uncommon skill in medicine. They called themselves "physicians of the body and the

soul," and were generally so regarded by others. It is said they used various religious ceremonies, as a means of obtaining revelations concerning the nature of herbs, and the means of curing diseases. These ceremonies are supposed to have been prescribed in Sacred Books, which they kept secret. They were a very industrious people, principally employed as husbandmen and shepherds. They had an aversion to commerce, as tending to produce covetousness. No member of their community was allowed to manufacture military weapons, or deadly instruments of any kind. They totally disapproved of war, inculcated forgiveness of injuries, and expected the Messiah would come as a Prince of Peace, to establish righteousness upon the earth. They were remarkable for simplicity and directness of speech, and for conscientious regard to truth; insomuch that the simple yea and nay of an Essene was considered more reliable than the oaths of most men. They had an extreme aversion to oaths, as indicating a distrust, which ought not to exist among honest men. They were accustomed to say: "He who cannot be believed without swearing, is already condemned." The only occasion on which they allowed an oath to be used, was when a new member was admitted among them, with very solemn ceremonies. Their doctrines of morality might be comprised under two heads: reverence toward God, and love toward men. They said the Creator made all mankind equal, and it should be the effort of good men to restore that original state of things. They abhorred slavery, would have no class of servants among them, and made it a rule to wait upon each other mutually. They acknowledged no dominion, and would call no man master. They inculcated obedience to the civil authorities, but discountenanced participation in politics, as fatal to holiness. All the Jewish sects practised ablution, but none so frequently and carefully as the Essenes. Their diet was exceedingly simple, and in all their arrangements they moved with the regularity of clock-work. Therefore they were very healthy, and generally lived to a great age. They would die rather than taste of

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food prepared by any person not of their own sect; probably from fear of the admixture of some articles which they deemed unholy. They admitted no women among them, and, contrary to the prevailing Jewish opinions, considered strict celibacy essential to holiness. They abjured all amusements, all elegancies, all pleasures of the senses. They generally dressed in white, and their garments were very plain. There was in all respects a perfect community of goods. They appointed a presiding elder, whose regulations they agreed to obey, but deeds of kindness each one was left to perform according to his own pleasure. They uttered no words, but those of prayer, before the rising of the sun. When that luminary appeared above the horizon, they turned toward the east and chanted ancient hymns, handed down by their sect, invoking the blessings of interior illumination, and purporting that his rays ought not to fall on anything impure. Five succeeding hours were employed in their various occupations. Then they bathed, put on clean white garments, and went into the dining-room, where each received his portion of food from the servitor in silence. They drank water only, and ate only bread and one kind of fruit, or vegetables. They supped in the same manner. A prayer was offered at the beginning and end of every meal. They spoke low, and were always grave and quiet in their manners. Each community was divided into four classes, according to the time they had lived under their regulations. If any of the seniors touched one of the newer members of the society, they purified themselves by ablution, as they were all accustomed to do when they touched any of the Gentile nations. Every Sabbath, they assembled in their synagogue, and the younger brethren listened, while elders interpreted the Law and the Prophets. They observed the day with even greater strictness than any other Jews; in-somuch, that they would not even remove a vessel, or kindle a fire. They revered the name of Moses next to that of God, and he who blasphemed it was punished with death. They fulfilled the obligation of Jewish citizens by sending

presents to the temple at Jerusalem, but they never went there to worship; probably on account of some usages which they supposed would render them impure. Some say they never offered animal sacrifices; but this is not certain. Sadducees valued only the words of the Law. Pharisees said it had a literal meaning and a spiritual sense, both of which were worthy of reverence. Essenes attached no value to the literal sense, which they said was devoid of all power; but the things expressed by the words were symbols of holy and celestial ideas. They studied this allegorical meaning very devoutly. They had also Sacred Books which they kept secret, from which it is said they learned certain mysterious methods of curing diseases, interpreting dreams, and foretelling future events. The use made of these volumes seems to indicate a Chaldean origin. Josephus says: "Some of this sect take it upon them to foretell things to come; being bred up from their childhood in the study of their Sacred Books, and the sayings of the Prophets, and also in the use of various purifications to qualify them for it; and it is very seldom found that they fail in what they foretell." "Many of the Essenes have, by their excellent virtues, been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelations."

They differed essentially from other Jews in their ideas concerning the soul. They believed that it had pre-existed in some high ethereal spheres, had been fatally attracted towards this earth, and drawn down into a material body, in which it must be imprisoned till released by death. They did not agree with Pharisees in their idea that God punished and rewarded both the body and the soul. They regarded the body as a mere mass of matter, a temporary prison, and considered the soul alone worthy to be susceptible of rewards or punishments. They denied the resurrection of the body, deeming that the soul would be rendered impure by reunion with it. They believed that souls who had lived worthily, were conducted after death to abodes of Paradise, where the sunlight was genial, mild breezes fanned the atmosphere, and everything contributed

to produce indescribable delight. Bad souls were carried to dark places resounding with never-ceasing lamentations. They believed that God employed successive gradations of Spirits as mediators between him and the souls of men, and that he foreordained all the events of human life, even the smallest. Josephus says: "The Essenes affirm that God's decree governs all things; and that nothing befalls man but what is according to its determination." They attached mystical significance to numbers, and had peculiar respect for the number seven.

They received many boys among them for education, and grown persons weary of life often joined them. When any person applied for admission, he was required to pass one year out of the society, under a system of preparatory discipline. If he conformed strictly to all their rules of temperance and chastity, he was admitted within the community, after having gone through certain ceremonial purifications by water. But he was still required to prove his constancy by two years of regular attendance on all their observances, before he was admitted to full membership. If he passed through this ordeal satisfactorily, he lodged his whole property in the common treasury, and became one of the brethren, after taking a very solemn oath that he would observe all their rules; that he would never conceal anything from his fellow members; that he would obey the magistrates, because no one ever arrived at power without permission of God; that he would act with piety toward God, and justice toward men; be scrupulous in speaking the truth; do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or by command of others; guard the secrecy of their Sacred Books, and never divulge their Mysteries, or the names of their Angels, not even to save his life. If a member committed any heinous offence, they expelled him from the society; and this was a terrible punishment, unless he broke his oath not to taste food prepared by any out of their own sect. If the offender showed himself ready to risk death, rather than violate his oath, they sometimes received him back.

Pliny the Elder describes the Essenes as "the only sort of men who live without money, and without women, subsisting on the fruit of the palm tree; and in this above all the world to be admired. They are daily supplied by the resort of new comers, equal to those they lose; many flocking to them whom ill fortune has made weary of the world, and forced to take shelter in their institutions. Thus, for several thousands of years this people is perpetually propagated, without any being born among them; so fruitful to them is the repentance of others as to their past lives."

They probably divided into sects, some of whom were less rigid than the original founders. Among one class of them marriage was allowed for the perpetuation of the species, though restrained by very strict regulations. They did not all live in solitary places; for Josephus speaks of them as scattered through towns and villages in his time, and sometimes consenting to serve as magistrates. When they travelled, they never took money, or change of garments; but when they entered a town, they inquired who in it was an Essene, and with him they abode. Josephus says: "In every city some of them dwell. They give reception to all travellers of their sect, who eat and drink with them as freely as of their own; going in unto them, though they never saw them before, in the same manner as if they had been of long acquaintance. Therefore, when they take a journey, they carry nothing with them, but arms for defence against thieves. In every city, they have one principal person of their society appointed procurator, to take care of all strangers of their sect, and provide them with whatever clothes or other necessaries they may be in want of. They never change their shoes or garments, till they are worn out and unfit for further use. They neither sell or buy anything among themselves, but every one gives of that which he hath to him that wanteth; and on like occasions, receives whatsoever the other hath that he stands in need of."

He computes their numbers in his time at about four thousand. Their inoffensive lives, their proverbial verac-

ity, their charity to the poor, and obedience to government, secured them from molestation, while sects who aimed at political power were in perpetual conflict. But during the war with the Romans, the Essenes, in common with other Jews, suffered much. Josephus says: "In these trials, they gave abundant evidence what great souls they possessed. Although they were burnt, and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme Moses, or to eat what was forbidden, yet could they not be made to do either; or once to flatter their tormentors, or shed a tear. They smiled in their pains, and cheerfully resigned their souls, believing they would live forever."

There were similar associations of Jews in Egypt, called Therapeutæ. The name is generally supposed to be derived from a Greek word signifying to heal. They were celebrated for medicinal knowledge of roots and herbs, and were much resorted to for the cure of diseases. Philo speaks of them as having been established long before his time. He supposed them to be a branch of the Essenes; but they were a distinct sect in many particulars, and it seems more likely that they were both derived from some common and ancient origin. Philo, speaking of such associations for religious meditation, says: "In many parts of the habitable earth such a class of people exists; for it is fitting that both Greeks and barbarians should share in the absolute good." The constant intercourse between India and Alexandria renders it highly probable that Philo had heard of the numerous associations of devotees among Hindoos and Buddhists. When Pliny speaks of the Essenes as having existed for thousands of years, it seems likely that he included with them other similar but more ancient associations. It has been already stated in the chapter on Egypt, that Grecian writers alluded to bands of Gymnosophists, or naked philosophers, on the banks of the Nile; by which they doubtless meant devotees, who carried their asceticism so far as to discard clothing.

The Therapeutæ were far less practical than the industrious Essenes. They spent nearly all their time in silent meditation and inward prayer. People who joined them transferred their property to relatives, or friends, took a vow of perpetual chastity and poverty, withdrew into solitary places, and devoted themselves entirely to contemplation on divine things. Women who had taken similar vows were admitted among them; but they were generally of an advanced age. A large company of them lived near Lake Mœris, about one hundred and twenty miles from Alexandria. An enclosure separated them from other inhabitants of the country. Each member had a little garden and a small cell, merely sufficient for shelter, including a private recess or closet, for devotional purposes. They performed no more labour than was necessary to furnish their very simple means of subsistence. They rejected slavery, as a thing discordant with the harmony of God's laws. They taught that men were created equal, and they practically illustrated it by serving one another. Officers were appointed to preside over various departments of the association. There were no external distinctions of rank, but the spiritually elder taught and guided the spiritually younger. They prayed every morning and evening. At the rising of the sun, they turned toward the east and prayed that God would give unto the day that true blessing whereby their minds might become illuminated with heavenly light. When the sun set, they prayed that during the hours of darkness, when the soul was disburdened of the senses, and of all external things, it might be able to retire within itself, and receive interior revelations of divine truth. They ate nothing until evening; for, regarding the body as a prison, they were ashamed to give it sustenance, and thereby acknowledge the necessities of the senses, in the presence of sunlight. Their diet was simply bread and water. Some of them, who aimed at a high degree of holiness, tasted food only once in three, or even six days. They wore only one linen garment in summer, to which they added a mantle

in winter. They passed six days of the week in solitude, composing hymns and psalms, studying the Law and the Prophets, and books written by elders of their sect, in which the Scriptures were allegorically interpreted. They believed that Hebrew Sacred Writings contained a body and a soul; the literal words being the body, and the spiritual sense the internal life. They offered no sacrifices; saying that a serious and devout mind was the sacrifice most acceptable to God. On the Jewish Sabbath, they all met together in the synagogue; the men and women being separated by a wall five or six feet high. They took their places according to seniority; each one sitting with his right hand on his breast, and the left at his side. One of the elders quietly stepped forward and uttered a grave discourse, usually an explanation of spiritual allegories. No one was allowed to whisper, or make the least noise. If they felt satisfaction while listening, they sometimes signified it by a low murmur of applause, when he finished. Then the speaker sang a hymn of praise, in the last verse of which all joined in chorus. The number seven being peculiarly sacred in their estimation, they held a solemn Sabbath Festival every seven weeks, when they all assembled, clothed in white garments. When they were ranged in order, all lifted up their hands in prayer for a blessing on the feast. Afterward they reclined on rush mats, leaning on their elbows, and preserving profound silence, while some elder slowly and distinctly expounded the Scriptures allegorically. When the speaker concluded, he began to sing, either some ancient psalm, or a new one composed by himself. The whole assembly joined in the chorus; and Philo says the high voices of the women and the deep tones of the men made a very pleasant concert. Young men, appointed for the purpose, brought in tables and spread a feast, consisting of leavened bread, salt, hyssop, and water. When they had eaten and returned thanks, a space was cleared in the middle of the hall; the men and women ranged themselves in two separate choirs, each conducted by the best singer. They sang

hymns of thanksgiving, sometimes in concert, sometimes in responses; expressing the spirit of the song by motion of their hands. This being finished, they all joined in a general dance, which continued till the sun rose. Then, facing the east, they uttered the usual prayer that the day might be blessed with spiritual illumination, and each retired to his cell to resume the customary routine of his life. This dance and choral hymn is said to have been in commemoration of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, and Miriam's song of rejoicing. But as they were accustomed to give spiritual significance to all the historical facts of Scripture, it is deemed likely that they also considered it symbolical of the soul's deliverance from the bondage of the senses.

Foreign theories mixed with the Jewish religion under another form, called the Cabala, from a Hebrew word, which means Tradition. It has already been said that all novelties were introduced as oral traditions from Moses; his sanction being absolutely necessary for the reception of ideas among a people who devoutly believed that God had revealed to him a knowledge of all truth. There has been much learned discussion concerning the source of the Cabalistic doctrines, and the date of their introduction into Palestine. The very obvious resemblance to Persian theories seems to indicate that they had their origin during the Babylonian exile.

There is positive historical trace of them about one hundred years before Christ, when a learned Jewish Rabbi, who had been banished to Alexandria for some political offence, was recalled to Palestine, and brought a number of disciples with him. They introduced the science of the Cabala into their fatherland, under the form of oral traditions, and allegorical interpretation of the Sacred Books; an arrangement which allowed some freedom to the mind, without the necessity of acknowledging a departure from ancient laws. Marvellous stories were told concerning the origin and preservation of this mysterious doctrine. They said while Adam was in Paradise, the angel Rasiel brought

him a book filled with heavenly wisdom. Angels came down and begged to look into it; but Adam refused, saying it was intrusted to him alone. After the Fall, this book was carried back to heaven; but Adam obtained it again, by prayers and tears, and left it as a legacy to his son Seth. In the degenerate age preceding the Deluge, the book was lost, and its mysteries nearly forgotten. They were restored to Abraham by special revelation from heaven, and he wrote them in the book *Jezirah*, concerning the Creation. Being again lost, it was again repeated by angels to Moses, during his retirement on Mount Sinai. It was again lost during the captivity in Babylon, and was again revealed to Ezra; since whose time it had been successively handed down by Children of Light.

According to Cabalistic doctrine, God was pure uncreated Light, existing by the necessity of its own nature, filling the immensity of space, and containing within itself the principles of life and motion. They called this Eternal Source *En-Soph*, The Infinite. The souls of all things were portions of him, and had always existed in him. All forms of being were merely manifestations of his eternal, indwelling ideas. The Wisdom of the Eternal they supposed to be a feminine deity, whom Hellenistic Jews named *Sophia*. The first emanation from them was *Adam Kadman*, the First Adam. Cabalistic writers called him "The First Begotten Son of God;" "The Express Image of God;" "The Primitive Man;" "The Creator and Preserver, by whom all things were produced and disposed;" "The Animating Principle of the World, having the three forces of Divinity within him, Light, Spirit, and Life, which he gives out, as he has received;" "The Mediator and Intercessor with God for the sins of the world." Some of them supposed he had dwelt in this world in the form of the earthly Adam, and of king David; and that he would again appear as the Messiah. The letters in the name were adduced as proof. They said A stood for Adam, D for David, and M for Messiah.

From *Adam Kadman* were evolved ten Spirits, called

Sephiroth, or Splendours. Next, four worlds, or degrees of being; the relative perfection of which was according to comparative distance from the abode of Primeval Light; everything in each world being a reflection of the ideas pre-existing in the mind of the angel who formed it, and consequently partaking of his character. The inhabitants of the first had ethereal, radiant forms, and existed without propagation. In the second, they had aerial forms, of surpassing beauty. In the third, they had immaterial forms, but less perfect. The fourth was our world of material bodies, subject to dissolution, and of both sexes.

Planets and Stars were animated by Spirits, endowed with intelligence and power of volition. They presided over countries, animals, plants, and minerals, and controlled all the forces of nature. They took an interest in human affairs, and could communicate to men a knowledge of future events. One of the most conspicuous of these angelic agents was called Metraton, the Mediator, who kept record of the good deeds of men. They supposed it was he who led the Israelites through the wilderness, and wrestled with Jacob. They made a mystery of his name, because the Hebrew letters forming Metraton and Shadai, if used as numerals, both signified three hundred and fourteen. Lower orders of Spirits were jealous of the high and pure Intelligences above them, and wished to become their equals. They constantly contended with them, strove to drag them downward, and to frustrate all their good purposes. They seduced Adam in the garden of Eden, and they were always enticing men to sin. They produced diseases, and provoked wars. Their chief was Belial. Each soul had two attendant Spirits, produced at the same time with itself; one good, the other evil. These two accompanied every mortal, from birth to death. One guarded him, and the other tempted him. They knew all his thoughts and actions, and after death they testified concerning them. Man was a three-fold being, having a rational soul, a sensitive soul, and a material body. The rational portion was endowed with power to contemplate things above it,

and could thus raise itself to the influence of superior Spirits. Souls rendered perfect by meditation, prayer, and virtue, when freed from the encumbrance of the body, would ascend above the angels, and be united with En-Soph. Those less holy would dwell with good Spirits, in some of their resplendent realms of light. The impure must descend to earth again, to expiate their sins, and pass through new probations.

Cabalists supposed that all souls pre-existed in Adam, the same as everything in the universe pre-existed in the mind of God; therefore when Adam sinned all human souls became corrupted; and the inherent imperfection thus derived became an inlet for Evil Spirits.

When bad Spirits had brought the earth into the greatest disorder, and all seemed hastening to ruin, the Creator himself would come to redeem it. He would deliver Spirits, who had been dragged down and held captive by Matter; he would rekindle the divine light within men, and restore the primeval harmony of the universe. The most wicked Spirits had always been more or less attracted toward light; they would finally yield entirely to this attraction, and all would return to the Divine Source, whose splendour fills the universe.

The Cabalists had an ancient volume called Zohar, or the Book of Light. It is said to contain the following statement: "There are gods united in one, and yet they are three; and being three, they are only one. They form one by the most absolute union." Cabalistic writings abound with devout and rapturous expressions concerning this holy and mysterious Three, to each of which they ascribe personal actions, and divine properties. Those initiated into their mysteries they were accustomed to call Children of Light.

These doctrines were committed to writing in the second century of our era. A portion of them contained allegorical explanations of the Hebrew Sacred Books, constructing therefrom a system of spiritual philosophy. Another portion taught the art of curing diseases and performing mira-

cles, by the application of divine names, sentences from Sacred Writings, and certain symbolical arrangements of letters and words. Jews of all classes supposed that miraculous power resided in the name of Jehovah. The characters which represented that name were inscribed only in the holiest recess of their temple; and it was a popular idea that any person who obtained possession of them might thereby work miracles. The Cabalists, who attached mysterious significance to numbers, reckoned seventy-two names of the Deity, from which, by different arrangements in sevens, they produced seven hundred and twenty. The principal of these they disposed in a six-pointed star, called The Shield of David. They believed this would extinguish fires, preserve people from wounds and diseases, and perform many other miracles. All these things, and a vast many more of similar character, they contrived to reconcile to the Law of Moses, oral or written, to which they believed all the world would be finally converted, when their Messiah came to reign on earth.

It has been already said that educated Jews in Alexandria enlarged for themselves the old intellectual boundaries of Palestine, and were much attracted toward Grecian philosophy. The Cabalists mixed portions of it with the system of Zoroaster. But there was also a school of Hellenistic Jews, who infused the entire system of Plato into the old Hebrew religion. The Law of Moses, either written or traditionary, was believed to be the *only* source of truth; and this opinion was too firmly established to be braved with impunity by young minds captivated with foreign theories. Therefore, the ideas of Plato were transferred to Moses, as those of Zoroaster had been, under the elastic veil of allegorical interpretation. It would be unjust to suppose this was the result of timidity alone. Doubtless the assumption was often made with reverential sincerity; since men easily find in Sacred Writings whatever they are previously convinced ought to be there.

Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jew, who lived one hundred and seventy years before Christ, was anxious to

defend his nation against the charge, frequently brought by Grecians and Romans, that the Hebrews were a barbarous people, who had made small progress in philosophy or literature. To prove this assertion untrue, he affirmed that all Plato's ideas were familiar to Moses; and he professed to find them all in his writings, by means of an allegorical system of interpretation. Grecians who entered into controversy with him were surprised and silenced by his thus producing, from Hebrew Sacred Books, precisely the ideas of their own best writers. But the zeal of Aristobulus carried him still farther. He himself composed verses under the names of Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod, and filled them with Jewish ideas; thus endeavouring to prove Hebrew superiority both by reference to their own Scriptures, and to the sacred literature of other nations. In his writings, and in those of later Hellenistic Jews, there is manifested a tendency to represent as *persons* what Plato seems to have intended merely as *attributes* of the Divine Being. He calls the first emanation from God "The Second Cause;" "The Wisdom of God;" "The Father of Lights." Other Jewish writers were accustomed to make a distinction between "Jehovah; The Word of Jehovah; and the Habitation of Jehovah." Before the time of Aristobulus, there were Jewish writers, who covertly described the Divine Word as the author of all wisdom, teaching men what they ought to be. Philo, a celebrated Jewish Platonist, born thirty or forty years before Christ, calls the Logos, or Word, "The most ancient Son of God;" "a Second God;" whom he represents as creating all things, according to patterns given him by the Father.

A Jew named Dositheus devoted himself to solitude and abstinence, and practised many austerities. He tried to convince his countrymen that he was the promised Messiah. Failing in this, he went over to the Samaritans, and endeavoured to persuade them he was the Prophet promised by Moses, who they expected would come and reveal all things. He had followers for a time; but little is known of his doctrine.

One of the most remarkable men of those times was John the son of Zacharias, who appeared among the Jews as a religious teacher of the people. He was a Nazarite, vowed to the service of the Lord before he was born. His parents both belonged to the priestly house of Aaron. While his father was ministering in the temple, we are told the angel Gabriel appeared to him and foretold that he should have a son, who would "be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from his mother's womb, and turn many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God." Accordingly, when the priest's wife became pregnant, she hid herself, as was customary for the mother of a Nazarite. Soon after he was born, his father "was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied: Thou, child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest; for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his way." He was never allowed to taste wine or strong drink. When he grew to manhood, he wore hair garments, tied with a leather girdle, and "fed on locusts and wild honey." He is represented as living in the wilderness; but we are not informed whether he was an anchorite, or a member of some such association as the Essenes. He called upon both Sadducees and Pharisees to reform; exhorted the tax gatherers to be just in their dealings; the soldiers to refrain from robbery and violence; and the people universally to impart liberally of their substance to the poor. Especially he urged men to repent of their sins speedily, because "the kingdom of heaven was at hand;" a phrase which to Jewish ears signified the immediate advent of the Messiah. This idea, always so interesting to the people, attracted crowds to listen to his preaching. It is recorded that "all the people counted him as a prophet;" that "all the land of Judea, and they of Jerusalem, went out unto him in the wilderness, and were baptized in the river Jordan, confessing their sins;" that "all men mused in their hearts whether he were the Messiah or not." It was the general conclusion that he was either the Messiah, or the prophet Elijah, who was to precede his coming, or Jeremiah, who was to come with

him, and show where he had hidden the Ark and the Tabernacle. His influence over the multitude was so great, that the rulers feared to deny he was a great prophet, lest the people should stone them. The civil authorities were alarmed, lest rebellion against the government should be concealed under these prophecies of a new kingdom about to be established. They sent a deputation to inquire of him who he professed to be. He declared that he was not the Messiah. When they asked: "Art thou Elias?" he answered No. "Art thou that prophet?" [meaning Jeremiah] he answered No. "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord."

John was surnamed the Baptist, because he required his disciples to be immersed in water. All Asiatic nations attributed sacredness to water, and all practised ablutions as an important part of their religion. Moses ordained ablutions; and foreign proselytes, who were received into full communion with the Hebrews, were always admitted by circumcision and baptism also. The Jews do not seem to have had holy rivers, whose waters were deemed peculiarly efficacious, as was the case with Hindoos, Egyptians, and Persians. But Elisha ordered Naaman to wash seven times in the river Jordan, in order to be cleansed of his leprosy; and we are told there was a pool in Jerusalem, called Bethesda, resorted to by great multitudes of the lame, the blind, and the withered, who at certain seasons of the year went into it and were cured of their diseases. The popular belief was, that an angel went down into the pool, stirred up the water, and imparted to it miraculous power of healing. From time immemorial, water was considered typical of purification from sins of the soul, as it was an external means of cleansing the body. The peculiarity of John, which gave him the surname of Baptist, seems to have been that he required not merely Gentile proselytes, but Jews also, to be baptized, in token of cleansing from former sins, and the purity of a renewed life, in preparation for the Messiah's kingdom. To the multitudes, who were led into the Jordan by him, he preached a still

higher baptism. Among Hindoos, Chaldeans, Persians, and Syrians, fire was deemed a type of more thorough purification than water; for which reason, they passed their children through fire, and devotees sometimes burned themselves to death, as the readiest means of ascending to the highest paradise. In allusion to this prevailing idea, John said: "I indeed baptize you with water; but he who cometh after me shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire." This prophet of the people was beheaded by order of Herod, on account of the boldness of his rebukes to that monarch, who was doubtless jealous concerning the new kingdom, which he predicted would come so speedily.

While he was preaching, a new sect was starting into existence. His mother's cousin, named Mary, had married Joseph, a carpenter, described as a just man, and a lineal descendant from King David. Mary gave birth to a son, whose Hebrew name was Joshua, which Jews who spoke the Greek language called Jesus. It is recorded that the angel Gabriel appeared to her, and announced that the child about to be born should be called the "Son of the Highest;" that "God would give him the throne of his father David, and he should reign over the house of Jacob for ever." An angel likewise appeared to Joseph in a dream, and told him that the child had no earthly father, but was conceived of the Holy Spirit. Mary soon after went up "into the hill country," to visit her cousin Elizabeth, and inform her of these glad tidings; and when they met, the unborn babe of Elizabeth recognized the divine presence of the promised Messiah, and "leaped for joy." When Jesus was born, at Bethlehem in Judea, a chorus of angels in the air sang: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will to men." It is not known with certainty when this great event happened, but it is generally supposed to have been in the twelfth year of Augustus Cæsar. The season of the year is matter of conjecture. It is recorded that his birth took place at the time when "all the people went to be taxed, every one into his own city;" and that is said to have been in the Spring.

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The statement that shepherds were watching their flocks in the open air all night indicates that the weather was mild. So great was the crowd going to Bethlehem to pay taxes to the Roman government, that there was no room at the inn for Joseph and Mary, and her babe, when born was laid in a manger. It was a common belief among the Rabbins that at the time of the Messiah's birth a new Star would appear in the East, and remain a long time visible. This was partly owing to the prevailing idea that stars were always forerunners of great events, and partly to Balaam's prophecy: "There shall come a star out of Jacob." When Jesus was born, it is stated that wise men came from the East and inquired: "Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and have come to worship him." The star went before them and guided them on their travels, and when it came to the manger, it stood still. Whereupon, "they rejoiced with exceeding joy; and when they saw the young child, they fell down and worshipped him, and presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh."

The social condition of Joseph and Mary is indicated by the fact that she offered "turtle doves and young pigeons;" for these were the customary offerings of the poor. As soon as the babe was brought into the temple, Simeon the prophet declared: "This child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel;" and Anna, a prophetess, likewise "spoke of him to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem." These prophecies of a wonderful destiny for the infant are said to have produced the same effect as did similar predictions concerning Crishna in Hindostan, and Moses in Egypt. When Herod the king heard of them, he ordered that all the young children in Bethlehem, and the neighbourhood thereof, should be slain. This piece of extraordinary and high-handed tyranny is mentioned only in the second chapter of a brief biography of Jesus, written by one of his disciples, named Matthew. It does not appear that it caused any appeal to the justice of the Roman government. Josephus, though he wrote much

concerning Herod, and seems very willing to record his crimes, appears not to have been aware of the transaction; and no cotemporary history makes any allusion to it.

When Jesus was twelve years old, he went up to Jerusalem with Joseph and Mary, to the feast of the Passover. He lingered after they had departed, and when they returned to seek for him, they found him in the temple, listening to learned expounders of the Law, and asking them questions. "And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers." He returned with his mother, and nothing further is recorded of him till he appeared as a public teacher at thirty years of age. During the interim, it is supposed he worked with Joseph at his trade, for one of his biographers, named Mark, has recorded, that when he taught in the synagogue of his native city, the people were surprised, and inquired: "Is not this the carpenter? Whence has this man these things? And what wisdom is this which is given unto him?"

Before entering upon his public ministry, he went to his kinsman, John, to be baptized by him in the river Jordan. And John said to him: "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" As he went up out of the water, John saw the Holy Spirit descending upon him, in the form of a dove, and heard a voice from Heaven, saying: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." It is to be inferred from the narrative that none of the assembled multitude heard the voice, for no mention is made of any sensation produced by it. Up to this period, Jesus and his devout kinsman seem to have had little personal knowledge of each other. Though an angel from heaven had appeared to both their parents, and announced that one of the children would be the promised Messiah, and the other the forerunner to prepare the way before him, John did not recognize him, as he did before either of them were born. He says: "I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the

Holy Ghost. And I saw, and bare record, that this is the Son of God." In consequence of this declaration, two of John's disciples followed Jesus, and became his disciples, saying: "We have found the Messiah." But even after the miracle at the baptism, John seems to have been doubtful concerning the claims of Jesus; for when he heard of his restoring a dead man to life, he sent two of his disciples to inquire of him: "Art thou he that should come? or look we for another?"

John had expressly declared of himself that he was not Elias. But Jesus said of him: "Verily, among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist. And this is Elias, which was to come."

It is recorded that Jesus made preparation for his ministry by retiring to a solitary place to fast and pray, according to the general Asiatic custom of those who devoted themselves to a religious mission. During the forty days thus spent, his biographers state that the devil appeared to him, and tried in vain to tempt him with an offer of all the kingdoms of the world, if he would worship him.

What spiritual teaching, or companionship, he had for the eighteen years, during which history is silent concerning him, is, of course, a matter of conjecture. He probably received the usual education of Jewish children, which was confined to expositions of their own laws, prophecies, and traditions. He is once mentioned as writing on the ground, but never as using parchment. His opinion of the Traditional Law is clearly implied by his accusing the Rabbins of "making the commandments of God of no effect by their traditions." He reprov'd, with great earnestness, the pride and scepticism of the Sadducees, and the hypocritical sanctity of the Pharisees; but he uttered no rebuke that could be fitly applied to the Essenes. From this circumstance, and many strong points of resemblance between his teaching and theirs, some have conjectured that he knew and favoured that sect; but there is no historical proof to sustain the supposition. He appears to have conformed to the established religion of his country, as did Jews of all

sects and opinions. He was circumcised at eight days old. He attended the synagogues, and observed the Passover. He often quoted the Law and the Prophets, and constantly averred that he did not come to do them away, but only to fulfil them. He severely rebuked the Pharisees for considering tithes of anise and cumin more important than deeds of justice and mercy, and for supposing that donations to the temple could absolve them from filial duties. But he expressed no disapprobation of customary offerings; merely instructing his disciples in what frame of mind they should carry their gifts to the altar.

In the early part of his mission, he seems to have considered himself a prophet to the Jews only. When he sent his twelve disciples forth to preach, he commanded them, saying: "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not. But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." When a Greek woman, "a Syro-Phœnician by nation," besought him to heal her daughter, he replied: "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Jews had so long been in the habit of calling all the Gentile nations "dogs," that the expression came to be synonymous with the word foreigner. When the woman persisted in her entreaties, he answered: "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to dogs." She replied: "Truth, Lord; yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table." To this meek response, he rejoined: "O woman, great is thy faith. Be it unto thee even as thou wilt. And her daughter was made whole from that very hour." The trusting humility of a Roman centurion impressed him so deeply, that he remarked to those around him, he had never found any faith equal to it among his own nation. The Jewish exclusiveness indicated in his first directions to his Apostles does not appear again in any of the records of his words or actions. On the contrary, his parting injunction to them was: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

By example and precept he inculcated obedience to the
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civil authorities. When enemies sought to entangle him, by asking whether it were right to pay taxes to the Roman government, he answered: "Give unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and unto God that which is God's." He taught his disciples not to be called master, and to call no man on earth father, because all mankind were brethren, the children of one Father, who is in heaven. He himself washed their feet, in token that they ought to serve each other with all humility. The example he set up for their imitation was that of a little child. He often alluded to angels, and said that children had angels, who constantly saw "the face of their Father in heaven." He required purity of thought, as well as of deed. He taught that those who lived a holy life would rise from the dead in purified bodies, and become like the angels. He spoke of heaven as his "Father's house, containing many mansions;" and of hell as a place where "the worm died not, and the fire was not quenched." His habits were not ascetic, like those of John the Baptist; whose disciples came to him and said: "Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not?" He remarked to the Pharisees: "John came neither eating nor drinking, and ye say, He hath a devil. The Son of Man comes eating and drinking, and ye say, Behold a wine-bibber and a glutton, a friend of publicans and sinners." The Jews never had the ideas concerning marriage which characterized the devotees of many Asiatic countries. Even their High Priest was allowed to marry, and it was considered both a misfortune and a disgrace not to have children. Jesus attended a marriage feast, and several of his immediate disciples are said to have been married men. Though the law of Moses allowed polygamy, it was not the general custom, and the Roman law prohibited it. Jesus gave no specific directions on the subject, but his views are indicated by the incidental remark: "A man shall forsake father and mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh." Women were constantly attendant upon his teaching, and included within the circle of

his friendships. He taught his disciples that the providence of God extended to the minutest things; so that not a sparrow fell to the ground without his knowledge, and every hair of a man's head was numbered. He told them to take no money, or change of garments when they travelled; but in every city to abide with whoever was worthy. He that had two garments was bound to impart to him that had none; and he who had food was to do the same. He charged them not to swear an oath, either by heaven, or by earth; but to let their communication be plain yea and nay. He taught the union of the soul with God by a life of holiness. He spoke of it as attained by himself, and attainable by his disciples. He said of himself: "I and my Father are one;" and for his disciples he prayed: "As thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, may they also be one in us, even as we are one." To them he said: "Be ye perfect, even as your Father, who is in heaven is perfect." He inculcated entire forgiveness of all insults and injuries, in these words: "If thy brother trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee saying, I repent, thou shalt forgive him." "Do good to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute you." "If a man smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." This heavenly doctrine of always, under *all* circumstances, returning benefits for injury, and of overcoming evil *only* by goodness, was the distinguishing feature of his teaching, and elevated it far above all other systems of morality. The spirit of his precepts was as remote from Moses, as the times in which they lived; in fact, it was in many respects totally incompatible with the teaching of the Law and the Prophets. Moses ordained that he who shed man's blood should have his own blood shed; that he who knocked out another's tooth, should have his own knocked out; that he who destroyed another's eye, should have his own destroyed; "burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe." Samuel said the Lord commanded a whole tribe to be slaughtered, even the women and babes, for an

offence committed by their ancestors five hundred years before. David prayed to Jehovah: "Consume mine enemies in wrath; consume them that they may not be." Jesus declared: "It was said by them of old time, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, resist not evil. Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you." When the maxims of Moses were quoted, he expressed the consciousness of distance between their systems, by saying: "Moses suffered it, because of the hardness of your hearts."

Though educated in the midst of a people wedded to ceremonial routine, he was not scrupulous in the observance of forms. Pious Pharisees were offended by his want of strictness in keeping the Sabbath. When they reproved his disciples for gathering corn on that day, he answered: "The Sabbath is made for man, not man for the Sabbath." When they rebuked them for not performing the customary ablutions before they partook of food, he replied: "Laying aside the commandments of God, ye hold the traditions of men; as the washing of pots and cups; and many other such like things ye do. But rather give alms of such things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you."

His moral precepts were comprehensive and universal; tending to raise the soul above external ceremonies and traditionary opinions and prejudices. Moses said: "Love your neighbour as yourself;" but he limited the term neighbour to the Hebrews only; and the Jews of later time would have been more unwilling to bestow the epithet upon the Samaritans, than upon any other people. But when Jesus was asked: "Who is my neighbour?" he told the story of a good Samaritan, who acted the part of a kind neighbour to a wounded traveller, while priests and Levites passed by, indifferent to his distress. When a woman of Samaria alluded to the bitter controversy between Jews and Samaritans, whether Mount Moriah or

Mount Gerizim was the place Jehovah had chosen for his worship, he replied: "The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. God is a spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." He reprov'd the Pharisees for their long prayers, and taught his disciples this brief petition: "Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen."

Many miracles are recorded of Jesus; most of them of a highly beneficent character. He made the deaf to hear, the blind to see, and the lame to walk. He raised the dead, and on one occasion restored a friend to life, who had been four days in the grave. He stilled tempests by a word, walked on the sea, and changed water into wine. He knew secret thoughts, and told a Samaritan woman all the past events of her life. When the devil tempted him in the wilderness, angels came and ministered to him. He expelled devils from those who were insane or diseased, and the devils knew him and called him by name. On one of these occasions, the Evil Spirits, being driven from a man, entered into swine, which, according to the prevailing belief of those days, was their favourite habitation. The Pharisees, who, in common with nearly all the world at that period, believed in magic, said he could perform miracles, because he was in league with Beelzebub, the prince of devils. That the power of dispossessing demons was not peculiar to himself is indicated by the reply of Jesus: "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore, they shall be your judges." On another occasion, his disciples told him they had seen men casting out devils by using his name, and he charged them not to forbid their doing it. Two miracles recorded of Jesus seem not to be in harmony with

his character. "As he returned to the city, he hungered. And when he saw a fig tree in the way, he came to it, if haply he might find anything thereon; and he found leaves only; for the time of figs was not yet. And he said unto it, Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward forever. And presently the fig tree withered away." When the tax-gatherers demanded tribute, he said to Peter: "Go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money; that take, and give unto them for thee and me."

His words, as well as his works, were generally characterized by exceeding tenderness; but his rebukes to formalists and hypocrites were bold and scorching. He called them "children of hell," who did the works of their "father the devil," and "whited sepulchres, full of all uncleanness." Armed with a whip, he drove from the temple the herds of cattle, for sacrifice, from the sale of which the priests derived a large revenue; and he indignantly overturned the tables of those who demanded an exorbitant fee for changing the money that people brought to redeem their first-born. Such an uncompromising reformer of established usages, springing up from the unlearned classes, was of course offensive to priests and magistrates. The leading men in the community, and the great majority of the nation, had no faith in his claim to be the promised Messiah. Even his own family were not among his adherents. When they heard of his casting out devils, and of the crowds of people who followed him, "they went out to lay hold on him; for they said, He is beside himself." "His mother and his brethren, standing without, sent unto him and called him." "For neither did his brethren believe in him." When he went to preach in Nazareth, his native place, he encountered nothing but scepticism. He said unto them: "A prophet is not without honour, but in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house. And he could do there no mighty work, save that he laid his hand on a few sick folk and healed them."

His gentle and sympathizing nature led him to be the companion of the poor, the afflicted, and the sinful. To those who listened to his words, he said: "When thou makest a dinner, or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made to thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee." His disciples were from the labouring classes, and "the common people heard him gladly." Officers who were sent to arrest him, as a disturber of the peace, stopped to listen to him, and returned with their mission unfulfilled, excusing themselves by saying: "Never man spake like this man." So great was his popularity with the people, that on one occasion, when they heard he was approaching Jerusalem, a multitude of them "took branches of palm trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried, Hosanna! Blessed is the King of Israel, that cometh in the name of the Lord!"

His instructions were purely oral, and he taught at all times, and in all places, wheresoever an audience gathered. Sometimes he addressed the people at prescribed seasons in the synagogues; sometimes from the side of a mountain; at other times, he spoke from a ship to crowds on the shore. He accosted fishermen mending their nets, and discoursed with tax-gatherers whom he met in the streets, or at tables where he was invited to dine. While Rabbins were employed in elaborate commentaries on the Traditional Law, making distinctions too subtle to be understood, he conveyed great truths in significant parables, and drew his illustrations from familiar objects, the weeds in the wheat fields, the lost sheep of the flocks, water from the well, birds of the air, and lilies of the fields; a mode of teaching, which must have been as attractive as it was new among the Jews.

When he visited Nazareth, "where he had been brought up, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up to read, as his custom was. And there was de-

livered to him the book of the prophet Isaiah. He found the place where it was written: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.' And he closed the book, and gave it again to the minister, and sat down." The next line of the prophet was, "and the day of vengeance of our God;" but that he read not. His gentle soul confined itself to the mission of love and mercy. But when he began to say to his audience: "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears," they were "filled with wrath" at the implied assertion that he was the promised Messiah. "And they rose up, and would have thrust him out of the city." Jews were so suspicious of impostors on that subject, and the Roman government watched over it with such a jealous eye, that Jesus practised great caution. To those who first recognized him as the Messiah, he said: "See that ye tell no man." When asked, he did not directly answer the dangerous question, but referred them to his wonderful works, as proofs of a divine mission. Subsequently, he distinctly and repeatedly claimed to be the Messiah promised by the prophets. But he described the kingdom to be established on earth in a manner very different from the general expectation. There was no promise of victorious wars with other nations; of rank, and honour, and splendid apparel, and great feasts, and fields producing loaves of bread and gigantic grapes. On the contrary, he said: "Whoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall in no wise enter therein." "Whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister. And whosoever of you will be chiefest, shall be servant of all." A willingness to sacrifice houses and lands, and every form of worldly comfort and prosperity, for the advancement of the truth, was the requisite preparation to enter his kingdom. But when he described his coming to reign on earth, the language was such as the

people had been accustomed to associate with the advent of their Messiah. He said: "In those days, the sun shall be darkened, the moon shall not give her light, and the stars of heaven shall fall. Then shall ye see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory. Then shall he send his angels, and shall gather together his elect from the uttermost parts of earth, to the uttermost parts of heaven." Concerning the time that these events might be expected, he said to his disciples: "Verily I say unto you this generation shall not pass away, till all these things be done." At another time, he said: "I tell you of a truth there be some standing here, who shall not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God come with power." On one occasion, he said of his most beloved apostle, John: "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" In consequence of this, "the saying went abroad that that disciple should not die." So strongly were his followers impressed with the belief that his kingdom would be established on earth during their lifetime, that they disputed among themselves who should be greatest in that kingdom. Two of them made the explicit request: "Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand, in thy glory." Jesus rebuked such ambitious thoughts, by answering: "If any man desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and servant of all;" but he made no remark to discourage the expectation that his kingdom would soon be established on this earth. A belief in the transmigration of souls being common among the Jews, some of the populace accounted for his miracles by supposing that he was Elijah, or Jeremiah, or one of the old prophets, come back to this world again in a new body; but others shared the belief of his immediate disciples, and followed him shouting, "Hosanna, to the Son of David!" or "Hosanna to the King of Israel!" At that period, the Jews were more eager than ever in their expectation of a Messiah. Moses had prophesied: "Thou shalt rule over many nations, but other nations shall not rule over thee;" and God had

promised the prophet Nathan that the posterity of David should sit on the throne of Israel forever. The kings of Mesopotamia, of Moab, of Canaan, of Midian, of Ammon, of Egypt, of Assyria, and of Babylon, had by turns ruled over them. Their prophets told them all these things had happened because they worshipped idols; and if they would adore Jehovah only, a branch would certainly spring from the root of David, and fulfil the glorious prophecy. Thenceforth, they avoided the worship of images, and were strict in their observance of Mosaic ceremonies. But Persians, Macedonians, Egyptians, Syrians, and Romans, successively brought them under a foreign yoke. They became impatient for the fulfilment of the ever renewed promise. They were restless under the Roman government, always looking for their prince and deliverer. Moreover, many predictions were afloat that now the time was certainly nigh at hand. What is constantly called for usually comes, or appears to come. Men who claimed to be the Messiah were continually rising up, and deluding the Jews with false hopes. Romans watched this national tendency with a very suspicious eye. Had it involved merely a religious question, they would have taken little interest in it. But the word Messiah implied a King, because it signified The Anointed One. Translated into Greek, it became Christos, which we call Christ. Jesus Christ, in Hebrew, Joshua the Messiah, was said to be of the old royal stock, the very line in which it had always been predicted the Messiah would come. These circumstances, combined with the increasing number of his proselytes, excited the jealousy of priests and magistrates. He was consequently accused to the Roman government as a promoter of sedition, and a blasphemer, because he called himself the Son of God. Instigated by the powerful Jewish sects, who were offended by his rebukes, and alarmed by his popularity with the common people, they condemned him to death as a political offender, on the charge that he pretended to be King of the Jews. Some vestige of the idea of human sacrifice still remained; for

when the Roman Governor evinced a willingness to discharge Jesus, the High Priest declared: "It is expedient that one man should die for the people, that the whole nation perish not."

Jesus had long had a foreshadowing of his fate, and had tried to prepare the minds of his disciples by the most tender and solemn exhortations. Being in Jerusalem at the time of the Passover, he supped with them, and followed the custom observed by every master of a Jewish household at that festival. He blessed bread, brake it in pieces, and gave it to his disciples to eat. He blessed wine, and passed the cup to them to drink, saying: "Henceforth, I will not drink of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." Even at this last supper, there was a strife among them which should be the greatest in his kingdom. When he had renewed his exhortations that the chiefest among them should be willing to be as a servant, he added: "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table, in my kingdom, and sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." He had previously indicated that one of the twelve, who were present with him, would betray him to his enemies. When they had sung a hymn, he went with them to the Mount of Olives, where he was accustomed to pray. There, in view of his approaching death, his spirit was "exceeding sorrowful." He prayed, "Father, all things are possible with thee. Take away this cup from me. Nevertheless, not my will but thine be done." Ever and anon he returned restlessly to his disciples, whom he found sleeping. "And being in an agony," he repeated the same prayer more earnestly, a second and a third time; "and his sweat was as great drops of blood falling down to the ground."

At this awful crisis, his companions manifested little courage or constancy. When the treacherous disciple, who had betrayed him for money, came with the chief priests and captains of the temple, to seize him, all the other dis-

ciples "forsook him and fled." When one of them was subsequently accused of having been among his followers, "he began to curse and to swear, saying I know not the man;" but he soon repented of this, and "wept bitterly." The trial was accompanied with every species of insult; but the struggle had passed in the soul of Jesus, and he was calm, collected, and gentle. When the High Priest asked him: "Art thou the Christ?" He answered: "I am; and ye shall see the Son of Man, sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." Then the High Priest said: "Behold ye have heard his blasphemy!" In mockery, they put a crown of thorns upon his head, and placed over his cross the inscription: "King of the Jews," and crucified two thieves with him. His beloved disciple John, his mother, and two other women, who had been among his devoted followers, were with him at the place of execution. It is recorded by his biographers that while he was suspended on the cross, there was darkness over the whole earth for three hours; that there was a great earthquake, which shattered rocks, burst open tombs, and rent the vail of the temple; that numerous saints rose from their graves, and appeared to many in Jerusalem. After three hours of mortal agony, he died, praying: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." And truly they did not. Priests, having the sanction of centuries for regarding their office as holy, and trusting fully in the efficacy of ceremonial routine, naturally regarded him as a fanatical disturber of the peace. Ascetics, judging him by their own standard, thought he could not be a holy man, because he fasted less than they did, and allowed sinners to associate with him. Magistrates suspected he might be seeking political power, under the disguise of spirituality and meekness. None of them comprehended his character, or understood his mission.

The Law of Moses required that those who were hanged should be taken down and buried the same day. Moreover, as Jesus was crucified on Friday, the Sabbath would have been desecrated if his dead body had remained sus-

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pended in the Holy City until the next day. Prompt removal was therefore necessary; and when the executioners had decided that he was lifeless, his body was given to one of his followers, who deposited it in a new tomb. As he had predicted that he should rise on the third day, the Chief Priests urged the necessity of placing a large stone at the mouth of the sepulchre, and appointing men to watch it, lest his disciples should come by night and take the body away, and then make the people believe that he had risen from the dead. It was not allowable to do anything on the Jewish Sabbath; but very early in the morning, on the first day of the week, which we call Sunday, some of the women, who had stood by him at the cross, went, according to custom, to carry spices and ointments to his tomb. Matthew, in his biography of Jesus, informs us that "there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow. And for fear of him, the keepers did shake, and became as dead men." This heavenly messenger told the women not to be afraid, but to go and tell the disciples that their master had risen and gone into Galilee. They ran joyfully to impart the news. On the way, Jesus himself met them, and repeated the message they had received. When the eleven disciples heard the tidings, they "went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshipped him; but some doubted."

Mark says he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, but when she told the disciples, they believed her not. Afterward, he appeared "in another form" to two of them as they walked in the country; but when they told it to the residue, their account was not believed. "Afterward he appeared to the eleven, as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief."

Luke says that when Peter heard the account given by the women, he ran to the sepulchre and, stooping down,

perceived that the body was gone, and the grave-clothes wrapped together. He repeats the account of his appearing to two disciples as they walked: "but their eyes were holden that they should not know him;" and as soon as their eyes were opened, "he vanished out of their sight." Afterward, he appeared suddenly in the midst of the eleven, as they sat at supper in Jerusalem. When he saw that they were terrified, he said: "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself. Handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." He asked for food, and ate of the broiled fish and honeycomb, which they gave him.

John says Mary Magdalene was first at the sepulchre, and finding the stone rolled away, she ran and told Peter and John, who went and found the tomb empty, and the linen clothes lying there wrapped together; but they had no expectation that he was to rise from the dead. Mary remained there weeping, after they were gone, and Jesus appeared before her, and asked her why she wept; but she mistook him for the gardener, until he pronounced her name. She told the disciples of this interview, and on the evening of the same day he appeared in the midst of them, in a room where they had assembled together, "the doors being shut." One of the disciples, named Thomas, was absent; and when he heard the account, he said he would not believe it, unless he could put his finger in the holes which the nails had made in the hands of Jesus. Eight days after, when they were all assembled, "the doors being shut," Jesus appeared in the midst, and said to Thomas: "Reach hither thy finger and examine my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side."

Jesus did not show himself publicly, but it is recorded that during forty days he was seen at different places by his disciples; and by "above five hundred of the brethren at once." He had various conversations with them, and gave them many parting instructions. He promised that those who believed on his name should receive power to cast out devils, to speak all languages, to

heal the sick, to handle deadly serpents, and drink poison, unharmed. One of his biographers says that while he thus spoke with them: "He was received up into heaven, and sat at the right hand of God." Another says that while he blessed them he was parted from them: "a cloud received him and carried him out of their sight up into heaven;" and two angels appeared unto them saying: "This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." One of his biographers says the Chief Priests bribed the watch to say that his disciples came by night and stole the body away while they slept, adding: "And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews, until this day."

Jesus left no written statement of his life or doctrines. All we know of him is gathered from the writings of his disciples and early followers; from whose evidence it is concluded that the period between his baptism and his death was three years, or less; though some say six. The Roman writers, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, and Suetonius, make brief allusions to him by name; and these are the only traces of him in the histories of that age.

Ideas concerning the Messiah varied much among different sects and classes. The most common expectation was that a great conqueror and prince would arise and go forth, "with garments rolled in blood," inflicting summary vengeance on all nations that oppressed the Jews. Some expected a legislator wiser than Moses; some a great moral reformer, a Prince of Peace. It was an old and prevailing idea that Adam existed with Jehovah, as an immortal Spirit, before a body was created for him on this earth; therefore, they were accustomed to call him "The Son of God," "The Lord from heaven." Many believed he had re-appeared in the form of Abraham, Moses, Jacob, and David, and that he would again re-appear in the form of the Messiah. It was in this sense they spoke of "the First Adam and the Second Adam; the Old Adam and the New Adam." Some thought the archangel Michael, the tutelary guardian of the Jews, would appear as their Messiah, and

would be visible only to Jehovah's chosen people. In the later times, two Messiahs, of different character, were predicted. One was to be persecuted, suffer, and die. Another was to succeed him, who was to conquer all hostile nations, restore the kingdom to Israel, and bring the whole world under subjection to the Law of Moses. During the exile in Babylon, the Hebrew mind had become familiar with the character and history of the Persian Arimanes. In the last centuries preceding Christ, we find a similar personage mixed with their predictions, under the name of the Anti Messiah, represented as a great enemy to the establishment of the kingdom of the true Messiah, with whom he would have many contests, and cause the Jews much suffering. But he would finally be vanquished, and the Lord's chosen people would be restored to their promised land, under the peaceful and prosperous reign of the true Anointed One.

The patient faith manifested under all their reverses of fortune is truly admirable. In the Hebrew Scriptures all is triumphant certainty on this point. The later writings of some of the Alexandrian Jews have a sadder and less sanguine tone. The author of the second book of Esdras says: "O Lord, behold these heathen, which have ever been reputed as nothing, have begun to be lords over us, and to devour us. But we thy people, whom thou hast called thy first-born, thy only begotten, and thy fervent lover, are given into their hands. If the world was made for our sakes, why do we not possess an inheritance with the world? How long shall this endure?"

Prophecies concerning the destruction of the world, and the renewal of all things, apparently founded on very ancient astronomical calculations in Chaldea and Egypt, pervaded all Asiatic countries. In the Jewish mind it became mixed with the advent of their Messiah, who they believed would reign over the renovated earth for a thousand years. Righteous Jews, whose souls were waiting in Paradise for the resurrection of their bodies, would be raised from the dead, and appointed "to judge the nations." The Tal-

mud says: "The righteous, whom the Lord shall raise from the dead, in the days of the Messiah, when they are restored to life shall not again return to their dust, neither in the days of the Messiah, nor in the following age; but their flesh shall remain upon them."

Jews had very great reverence for their Sacred Writings. They did not allow their Book of the Law to be written on parchment made of the hide of any unclean animal, or prepared by any but an Israelite. The very strings with which it was tied must be made of a substance deemed perfectly pure. When copied, they allowed no word to be written from memory, or without being first pronounced. Before they wrote the name of Deity, they always washed the pen. They never touched the book without washing their hands, and not then unless it was covered. For many centuries their Sacred Writings consisted solely of the Law, which tradition ascribed to Moses. There is not a line in the book of Genesis to indicate who was the author, nor a sentence to imply whence he obtained his information. The account of Creation, of the Deluge, of the Garden, the Tree, and the Serpent, bear a strong resemblance to the sacred traditions of other oriental nations; but the history of Creation is more concise and majestic than in any other Sacred Books, the knowledge of which is preserved. "God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light," has often been quoted as one of the most sublime sentences on record. The books ascribed to Moses were called by Romans *Liber Pentateuchus*, which means the Five Books; whence our word *Pentateuch* is derived. Among Hebrews, these books had no other name than the word with which each began; thus they called Genesis *Bereshith*, which means, In the beginning. At what period the compilation was made has been a subject of much controversy. Scholars say the language of the *Pentateuch* corresponds with the sacred historical books written a thousand years later; and such a thing was never known as the language of any people remaining unchanged during a thousand years. Expressions are often used which

betray that they were written after the time of Moses. Many cities and countries are called by names which they did not receive until long after that period. It is said "the children of Israel did eat manna forty years in the wilderness, till they came to the borders of Canaan;" and it is likewise said that Moses died before they came to the borders of Canaan. In recording some old transaction, it is often said: "the Canaanites then dwelt in the land;" and the Canaanites were not driven out till the time of Joshua. The phrase often occurs: "And so it is unto this day." There are descriptions of what happened "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel;" and no king of Israel existed until six hundred years after Moses. The death of Moses and the succession of Joshua is described, which plainly could not have been done by Moses himself. There is much internal evidence that the books were a compilation of ancient fragments. There are many repetitions and many omissions. Between Genesis and Exodus four hundred years are passed over. In some places, God is called Elohim, in others by the later title of Jehovah; as if the compiler had before him two documents, in one of which the more ancient name of Deity was used. Two accounts of the Creation follow each other. The story of Moses bringing water from the rock is twice told; so is the account of manna falling on the ground. There are two accounts of Noah's Ark. In one he is described as taking seven pair of all clean animals, and one pair of all unclean animals; the other represents him as taking two and two of all kinds. In the course of a few chapters, the same story is told of Abraham and of his son Isaac, each passing off his wife as his sister, to deceive the same king. The account of Isaac's parents laughing at the prospect of his birth is repeated three times in the course of five chapters. There is no account given of any other family on earth at the beginning, except that of Adam; yet it is said his son Cain went to the land of Nod, and took him a wife. Two sets of commandments are represented as given by God to Moses; the last far less occupied

with morality, and much more with ceremonials, than the first. The twentieth chapter of Exodus contains the following ten commandments:

“Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

“Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.

“Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.

“Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. In it thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates.

“Honour thy father and thy mother.

“Thou shalt not kill.

“Thou shalt not commit adultery.

“Thou shalt not steal.

“Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

“Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, his wife, his man servant, or maid servant, or ox, or ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's.”

The tables of stone on which these were written were broken by Moses, in his anger at the idolatry of the people. He ascended Mount Sinai a second time, to commune with Jehovah. “And the Lord said, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest.” But the words, as recorded in the thirty-fourth chapter of Exodus, bear very little resemblance to the first set of commandments. They may be abridged as follows:

“Take heed to thyself lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest; lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee. But ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and out down their groves. Thou shalt worship no other God; for the Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God.

"Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.

"The feast of unleavened bread thou shalt keep, and dedicate all firstlings unto me; but the first-born of thy sons thou shalt redeem. None shall appear before me empty.

"Six days shalt thou work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest. In earing time and in harvest thou shalt rest.

"Thou shalt observe the Feast of Weeks, the First-fruits of Wheat-harvest, and the Feast of Ingathering, at the year's end.

"Thrice in the year shall all your males appear before the Lord Jehovah, the God of Israel.

"Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.

"The sacrifice of the Feast of the Passover shall not be left to the morning.

"The first of the first-fruits of the land shalt thou bring into the house of Jehovah thy God.

"Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk."

This second set of commandments appear to have been those afterward so carefully preserved in the Ark.

Joshua is said to have written a copy of the Law of Moses on an altar made of twelve stones; which of course could not have been done unless it then existed in a much briefer form than it does at present. A Book of the Law is mentioned in the twenty-fourth chapter of Joshua; but the Pentateuch does not contain what it is said he wrote in *that* Book of the Law. Allusions are often made to a Book of the Law "laid up before the Lord;" but in what form those legal writings existed is not known. In all countries, ancient traditions floated about in the form of oral communications, or fragmentary scraps, long before they were reduced to established order. Moses, being educated in Egypt, a country where written laws and written records were in use many centuries before his time, probably committed some of his own laws to writing; but they must have been in brief form, as he probably had no better materials than wood or stone to write upon.

Whether these were preserved through the wanderings and manifold disasters of the Hebrews, and what changes they afterward encountered, are questions that cannot be answered. Samaritans had a copy of the Pentateuch written in the ancient Hebrew or Canaanitish characters; from which it has been inferred that it existed before the ten tribes revolted. The prevailing opinion of the learned is that after the return from Babylon, Ezra collected all the fragments he could find, and wove them together with such additions as he deemed necessary.

There were prophets from the very commencement of the Hebrew state, but in early times they do not appear to have written anything; probably because literature was not sufficiently advanced. The written oracles of the prophets began about eight hundred years before Christ. Some prophecies were written without having been previously communicated to the public; others were not written down till long after they had been orally delivered. Jeremiah is the only prophet who has given an account of his writings; and according to his statement, it appears that twenty-three years elapsed between the time when he began to prophesy, and the date of committing his oracles to writing. The Jews of Palestine did not number David and Daniel among the prophets; because they did not lead the life of prophets, but resided in courts. It was not permitted that prophecies should be written out of the Holy Land. Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied while they were in captivity in Babylon. The Talmud states that they did not write down their own oracles; but men of the Great Synagogue committed them to writing, after the return to Jerusalem. It says the same Assembly of Elders wrote down the twelve minor prophets, and likewise the short predictions of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. It likewise declares that the book of Ezekiel came very near being left out of the sacred canon, on the ground that it contained some things contrary to Moses; but a learned Rabbi having reconciled the apparent contradictions, they concluded to allow it to remain. The word Malachi in Hebrew

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means an angel, or a messenger; therefore, some suppose it was not a name, but merely a title applied to some prophet; perhaps to Ezra. The writings of the prophets, like those of other men, vary according to their temperaments and modes of life. Isaiah is bold and strong, Jeremiah ever inclines to sadness. The rustic Amos is full of allusions to rural life. Daniel and Ezekiel who had lived long in Babylon, abound in Persian imagery. Many prophecies are undoubtedly lost. Some referred to by the disciples of Christ are not contained in the present copies of the Hebrew Scriptures; and the same is true of many quoted by Josephus.

The Pentateuch alone was read in the synagogues until after the time of the persecution by Antiochus. When he seized the copies of the Law, and forbade it to be read to the people, they substituted fifty-four sections out of the Prophets, instead of the fifty-four sections of the Law, from which they had been accustomed to read, one every Sabbath. Afterward, when Judas Maccabæus restored the Law, they read a section of it for the first lesson every Sabbath, and continued to read a section of the Prophets for a second lesson. From that time they were often spoken of together, as the Law and the Prophets.

All the other books were included under the title of Hagiographa, which means Sacred Writings. One of these, Hebrews called Sepher Tephilim, or Book of Praises. In the Greek tongue it was named Psalms, from a word which signifies "to touch sweetly;" because when these hymns were sung in the temple, musical instruments joined with the voices. The book is a miscellaneous collection of religious odes or poems, on various occasions of victory, thanksgiving, or humiliation. The forty-fifth Psalm seems to have been written for some royal marriage; perhaps in honour of the daughter of Pharaoh, when she was brought from her native land into the seraglio of Solomon. They were written at various times, and by various persons. Some are ascribed to Moses, others appear to have been written during the captivity. The Levites doubtless kept

copies for the service of the temple; but it is not likely that the collection was made until after the return from Babylon. That it was compiled from several smaller collections is proved by the repetition of almost entire Psalms, by the fact that those attributed to the same author are scattered about in different places; and by the doxologies, appropriately belonging to the end of a book, but now indiscriminately dispersed.

The book called by Hebrews the Song of Songs, or the Most Beautiful Song, is the only vestige of their amatory poetry. It has been generally attributed to Solomon, but traces of the Aramæan dialect have led some scholars to suppose that it was written after the captivity. Its language is passionate and glowing, and its literal sense has so little connection with religion, that the inquiry has often been made, why it was included in the canon of Sacred Writings. Jewish Rabbis permitted no one under thirty years of age to read this Song; and it was never publicly read or explained. In Latin it was called Canticles, which means Little Songs.

Ecclesiastes, or The Preacher, likewise attributed to Solomon, is far from spiritual in most of its teaching. The perpetually recurring idea is: "A man hath no better thing under the sun, than to eat, and drink, and be merry." Its counsel is: "Be not wicked over-much, neither be thou foolish. Why shouldst thou die before thy time?" "Be not righteous over-much, neither make thyself over-wise. Why shouldst thou destroy thyself? For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them. As the one dieth, so dieth the other. Yea they have all one breath; so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast; for all is vanity. All go unto one place. All are of the dust, and all turn to dust again." In another place, the writer says: "The dust shall return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it;" which seems to imply the Oriental idea that human souls emanated from the Universal Soul, and are absorbed in it again. Rabbi Nathan says it was formerly

determined that the Proverbs of Solomon, the Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes, were apocryphal books, not to be reckoned with the Hagiographa; and for this reason they were kept concealed until the time of the Great Synagogue, when some of the learned Rabbis explained them.

It was the common custom for ancient nations to intrust to the priesthood their historical annals, and all other writings of importance, that they might be kept in the temples for safety. The kings of Israel had scribes to record the events of their reigns, and such writings would be invested with even more sacredness among the Jews than among other people, because they were perpetually taught to believe that God himself governed their nation, and that all which befell them, great or small, was done under his immediate supervision, and by his direct assistance. De Wette says: "According to Hebrew opinion, their theocracy is the centre and object of the whole history of the world. The ground of it they represent as laid immediately after the Creation, when the people of God were gradually separated from other people. The belief that they were the only favourites of Jehovah is as old as the nation itself; but it first received a steady direction from Moses." All their heroes, as well as prophets, appear only as instruments of Jehovah. In their eyes, Saul did not lose his power because Samuel, the powerful prophet, was alienated from him; or because David, the successful young hero, stole away the hearts of the people; but God repented that he had made Saul king, because he had ventured not to obey to the letter the divine command to slaughter every man, woman, babe, ox, and sheep, belonging to the Amalekites. If Samuel hewed a prisoner of war into pieces, it was not he who did it, but the Lord who commanded him. If a hostile army was scattered by a remarkable hail-storm, they said: "The Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them." If they found an eatable substance exuding from plants in the wilderness, they supposed it came down from heaven on purpose to

sustain them. In fact, everything that happened in the world was presumed to be performed for their especial benefit, either to reward, or punish, or instruct them. A nation who considered themselves peculiarly protected by the Highest, while other nations were intrusted to inferior Spirits, mere subordinate ministers of their own Great King, must necessarily regard their own history as sacred above all other histories.

The historical books contain much internal evidence that they also were made up of fragments. In the book of Samuel it is said that Saul sent for David, the son of Jesse, because he was represented to him as "a cunning player on the harp;" that Saul became much attached to him, made him his armour-bearer, and sent to Jesse to ask that he might always remain in the royal household. When Goliath defied the armies of Israel, it was told the king that David had boldly inquired: "Who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should defy the armies of the living God?" Whereupon, Saul questioned the stripling, and finding him of undaunted courage and faith, he himself armed him with a coat of mail, and put a helmet of brass on his head, and sent him forth to fight Goliath. In the very next chapter we are told that when Saul saw a champion go forth against Goliath, he inquired, "Whose son is the youth?" and Abner answered: "I cannot tell." When David returned with the head of Goliath, Saul sent for him, to ask who he was; and he answered: "I am David, son of Jesse." De Wette says: "Such inconsistencies can only be explained on the supposition that the author drew from various sources, whose testimony was imperfect; often conflicting." The same stories are told in quite a different spirit in different books. In Samuel, we are told that God moved David to number Israel, because he was angry with them. The author of Chronicles says Satan moved him to do it. Chronicles were probably written by some descendant of Levi, and a strong partizan of the royal house of David; for there is a manifest tendency to glorify the priesthood, and strong prejudice in favour of the kingdom

of Judah, in comparison with the revolted kingdom of Israel. In the book of Kings it is implied that priests embezzled the money, which king Jehoshaphat devoted to repair the temple; but no allusion is made to that discreditable charge when the same story is told in Chronicles. Neither do they record that David obtained unlawful possession of Uriah's wife; or that he caused Saul's seven sons and grandsons to be murdered to satisfy the vengeance of the Gibeonites; or that Amnon ravished his own sister Tamar; or that Absalom rebelled against his father; and nothing is said of Solomon's idolatry, or of his seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines. The statements in Chronicles, compared with those in Kings, show a tendency to exaggerate numbers, and increase the miraculous.

It is not supposed that the Prophecies and the Hagiographa were collected and comprised within the canon of Sacred Scriptures until the time of Ezra. Elias, the Levite, distinctly speaks of the compilation as the work of the Great Synagogue. Many things must have been added after Ezra's time; for in Nehemiah mention is made of Darius Codomanus, who was king of Persia at least a hundred years later than the time of Ezra; and the days of Jaddua are spoken of as days past, though Jaddua outlived Alexander the Great two years. As this was more than two hundred years after Nehemiah's time, somebody must have made additions to his book. In the first book of Chronicles, records of genealogy are brought down so far, that they must have reached the epoch of Alexander the Great. It is not known with certainty when the canon closed; that is, when it was decided to be unlawful to add any more books. The word canon signifies a rule, a standard. According to Jewish tradition it was completed by Simon the Just, the last of the men of the Great Synagogue, and High Priest of the Jews, two hundred and ninety-two years before Christ. In addition to completing their Sacred Scriptures, he performed many other services to church and state. The author of Ecclesiasticus says:

"How he was honoured in the midst of the people in his coming out of the sanctuary! He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full. As the sun shining upon the temple of the Most High, and as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds. When he put on the robe of honour, and went up to the holy altar, he made the garment of holiness honourable."

Eichhorn, the learned commentator, says: "Soon after the return of Jews from Babylonian exile, a collection was made of all the extant writings of the nation, which were rendered sacred in the eyes of the new people, by their age, their character, or their authors. The library thus formed was deposited in the temple, and for a considerable time before Christ no further addition was made to it." De Wette says: "One thing is certain; the collection came gradually into existence, and acquired a sort of sanction, by force of custom and public use."

Until after the Christian era, the Sacred Books of Hebrews were mentioned under the general name of The Scriptures, which simply means The Writings; or, The Holy Scriptures; or O Biblos, a Greek word signifying The Book. The most ancient substance used to write on was the inner bark of a tree, called Biblos. Thence it happened that writings were called Biblos; pronounced Bible, in the English tongue.

The Pentateuch makes no mention of a future existence; and allusions to it are extremely vague in the Historical Books, the Prophecies, and the Psalms. Isaiah says: "The grave cannot praise thee; death cannot celebrate thee; they that go down into the pit, cannot hope for thy truth." One Psalmist says: "The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence." Another asks despondingly: "Shall the dead arise and praise thee? Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? And thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?" But another exclaims, with joyful confidence: "God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave; he shall receive me." And David says: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell,

neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." In the later prophets, Daniel and Ezekiel, are some distinct allusions to the immortality of the soul. But from the time of bondage in Egypt, till after the return from Babylonian exile, the Israelites seem to have been encouraged and restrained mainly by the prospect of temporal reward and punishment. The punishment was generally represented as immediate; but not always. Jehovah might delay retribution, but the evil would be suffered by descendants, down to distant generations, if the sinner himself escaped it. Frederic Von Raumer, a learned Prussian, in his Lectures on Ancient History, says: "In the traditions of no people do we find such frequent mention of the rewards and punishments of the present life, and so little satisfactory or animating allusion to a future state, as among the Jews."

Hebrew Sacred Books have that character of primitive simplicity, which belongs only to ancient times. Sexual allusions abound in them, as they do in all Asiatic documents. The stories of Judah and the harlot, and of Lot and his daughters, are told with a plainness of speech, which would scarcely be tolerated in modern records. God is perpetually described metaphorically as a jealous husband, and Israel as his bride. Every foreign deity is represented as a paramour, and to worship any of them is called "going a whoring after other gods."

The defects of these writings are such as must necessarily belong to the productions of a remote period, coming from a people originally ignorant and savage, and who were always arrogant and exclusive, by reason of their strong faith that they were the peculiar and only favourites of Heaven. But if the ignorance and credulity of the world's childhood has left its traces on these venerable documents, they are likewise marked by a child-like and trusting piety, by earnest and devout ideas, often clothed in grand and beautiful imagery. Humble dependence upon the deities for daily benefits was inculcated in all religions; but the Hebrew is peculiar and remarkable for its eloquent

outbursts of contrition for sin, its deep sense of human unworthiness before a pure God, "in whose sight the heavens themselves are not clean." No ancient religious writings, of which we have any knowledge, equal some portions of the Hebrew in spirituality, sublimity, and power. To the devout inquirer after truth they are peculiarly valuable, as showing how the doctrine of One Invisible God, supreme above all other gods, of whom no image was allowed to be made, was steadily proclaimed by the highest minds among them, forever struggling with the polytheistic tendencies of the people. De Wette says: "He who despises the relics of the Hebrews, because they proceed from a nation which had not reached a high degree of culture, and had made but a one-sided use of their powers of mind, must either be ungrateful for their great merit, or so unjust as to demand the full light of high noon from the first faint glimmering of morn. Much rather would every free, impartial reader, who has a taste for the writings of such early times, and of a country so foreign to us as Asia, be powerfully attracted to them by their contents, and their old and original spirit; and he will never lay them down without reverence and gratitude for the fortunate destiny which has preserved them. In them we find a rich collection of genuine poesies of nature, which every lover of the poetic art will hold in high esteem. Among them we discover kinds of poetry of which nothing of similar excellence has survived amid the far richer relics of Greek literature. Who would not exchange a part of Pindar's hymns of victory for his lost religious odes, since almost all Grecian songs of that character have perished? From the Hebrews we have primitive old temple-songs, in a solemn, devout, and highly original tone. These, and other kinds of Hebrew poetry, no man has ever read with poetic feelings, and with the power of recalling ancient times, without falling in love with the old Oriental spirit they breathe, and rejoicing, at the same time, that we have specimens of at least one Oriental nation, although they are so very imperfect."

Eichhorn, one of the most celebrated Oriental scholars

of Germany, speaking of the Hebrew Scriptures, says: "What variety in language and expression! Isaiah does not write like Moses, nor Jeremiah like Ezekiel; and between these and any of the minor prophets there is again a great diversity of style. The style of Moses is distinguished by its scrupulous grammatical correctness. The book of Judges is filled with provincialisms and barbarisms. In Isaiah, we meet with old words under new inflections. Jeremiah and Ezekiel have their Chaldaisms. In short, as we trace the succession of writers from the earlier to the later ages, we find in the language a gradual decline, till it finally sinks into a dialect of broad Chaldee. Then, too, what diversity in the march of ideas and range of imagery! In the hand of Moses and Isaiah, the lyre is deep and loud, but its tone is soft when touched by David. The muse of Solomon is decked in the splendours of a luxurious court, while her sister wanders with David in an artless dress, by streams and banks, through the fields and among flocks. One poet is original, like Isaiah, Joel, or Habbakuk; another is imitative like Ezekiel. Rays of learning beam from one, while his neighbour never emits a spark of literature. In the oldest writers, we see strong lines of Egyptian tint, which grow fainter and fainter on the canvass of their successors, and at last disappear. Finally in the manners, what a beautiful gradation! At first, all is simple and unaffected, as in the poems of Homer, and among the Bedouin Arabs, in this day. By degrees, this noble simplicity declines into luxury and effeminacy, and vanishes at last in the luxury of the court of Solomon."

Herder, the most celebrated writer among the Lutheran clergy of Germany, and a deeply religious man, says: "The best study of theology is the study of the Bible; and the best study of this divine book is that which regards it as human; I use the word human in its broadest compass and strictest meaning. The Bible must be thus read, for it is written by men, and for men. The language is human, the external means by which it was written, and has been preserved, are human."

There is a gradual improvement in the Hebrew Scriptures according to the period at which they were written; though, as numerous fragments are, in some cases, collected into one book, it is often impossible to decide upon the date of individual portions. In the time of the later Psalmists and Prophets, the character of their sacred literature was at its zenith. Throughout these writings, frequent allusions are made to books not now in the collection, and probably entirely lost. Among these are The Book of the Wars of Jehovah; The Book of Joshua, that is, the Righteous; The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel; The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah; The Prophecy of Ahijah; The Visions of Iddo; The Book of Nathan the Prophet; The Book of Gad the Seer.

The following Psalm, without the author's name affixed to it, is generally considered one of the sublimest specimens of Hebrew poetry:

“Bless the Lord, O my soul. O Lord my God thou art very great; thou art clothed with honour and majesty:

“Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment; who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain;

“Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters; who maketh the clouds his chariot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind;

“Who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire;

“Who laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever.

“Thou coveredst it with the deep as with a garment: the waters stood above the mountains.

“At thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away.

“They go up by the mountains; they go down by the valleys, unto the place which thou hast founded for them.

“Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over, that they turn not again to cover the earth.

“He sendeth the springs into the valleys, which run among the hills.

“They give drink to every beast of the field: the wild asses quench their thirst.

“By them shall the fowls of the heaven have their habitation, which sing among the branches.

“He watereth the hills from his chambers: the earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy works.

“He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man, that he may bring forth food out of the earth;

“And wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine, and bread which strengtheneth man’s heart.

“The trees of the Lord are full of sap: the cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted;

“Where the birds make their nests: as for the stork, the fir-trees are her house.

“The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats, and the rocks for the conies.

“He appointed the moon for seasons: the sun knoweth his going down.

“Thou makest darkness, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth.

“The young lions roar after their prey, and seek their meat from God.

“The sun ariseth, they gather themselves together, and lay them down in their dens.

“Man goeth forth unto his work, and to his labour, until the evening.

“O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches;

“So is this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts.

“There go the ships; there is that leviathan, whom thou hast made to play therein.

“These wait all upon thee, that thou mayest give them their meat in due season.

“That thou givest them, they gather: thou openest thine hand, they are filled with good.

“Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled; thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust.

“Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created; and thou renewest the face of the earth.

“The glory of the Lord shall endure for ever: the Lord shall rejoice in his works.

“He looketh on the earth, and it trembleth; he toucheth the hills, and they smoke.

“I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live; I will sing praise to my God while I have my being.

“My meditation of him shall be sweet: I will be glad in the Lord.

“Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more. Bless thou the Lord, O my soul. Praise ye the Lord.”

The following Psalm, by King David, is a sample of that devout contrition for sin, which peculiarly characterizes the Hebrew Sacred Scriptures:

“Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness; according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.

“Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.

“For I acknowledge my transgressions; and my sin is ever before me.

“Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight; that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and be clear when thou judgest.

“Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me.

“Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward parts; and in the hidden part thou shalt make me to know wisdom.

“Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

“Make me to hear joy and gladness; that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice.

“Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities.

Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me.

“Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy holy Spirit from me.

“Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; and uphold me with thy free Spirit:

“Then will I teach transgressors thy ways; and sinners shall be converted unto thee.

“Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation; and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness.

“O Lord, open thou my lips; and my mouth shall show forth thy praise.

“For thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it: thou delightest not in burnt-offering.

“The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

“Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem.

“Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt-offering, and whole burnt-offering: then shall they offer bullocks upon thine altar.”

Among the prophetic writings, few passages are considered more sublime than the prayer of Habakkuk:

“God came from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran. His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise.

“And his brightness was as the light; he had horns coming out of his hand: and there was the hiding of his power.

“Before him went the pestilence, and burning coals went forth at his feet.

“He stood and measured the earth; he beheld, and drove asunder the nations: and the everlasting mountains were scattered, the perpetual hills did bow: his ways are everlasting.

“I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction: and the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.

"Was the Lord displeased against the rivers? was thine anger against the rivers? was thy wrath against the sea, that thou didst ride upon thine horses, and thy chariots of salvation?"

"Thy bow was made quite naked, according to the oaths of the tribes, even thy word. Thou didst cleave the earth with rivers.

"The mountains saw thee, and they trembled; the overflowing of the water passed by: the deep uttered his voice, and lifted up his hands on high.

"The sun and moon stood still in their habitation; at the light of thine arrows they went, and at the shining of thy glittering spear.

"Thou didst march through the land in indignation, thou didst thresh the heathen in anger.

"Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, even for salvation with thine anointed; thou woundedst the head out of the house of the wicked, by discovering the foundation unto the neck.

"Thou didst strike through with his staves the head of his villages; they came out as a whirlwind to scatter me: their rejoicing was as to devour the poor secretly.

"Thou didst walk through the sea with thine horses, through the heap of great waters.

"When I heard, my belly trembled; my lips quivered at the voice: rottenness entered into my bones, and I trembled in myself, that I might rest in the day of trouble: when he cometh up unto the people, he will invade them with his troops.

"Although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls:

"Yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation."

The following are specimens of the high moral teaching of some of the prophets, and their bold rebuke of mere ceremonial routine:

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats.

"When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand to tread my courts?

"Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with: it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting.

"Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them.

"And when ye spread forth your hands I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers I will not hear: your hands are full of blood.

"Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil.

"Learn to do well: seek judgment, relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow."

"Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near.

"Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him: and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

"For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord.

"For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts."

"Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old?

"Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?

“He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?”

The following are the predictions most frequently quoted, as prophetic of the Messiah's kingdom. The blessing which Jacob gave to his son Judah was supposed to point to that event: **“The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.”** Moses was supposed to foresee the same, when he said: **“The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.”** The prophecies in Isaiah have been more quoted than any other:

“For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.

“Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.”

“And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots:

“And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord;

“And shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord: and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears:

“But with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.

“The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the

young lion, and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.

“And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.

“And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice’ den.

“They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.

“And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious.”

“And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity, and out of darkness.

“The meek also shall increase their joy in the Lord, and the poor among men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel.”

“Behold my servant, whom I uphold, mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles.

“He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street.

“A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment unto truth.

“He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law.

“I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles;

“To open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house.”

“The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the

Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek: he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound;

“To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn;

“To appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness: that they might be called Trees of Righteousness, The Planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified.”

“Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth.

“In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely, and this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness.”

The prophet Micah says: “But thou, Bethlehem, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall come forth unto me that is to be Ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting. And this man shall be the peace when the Assyrian shall come into our land. And they shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof. Thus shall he deliver us from the Assyrian, when he cometh into our land, and when he treadeth within our borders. And the remnant of Jacob shall be among the Gentiles in the midst of many people as a lion among the beasts of the forest, as a young lion among the flocks of sheep.”

Until after the time of Alexander the Great, it seems most likely that the knowledge of Hebrew Scriptures was confined to the Jews. Prior to that period no extracts from them are found in the literature of other nations; no allusion to them is made by cotemporary historians. Oriental scholars have searched diligently to find some indications of their having formerly been known in India; but no such trace can be discovered. About three hundred

years before Christ, the numerous Jews in Egypt, having become accustomed to the Greek tongue, felt the inconvenience of having their Sacred Law in a language which few of them understood; and a translation into Greek was made for their convenience. Concerning this translation Josephus and other Jewish writers told marvellous stories, which were believed and copied for many centuries. They said that Ptolemy Philadelphus, when he was collecting the famous Library at Alexandria, intrusted the business to Demetrius Phalereus, a learned Athenian, with directions to procure from all nations whatever books of note existed among them. Demetrius being informed of the Laws of Moses, advised king Ptolemy to send to the High Priest at Jerusalem for a copy, and for seventy-two Jews, six out of each of the twelve tribes, to translate the book into Greek. Messengers were accordingly sent with offerings for the Jewish temple, consisting of gold and silver vessels adorned with precious stones, and money to the amount of nearly one hundred thousand dollars, to be expended for sacrifices. The High Priest having graciously received these presents, gave the messengers a true copy of the Law, in golden letters, and sent seventy-two learned elders to translate it. Ptolemy placed them in retirement on an island near Alexandria, where they completed the version in seventy-two days. It was called the Septuagint, which means The Seventy, on account of the number of translators. When they compared notes, it was said they found they had all rendered the sense precisely the same, and had not varied from each other even in a single word, or turn of expression; whence it was inferred that the translation must have been dictated by express inspiration of the Holy Spirit. When it was completed, it was read to a large audience, who remained standing all the time, out of respect to the Sacred Books; and then a solemn curse was pronounced on whoever should add to, or diminish from it. The king of Egypt, who had been among the listeners, expressed his surprise that no historian or poet had ever mentioned these wonderful writings of the Hebrews. De-

metrius Phalereus answered that the Hebrews, deeming their Law divine, had never dared to mix it with profane things; that a poet and a historian, who once ventured to allude to it in their works, had been punished, one with the loss of his senses, and the other with the loss of his sight. It is further related that the king sent the translators back to Jerusalem, each with a cup of massive gold, three rich garments, and the value of two thousand dollars in gold coin.

It is now the general opinion of scholars that this account is a mere romance, probably invented by some Jewish writer, to exaggerate the importance of his country, and afterward copied and embellished by others. The most natural supposition is that the Septuagint was made by Alexandrian Jews for their own convenience. Plutarch relates that Demetrius Phalereus advised king Ptolemy to place in his library the writings of lawgivers and statesmen of *all* nations. If he acted upon this suggestion, the natural result would be an application to the Jewish Sanhedrim for a copy of their law. The Talmud states that the work was done by five translators; and this is much more probable than the story of six out of each of the twelve tribes, when only two of the tribes were known to be in existence.

The Pentateuch alone was translated at first; but the other Sacred Books were gradually added, as it is supposed, at various times, and by various hands. Between the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch, and the Hebrew copy, and the Greek copy, there are various discrepancies. The most important are with regard to chronology. The Samaritan text makes the period between the Deluge and the birth of Abraham longer by some centuries, than the Hebrew; and the Septuagint makes it longer, by some centuries, than the Samaritan. The Septuagint, or Greek version, places the creation of the world two thousand years farther back than the Hebrew version. These differences have never been satisfactorily explained.

Jews of Palestine at first regarded the Alexandrian

translation with strong disapprobation. The Talmud declares that a fast was appointed on the eighth day of the month Tebet, "because on that day, in the time of king Ptolemy, the five elders wrote the Law in Greek, and darkness came upon the world for three days. That was a sad day for Israel, like the day when the calf was made."

Familiarity with the Greek language induced a taste for literature among Hellenistic Jews. Histories, poems, and theological romances, sometimes written in Greek, sometimes translated into Greek, began to appear among them, and found many admirers. These books are now known under the title of Apocrypha. Some of them are puerile, others deserve to rank with the best portions of Hebrew literature. Several of them were inserted in copies of the Septuagint. The story of Susanna and the Elders, of Bel and the Dragon, and the Song of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace, were added to their book of Daniel. Their version likewise contained three books of the history of the Maccabees. Jews of Palestine were more conservative. They generally regarded foreign literature with a distrustful eye, deeming its tendencies dangerous to the faith of Israel. Their reverence for books was very much influenced by the reputed age of the documents. They allowed none of these new books to be added to their canon; and some of them they would not even consent to read. It is not supposed that Hellenistic Jews set up a separate canon of their own, but they always manifested a great predilection for the newer writings. The oldest catalogue of the books deemed canonical by Jews is furnished by Josephus, who rejects all the later productions, because they were not written by prophets. His list is the same known to us in English translations. He says the Jews "did not dare to add to, or take from, or in any way to alter their Sacred Books; for it was implanted in all from their birth, to reverence them, and abide by them, and cheerfully to die for them if necessary." In this reverential allusion he included the Traditions handed down by the Rabbins. In the Preface to his History, called "Antiquities of the Jews,"

he says: "I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, without adding anything to what is therein contained, or taking away anything therefrom." Afterward he says: "I have delivered every part of this history as I found it in the Sacred Books." But in his account are many things to be found only in the Traditions. He says all living creatures, animals, and men, spoke one language in the beginning; but God deprived the serpent of speech because his malicious disposition toward Adam had led him to use it for mischief; that the serpent had previously walked upon feet, but as a punishment he was afterward obliged to go rolling along, dragging himself on the ground. He assigns a reason for the great age which Hebrew records attribute to men before the Deluge. He says it took six hundred years to complete one great Astronomical Year; and it was necessary for men to live long enough to observe the position of the stars through all that period, in order that astronomical knowledge might have a basis. He says Adam predicted the world would be destroyed by water and fire. His son Seth erected two pillars, one of brick, the other of stone, to resist the action of water and fire; and on these he inscribed astronomical discoveries, that the world might not lose the benefit of his knowledge. Josephus adds: "Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day." He relates marvellous prophecies about Moses before he was born; eulogizes his remarkable beauty; says the king of Egypt made him general of his army; that when he besieged the city of Meröe, the daughter of the Ethiopian king fell in love with him, and secretly offered to deliver the city into his hands if he would marry her; which was accordingly done. After describing his miraculous passage through the Red Sea, he adds: "Nor let any one wonder at the strangeness of the narration, whether it happened by the will of God, or whether it happened of its own accord; while for those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedon, who lived comparatively little while ago, the Pamphylian Sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had no

other way to go. I mean when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians. This is confessed to be true by all who have written about Alexander."

In ancient times there were several books extant on the Creation, and other subjects, which Jews attributed to Adam, Abraham, and other patriarchs. The prophecy of Enoch was very famous in its day, and was by many considered an inspired and authentic book. It was for a long time supposed to be entirely lost; but some fragments were found and translated into Greek. They treat of the influence of the stars, and of a race of Giants produced by Angels of God, who descended to the earth and cohabited with women. There was likewise a Book attributed to Seth, which is still in existence in Asia. It contains predictions founded on the movements of the stars. These were supposed to have been originally written on stone, and saved from the waters of the Deluge.

Not only ancient relics, but all cotemporary science and wisdom were supposed by Jewish scholars to have been necessarily derived from some Hebrew source. They asserted that Zoroaster had been the servant of a Hebrew Prophet. Some said Elisha was his teacher, others Ezekiel, others Daniel, others Ezra. There were several centuries between the first and the last of these prophets; a looseness of chronology which indicates a somewhat unscrupulous desire to trace Zoroaster's wisdom to a Hebrew source. When they became interested in the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato, they affirmed that their ideas were borrowed from lost books written by Moses, who was master of astronomy, geometry, music, medicine, and occult philosophy. They excused their admiration of Aristotle, by asserting that he was a Jew, of the tribe of Benjamin, and that his doctrines were taken from the writings of Solomon. From the same source they said Stoics derived their ethics, and Hippocrates his knowledge of medicine. Josephus constantly betrays this tendency to magnify everything calculated to reflect honour on his own country. He says: "The sagacity and wisdom, which God

bestowed on Solomon, were so great that he exceeded the ancients; insomuch that he was no way inferior to the Egyptians, who are said to have been beyond all men in understanding. Nay indeed it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to the king's. He also excelled and distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness. He composed books of odes, and songs a thousand and five; of parables and similitudes, three thousand; for he spoke a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar. In like manner also about beasts, about all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth, or in the seas, or in the air. He was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor omitted inquiries about them, but described them all like a philosopher. God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons; which is a science useful and sanative to men. He composed incantations also, by which distempers are alleviated. And he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive away demons, so that they never return. This method of cure is of great force unto this day. I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, releasing people that were demoniacal, in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was this: He put a ring that had a root of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon, to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he drew out the demon through his nostrils. The man fell down immediately, and he adjured the demon to return into him no more; still making mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. Eleazar, to demonstrate that he had such power, set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon, as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and thereby let the spectators know that he had left the man. This was done, and the skill and wisdom of Solomon was shewed very manifestly."

Some carried Hebrew exclusiveness so far as to maintain

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that the Apis of Egypt was worshipped in honour of the kine that appeared to Joseph in a dream; that the Greek fable of Phæton was founded on the miracle of the sun's standing still at the command of Joshua; and that the expedition of the Argonauts was a disguised version of the passage of the Israelites from Egypt to Palestine.

This self-complacency of the Jewish mind found little sustenance from sources foreign to their own nation. Of no other ancient people was less said by cotemporaries, so far as we moderns have means of judging. Many travellers have supposed they found traces of their history in the graven records of Egypt. But there is in reality no allusion to them, except on one monument at Karnac, which represents Rehoboam, the captive king of Judah, among sixty-three prisoners of war, presented by the god Amun to Shishak, king of Egypt. That there is no memorial of their early residence in Egypt is not surprising, in view of the fact that they belonged to a servile caste, even in the days of Joseph, and were subsequently in the obscure condition of bondmen, or slaves. Herodotus betrays no knowledge of the Jews; though some suppose he meant Jerusalem by Cadytas, a city in Syria, of which he makes incidental mention. It seems likely that they were very slightly known to any of the conspicuous nations, till after the time of Alexander the Great, when they mixed with Grecians and spoke their language. Josephus appears to have searched very diligently for traces of interest manifested in them by people of other countries, but the account he gives is rather meagre. Romans regarded the Jews as a singular and superstitious people, and had strong prejudices against them, because they found them such troublesome subjects. Juvenal, under the influence of this antipathy, ridicules them very severely in his satires; Cicero speaks slightly of them, and Tacitus says: "While the East was in possession of Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, they were the most despised among the subject nations." This national obscurity may easily be accounted for, by the fact that scholars had no inducement to learn Hebrew; it being a

rude and scanty language, as must always be the case where there is no literature to express. Jews held religious opinions which prevented development of the Arts; and consequently they had no tasteful architecture, statues, or pictures, to attract the attention of travellers. Like the Hindoos, they were unwilling to eat or drink from vessels that had been used by foreigners; and the many articles of food which they regarded as unclean placed obstructions in the way of mixing socially with them. They considered themselves contaminated by intermarriage with other nations, and cherished an aversion to them, which excited aversion in return. The degree of arrogance induced by the long-cherished idea that they were the only people chosen by God, may be inferred from the following statement in the second book of Esdras: "O Lord, thou madest the world for our sakes. As for the other people, which also came of Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing, but be like unto spittle." Even the Hebrew religion, which is their crown of glory among the nations, was stern, lofty, and uncompromising in its character, little calculated to win the affection of strangers.

Romans, however, were tolerant of the religious customs of the Jews, as they were of all nations under their control. When Alexandrian Jews represented to the emperor Augustus that his Greek subjects interfered with their privileges, and defrauded them of public money appropriated to the uses of their temple, he gave orders that they should enjoy their own laws, and be free to send their offerings to Jerusalem; that whoever stole their Sacred Books, or their consecrated money, should be deemed guilty of sacrilege; and that they should not be compelled to appear in the courts, or attend to any public business, after the hour of preparation for their Sabbath had commenced. The very nature of polytheistic religions led to a feeling of good fellowship toward Spirits that presided over other nations, whose power, for aught they knew, might be equal, and possibly superior, to that of their own deities. The emperor Augustus manifested this feeling by ordering that

sacrifices should be offered for his prosperity in the temple of Jerusalem. Such a disposition led to general facility in mixing creeds, which Jews alone strenuously resisted. If one of their own magistrates had returned the Roman compliment, by asking to have sacrifices performed for him in the temple of Jupiter, he would probably have done it at the peril of his life, from the hands of his own countrymen. When Caligula ordered, under penalty of death, that his statue should be placed in their temple, as was the custom in other temples, they answered that he must first sacrifice the entire Jewish nation, who were ready to be put to death, with their wives and children, rather than submit to such desecration of holy things. Their historians record, that when King Agrippa heard the sacrilegious proposition, he fainted away, and did not recover his senses for three days.

Their steadfast faith in a conquering Messiah, who would certainly come and give them the empire of the earth, rendered them very turbulent subjects to a foreign yoke. Persons who thought themselves prophets, or professed to think so, were continually drawing the populace together, with promises that the kingdom of the Messiah was at hand, and God was about to show them signs of speedy deliverance. Disappointed again and again, the people were always convinced that it was on account of their sins, and they remained firm as ever in their patient enduring faith.

They had their own high priests and nominal kings; but the oppressive exactions of Roman governors and magistrates resident among them led to perpetual collisions. The restless hopes of the people broke out in frequent insurrections, sometimes accompanied by terrible massacres. In Cyrene, they killed twenty-two thousand Greeks; in Cyprus, two hundred and forty thousand; and in Egypt, a very great multitude. In their fury, they tore the bodies in pieces, and twisted the entrails for girdles. There were also continual dissensions among themselves, arising from the fierce altercation of sects, the competition

between Sadducees and Pharisees, and the recklessness of zealots, who set at naught the counsel of quiet citizens, and instigated the people to defy Roman power, at all hazards. Bands of robbers, taking advantage of the unsettled times, infested Jerusalem. High Priests were thrust in and out of office by lot; and when they offended the reigning faction, their houses were fired, and themselves murdered, even within the sacred precincts of the temple. Finally, there was a general rebellion against Rome, which ended in the total destruction of the Jewish state, seventy years after Christ; when Titus took Jerusalem by storm, and demolished both city and temple. On this occasion, a prophet made public proclamation in the city, that if the people would go up to the temple, they would there receive from God miraculous signs of deliverance. Many flocked thither in consequence, and were burned up in the flaming edifice. Josephus says these calamities were preceded by many disastrous omens. "A star resembling a sword [a comet] stood over the city a whole year." When crowds were in Jerusalem, at the Feast of Unleavened Bread, "at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright day time; which light lasted for half an hour. At the same festival, a heifer, as she was led by the High Priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple." The eastern gate of the inner court was made of brass armed with iron, and fastened deep into a solid floor of stone. It was immensely heavy, and moved with so much difficulty, that it took twenty men to open and shut it; but "at the sixth hour of the night, it was seen to open of its own accord." "Before sunset, chariots, and troops of soldiers in armour, were seen running about among the clouds." At the feast of Pentecost, when priests went in the night time to the inner court, to perform customary sacred offices, "they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise; after that, the sound as of a multitude, saying, Let us remove hence." A peasant, when he came up to Jerusalem to attend the sacred festivals, cried out: "A voice

from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the Holy House." He began this cry four years before the war commenced, and he continued it night and day at the festivals, for three and a half years after. He was repeatedly scourged as a disturber of the peace, but still persisted in his lamentable cry. At last, as he was going round the walls, repeating: "Wo to Jerusalem and the Holy House," he added: "Wo to myself also;" and, at that moment, a stone from one of the engines killed him.

The older and more cautious of the citizens saw it was vain to contend with Roman power, and besought the people to accept terms of capitulation, repeatedly offered, and even urged upon them; but fanatical spirits prompted them to rely upon miraculous assistance. Some prophets said the light that shone in the Holy House was an omen of coming glory; and the spontaneous opening of the great gate foreshadowed that God was about to open for them a way to happiness. Those who favoured submission to Rome were treated as traitors. Zealots rushed upon them and slew them, even on the Mountain of the Lord's House, so that the precincts of the temple were often piled with dead bodies. Josephus quotes several prophecies not contained in the accepted version of Hebrew Scriptures. He says there was a prophecy in their Sacred Books, that "Jerusalem would be taken and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when Jews should begin to slay their own countrymen in the city, and with their own hands pollute the temple of God." Another prophecy declared that Jerusalem and the Holy House were to be taken, "when once their temple should become four square." Jews demolished a portion of the temple, to cut off the access of besieging Romans, and thus rendered the building four square. Ancient oracles were disregarded in the fury of the hour, and even "laughed at as the tricks of jugglers," when they interfered with the prosecution of plans for victory. But Josephus declares that a prophecy was the origin of this disastrous war; for their Sacred Records con-

tained an ambiguous oracle that there should one arise in Judea, who would obtain the empire of the world; and interpreters declared that the appointed time had then arrived. He says: "The Jews took this prediction to themselves in particular, and many wise men were thereby deceived. Now this oracle certainly related to Vespasian, who was chosen emperor while he was in Judea." This explanation was so acceptable to the emperor, that he liberated Josephus when he was taken prisoner of war, and assigned him an apartment in his own palace. The sufferings of the inhabitants, during their long and obstinate defence of Jerusalem, were terrible beyond description. One hundred and ten thousand perished, hundreds of captives were crucified by the Romans, and great numbers were sold into slavery. Many who escaped fled to Egypt and Babylon, where large numbers of their brethren had long resided. Others were scattered through various cities of the Roman empire, where they shared the same privileges as other citizens. A small remnant remained in desolated Palestine. The golden candlestick and the golden table for shew-bread, were transferred to the Temple of Peace at Rome. The Book of the Law, and the veils of the Sanctuary were placed in the emperor's palace. An arch in honour of Titus was erected at Rome, on which are still to be seen sculptured representations of vessels and ornaments taken from the Jewish temple.

The scattered exiles were forbidden to rebuild Jerusalem. About half a century after its destruction, the emperor Adrian built a new city, established a colony of Roman soldiers there, forbade any Jew to approach within sight of the precincts, and erected a temple to Jupiter on Mount Moriah. This appeared to the Jews to be the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place. In answer to their excited state of feeling appeared a man, who announced himself as the long-expected Messiah. He was called Bar-Cochebas, which signifies the Son of a Star; for Cabalists among the Jews, in common with Hindoos, Egyptians, and Chaldeans, believed that Spirits of the Stars

often assumed a human form on earth, for beneficent purposes. There was at that time a man of rank and learning, and a celebrated writer of Cabalistic books, named Akiba, whom Jews venerated so highly, that it was common to say God revealed to him what was concealed from Moses. Akiba declared that the prophecy of Balaam: "A Star shall rise out of Jacob," was fulfilled in Bar-Cochebas. He publicly anointed him King of the Jews, placed a diadem on his head, and followed him to battle, as his master of horse, at the head of twenty-four thousand disciples. They fortified themselves in Jerusalem, and for a time had rapid and brilliant success. Adrian despatched one of his ablest commanders, who, after a siege of two years, re-took the city, ploughed up the foundations, and sowed the ruins with salt. The severest penalties were imposed upon any Jew who should venture within sight of the precincts. Under the succeeding reign of the mild Antoninus Pius, Jews, though still excluded from Jerusalem, were in other respects restored to their old privileges. They were allowed to circumcise their own children, but not foreign proselytes. They were permitted to form establishments by themselves in various places, and enjoy municipal honours. They erected new synagogues in various cities of the empire, and publicly observed their fasts and festivals. It was not till three hundred years after Adrian's time, that they obtained leave to look at Jerusalem from the surrounding heights. At last, they purchased of Romans permission for pilgrims to go once a year, on the anniversary of its destruction, and weep over the ruins of their Holy City. According to the universal custom of erecting stones in sacred places, Jacob had set up a pillar at Bethel, as a memorial of the Lord's promise that he would never leave Israel, but would give them sure possession of Palestine. In after days of prosperity, this pillar had been removed to Jerusalem, where it was always held in great veneration. Pilgrims, on the occasion of their mournful anniversary, anointed it with oil, amid tears and supplications to the God of Israel.

Such frequent wars and dispersions were extremely unfavourable to the preservation of Sacred Writings. Driven from country to country, without a temple, a priesthood, or a civil government, Jews could not transmit, uncorrupted, either their skill in Hebrew, or the explanations of learned doctors concerning obscure passages of their Sacred Books. Not only their correctness, but their very existence depended on the care of private synagogues. That they were preserved at all, under such circumstances, is owing to Jewish reverence for ancient traditions, and remarkable perseverance in everything connected with their religion. In the time of Christ, Aramean Chaldee was universally spoken, and only the learned could understand Hebrew. It was not allowable to read from any written translations in the synagogues; but from Ezra's time, it was customary to read in Hebrew, and interpret it, portion by portion, to the people. Schools were established, and it was considered necessary for every well-educated Jew to understand the Sacred Scriptures of his country in their original language. After the destruction of Jerusalem, this knowledge was preserved in seminaries established in Palestine and Babylon.

In process of time, it was found that various errors had crept into the text of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, in the course of numerous copyings. "Words had been mangled, and consonants removed and misplaced, in the most capricious manner." After their final dispersion, the Jews appointed learned men to prepare a revised and corrected copy, to serve as a standard. In this work, they were guided partly by the authority of tradition, partly by their own judgment. They compared copies, and where they found differences in the reading, they inserted one in the text, and put the other in the margin. With reverential anxiety to prevent future errors, they divided the books into verses, and numbered the verses; they marked the words which they believed to be changed, the letters they deemed superfluous, and the different significations of the same word. They counted how many

times the same word occurred at the beginning, or in the middle, or at the end of a verse. They even counted the letters, and recorded that the letter Nun [the Hebrew N] in the word Gehon, came precisely in the middle of the Pentateuch. This monument of human patience was called the Masora, and the learned doctors who compiled it were called Masorites. Notwithstanding all their care, the Masora was gradually brought into a state of great confusion, by successive additions and mistakes of transcribers.

How far back the Oral Traditions can be traced, it is impossible to ascertain; but the learned suppose that secret doctrines early existed among the Jews. They themselves trace them to Moses, and even to Adam. Whatever might have been the original source of these Sacred Traditions, they greatly increased in the course of centuries; and the Rabbis, whose duty it was to explain them, found it necessary to assist their recollection by committing them to writing, under distinct heads. Disciples meanwhile took notes of their Commentaries, which, in process of time, became very voluminous. This led to so much confusion, that it was found necessary to make a Compendium of the Traditionary Laws, with the Rabbinical Commentaries thereon. "Rabbi Judah, the Holy," one hundred and fifty years before our era, was particularly active in making this collection, which is said to have cost forty years of labour. It is called the First Talmud, from a Hebrew word, signifying He has learned; likewise The Mishna, or Second Law. It comprehends all the laws, institutions, and rules of life, which Jews feel bound to observe, in addition to those contained in the Law of Moses. It consists of sixty-three tracts, collected in six books. This not being found sufficient to meet all difficult questions, that arose in the regulation of ecclesiastical laws and usages, Commentaries were added, nearly a century later, under the title of Gemara, meaning The Completion. The Mishna, with Commentaries by Palestine Jews, is called the Jerusalem Talmud. After the synagogues of Palestine were almost entirely dispersed, Rabbis who resided in Babylon gradu-

ally composed new Commentaries, which were completed about five hundred years after our era, under the name of the Babylonian Talmud. It is more bulky than its predecessor, but more generally followed, because it is considered less obscure. There is but one treatise on moral subjects in the Talmud. It is principally taken up with traditionary stories, abstruse doctrines, subtle controversies, civil regulations, and ceremonial rules. It is regarded as authority for all the affairs of life, great and small. It disparages agriculture and the rearing of cattle, requires the strictest separation from other nations, and commits the government to the Rabbins. It contains many directions concerning marriage and divorce. One party of Rabbins allow it, if a woman burns her husband's soup; but another party require that some light conduct should be proved against her. It stipulates at what age of a tree the fruit may be eaten; how far apart vines should be planted; when and where the poor may glean in vineyards and fields. Many of their distinctions are extremely subtle. Some Rabbins require that the morning prayer should be read as soon as there is light enough to distinguish blue from white; others permit it to be delayed till the light is strong enough to distinguish blue from green. For the explanation of their Sacred Scriptures they have singular modes of interpretation, by which any theory might be maintained. For instance, they assert that manna had the taste of fish, flesh, or fowl, according to the desires of those who ate it; and they prove it by quoting the following text: "Through this great wilderness, these forty years, the Lord thy God hath been with thee, and thou hast *lacked nothing*."

From the law of Moses they deduce six hundred and thirteen precepts, divided into two classes; two hundred and forty-eight affirmative, three hundred and sixty-five negative. Of the affirmative, only three were considered binding upon women. To fulfil perfectly any one law, even in the hour of death, is deemed sufficient to secure salvation; all that may be added to that is a stock laid up to increase felicity in a future life.

These writings describe seven ascending degrees of Paradise. Souls of the just made perfect inhabit delightful gardens, reaching the seventh region. Rivers of wine, milk, balsam, and honey, flow through these gardens. The inhabitants of the highest paradise perpetually contemplate the face of God. Hell, likewise, consists of seven apartments, where the wicked suffer from fire, serpents, and excessive cold. Those of the Hebrew faith remain in these dreadful regions only long enough to be purified from their sins, and are then released by the intercession of Abraham and the prophets. Some of their writers speak of a bridge over hell, no bigger than a thread.

In these writings, it is declared that Adam was created with a double body, male and female, facing opposite ways. Therefore, when God wished woman to exist separate, he had only to cut the bond that united them. Lilia was formed, like himself, out of earth; and by her he had devils for children. Afterward, he married Eve, who proceeded out of his head; and she was the mother of men.

The government of the world is represented as confided to seventy Angels; one for each of the seventy nations into which Jews supposed the world to be divided. Besides these, every department of the universe, fire, water, wind, thunder, hail, forest trees and fruit trees, wild animals and domestic animals, had each a presiding Angel. Every individual plant had a particular Genius to watch over its development. Not only every man, but every thought, feeling, and action of man, health, sleep, peace, war, love, hatred, had its director in the invisible world. The Spirit that guided the motions of the Sun had two hundred and ninety-six armies of angels subject to his orders. The angels who preside over each species of animals brought one of every kind to Noah in the Ark.

Some classes of Spirits were kindly and beneficent, others malicious and destructive. Evil Spirits were originally in a state of innocence, but fell from it, because they were envious of the privileges bestowed on man, and were thus induced to rebel against Jehovah. Belial was prince of the

infernial regions. Beelzebub was the demon who sent tormenting insects, and scattered pestilence with his breath. Samaël was the seducer and destroyer. Asmodeus was the demon of marriage. Asraël was the angel of death. He releases souls of the good with gentleness, and the wicked with violence. Afterward, he sits on the grave, causes the soul to enter the body again, and raises it on its feet. He then examines the deceased concerning his faith; after which, he strikes the body three times with a chain half iron and half fire. The third stroke reduces the body to ashes. All must undergo this "beating of the sepulchre," as they call it, except those who die on the eve of the Sabbath, or have dwelt in the land of Israel.

Insane persons, and those afflicted with fits, and other diseases, are said to owe their delusions and sufferings to Evil Spirits, who enter into their bodies and take possession of them. A kind of Genii are described, who were produced by marriage between Angels and the daughters of Lamach. They had wings, and foreknowledge of futurity, like angels; but they ate, drank, propagated and died, like men. Some of them were good, believers in the Law of Moses, others were infidel and bad.

According to the Talmud, the scape-goat used to be dashed to pieces in his fall over a precipice; but after the time of Simon the Just, he always escaped into Arabia, where he was eaten by Saracens. The piece of scarlet cloth appended to him always used to turn white when the High Priest had laid the sins of the people on his head; but after the time of Simon the Just, it was sometimes white, sometimes red. This idea is the origin of the saying that sins like scarlet become white as wool.

The belief, strongly impressed on Jewish minds, that the death of holy men serves as an expiation for the sins of others, is thus expressly stated in the Talmud: "Why did the sons of Aaron die on the Day of Atonement? That ye may learn that as the Day of Atonement makes expiation for Israel, so also doth the death of the righteous."

The resurrection of the dead to share the glory and hap-

piness of the Messiah's kingdom is distinctly taught, but with the usual tinge of national exclusiveness; for this resurrection is to be confined to the Jews only. The Mishna says: "All Israelites shall partake in the life to come, except those who disbelieve the resurrection of the dead, [the Sadducees] and those who deny that the Law came from Heaven." Rabbi Akiba added, "and those who read foreign books." Another Rabbi added, "and he who pronounces The Ineffable Name," [Jehovah].

The kingdom of the Messiah on earth is described by the Talmud in most excessive terms. It is asserted that the earth will then spontaneously bring forth garments and loaves of bread, so that there will be no need of labour; that the ears of corn will be of gigantic size, and one cluster of grapes will be large enough to load a wagon. On the top of a mountain, high as Sinai, Tabor, and Carmel piled on each other, there will be a New Jerusalem, adorned with gold, pearls, crystals, and precious stones. Such descriptions, repeating and exceeding the promises of the old prophets, greatly stimulated popular impatience to have the coming of the Messiah hastened.

A tendency to vastness and huge exaggeration is a common characteristic of Asiatic writings; but the Talmud seems to excel them all in this particular. One bird is described so large that his wings blotted out the sun. Another gigantic bird stands, up to the lower joint of his leg, in a river. Some mariners seeing him, supposed the water could not be very deep there, and were going in to bathe. But a voice from Heaven said: "Step not in there! For seven years ago, a carpenter dropped his axe there, and it has not yet reached the bottom." It is also stated that a Rabbin once saw in a desert a flock of geese so fat that their feathers fell off, and the rivers flowed with fat. Then said he to them, Shall we have part of you in the other world, when the Messiah shall come? And one of them lifted up a wing and another a leg, to signify these parts we should have. We Israelites shall be called to account touching these fat geese. It is our iniquities that

have delayed the coming of the Messiah; and these geese suffer greatly by reason of their excessive fat, which daily increases, and will increase, till the Messiah comes. Their sufferings are owing to us. We should otherwise have had all parts of these geese."

Marvellous accounts of Moses are contained in the Talmud. It is stated that he was born circumcised; that the daughter of Pharaoh was struck with leprosy when she touched his cradle; that at three years old, he seized the crown from her father's head and put it on his own; that while he tended the flocks of Jethro, he found a miraculous twig, which had been made on the sixth day of creation, and had inscribed upon it the holy characters which form the Tetragrammaton, by aid of which he performed all his miracles; that he married a princess of Ethiopia, and reigned over that country forty years. Stories of Solomon likewise abound. When the Queen of Sheba came to Jerusalem, attracted by the renown of the great king, she is said to have tried various experiments to test his celebrated wisdom. One day she approached the foot of his throne, holding in one hand a wreath of natural flowers, and in the other an artificial garland. The imitation was so perfect, that Solomon, viewing them from the top of his throne, was puzzled to distinguish between them. His courtiers began to look blank, lest their monarch should forfeit his great reputation for sagacity. But Solomon knowing there were bees hovering round, ordered a window to be opened, that they might come in. Many of them lighted on the natural wreath, but none on the artificial. Thus the Queen had another reason to admire the wisdom of Solomon.

These writings recommend that the following benediction should be recited whenever a Jew meets with a wise man of another nation: "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, Ruler of the universe, who hast imparted of thy wisdom to all flesh and blood."

The Talmud is as unlike the ancient Scriptures, as the Pouranas of Hindostan are unlike the Vedas; therefore it

could not come into general use without in a great measure setting them aside. In point of fact, the **Traditionary Law** has for many centuries been placed above the **Law of Moses**. Rabbins are enthusiastic in their praises of the Talmud. They say the Law in the Pentateuch is defective, often obscure, and could not be a perfect rule for them, if there had not been a complete oral interpretation, which supplied all defects, and solved all difficulties. That "the words of the Law are sometimes weighty and sometimes light; but the words of the Scribes [who wrote down the Traditions] are all weighty; more lovely than the words of the Law, superior to the utterance of the Prophets. The Scriptures are like water, or like salt; but the Talmud is like wine and sweet spices." In these writings, Jehovah is often described as High Priest, or Chief Rabbi. They say he spends nine hours in reading the Talmud, where he spends three in reading the Law.

According to Rabbinical statements, there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem, each of which had a separate apartment for the Book of the Law, and another for the recorded Traditions.

Babylonian Jews had Chaldee paraphrases of their Sacred Scriptures, called Targums, which means The Most Excellent Versions. Of one of these translators the Talmud says: "Our Rabbins inform us that Hillel the Elder had eighty disciples, thirty of whom were worthy. The Shekinah dwelt above them, as it did above Moses, our teacher. Thirty were so worthy, that the sun might stay for them, as for Joshua, the son of Nun. The greatest of all was Jonathan, son of Uzziel. They say of him that when he was sitting down to work upon the Law, if a bird happened to fly over him, it was immediately burnt up. When he wrote his paraphrase on the Prophets, the land of Israel was shaken for four hundred parasangs. The voice of God came forth and said, Who is he that hath revealed my secrets to the sons of men? Jonathan the son of Uzziel, stood upon his feet and said, It is I, who have revealed thy secrets to the sons of men." These Targums

sometimes make additions to the original text. In describing the meeting of Jacob and Esau, it is said: "When Jacob fell upon Esau's neck and kissed him, Esau bit him severely. But Jacob's neck was changed to alabaster, and the fragments clung to the teeth of his treacherous brother."

As soon as the Jews had time to recover from the shock of their final dispersion, they gradually established a systematic connection with their brethren throughout the world. Those settled in Chaldea and Persia were called Eastern Jews. They had flourishing Rabinical schools in many cities. Until about seven hundred years ago they were governed by a ruler, chosen from among themselves, called Prince of the Captivity, who maintained a good deal of splendour in his court. Those in Palestine, Egypt, and various parts of Europe, were called Western Jews, and their head was known by the title of Patriarch. His office was abolished by Roman law, about four hundred and twenty-nine years after our era. The ecclesiastical affairs of Jews have since been governed by chiefs of their synagogues, called Primates. Their peculiar institutions with regard to food, and marriage, and the practice of circumcision, everywhere keep them a separate people from the nations among whom they dwell. They cannot expect the fulfilment of the glorious prophecies, in which they still firmly believe, unless they keep themselves pure and unmixed descendants of those to whom the promises were given. Those who intermarry with foreigners are no longer regarded as Jews. Remnants of the tribe of Judah are still in Spain and Portugal. They consider themselves of the ancient blood royal of David, in whose line the conquering Messiah must come. Therefore they will not intermarry with other Jews. If a Spanish Jew should marry a German Jewess, he would be expelled from the synagogue and deprived of ecclesiastical rights and privileges.

A very small sect of Samaritans still exist, and Jews regard them with the old feeling of abhorrence. The only book which they revere as divine authority is the Pentateuch. They can give no satisfactory account how they

came by a copy in the ancient Hebrew characters. Some traditions say it was brought to them by a wise and holy man named Nathaniel; others affirm that it came directly from God himself. They reject the Traditionary Law with great disdain.

A few of the sect of Karaites remain; principally in Russia and Turkey. Jews regard them with extreme aversion.

With the exception of this very small minority, modern Jews follow the doctrines of the Pharisees; though that name has long been dropped. Like them, they have the greatest reverence for the Traditionary Law, contained in the Talmud.

Many of their learned men consider the Cabala a sublime science, by the aid of which interior truths of their Sacred Scriptures can be discovered through the external shell of the literal sense. There are, of course, many variations and shadings of belief among Jews of various nations, educated under the different influences of Europe, Asia, and Africa. A brief general sketch of their popular theoretic tenets may be given as follows: They all conform to the ceremonial Law of Moses, as far as is practicable under existing circumstances; believing it to be immutable and eternal truth. All classes consider the Talmud an inspired book, and a divine rule of life; though some individuals have much more respect for it than others. They believe in One God, who created and sustains all things, who alone has been from all eternity, is, and for ever will be. He foresees and ordains all things; but evil is to be ascribed to the free will of man. In the name of Jehovah there is great power, and it is unlawful for any man to utter it, except the priest, when he pronounces the holy benediction. All souls were created at once, in the beginning of all things. Human souls existed in a happy state before they were sent down to inhabit bodies on earth. Two arch-angels rebelled against God, were cast out of heaven, and became the leaders of Evil Spirits. There are various classes of Spirits, good and bad. Some of them

cohabited with mortal women and produced giants and devils. Good angels have ethereal forms; the bad have bodies consisting of air and fire; they have influence on human affairs, and can communicate to men knowledge of future events. Rabbins affirm that they offer no worship to any of these Spirits, neither serve them as mediators. They suppose the fall of our first parents occasioned death and all calamities. Good works are entitled to reward, and the pardon of sins may be obtained by fastings, prayers, and bodily sufferings. The soul is immortal. After death, it wanders about for awhile, chiefly in the neighbourhood of its body, during which time it is tormented by demons, as a chastisement for its sins. After that, it passes into other forms, of men or animals. At the appointed time, there will be a resurrection of dead bodies, and a final judgment. The good will be sent to an eternal paradise; the bad to infernal regions. Jews will be tormented there long enough to purify them from their sins; but they will all be released, through intercession of Abraham and the Prophets. The wicked, who belonged to unbelieving nations, must remain in hell for ever. The world will be destroyed, but the materials of which it is composed will remain.

Jews, in common with all other people, yield more or less to the ameliorating influences of time and education. Six hundred years ago, their celebrated scholar Maimonides openly taught that if an idolator happened to fall into the water, a Jew ought not to save him from instant death. Yet this great teacher was a learned and humane man, though his nature was so far perverted by an exclusive theology. Five hundred years later, the wise and gentle Moses Mendelssohn, "an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile," wrote thus: "Our Rabbins unanimously teach that the written and oral laws, which conjointly form our revealed religion, are obligatory on our nation only. Those who regulate their lives according to the religion of nature and reason, are called virtuous men of other nations, and are deemed children of eternal salvation. He

who leads mankind to virtue in this world. I certainly believe cannot be damned in the next. If a Confucius or a Solon were among my contemporaries, I could love and admire the great man, consistently with my religious opinions. As he does not belong to the congregation of Jacob, my religious laws were not legislated for him; and on doctrines, we should soon come to an understanding. I count among my friends many a worthy man, who is not of my faith. We love each other sincerely, notwithstanding we differ widely in opinion. Never yet has my heart whispered, Alas for this excellent man's soul!"

In England, there are a numerous body of seceders, called Reformed Jews, who adhere exclusively to the Law of Moses, and deny the authority of the Talmud. Many circulars have been sent abroad, warning orthodox Jews against such innovations.

Through all changes, Jews have adhered to their ancient faith with remarkable tenacity, and zealously preserved a knowledge of the language in which their Sacred Books were written. To this day, they keep a Hebrew copy of the Law of Moses in all their synagogues. It is written on parchment, made of the skin of a clean unblemished animal. Nothing can exceed the correctness, equality, and beauty of the writing. The slightest mistake in transcribing is sufficient reason for rejecting the copy. No word must be written without a line first drawn; no letter must be joined to another; if the blank parchment cannot be seen all round each letter, the copy is deemed imperfect. These rolls are fastened on cylinders, covered with embroidered silk, and placed in a chest, or ark. A highly ornamented part of the synagogue is reserved for it, screened from the audience by a veil. It is brought out and carried back with great ceremony. The audience stand while it is read. Those who are near enough kiss it reverently, and hold up their children, who are taught to consider it a great privilege to touch it. Those of the assembly, who cannot approach very near, make an effort to reach it with their hand, which they afterward devoutly kiss.

The ancient rite of circumcision is still observed by Jews in all parts of the world. Prayers are said over the infant, and the blood, which flows in course of the operation, is mixed with wine, wherewith his lips are moistened three times. Children have sometimes died in consequence of this ceremony, but such an occurrence is very rare. If this happens to the first, second, or third son, children born afterward in the same family are excused; Rabbins having decided that the precept is not binding, if likely to occasion death. If a child dies before the eighth day, he is circumcised at the grave, and a sign is erected in memory of him, that God may have mercy upon him, and raise him at the day of resurrection. Because Elijah complained that the children of Israel had forsaken the covenant of circumcision, they call him the Angel of the Covenant. They believe God appointed him to be always present, and see that rite properly performed. Therefore, on such occasions, they place two seats, one for the godfather, and another for the prophet, supposed to be always an invisible spectator of the ceremony. Very devout parents sometimes lay their infant in the chair of Elijah, hoping it may be touched by him.

Having no temple, and no High Priest, the ceremony of the scape-goat cannot now be appropriately performed. But in some countries, they take a white hen, which they swing three times round the priest's head, saying: "This shall be a propitiation for me." The fowl is then killed, while they confess themselves worthy of death. The entrails are placed on the house-top, that some bird of prey may carry them into the wilderness, and their sins with them.

When Jewish fathers are dying, it is customary to call their children together, and pronounce a formal blessing upon each, according to the example of Jacob. At stated times, descendants of Aaron pronounce the appointed benediction on the assembled people, with hands raised as high as the forehead, palms outspread, and thumbs joined, according to the ancient custom.

They observe their religious festivals with as much ceremony as circumstances admit. They all feast at the Passover, and eat unleavened bread. At the Feast of Tabernacles they sit under green boughs. On fast days, they taste no food from daybreak till the stars appear. They never eat the flesh of any animal, unless it has been examined by a Rabbi, pronounced unblemished, and killed by one of their own faith. Pork they never taste, regarding swine as the most unclean of beasts. On account of these peculiarities, the Jews' market is always kept separate from other markets. They are scrupulous concerning the ancient customs of ablution, and never pray, or touch their Sacred Books, till they have washed their hands.

They sustain themselves with the belief that Jerusalem will be rebuilt, and become the centre of a mighty empire. To this day, no Jew will consent to pass under the arch of Titus, at Rome, which commemorates the downfall of their Holy City. They still expect a Messiah to come and restore the kingdom of Israel. With patient humility they acknowledge that their own sins are the only cause of his long delay; but they cheer themselves with the oft-repeated promise that God will not be angry with his chosen people forever. It is a common belief that when Nebuchadnezzar despoiled the Temple and carried the people away captive, Jeremiah caused the Tabernacle and the Ark to be conveyed to the top of Mount Sinai, where he hid them in a deep cave. And that the prophet declared they would remain there concealed till the Messiah came to restore Israel; then they would be discovered and brought forth, and the Shekinah and the cloud would appear in the new Temple, and the sacred fire, which was extinguished by Babylonian soldiers, would be rekindled directly from Heaven.

Every Sabbath, Jews, in all parts of the world, repeat in their synagogues the old prayers: "Convocate us together by the sound of the great trumpet, to the enjoyment of our liberty, and lift up thy ensign to call together all of the captivity from the four quarters of the earth, into our own

land. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel." "Dwell thou in the midst of Jerusalem, thy city, as thou hast promised. Build it with a building to last forever; and do this speedily, even in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem." "Make the offspring of David thy servant speedily grow up, and flourish, and let our horn be exalted in thy salvation; for we hope for thy salvation every day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish."

Those who are religious among the Jews are exceedingly devout. Three times a day they repeat the eighteen prayers which compose the most important part of their liturgy. They observe the Sabbath with very great strictness. They commence all books, or writings: "In the name of the Lord," or, "In the name of the Great God." They never destroy, or in any way desecrate, a piece of paper on which the name of Deity is inscribed. They repeat a prayer when they first rise in the morning, and whenever they eat or drink. At the close of every meal, they use a longer form of thanksgiving, praying at the same time that God would have mercy upon Jerusalem, and restore the throne to the house of David. In many of their dwellings is a small apartment especially dedicated to silent meditation and prayer. Their highest expression of adoration is to prostrate themselves, with foreheads touching the ground. While engaged in their devotions, either public or private, they turn their faces toward the place where Jerusalem once stood. They have no musical instruments in the service of the synagogues, deeming it unfitting to their condition as a broken and dispersed people. Men and women sit in different apartments of their places of worship, the same as in the olden time. Children are very early instructed in their Sacred Books, and in the expositions of them by learned Rabbins. All learn to read them in the language of the country in which they live; and those who have anything more than the common rudiments of education are expected to know Hebrew. In their

schools, boys are taught to repeat from the Talmud, laws concerning betrothal, divorce, legal damages, priestly functions, and many other things ill adapted to juvenile comprehension.

As a people, the Jews have never risen to a very high degree of intellectual culture; not from deficiency of talent, but because circumstances have discouraged a general attention to literature or science. Their forefathers disapproved of it, and some of the stricter sort even now question its lawfulness. Moreover, theological prejudice, that most hateful fiend of all the catalogue of Evil Spirits, has kept them continually under depressing influences, in the countries called Christian. Able men have risen among them, in all ages; but, with few exceptions, their freedom has been fettered, and their mental energy impaired, by perpetually walking in the tread-mill of their own traditions. They have expended an immense amount of labour and ingenuity on local controversies. Rabbins who might have made valuable discoveries in science, or been conspicuous in literature, if their attention had been thus directed, contented themselves with disputing about such questions as whether the pot of manna, and Aaron's rod, were laid up *in* the Ark, or *before* it. In modern times, however, literature has been much enriched by Jewish authors, several of whom have attained a brilliant reputation. King David's royal taste for harmonious sounds seems to have descended almost universally upon this people. They are everywhere distinguished as lovers of music, and several of the most eminent composers have risen among them.

While polytheistic worship prevailed in the world, Jews never suffered persecution merely for religion, except under the reign of Antiochus. But after the Star of Bethlehem, and the Crescent ascended, and Jupiter disappeared below the spiritual horizon, they suffered persecution, relentless, universal, and prolonged, beyond all precedent. Their constancy and fortitude equalled their unparalelled wrongs. They endured every form of deprivation, suffering, and

death, rather than abjure the faith consecrated to them by the teaching of ages. They were banished from realm to realm, though guilty of no offence. Their wealth was seized whenever it suited the convenience of rapacious monarchs or magistrates, and the laws which protected others afforded no redress to them. Even personal safety was purchased at a high price, and the pledge of security thus dearly bought, was often violated. Their most sacred feelings were outraged, and boys in the street were encouraged to hoot at men, whom a wiser education would have taught them, in many instances, to reverence. Even now, it cannot be said that enlightened Europe begins to do justice to the Jewish population; the best that can be said is, they are beginning to do less injustice.

Under circumstances more intolerable than ever depressed the energies of any nation, this remarkable people have contrived not only to exist, but to flourish. The concentrated earnestness and perseverance, which always characterized them, became only more observable when confined to few channels. Excluded from other kinds of greatness, they became princes in wealth, and all the nations have borrowed of them. If the fiery ordeal through which they have been passing for ages, has often driven them to artifice and cunning, let the shame rest on those who left their disinherited brethren no other defence against the rapacity and violence of the powerful. They are everywhere a peaceable, industrious, and enterprising class of citizens. They adjust differences among themselves, without troubling courts of justice, and are extremely charitable to the poor of their own communion. Their women have always been proverbial for a high sense of personal purity.

It is estimated that there are now about five millions of Jews in the world, scattered throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

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RETROSPECTIVE VIEW.

'What education is for individual man, revelation is for the whole human race. Why are we not willing to consider all religions merely as progressive steps, by which the human understanding has developed itself in every time and place, and will still develop itself in the future? Why are we not willing to regard them thus, rather than ridicule or hate any of them?'—LESSING.

THE preceding chapters plainly show that theories concerning God and the Soul, the Creation of the World, its Destruction and Renovation, a Golden Age of innocence long past, and a Golden Age of holiness to come in the far-off Future, were common among all the nations of antiquity. A general resemblance in ideas on these subjects might be expected, because human nature is everywhere the same, and in all ages has had the same wants and the same aspirations, and been liable to the same infirmities. But there is not only a general likeness in these ancient traditions, there is also a close similarity in details, indicating that they were all transmitted from one common source, and adopted by different nations, with such variations as naturally grow out of climate, temperament, and the social condition of the people.

According to the light we at present have on the subject, Hindoos, Chaldeans, and Egyptians, seem to have been the most ancient nations. Which of them has the priority, and is the primeval source of theories we call Oriental, I leave for the learned to determine, if they can. All I aim to show is, that these Oriental theories, from some spring in distant mountains, have floated down to us on the tide of time, like the little boats laden with flowers, and illuminated by a lamp, which South Sea Islanders set adrift on the waters, to be wafted to Spirits in other regions. These

flowers from the Past have scattered seed in our gardens, and scintillations from the little floating lamp have lighted the wax tapers on our altars, the chandeliers in our churches.

The Sacred Writings of Chaldea and Egypt are supposed to have perished utterly. Wherever the theories they contain may have originated, Hindostan is the place where the most ancient written record of them exists. Hindoos and Hebrews are the only nations of antiquity whose sacred literature has come down to our times in a tolerable state of preservation. In tracing the growth, extension, and intermixture of religious ideas, these two nations stand forth with peculiar prominence, as apparently the sources whence the world has derived most of its theological theories. The leading characteristics of the two religions are very different; but their history presents many striking points of resemblance. Both nations were remarkable for the reverential preservation of their Sacred Books, through all manner of dangers and difficulties. In both cases, the dates and authors of different portions are involved in obscurity. In both countries, these ancient and venerated fragments were collected and arranged by a compiler believed to be expressly inspired for the purpose; Vyasa among the Hindoos, and Ezra among the Hebrews. In both countries, these Sacred Books regulated the civil law, as well as the religious ceremonies. The growth and changes of society in both cases gave rise to innumerable commentaries, and the adoption of allegorical meanings, to enlarge the boundaries, when they were found to be too narrow. In both countries, the ancient Sacred Writings were practically superseded by newer ones, of degenerate character; the Pouranas among the Hindoos, the Talmud among the Jews. Both nations considered themselves exclusive depositories of divine truth, and therefore polluted by intermixture with other nations. In both countries, there arose, in process of time, a great religious teacher, who grievously offended the established priesthood, by encouraging men of low degree to become instructors of the people.

Both of these teachers displeased their exclusive countrymen by manifesting a disposition to raise foreigners to the same spiritual level with themselves. Both admitted women among their followers, and both were characterized by an unusual degree of gentleness and benevolence. Both conformed to religious institutions established in the countries where they were born. The disciples of both were persecuted and driven from their native land. Both made more proselytes everywhere among strangers, than they did at home. Both became the founders of a new religion, whose basis was the religion of their forefathers. The teachings of Bouddha spread very widely in the East; those of Christ spread nearly as widely in the West.

Both Hindoos and Hebrews were eminently conservative in their character, prone to rely upon authority, strongly chained to old usages. Greece and Rome had quite an opposite mission to perform, but not less important in aiding the world's spiritual growth. The missions were as different as the centrifugal force of planets is from the central attraction, which keeps them within their orbits. Hindoos, Egyptians, and Hebrews were in all respects bound by their Sacred Volumes; and they transmitted ideas to posterity solely on the authority of those holy traditions. Strictly speaking, the Greeks and Romans had no Sacred Books; for they had none, which they considered binding in any respect except the externals of worship. Philosophy, science, art, literature were all free from trammels; and the laws could change as fast as the changes of society required. There is a very observable difference in the growth of nations where the civil law is included in their Sacred Books, and where it is left free to adapt itself to the progressive development of man. Society *must* grow, and Sacred Books *cannot* grow. Therefore, the effort to keep society within such limits is like confining a child of ten years old in garments made for one of five. However elastic the clothing may be, there must eventually come a time when it is inconvenient to move in them, and impossible to grow. Hindoos and Hebrews were thus

impeded in their progress, while Greeks and Romans were comparatively free from limitations. The East received upon authority, and expended intellect in explaining and defining that authority. The West investigated the causes, the principles, and the relations of things, and judged them by the light of reason. It became a saying, "Jews require a sign, [that is, a miracle,] but Greeks seek after wisdom," [that is, philosophy.] The large credulity of the Jewish mind was so observable, that when any thing exceedingly incredible was told, it became a Roman proverb to say, "*Credat Judæus*," "Let the Jew believe that." Extremely reverential and extremely analytical tendencies of mind both have their dangers, but both are necessary and useful. It is the part of wisdom not to disparage either but to be thankful to God for both.

As the world moved on, East and West, with their opposite tendencies, came into contact by various successive changes of war and commerce. The nations acted and re-acted on each other. Old forms melted, and metals of various value tended to fusion, ready to be re-cast in any new image for which the mould might be providentially prepared. Meanwhile, society, by slow degrees, had been growing wiser and more humane. What degree of *moral* culture had been attained before the birth of Christ, may be seen by reviewing the sayings of Zoroaster among the Persians, of Confucius among the Chinese, of the Prophets and the Essenes among Jews, of Socrates, Plato, and Cicero among Greeks and Romans.

The *theological* ideas, which had become universal before our era, will be more clearly perceived by a reviewing glance at the most prominent. Every ancient nation, of which any historical records remain, believed in One Invisible Being, the Centre and Source of all things. Orientals conceived of him as inactive, serenely contemplating the glory of his own essence, radiating from himself all the vitality of the universe, by inherent necessity, not by any exercise of his will; having no superintendence over creation, no interest in the affairs of men. These views per-

haps originated partly in the prevailing Asiatic notions that anything like activity, or labour, was degrading to the character of a monarch. But a much stronger influence doubtless proceeded from the general idea that Evil was inherent in Matter. The human soul was unwilling to admit that the Supreme Being could be, in any way, connected with evil. Perceiving the material world to be full of apparent evils, men inferred that it could not have been produced by the One Pure Essence. Consequently, they imagined that a Great Spirit, or Power, emanated from the Eternal One, and by the agency of this Second God worlds were created. Hindoos named this first emanation Brahma; Egyptians, Amun; Persians, Ormuzd: all regarded him as the Creator.

The religion of the Hebrews differed from other prior and cotemporary systems in representing the One Source of Being as himself the Creator and Sustainer of all things, by his own direct agency, and the active exertion of his will. But in later times, after their captivity in Babylon, and their settlement in Alexandria, when Oriental, Egyptian, and Grecian theories became mixed with the written doctrines ascribed to Moses, they also taught that God created the world by the agency of a Second Power, whom their writers called "The First Adam," "The Lord of Heaven," "The Wisdom of God," "The Word of God," "The First Begotten Son of God," "Esteemed the same as God."

Hebrews and Persians are the only two ancient nations on record, whose religious laws forbade them to make images of Celestial Beings. Persians were taught to utter invocations to Spirits, as an important part of worship. But though Hebrews believed in a multitude of Spirits, they were required to adore Jehovah alone, and to consider him as the One, Eternal, Invisible, and Incomprehensible God. Whoever compares the two religions, will observe several points of resemblance. There are no means of ascertaining what the Jews borrowed from Zoroaster, or what Zoroaster borrowed from them. The two systems of

course came into close contact with each other, during the captivity in Babylon. Even if this were not admitted as the inevitable consequence of mixing two nations together, it would be sufficiently proved by the very Persian character, which pervades Hebrew writings and traditions subsequent to that period.

Some one has observed that "instead of saying God made man after his own image, it might be said man makes God after his own image;" and it is indeed an obvious truth that human beings give a reflection of their own characters in the estimate they form of Deity. Hindoos invested Brahm with their own love of contemplation and repose. The Chinese Chang-ti was exactly according to their pattern of a wise and beneficent emperor, passing humane and salutary laws to promote the virtue and increase the happiness of his subjects. The Jehovah of the Hebrews was jealous of his own pre-eminence, exclusive in his care of one nation, prompt to exterminate those who kept back from him the required offerings, or transferred the glory of his name to another. He was a Leader of Armies, great in the slaughter of Philistines, a stern but placable Father to his chosen people. The Greeks, lively and intellectual, conceived of Deity as an active, enterprising, intriguing, and amorous being. Philosophers among them thought of him abstractly, as the Mind of the Universe. Some, like Socrates and Plato, rose to the idea of a Universal Father.

In nearly all languages the name of the Supreme Being signified Prince, Lord, or Ruler; because in the first stages of human society, Power is naturally regarded as the highest attribute of the Divine Mind. The Chinese called Deity the Supreme Emperor. The word Jehovah is said to signify eternity of being: I am, was, and shall be. But this holy name was uttered only in the temple, by the High Priest. In the synagogues, it was read Adonai, which signifies Lord. Plato conceived of the Highest as The Good; and either from the prevalence of Platonism, or from some more ancient source, whence Platonism itself

came, the word God is probably derived. In the Saxon, Swedish, and Danish languages, good is written god; in Dutch, goed; in German, gut, pronounced goot; in Persian, chod. In Saxon and Dutch, the name for Deity is God; in Swedish and Danish, Gud; in German, Gott; in Persian, Choda, or Goda. It seems likely that the title of God and the Devil [D'Evil,] applied to the great contending Powers, supposed to sway the universe, originated in the old Persian ideas concerning Ormuzd, the Prince of the Good, and Arimanes of Evil.

Three was universally a sacred and mystical number, representing Deity in his completeness. One of the most ancient symbols in Hindostan and Egypt was a Triangle, with an Eye in the centre, to represent the All-Seeing. Hindoos represented their three great gods in one image. Egyptian deities were usually in Triads. Plato taught a Trinity of divine attributes; Goodness, Wisdom, and Pervading Life. Cabalists appear to have expressed the same ideas in Hebrew style, when they wrote of Jehovah, the Wisdom of Jehovah, and the Habitation of Jehovah. Hindoos, Egyptians, Platonists, and Cabalists, supposing man to be an image of God, all represented him as a tri-une being, consisting of a rational soul, a sensitive soul, and a material body. In all countries philosophers and mystics expressed more or less vaguely that the Deity was One in Three.

It was a very prevalent theory, conspicuous in various religions, that the ideas pre-existing in Deity took form by the utterance of a Word. In Persian and Hebrew Sacred Books, it is declared that God spoke, and light sprang into existence, followed successively by all the other objects of creation. Persians called this Word Honover, and invoked him as The Great Primal Spirit. Hebrews called the Word Memra, and regarded him as a representative of Jehovah to the mind of man. With Hindoos, the creative Word was Aum, called Om. They believed it included within itself all the qualities of Brahma, and revered it next to him. The general idea evidently was that the Word

existed with God from all eternity, and when spoken, became a glorious Form, the aggregate embodiment of all the Divine Ideas, including them all within itself, and thus by development becoming God's Great Agent in the work of Creation.

The first beings he produced dwelt in upper spheres, where they breathed the pure element of ether, as mortals breathe the air. Being nearest to the Source of Light, they received a larger infusion of his divinity, which was manifested in a greater portion of outward radiance. These qualities, interior and exterior, gradually diminished in degree, as the beings created were farther and farther removed from their Fountain of Life. The seven Spirits of the Planets, the first emanations from the Creator, were ethereal and resplendent, beautiful above all that succeeded them, endowed with a more comprehensive and pervading intellect. Each series of beings included the ideas which formed the next series below it; so that each descending sphere was an attenuated likeness of the one above it. This regular system was carried down even to the earthly Adam, in whom was supposed to pre-exist all the human souls that could forever after take form in human bodies; consequently, when he fell they all became infected with his sin.

It was the superior sphere of ethereal and luminous forms, the manifested Ideas of the Divine Mind, which Plato called the Intelligible World, or the World of Intelligences. Of each and every Idea in that region of light our material world was a grosser embodiment, a degenerate copy. But the Divine Idea, to which every material object owed its life, attended that object through its whole existence. Thus the sun, the moon, the stars, every stream and every tree, had its attendant Spirit, and so had the soul of every man and woman. I suppose this archetype is what Aristotle referred to, when he said that man, beside his threefold union of a rational soul, a spiritual body, and a material body, was said by some to have "another soul, luminous and star-like." This soul dwelt in the World of

Intelligences, but was spiritually present with its earthly copy, knew all his thoughts and actions, attended him when the soul parted from the body, and gave in a record of his deeds to the Judges of the Dead. In allusion to this, philosophers were accustomed to exhort a man not to offend his Genius. The emperor Marcus Aurelius says: "Those who live in harmony with Divine Natures, are ready on all occasions to obey the commands of that Genius, which the Gods have given to every one, for his guide and governor." This celestial companion was doubtless the "demon," to whom Socrates so often and so reverently alluded; and the same idea gave rise to the custom of swearing by the Genius of the Emperor.

The Infinite and Eternal God was so far removed from finite comprehension, and so incapable of contact with evil, that a Second God was supposed to be his agent. But still this Creator was too high above human sympathies; and the soul sought to connect itself with him by intermediate agents. Reverence for his high rank combined with the cravings of the heart to produce this result. Asiatics, accustomed to think it beneath the dignity of a king to transact the affairs of the empire in his own person, naturally attached the same idea to the Universal Ruler, and represented his government as administered by an infinite number of subordinate agents, of various gradations, endowed with intelligence in proportion to the importance of the functions they fulfilled. Hindoos, Persians, Hebrews, Greeks, all believed in a great company of Spirits, who mediated between man and the higher deities. They carried up the prayers of mortals, and brought down blessings in return. They taught men what religious ceremonies to use, and what atoning sacrifices to offer, in order to obtain remission of sins; and they interceded with the offended Powers to obtain propitiation. Generally, there was some one Spirit supposed to be pre-eminent in these kindly offices. Persians named Mithras "The Mediator." Cabalists called the angel Metraton "The Mediator between God and man." They said he led the children of Israel

through the wilderness, and gave the Law to Moses. Platonized Jews, in Alexandria, described the Logos, or Word as "The Mediator and Intercessor between God and man." They supposed he appeared, under various angelic forms, to the patriarchs, that he dictated to Moses, and inspired the prophets; for it had then become a universal idea that no man had seen God himself at any time.

The same tendencies which made men try to bring The Creator nearer to them, by the intervention of intermediate agents, naturally led them to worship the mediums in preference to the higher Deity, whom they represented and served. Thus Brahma gave place to Vishnu, in various forms; Osiris eclipsed Amun; Mithras superseded Ormuzd; and Apollo received much more worship than Jupiter.

Mortals, wandering in the dark, forever needing help, and craving sympathy from superior beings, took yet another step to link themselves with Divinity. They supposed that intermediate Spirits kept the higher Deities constantly informed concerning human affairs, and that those deities, except the Creator himself, occasionally assumed a mortal form, to assist mankind in great emergencies; either impelled by their own compassion, or acting in obedience to benevolent injunctions of the Creator. It was also believed that pious human souls changed to Spirits of a higher and higher degree, until some of the most perfect became one with God; in other words, became God. While thus transmigrating through higher spheres of existence, their uncompleted degree of goodness sometimes compelled them, by eternal laws of cause and effect, to return and serve a new probation on earth. In that case, their previous experiences in more exalted worlds made them men of larger intellect, quicker sympathies, and finer intuitions, than others. As repeated sojourners on earth, in various capacities, they became practically acquainted with all the sorrows and temptations of humanity, and could justly judge its sins, while they sympathized with its weakness and its sufferings. When they again became Spirits in higher regions, they remembered the lower forms

they had inhabited, and felt a lively interest in worlds where they had previously dwelt. They could penetrate even the secret thoughts of mortals, though men could not so much as perceive the outward forms of those heavenly guardians; according to the proverb: "The butterfly remembers the grub, but the grub knows nought of the butterfly." Having strong faith in all this, a belief naturally followed that Gods, and benevolent Spirits, with their all-embracing knowledge, and their tender interest in forms and places they had once inhabited, would sometimes voluntarily leave Paradise and descend to earth, on purpose to work, to suffer, and to die for mankind. Such was Crishna, an incarnation of the second person of the Hindoo Trinity. If a sinner, even at the hour of death, thought of him, and sincerely believed that he was Vishnu in a human form, it was deemed sufficient to insure salvation. The same mission of sacrifice for others was performed by a great and glorious Spirit, descended in the form of Bouddha. Having performed his labour of love on this earth, and descended to the lower regions, to instruct and encourage souls in prison there, he became one with God, by exceeding holiness, and ascended to the heavenly Paradise, without dying. Thenceforth, he was regarded as God himself, and prayers were deemed peculiarly availing if offered in his name. In Egypt, Osiris was a God, a human benefactor, and the judge of all who died. There is no parallel instance among the Greeks or Romans; but there also the idea of incarnation appeared under various forms. Gods descended visibly to the earth, and great men ascended to the stars, where they were supposed to exist as demi-gods, or Spirits half way between human beings and the higher deities.

As man the individual looks back lovingly to his childhood, and remembers only its pleasures, so mankind have ever reverted to the infancy of the world, as a period of innocence and freedom. All the ancient nations had traditions of a Paradise on earth, before evil came into the world. In that happy time, men were spontaneously good,

knew truth by intuition, lived in perfect equality, and had no need of laws, or labour. As the individual man is forever aspiring after happiness and perfection in some bright sphere beyond this existence, so mankind have always been uttering prophecies of a golden future for the world, when men would again live together as free, happy, and affectionate children of the same beneficent Father. Undefined longings to realize this glorious idea of human equality and brotherhood were expressed in numerous prophecies, and in various religious customs; such as the mingling of kings and peasants in Persia, and the exchange of places between masters and servants on the festival of Saturn in Rome. There is something touching in this proof that even in the youth of the world, the weight of humanity pressed so heavily on sympathising hearts, and its discords jarred so harshly on organizations delicately attuned. In most nations, a belief prevailed that the return of the Golden Age would be brought about by the advent of a just and holy man, through whose agency all discords, moral and physical, would be harmonized, and the world restored to order. Hindoos believed such a personage would appear among them, and bring all nations under guidance of the Bramins. Chinese expected a "holy one" would appear on their sacred mountain and bring all the world into subjection to the Chinese empire. Persians believed that such a deliverer was waiting to be summoned to their "land of light," and that when he appeared, he would convert the whole world to the religion of Zoroaster. But this expectation is peculiarly conspicuous in the history of Hebrews. They had the strongest assurance that a prince and deliverer would come in the royal line of King David, who would exterminate all nations and individuals, except those who adopted the Jewish religion, and gave themselves up willing subjects to his government. This belief was so deeply impressed on the popular mind that it affected the whole character and destiny of the people. It made them blindly rash in their defiance of Roman power, led to perpetual insurrec-

tions, and finally caused the utter destruction of their Holy City. Tacitus, Josephus, and Suetonius, have all recorded that about the time of the commencement of our era an expectation prevailed generally throughout the East that an extraordinary deliverer would soon appear.

From the remotest antiquity astronomical calculations were afloat in various nations concerning successive destructions of the world by water and fire, and its subsequent renovation. All people had traditions concerning a great Deluge. Hindoos, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Chinese, Persians, Hebrews, Druids, and Scandinavians, all had prophecies, apparently derived from a common source, concerning the destruction of the world by fire, and its restoration to primeval beauty. In connection with this, was a belief that the great deliverer of humanity would establish his kingdom of heavenly order on the earth thus purified and renovated for his reception.

All ancient nations believed in the immortality of the soul, always coupled with the idea of previous existence. Since all emanated from God, and was a portion of him, no soul could possibly die, not even the soul of animal or vegetable; because it participated in the eternal nature of the Being whence it proceeded. Men saw that bodies died continually, and from that they conceived an idea that the soul, for temporary purposes, passed from form to form, each more glorious than another, until it arrived at the radiant and ethereal beauty of Spirits of the Sun, endowed with intelligence so vast, that the universe was more completely open to their inspection, than the world was to mortals. As Spirits, by successive careers of virtue, ascended to higher and higher series of existence, they were supposed to pass from region to region of Paradise, each exceeding the other in marvellous beauty, adapted to the enlarged powers of its inhabitants. Royal residences being the most magnificent mortal eyes had seen, celestial abodes were naturally imagined to be of similar, though transcending splendour. Hence they were described full of palaces with golden columns and gates of pearl, surrounded by bloom-

ing gardens, and ever-flowing fountains of nectar. That such places really existed, and would hereafter be enjoyed by pious souls, was a subject of earnest and vital belief among the Hindoos; a fact sufficiently proved by the large numbers among them who, in all ages have eagerly sought death, in hopes of entering Paradise. It was natural that they should thus long for regions abounding with delicious fruit, flowing with milk, wine, and honey, inhabited by the wise and good, who there spent thousands or millions of years, according to their degrees of merit, enjoying all that was beautiful in sight or sound, singing praises to the Gods, and constantly increasing in knowledge. But it is not easy to imagine why men deprived themselves of all pleasure in this world, and tortured their poor bodies, with the hope of becoming absorbed in the Universal Soul, which of course involved annihilation of their own identity. Yet those who entered upon a saintly career regarded such absorption as a state of perfect beatitude, for the attainment of which it was wise to sacrifice every thing in this life. Egyptian monuments plainly indicate belief in ascending spheres of existence, through which the pure departed were led by starry Spirits, till they arrived at the realm of supernal glory; while the wicked passed through descending spheres of degradation and misery. There is reason to suppose that they also regarded union with the Supreme as the highest bliss. The Druids had such assured faith in a life beyond the grave, that they actually loaned money on the promise of repayment in another world; and the same thing is related of Buddhists. In Greece, the populace seem to have been almost entirely swayed by hopes and fears of a temporal nature. But they believed that the souls of departed ancestors were living somewhere, and took a sympathizing interest in human affairs; for they always invoked their aid in great emergencies. The beautiful conceptions of their poets concerning the Elysian Fields seem to have flitted, like graceful shadows, through the imagination, without taking strong hold upon their faith. Reflecting men among them expressed themselves

on the subject with timid uncertainty, often mingled with earnest hope, and lofty aspirations toward an infinite perfection of being. Pictures of a future existence formed no part of the sacred literature of Hebrews. There are no direct and positive allusions to it in the books ascribed to Moses. It was not until after the return from Babylon, when the Persian language and ideas were amalgamated with their own, that the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body became subjects of dispute between different sects. When the belief did prevail among them, it was coupled with the prevailing oriental theories of pre-existence and transmigration. The allusions to the subject, even in the later Prophets, are brief, incidental, and indefinite. The hope of immortality is so inherent in human nature, the heart has so universally clung to it, imagination has invested it with such wealth of beauty, that the apparent absence of it among a people so devout is a singular fact, of which I have never seen any satisfactory explanation. Bishop Warburton, in his "Divine Legation of Moses," acknowledges the fact, and attempts to account for it thus: The basis of his theory is that no people can be restrained from sin without the fear of future punishment, and the hope of future reward, unless by the miraculous interposition of Deity. The Jews, being under the perpetual and personal guidance of Jehovah, were intended to be a miraculous exception to this universal law. Therefore, whoever transgressed among them was sure to suffer the consequences of his sin in this life; or if he did not, his posterity could not escape from it; and this was done to prove to Jehovah's chosen people that he was always present with them, watching all their ways. Moses, knowing this was the Divine policy, purposely concealed his own faith in the immortality of the soul, and guided the people altogether by temporal inducements.

The inhabitants of Asiatic countries were greatly troubled with poisonous serpents; and when they imagined what torments would be inflicted on wicked souls, they naturally supposed that they dwelt in regions infested with stinging

serpents, and gnawing worms that never died. It was the general belief that these places of suffering were temporary abodes, merely intended to purify the soul from sin; that purpose being accomplished, it would return to earth to serve another probation, and perchance attain to Paradise. Fire, being the subtlest of the elements, and the least connected with Matter, was supposed to be the most effectual for purification. Some passed through fire in this life, or passed their children through fire, as a baptism, or even burned themselves to death, to avoid the necessity of such a cleansing process hereafter, when it would be all the more prolonged for not being voluntary. Of course, with such ideas, fire was a predominant feature in their conception of regions prepared for the wicked. Hindoos, Persians, Greeks, and Jews, all supposed sinners would be subjected to such purification. Persians believed that all Spirits, even the Devil himself, would finally do homage to goodness, and thus become happy. Jews supposed that the wicked of their own nation would be tormented with fire hereafter, but merely for purposes of purification. At the end of the world, they would be summoned to rise from the dead, and share in the bliss of the Messiah's kingdom. They generally supposed that other nations would have no resurrection.

Hindoos made an exact calculation of the amount of reward and punishment appropriate to every degree of sin. If a man did more than good enough to save himself from punishment, it was so much earned and invested in Paradise. Every additional prayer, every act of charity to pilgrims, or the poor, increased his stock. Therefore, the pious among them were greatly addicted to works of supererogation; and the same was the case with Pharisees among the Jews. Hindoos also believed that the prayers, offerings, and almsgiving of one man might be transferred for the benefit of another. Consequently, they prayed, and did penance, and made offerings to the gods, and gave donations to the Bramins, and alms to pilgrims, for the benefit of departed ancestors; believing that every such

act on their part helped to shorten their period of punishment in another world. Buddhists adopted these views, as they did most of the traditions of their native land.

As soon as men conceived of punishment for sin, they began to seek some mode of escape from it by proxy. Blood, being considered the principle of life, was deemed an appropriate expiation, peculiarly acceptable to deities. Large and noble animals were more highly esteemed for this purpose than smaller ones. Therefore superb horses were sacrificed to the beneficent Spirit of the Sun, who, in many countries, was the most popular object of worship. Man, being the noblest of all animals, was the highest kind of sacrifice, and his blood was supposed to atone for a greater amount of sins than the blood of horses or oxen. Consequently human victims were offered to atone for national sins, or to avert national calamities. Hence, when Jesus was crucified at the time of the Passover, when each family offered the blood of a Paschal Lamb as atonement for sin, the High Priest said it was "good that one man should die for all the people." The idea that men might be forcibly put to death for the offences of others grew into the belief that he who voluntarily sacrificed himself might thereby expiate the sins of his whole family, tribe, or nation. Thus the Hindoo widow, who voluntarily burned herself on the funeral pile of her husband, was supposed thereby to atone for all the transgressions of his family and her own. The higher and holier the victim, the more efficacious the blood, and the greater the amount of sins it could wash away. Even when the Jewish High Priest died in the course of nature, his death was supposed to atone for all the involuntary sins the people had committed since the annual Day of Atonement. In great emergencies, kings sacrificed their children, and sometimes offered their own blood, to expiate the sins of the whole nation, and avert the wrath of offended deities.

It has been already stated that the existence of Evil was ascribed to the imperfection of Matter. This sounds like a harmless abstract theory; but it formed the root of many

theological opinions, and has had an extensive and powerful influence on human character and destiny. At a very early period, it introduced civil war into the house of life, by teaching men to regard the body as an enemy to the soul. Passions and instincts given for usefulness, and for enjoyment, were considered spiritual snares. A healthy body and a good appetite were hindrances in the way of holiness; and to feel sexual attraction was yielding to the instigation of the Devil. In order to become angels, men tormented their poor material forms. They reduced themselves to skeletons, by midnight watchings and prolonged fasts; they scourged themselves till the blood flowed; they tore their flesh with hooks, and burned it with fire. They spent their wealth in sacrifices, and their time in prayers, to atone for the sin of having any bodily wants. From this horror of natural instincts arose the traditions of various nations that their holy teachers were born of virgins; that process being supposed necessary, in order to disconnect them with the alleged impurity of human passions.

With regard to Evil Spirits, the growth of ideas seems to have been very gradual. In the beginning, there was no distinct and defined separation between good and evil in the minds of men. In Hindoo theology, the same god destroyed and reproduced, and was not supposed to be impelled by wicked motives in his work of destruction, any more than Nature is. In Egypt, the two powers were divided, but the malignant Typho was twin brother of Osiris the good. Zoroaster taught the doctrine of one powerful Prince of Darkness, who headed a legion of wicked subordinates, in perpetual warfare with the God of Light. The idea of one representative of evil, named Satan, did not appear in Jewish writings till after their residence in Babylon. A host of inferior Evil Spirits swarmed in all religions, and were everywhere supposed to produce diseases by taking possession of human bodies. Sudden and violent attacks of illness, such as insanity, or fits, were peculiarly attributed to their agency. It was the general

belief that they could be expelled by invoking a Good Spirit, or uttering a holy name. In all the ancient nations, people were in the constant habit of resorting to priests and sanctified men to cast out demons, by reciting sacred words. And they nearly all had traditions concerning Spirits who rebelled against the highest Deity, were expelled from Paradise, and kept chained in lower regions.

Concerning miracles, oracles, and prophecies, a very singular mass of evidence is presented in the history of ancient nations. One feature common to them all was, that unpremeditated speech was prophetic. Men were deemed inspired when they were unconscious what they uttered, being impelled thereto by a power beyond themselves. Even the sudden exclamations of insane people, or idiots, were in some places deemed prophetic. In all countries a certain degree of madness was considered a favourable preparation; and it was a common thing to excite such frenzy by music. The Grecian Pythoness, before she uttered oracles, inhaled a kind of vapour, which put her into a nervous and bewildered state. Records from various and very different sources speak of men who prophesied in trances; who could read the interior thoughts of others; whose souls occasionally left their bodies for a while, and at such times could give information concerning the most distant places. Of the celebrated Sibyls, little or nothing is known with certainty. Their oracles were very ancient, and the reverence they excited for so many centuries would seem to imply something more than ordinary in their character. Heraclitus, who wrote five hundred years before Christ, says: "Their unadorned, earnest words, spoken with inspired mouth, reached through a thousand years."

It is worthy of note that the most exclusive of all nations admitted that miracles might be performed, and true predictions uttered, by worshippers of false gods. Balaam prophesied as truly as any prophet of Israel. Josephus declares that an Egyptian correctly foretold the birth and destiny of Moses. He also says that the sea retired for the

army of Alexander, a worshipper of Jupiter, as it did for Moses, a worshipper of Jehovah. The miracles said to have been performed by Egyptian Magi, in Pharaoh's presence, are nearly as wonderful, and quite as difficult of explanation, as those performed at the same time by Moses. Jews explained the difficulty, by saying that their own prophets and miracle-workers received power from Jehovah, while those of other nations received it from Evil Spirits; and believers in each and every religion solved the problem by a similar process. The Sacred Books of all nations abound with miracles, which are sincerely believed by the devout. Hindoo Pauranas declare that a crocodile swallowed Crishna, and cast him forth unhurt. Hebrew records affirm that a whale swallowed Jonah, and after retaining him three days, disgorged him safely on dry land. Hindoo Sacred Books tell of a fish that discoursed with Menu, and the Hebrew tell of a serpent that talked with Eve.

In the childhood of the world, men understood little, and believed much; the same as children do. The intermediate scientific causes of things were concealed from them, and therefore every unusual occurrence was regarded as a direct and marvellous intervention of the gods. If a hail storm dispersed their enemies, Hebrews said Jehovah "cast down great stones from heaven." If a man died from exposure to the sun, Greeks said, and verily believed, that Apollo had shot him with his golden arrow, in punishment for some offence. When any person was struck dead by lightning, Scandinavians believed that Thor, God of Thunder, was angry with him, and had hurled his hammer at his head.

De Wette remarks: "Miracles have their foundation partly in the narrowness of human knowledge, partly in the distance of time between the event itself and the written relation of it. Events, for a long time repeated orally, naturally become enlarged in the repetition." It may be justly observed of all nations, that in proportion as intellectual cultivation advances, and they are brought nearer to the

light of cotemporary history, miracles diminish, oracles are hushed, and prophets disappear.

The classification of human souls was an ultimate manifestation of the same religious ideas which formed a hierarchy of Spirits, of various ranks and degrees of intelligence. There are in human nature strong propensities to become merely animal, and it was the theory of caste that these propensities were realised and perpetuated in certain races of men. Human nature is also endowed with earnest aspirations to rise into fellowship with Divine Beings ; and this superior tendency was likewise supposed to be manifested and transmitted by a peculiar race of men, who had received at creation a larger infusion of the Deity. It was a common and most devout belief, that the gods revealed their sublimer secrets only to the hereditary priesthood. Among this consecrated class were supposed to be some individuals, who stood higher above the plane of humanity than others ; men who had been "twice born," or "thrice born ;" who had become wise through experience of manifold forms of existence, and by prolonged residence in various regions of Paradise. Such were inspired poets and prophets, who uttered oracles, interpreted dreams, performed miracles, and received sacred laws directly from heaven. Their natures raised them nearer to the gods, than other mortals ; and standing thus elevated, like mountain-tops above the earth, they received and reflected the first rays of celestial light, while all beneath them lay in shadow.

We do great injustice to those men of olden time, whether priests or prophets, to whatever nation they might belong, if we suppose that they generally intended to deceive the people by fabulous legends, and miracles of their own invention. They had a much more positive and distinct faith in the perpetual presence and active agency of Spirits, than we have. They found themselves surrounded with mysteries, which they did not seek to analyze, as we do, but, with child-like reverence, ascribed them to the direct influence of the gods. Had they witnessed the process

of taking a daguerreotype likeness, they would have believed that it was actually done by the Spirit of the Sun, and that he had illuminated the minds of men, so that they understood how to prepare the plate and concentrate the rays. Supposing that all knowledge was directly imparted to human souls by Superior Powers, when they conceived of laws wisely adapted to the condition of the people, they doubtless really and truly believed that some god inspired their thoughts. That such inspiration might flow into their minds undisturbed by outward obstructions, they retired to the solitude of a cave, as Numa did, or drew nearer to the Divine Presence, as they supposed, by ascending to the summit of mountains, as did Zoroaster and Moses. That which came to them in their hours of contemplation, they reverently regarded as a revelation from above. We may call it superstition, if we please; but did it not embody a great truth? In all that we think wisely, or do well, are we not guided and inspired? Ideas which have been imparted to devotional souls in all ages, are they not true in their essence, however various the forms they take?

We wake as from a sleep, and find ourselves on a suspended globe in the midst of the universe. Above and below, clouds enclose us. A magnificent phantasmagoria of ever-changing forms and colours circle round us. The tones of God's voice, by which the world was made, are echoed in the great mystery of music, forever suggesting what it never reveals. Perpetual whispers come to us from the unknown infinite. Processions march through our sleep in magic-lantern show, and we cannot understand what they are, or why they visit us. We are a miracle also to ourselves; not knowing whence we came, or whither we are travelling. But through all time, voices of invisible ones have been whispering to listening souls that we are of celestial origin, and shall return to a celestial home. Those who have given utterance to the aspirations thus kindled within them are called prophets, and men cherish their names with affectionate veneration. They are bright stars to illuminate and adorn the darkness around us.

Loving and solemn is their glance from afar; but of them also, as of ourselves, we know not the whence and the how. Thus environed by wonders, which intellect is helpless to explain, which science carries only a very few steps farther back toward the Primal Cause, can we marvel that men in the childhood of the world verily believed all things miraculous? They were like infants, who think a piece of paper moved by the wind is a living thing. We have outgrown that delusion, and have learned that paper is not alive, that it is manufactured from rags, and destined for a temporary use. But do we in reality know much better than they did what life is?

In the prophecies and miracles recorded in the preceding pages, observing readers will notice several indications of the presence of what we call animal magnetism. Some of the ancient devotees of Hindostan gained great celebrity by discerning the thoughts of those who came into their presence, and by bringing tidings from a great distance in an incredibly short time. Sir James Forbes, in his Oriental Memoirs, describes a Bramin in modern times, who was distinguished for the same faculty. He divined what an English lady, resident in India, was thinking of her son, whom she had left in his native land. He told her what the young man was doing, and predicted what he would do; and though it was quite different from her own anticipations, it proved as he had said. It is recorded of Egyptian priests that they cured the diseased by passing their hands over them. Balaam is said to have prophesied "in a trance, having his eyes open." Hyrcanus, the Jewish Prince and High Priest, told of a distant victory gained by his son, at the very moment that it occurred. Magicians and wizards were accused of travelling through the air, of being in two places at once, of telling the past and the future, and reading the thoughts of others. The soul of Hermetimus, the Greek philosopher, frequently left his body apparently lifeless, and wandered all over the earth, bringing tidings from remote regions, and foretelling futurity. The priestess of the Delphic oracle perceived

that Croesus was boiling flesh in a covered brass vessel, though the secret was known only to himself, and he was hundreds of miles distant. That these phenomena were noticed by the ancients seems to be indicated by their general theory that man was endowed with an intermediate substance between his rational soul and his body. They sometimes called it an *aërial* body, and sometimes a sensuous soul; and they described it as having *all* of sensation in each and every part of it; as "all eye, all ear, and all taste."

It seems to me that these facts help to solve the problem concerning oracles. The influence they retained over the minds of intelligent men, for so many ages, is difficult to reconcile with the idea that they were mere results of trickery. Women were generally chosen to deliver oracles, and some of the anecdotes concerning them imply that they were of nervous temperaments. It seems most likely that those women were sometimes clairvoyant; and that the priests, judging according to the spirit of those ages, really believed their mysterious utterance came from the gods. But clairvoyants were of rare occurrence, and the demand for oracles was continual. Tempted by the rich offerings which inquirers brought to the temples on such occasions, the priests doubtless resorted to counterfeits, when they could not find the reality. They constructed sentences studiously enigmatical, and spoke from within hollow statues what the god himself was supposed to utter. Hence, the oracles delivered were sometimes wonderfully true, at other times wholly false; more frequently than either, utterly incomprehensible. But the true oracles, though rare, sufficed to keep alive the general faith.

We misjudge our brethren of the older world, when we suppose that their systems of religion were cunningly devised by priests on purpose to enslave the people. Every form of religion that has swayed the minds of men originated in a sincere faith. They all began in earnest, taught much that was true, became sources of wealth and power,

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and then degenerated. The learned Schlegel observes: "The more I investigate the ancient history of the world, the more I am convinced that the civilized nations started with a purer worship of the Supreme Being; that the magic power of Nature over the imagination of successive human races produced polytheism at a later period, and finally, in the popular belief, altogether obscured the more spiritual religious ideas; while the wise alone preserved the primeval secret within the sanctuary." He goes on to say that the *mythologies* of different countries were the most changeable and contradictory portions of religion; varying according to climate, soil, and other circumstances.

The wide separation between the views of priests and philosophers, and those of the people, which grew out of the maintenance of secret doctrines, had a disastrous effect on the character of nations. The most incoherent and disjointed traditions, the merest external ideas, the most degrading rites, existed in the same country side by side with the most sublime theories, and the most practical allegories. Hebrew Scriptures contain several indications that this exile of the people from all sources of spiritual truth in Egypt had made a deep impression on the great soul of Moses. He started with the noble project of making the Israelites "a nation of priests." Swayed by his superior nature, they promised to do all that the Lord commanded; but even during his short absence on the mountain, they returned to the animal worship of the Egyptian populace, in which his own brother encouraged them. They offered sacrifices to the image of the golden calf, a representative of Apis, and when the religious ceremonies were completed, they feasted on the animals sacrificed, and sang aloud, and danced naked, and made themselves merry, as was the custom at Egyptian festivals. The indignation and discouragement of Moses was shown by his breaking in pieces the table of moral laws, which he had brought down from the mountain, and ordering thousands of the people to be sacrificed as an atonement for their sin. He also made proclamation: "Thus saith

the Lord, I will send an Angel before thee; I will not go up in the midst of thee myself, lest I consume thee in the way; for thou art a stiff-necked people." The second time he went up the mountain to consult the Lord, he returned with another set of commandments, far more ceremonial in their character, as if made in adaptation to the external views of the people. Jeremiah seems to imply that Moses first tried to bring the people up to a higher standard than was afterward adopted; for he declared: "Thus saith the God of Israel, I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt. But this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you." Ezra returned to the great idea of teaching all the people, which had been conceived by Moses. Every village had its synagogue, where the Law and the Prophets were publicly read and expounded every Sabbath, to women as well as to men. This was a grand and peculiar feature in Hebrew history, and it deserves our reverence and gratitude.

Even when the Jewish religion became a mere mass of ceremonials, so that prophets declared the Lord was weary of their burnt offerings, some souls among them preserved a degree of interior life, while they strictly conformed to the established ritual, by regarding it all as symbolical of high ideas. The spiritual-minded in all ages, and all countries, find some way to reconcile the most external formalities of worship, and the wildest stories in their Sacred Books, with their own conceptions of what is holy and true. The mistake we make is in supposing that our own religion is the only one that so adapts itself. At the gate of *every* Paradise, God has placed these flaming cherubim, which turn every way, to guard the Tree of Life.

In order to do justice to ancient modes of thought, it is necessary always to bear in mind this proneness to invest

outward forms with spiritual significance. It was constantly manifested in the worship of various forces of Nature, especially of Light. In several countries, there were two deities of the Sun; one being the Divine Idea, from which the other was formed; thus it became the Attendant Ferver, or Guardian Angel of the lower form, and embodied a much higher idea. In Hindostan, Surya, who drove the golden chariot of day through the heavens, was a mere subaltern, compared with Crishna, God of the Sun, and Source of Truth. In Persia, Mithras, the Spirit of Intelligence, as well as of Light, was far superior to Korshid, the visible luminary. In Greece, Helios was merely the resplendent orb of day, but Apollo was King of Intellectual Light, whose gifts were poetry, prophecy, and knowledge of medicine. That poets and philosophers worshipped Truth under the symbol of Light is very evident from many expressions of Plato; from the morning prayer of the Therapeutæ in Egypt; and from the declaration of Hindoo commentators, that when they pray to the Sun, they meditate on the Supreme Internal Spirit of that heavenly orb, "who constantly directs the intellect of man toward the acquisition of virtue, wealth, and final beatitude." Doubtless the unreflecting crowd worshipped merely outward objects. But thinking minds everywhere raised their ideas to the souls within the objects. For the spirits who accompanied the Planets in their course, they had especial reverence; believing that they surrounded the throne of the Eternal One, and took friendly interest in the affairs of men; as we also think of archangels. Mortals everywhere crave mediums between their souls and the great inaccessible Father of All.

"Oh, never rudely will I blame their faith
 In the might of Stars and Angels! 'Tis not merely
 The human being's Pride that peoples space
 With life and mystical predominance;
 Since likewise for the stricken heart of Love
 This visible nature, and this common world
 Are all too narrow."

The symbols by which different orders of Spirits were represented were doubtless very significant to the ancients, though they have become unmeaning to us. It is likely that the winged lions, bulls, and serpents, so common in Hindoo, Chaldean, and Egyptian temples, had reference to powerful Spirits, supposed to preside over those constellations. Perhaps the cure of diseases, and the preservation of health might be regarded as peculiarly the mission of Spirits in the constellation of the Serpent. It seems otherwise difficult to explain how such an animal came to be the universal symbol of Immortality and Wisdom. A serpent was wreathed round the staff of Æsculapius, and came to be the common sign of physicians. The Egyptian Cross signified Life; but when twined with a Serpent it became the emblem of Immortal Life. In Hebrew, the same word meant a seraph and a serpent. To be wise as a seraph conveys a much clearer idea to the modern mind, than to be "wise as a serpent."

With regard to symbols and ceremonies now regarded as immodest, and which in fact became so, in process of time, it has already been suggested that they originated in the comparative simplicity and innocence of the human mind, and in that state excited genuine reverence. Benjamin Constant says, very wisely: "The bad influence of licentious fables begins when contempt and ridicule are poured upon them. It is the same with ceremonies. The most indecent rites can be practised by a religious people with great purity of heart. But when incredulity reaches the people, such rites become the cause and the pretext of the most revolting corruption."

From the evidence collected in preceding pages, it is evident that no monotheistic religion has ever existed, if the word be taken in its strictest meaning. The doctrine of One Supreme God was common, but all believed in a multitude of Spirits, who were his ministers. The Persian religion strongly inculcated the idea of One Supreme Being, but it prescribed invocations to numerous Spirits, regarded merely as delegates and portions of Him. The Hebrew

religion approached nearer to a pure monotheism; but angels abound everywhere in their history, and the seven "great princes," with Michael at their head, of whom Daniel writes, seem very like the seven Amshaspands of Persia. It was the universal idea that the other nations were governed by Spirits, subordinate to Jehovah. In the Psalms he is called "God of gods;" "Lord of lords;" "exalted above all gods;" "no other god can be compared with him."

It has been customary to speak of the Hebrew commonwealth as the only theocracy, or god-government; but the Ethiopian and Egyptian states were quite as decidedly theocracies. None of them ever undertook any important transaction without directions from the High Priest, which he gained by consulting the Deity in the temple, and receiving an oracular response. The name of Amun does not excite reverence in us, as does the name of Jehovah; but we must remember that it was otherwise with the Egyptians.

We have perpetually done injustice, by forgetting that the religions of other nations did not appear to them in the same light that they do to us, who see only the dried skeletons of what were once living forms. We constantly commit the error of judging past things by the light of our own times, and our own opinions. We do not consider how their whole aspect would have been changed, had we lived in a remoter age, and been educated by a totally different sort of culture. Hence, we approach our own sacred ideas and those of other nations from opposite points of view. What would otherwise be regarded as the puerile superstition of rude nomadic tribes, is magnified into allegory of high spiritual import when connected with our own religion. The ashes of the heifer burnt by Hindoos, how differently is it regarded from a similar custom among Hebrews! If the Song of Solomon were in the Pouranas, how different would be our commentaries upon it! Even human sacrifice, the most painful and revolting feature in the ancient religions, was softened and hallowed to their

minds by the light in which they viewed it. They supposed the victim expiated all his sins by being thus sacrificed, and that he went at once to Paradise; thus they persuaded themselves that they were in reality doing him good, though by a painful process.

Thomas Carlyle thus forcibly sums up all I would say on this subject: "We shall begin to have a chance of understanding Paganism, when we first admit that to its followers it was, at one time, earnestly true. Let us consider it very certain that men did believe in Paganism; men with open eyes, sound senses, men made altogether like ourselves; that we, had we been there, should have believed in it also."

The willingness, and even eagerness, to endure martyrdom, which is so conspicuous in the history of most religions, is of itself sufficient proof that men were in earnest. In all ages, and in all parts of the world, how many have fought, and suffered, and died all manner of dreadful deaths, rather than deny, or desecrate, what to them seemed holy! When the noble old Hebrew Eleazer was advised to save his life by appearing to eat pork, he replied: "It does not become the honour of my gray head to dissemble;" and he stedfastly declared himself "ready to die, rather than mislead others by such hypocrisy." Viewing the subject as we do, it seems a waste of life to die rather than taste of pork; but in his eyes, it was necessary, in order to preserve undegenerate a religion received from heaven, requiring obedience to every item, for the safety and prosperity of his nation. And ought we not to respect equally those devout Hindoos, who have suffered the lingering torture of martyrdom by hunger, rather than taste of beef?

All fragments of truth which we discover out of our own religion, we are prone to call the results of unassisted human reason. But reason, guided by humility and reverence, is *never* unassisted. "*Every* good gift cometh from above." All the religions of the world flowed from the faith and aspiration inherent in man's nature, and which God assuredly has not implanted in mockery of our weak-

ness. They have all emitted gleams of light, reflected from a heavenly source, and adapted to the powers of reception. God is not the Father of one nation only, or the author of one religion only. He has been gradually educating the whole world from the beginning, as a wise earthly father educates his son. That which can be imparted at five years old prepares the way for a greater degree of knowledge at ten. When he is twenty, ideas that helped his culture at ten are far removed from him; yet their effects remain, and form the basis of his manly mind. Truth does not change; but its manifestation to mortals is limited by their capacity of receiving. Dr. Johnson said: "Milton himself cannot teach a boy more than he can learn;" and the same is true of the Infinite Teacher of finite beings. But "the child is father of the man;" and we should not be what we are in the nineteenth century, had not Hindoos, Egyptians, Persians, Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, preceded us in the school of divine ideas. Let us then love and reverence them all, as elder brothers, who had fewer advantages than we have, and who all helped to procure us those advantages.

It will be perceived by these remarks that I differ from those who think God has imparted of his truth only to Jews and Christians. I differ also from those who consider all systems of religion as impostures. On the contrary, I regard the religious sentiment as always and everywhere sacred. In all its forms, I find much that is beautiful and true; in all, I find more or less of the alloy necessarily resulting from our imperfect nature and uncompleted growth.

"I can scorn nothing which a nation's heart
Hath held, for ages, holy: for the heart
Is alike holy in its strength and weakness:
It ought not to be jested with, nor scorned.
All things, to me, are sacred that have been.
And though earth, like a river streaked with blood,
Which tells a long and silent tale of death,
May blush her history, and hide her eyes,
The past is sacred. It is God's; not ours.
Let her and us do better, if we can."

CHRISTIANITY.

"Genuine Christianity, founded on the immoveable foundations of eternal truth, far from having anything to fear from comparison with other systems of religion, or philosophy, can only gain in the esteem of enlightened men by the progress of the philosophic and religious history of the human race."—J. J. BOCHNER.

DAYS OF THE APOSTLES.

AT the outset, Christianity was merely a sect of Jewish reformers; Protestants against the corruptions of the priesthood of their day. The only doctrine to which assent was required was a belief that Jesus was the Messiah long promised by their prophets. This belief they sustained by his miracles, and by circumstances connected with his personal history. The prevailing Jewish doctrine concerning the resurrection of the body, they regarded as satisfactorily proved by his appearance among his disciples after his crucifixion; and they had undoubting faith that he would soon appear again on earth, to establish a holy kingdom, the centre of which would be the earthly Jerusalem.

Jesus had explicitly declared that he came not to do away the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil them. He assigned the lowest place in the Messiah's kingdom to him who should violate even the least of the precepts of Moses. Accordingly, after his death, we find his disciples remaining strict adherents of the Mosaic Law. They went up to the Temple and prayed three times a day, at the customary hours; they observed the Passover, and other festivals; they ate the flesh of no animal which the Law pronounced unclean; and they considered the rite of circumcision essentially binding upon all worshippers of the true God.

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At that period, Jews of all sects believed that the prophecies concerning their Messiah were soon to be fulfilled. When Jesus described the coming of "the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory," he said: "Verily I say unto you *this* generation shall not pass away, till all these things be done." The question: "Lord, wilt thou *at this time* restore the kingdom to Israel?" shows how near at hand his disciples deemed the fulfilment of the prophecy. At his last Passover supper with them, he declared that he should not taste wine again, until he drank it "new in the kingdom of God." After his death, the vacancy occasioned by the treachery of Judas was supplied by the election of a new disciple; it being necessary that there should be twelve, to "sit on thrones, and govern the twelve tribes of Israel," when their kingdom should be restored. There are many plain indications that they were constantly expecting Jesus to appear visibly in the clouds. They taught their proselytes that the destruction of the world was nigh, when the Messiah would come to judge the dead, and begin on earth a glorious reign with his saints. Thus Peter wrote to the converts in Asia: "The end of all things is at hand; be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer." "The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up. Nevertheless, we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent, that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot and blameless."

The term apostles is derived from a Greek word, signifying to send. Those whom Jesus sent abroad to teach were simple, illiterate men, of humble origin, who gained their livelihood by fishing, and other laborious occupations. Among men of that class, a knowledge of writing was very rare at that period of the world, and those who resided in Judea would almost unavoidably be generally ignorant of

foreign languages. But when they, and others who believed on Jesus, assembled together, soon after his death, on the day of Pentecost, it is recorded that "there was a sound from heaven, as of a mighty rushing wind, and cloven tongues, like as of fire appeared and sat upon each of them." Whereupon, they immediately received the gift of speaking all languages; and Greeks, Persians, Egyptians, Arabians, who were present at Jerusalem, were astonished to hear those ignorant Galileans speaking to every man in his own tongue. Peter seized the occasion to urge this miracle as one of the promised precursors of the Messiah's kingdom, and a proof that it was nigh at hand. Jesus had said, during his lifetime, that he had many things to tell them, which they were not qualified to receive; and he had promised to send his Spirit, who would teach them all things. It was believed that this Holy Spirit descended upon them in the form of flaming tongues, and by the supernatural power thus imparted they were thenceforth perfect mediums of divine truth. The number of believers at that time were only one hundred and twenty; but this great miracle drew multitudes round them, and it is stated that three thousand converts were baptized in one day, in consequence of Peter's fervent exhortations. "The number of disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly, and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." The rapid growth of a new sect, so poor and despised, naturally aroused the jealous animosity of old established sects. The wrath thus excited fell principally on Stephen, a preacher "full of faith and power, who did great wonders and miracles among the people." They accused him of speaking "blasphemous words against Moses and against God;" and doubtless it really appeared so to men educated in unquestioning reverence for old laws and traditions. A mob cast him out of Jerusalem, and stoned him to death. With his dying breath, he prayed to the Lord not to lay this sin to their charge. This sublime spirit of forgiveness attracted new proselytes. Persecution waxed hotter and hotter, and

the believers were scattered abroad, many of them into foreign cities.

Soon after this, the number of apostles was increased by the miraculous conversion of Paul, a learned Jew, of the tribe of Benjamin, who had been educated a strict Pharisee. When the heretical sect founded by Jesus began to emerge from obscurity, in consequence of increasing numbers, he was zealous in persecuting its teachers. He was hastening on such a mission, when he was struck blind by a sudden light from heaven, and heard the voice of Jesus remonstrating with him for the course he was pursuing. In consequence of this, he began to preach the new doctrine with extraordinary boldness and power. He encountered innumerable perils, but, like the other apostles, he was sustained through them all, by a strong belief in the immediate coming of Jesus, to establish the Messiah's kingdom. He expresses it thus unequivocally in a letter addressed to his converts: "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God. The dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we who are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air."

The Oriental doctrine that Matter was the source of all evil never formed a part of Jewish theology; hence they do not appear to have held the body in such hatred and contempt, as did the devout of many other ancient nations. Their Sacred Books contain no eulogiums upon virginity; on the contrary, they indicate that a numerous family was always regarded as an honour and a blessing. Their High Priests married; and the only tendency to Oriental ideas on this subject is seen in the requisition that they should live apart from their wives while ministering in the temple, during the holiest seasons. Nothing approaching to asceticism on this subject is discoverable in the teaching of Jesus. His allusions to marriage are slight, but they imply approbation of that institution, and urge its sacredness. He and his mother are also mentioned as present at a wed-

ding, where he miraculously changed water into wine for the guests assembled to celebrate the event. A transition state of feeling on this subject is first indicated in the preaching of Paul, who seems to answer queries that had arisen, among his Gentile converts, whether a state of celibacy were essential to holiness. He leaves the question open; simply remarking that those who remained unmarried, like himself, did better than those who married. Both Matthew and Paul, in their writings, allude to Peter's wife; and, according to traditions of the early Christian Fathers, several of the apostles were married men. They say Peter, in his missionary travels, was accompanied by his wife and a beautiful daughter, named Petronilla; both of whom died martyrs to the Christian religion. Bartholomew, and Philip, are said to have been married; and several daughters of the latter are mentioned. It is also recorded that the apostle Jude had two grandsons.

The biographers of Jesus declare, that just before he ascended into heaven, he promised his disciples that they, and all others who believed on him, should be enabled to work miracles; that they should handle serpents and take poison without injury, heal the sick, cast out devils, and speak languages they never learned; and we find all these miracles recorded of them. They perceived the secret thoughts of men, healed those who were born lame, cast out devils, and restored the dead to life. When some of them were imprisoned, their dungeons were illuminated by angel visitors, who came and let them out by night. They passed the sentinels invisibly, and doors and gates opened of their own accord. When magistrates sent in the morning to bring them to trial, the doors were found locked, and the sentinels at their post, but the prisoners had vanished. When Paul and Barnabas landed on the island of Malta, venomous vipers fastened on their hands, and people expected to see them fall down dead. When they shook off the reptiles and remained unharmed, they believed them to be miracle-workers, and brought sick people to them, who were cured as soon as they laid their

hands upon them and prayed. The idea of Deities in human forms was so familiar to the popular mind, that when the inhabitants of Malta saw these wonderful works, they at once exclaimed that Barnabas was Jupiter, and Paul was Mercury. Priests came to worship them, bringing oxen and garlands; but they forbade it, assuring them that they were merely men. It is recorded that not only the apostles themselves, but their garments also were invested with miraculous power; so that the diseased were immediately healed, and devils departed from them, if a handkerchief was brought to them from Paul. The sick were placed on couches in the street, that they might be cured by the shadow of Peter falling on them as he passed. When Jewish exorcists attempted to expel devils by commanding them to depart in the name of Jesus, the Evil Spirits fell upon them and wounded them, exclaiming: "Jesus we know, and Paul we know; but who are ye?" When the apostles baptized converts, and laid their hands on them, the Holy Spirit was imparted to them by the process, so that they also could speak unknown languages, and perform other miracles.

The first converts to the new doctrine were Jews; some of them Palestine Jews, who spoke the Aramæan or Syro-Chaldean language; others were Western, or Hellenistic Jews, who were scattered through various provinces of the Roman empire, and spoke Greek. The latter class of converts were far more numerous than the former; because the necessity of mingling with foreign nations had already accustomed them to modify their ancient opinions. Nevertheless, in the beginning, Christianity was unavoidably somewhat national and exclusive in its character, being preached by Jews and addressed to Jews. The church at Jerusalem resisted changes much longer than other churches. But even those who became mixed with Gentile converts in Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria, Rome, and other foreign-cities, found it very difficult to disembarrass themselves of the idea that the religion taught by their Messiah was for the house of Israel only; and that if

others wished to embrace it, they must first become Jews. Paul had far less of this feeling than any other of the earliest Christian teachers, having received a superior education, and associated more with foreigners. Yet even he, when he took Timothy with him to preach in regions where many Jews resided, deemed it prudent that he should be circumcised, because it was known that his father was a Greek. At the commencement of Paul's missionary labours, in all the cities he visited, he first attempted to teach in the synagogues, and a large majority of his hearers opposed him violently. Finding his efforts to convert the Jews at Corinth were nearly in vain, he said: "Your blood be upon your own heads. I am clean. Henceforth, I go unto the Gentiles." Afterward, when he went to Ephesus, still attracted toward his own countrymen, he taught three months in the synagogue. "But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them," and thenceforth argued "in the school of one Tyrannus."

It was the pliable nature of Polytheism to part more easily with old predilections. Simple and earnest souls among the Greeks and Romans were repelled by ceremonies of the Mosaic law, and by its intolerance toward foreigners, while they were powerfully attracted by the gentle and sympathising character of Christ, and by the assured hope of rising from the dead, based on his resurrection. Paul, finding a greater number of proselytes among them than among the Jews, made it an especial object to render the religion of Jesus acceptable to the Gentiles. This process necessarily involved the breaking down of many Jewish barriers. Accordingly, he boldly attacked the prejudices of his countrymen, by asking: "Is God the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also. It is one God who shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith." "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Forbidden

articles of food, which had occasioned so much separation between the Jews and other nations, were dismissed from further controversy, with the remark, "to him that esteemeth anything unclean, to him it is unclean." The custom of sacrificing a lamb at the Passover might be safely discontinued; Jesus being the lamb sacrificed once and for all time. Paul said: "He is one who needeth not daily to offer up sacrifice for his own sins, and then for the people's, like those High Priests; for this he did once, when he offered up himself." The strict observance of holy days and seasons among his countrymen was described by Paul as "bondage to the Law." He said: "One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike; let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." "The Law was our schoolmaster, to bring us unto Christ; but now that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster." He taught that the ancient rite of circumcision might be observed or not, according to the dictates of individual conscience. The promulgation of such views excited peculiar animosity against Paul, not only among those of his nation who adhered to all their old opinions, but also among many who believed Jesus was their promised Messiah. Some reviled him as an apostate from the Law; others asserted that he was born of Gentile parents, and had no right to call himself a Jew. Perhaps these charges led him to dwell with so much emphasis on his Jewish birth and his strict education as a Pharisee.

Few of those who had been educated to consider the uncircumcised as dogs, could rise with his great soul to a height that overlooked local and temporary distinctions. The question of circumcision gave rise to so many disputes in the primitive churches, that it was finally agreed to refer it to an assembly of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. There Paul, Barnabas, and Peter, strongly pleaded the miracles God had wrought among the Gentiles, and the impolicy of laying upon them a yoke that was too heavy for them to bear. When those at Jerusalem heard how many proselytes Paul had made, and how the Holy Spirit had been

imparted to them at baptism, whereby they, as well as Jewish converts, had received power to work miracles, they were convinced that God had appointed Paul an apostle of the Gentiles. They, therefore, agreed that foreign converts should merely be required to conform to Jewish customs so far as to refrain from eating blood, or things strangled, from the worship of idols, and from fornication. This last injunction was deemed peculiarly important, because it was a vice that had become connected with religious ceremonies, wherever the worship of Venus, and of other kindred goddesses, prevailed. The decision of this council at Jerusalem, held about seventeen years after the death of Christ, was the first step toward separating Christianity from Judaism, and thus enabling it to emerge from the narrow limitations of a Jewish sect to a new religion for the nations.

This progressive step seems to have been mainly accomplished by the agency of Paul, who from the beginning pursued a singularly independent course. After his miraculous conversion, he did not go to Jerusalem, or seek in any way to obtain information or advice from the Twelve Apostles. In his writings he professes to teach some things by "commandment," others by "permission." In some places, he declares that he does not speak from himself, but utters what "the Lord commands;" with regard to other things, he says, "to the rest speak I, not the Lord." This distinction appears to be founded on consciousness of internal guidance from above, or on some teaching of Christ, either written, or orally preserved, to which he referred as standard authority. When he was persecuting the church, he doubtless heard many accounts of Jesus from Christian prisoners, and being present at the death of Stephen, he could not have been otherwise than impressed by his forgiving spirit and undoubting faith. But he has left us no record how he acquired his knowledge of Christ, except two brief communications by a voice from heaven; once on his way to Damascus, the other while he was praying in the Temple. He says: "I

did not confer with flesh and blood. The gospel preached by me is not after man, nor was I taught it, but by revelation of Christ." He went to Damascus immediately after his conversion, and thence into Arabia. He says: "After three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days; but other of the apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother." On that occasion, it is stated that the brethren in Jerusalem were afraid of him, and "believed not that he was a disciple." They knew that he had been a violent persecutor, and there being little intercourse between Damascus and Jerusalem, they had not heard of his conversion. But Barnabas, who had been a fellow student with him in his youth, and who knew how boldly he had been preaching Jesus, told them what wonders the Lord had done for him. Fourteen years afterward, when Paul went up to Jerusalem, to the council above mentioned, he does not speak of the leading apostles as if he were much acquainted with them. He says: "When James, Peter, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave unto me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that *we* should go unto the Gentiles, and *they* unto the circumcision."

Some time afterward, Barnabas wished to take his nephew Mark with them, as their minister, when they visited the churches they had planted in various cities; but Paul objected, because on a previous occasion Mark had left them, and had returned to Jerusalem, and "went not with them to the work." On this subject, the contention between Paul and Barnabas "was so sharp, that they departed asunder one from the other," and it does not appear that they ever met again.

The atmosphere of Jerusalem was not free enough for such a man as Paul. When he went thither in time of famine, with donations for his Christian brethren, from various churches he had established in foreign lands, he found James, and the other elders, rejoiced to hear how God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry;

but they added: "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are that believe; and they are all zealous for the Law. And they are informed of thee that thou teachest all the Jews, which are among the Gentiles, to forsake Moses; saying they ought not to circumcise their children." Before the people assembled together to hear Paul preach, they advised him to mollify their prejudices by purifying himself at the Temple, according to the Mosaic ritual, and by paying for four men, who wished to shave their heads in fulfilment of a vow; and Paul did as they advised. But when the Jews saw him, they began to excite fury against him, saying he taught contrary to the Law of Moses, and profaned the Temple by bringing Greeks into it. Paul delivered an address to the multitude, in which he told them the particulars of his miraculous conversion, and excused himself for preaching to foreigners by an account of a trance, which fell upon him while he was praying in the Temple, during which he saw a vision of Jesus, who said to him: "Get thee quickly out of Jerusalem, for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me. Depart; for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." The people listened till he came to that word; then they cried out: "Away with such a fellow from the earth! for it is not fit that he should live." Such was the uproar, that Paul escaped scourging only by appealing to the protection of Roman law.

It required a special vision from heaven to prepare the way for Peter to visit a Roman centurion, though he was "a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, and gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God always, and was of good report among all the nation of the Jews." Enlightened by a vision, and summoned by an angel, Peter went to him, saying: "Ye know that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come unto one of another nation; but God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean." After his scruples concerning unlawful food were thus done away by direct teaching from heaven, he

went to preach in the Syrian city of Antioch, where he associated freely with Gentiles and ate with them. But when some strict Jewish Christians arrived from Palestine, he "feared them which were of the circumcision," and withdrew from the Gentile converts. "Other Jews, who were with him, dissembled also." This excited the indignation of Paul, who says he "withstood him to the face before them all, because he was to be blamed."

But, notwithstanding these occasional differences, the early followers of Jesus were very closely bound together, not only by love and reverence for his memory, and by the dangers and sufferings they shared together, but also by the strong belief that they were chosen and set apart from the world, and that the hour of their deliverance was at hand. Sure of being sharers of his kingdom on the renovated earth, the world that was passing away under their eyes, and so soon to be destroyed, took small hold on their affections. They preached a Gospel of love and equality, and practised it also. While Paul was pursuing his missionary labours with so much energy and zeal, he made tents for a living, that he might not be an expense to others. There was community of property among them, and they called each other by the simple and endearing name of brethren. "The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul: neither said any of them that aught of the things he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. As many as were possessors of lands or houses, sold them, and brought the price of things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need." Their resemblance to the Essenes in this, and in many other particulars, was so observable, that for a long time Philo's description of the Essenes was supposed to be an account of a Christian association. With the apostles, however, community of goods seems to have been resorted to merely as a temporary convenience, while so many of their members felt it a duty to travel and preach, and worldly occupations were of necessity fre-

quently suspended. The custom ceased during their lifetime, and in lieu thereof feasts were substituted, called *Agape*, from a Greek word meaning Love: in this application intended to express Christian affection, or charity. On certain days, they all met at a Feast of Charity, where the rich furnished provisions, and the poor were abundantly supplied. After the guests had eaten sufficiently, pieces of bread were passed round, and a cup of wine, in memory of the last Passover supper the disciples had partaken with Jesus. They then parted from each other with a kiss.

The early Christians, like the Essenes, inculcated passive obedience to the existing government. They simply endeavoured to infuse the spirit of their religion, as far as possible, into the civil institutions which they found already established. They exhorted masters to give unto their servants that which was "just and equal;" and they instructed servants to obey their masters "with all fear; not only the good and the gentle, but also the froward;" adding that those who suffered wrongfully with patience were acceptable with God. Within the Christian community itself there was practical equality. All were "the Lord's freemen," and all were servants of a "Master in heaven." Onesimus, a slave, who had left the service of a Christian, named Philemon, was afterward converted by the preaching of Paul. Whereupon, Paul sent him with a letter to his master, saying: "Dearly beloved, and fellow labourer, receive him not now as a servant, but as a brother beloved. Receive him as myself." Apparently the injunction was obeyed; for Onesimus was afterward employed as a missionary, and Ignatius alludes to him "as the good bishop of the church at Ephesus."

Women were among the most devoted friends of Christ, by whom they were always treated with respect and sympathy. The apostles also frequently make honourable mention of them; but old Asiatic habits of thought are strongly impressed upon their teachings on this subject. It being the universal custom for women in Asia to wear veils, on

account of their enslaved condition, and the predominance of sensual ideas, Paul speaks of it as shameful for a woman to pray, or prophesy, in Christian meetings, without being veiled. He says: "Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head. A man indeed ought not to cover his head, for as much as he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man." "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience; as also saith the Law. If they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church."

In those primitive times, the ceremonies of worship were extremely simple. They met at each other's dwellings as frequently as possible, to pray, sing hymns, and repeat the sayings of Jesus. According to Jewish custom, they observed the Sabbath on Saturday; but they met together on the next day, to pray and sing, in joyful commemoration of the resurrection of Christ. They observed the Jewish festivals of the Passover and Pentecost, both of which were associated with the memory of Christ; one being the anniversary of his farewell Supper, the other commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit, in the form of flaming tongues. The Lord's Supper was a social meal, like the Jewish Passover; and like that, it was accompanied with the breaking of bread, and passing round a goblet of wine. The forty-sixth verse of the second chapter of Acts implies that this ceremony was observed every day by the first Christian church at Jerusalem. That it was preceded by a social meal at Corinth is evident from the writings of Paul, who thus rebukes the disorderly proceedings of the Christian church in that city: "Every one taketh his own supper before another; and one is hungry and another is drunken. This is not to eat the Lord's Supper. What! have ye not houses to eat and drink in? Or despise ye the church of God, and shame them that have not? My brethren, when ye

come together to eat, tarry one for another. And if any man hunger, let him eat at home; that ye come not together unto condemnation. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death, till he come. Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord."

The government of the church at that period was as simple as their other habits. "Seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom," were appointed to distribute funds impartially among the widows and orphans. These were called deacons, from a Greek word signifying to serve, to minister. Women were appointed to the same office. It is likely that such portions of the business were assigned to them as were deemed improper, or imprudent, to entrust to the deacons. Paul gave directions that a woman elected as deaconess must be a widow, having been the wife of but one man, and not under sixty years old; "well reported of for good works; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work." As the number of Christians increased, and they seceded entirely from the Jewish synagogues, it became necessary, for the preservation of order, to appoint elders or presbyters, men whose characters entitled them to reverence. How much such restraining influences were needed to guide and check young, ignorant, or enthusiastic converts, coming into the Christian church from all nations, and previously influenced by a great variety of customs and opinions, may be inferred from the expressions in Paul's letter to the church of Corinth: "How is it then, brethren? When ye come together, every one of you hath a Psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all prophesy, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted." It was very early the custom to appoint a Presiding Elder, or

Pastor, to whom the other presbyters could look for guidance, when questions arose concerning doctrines, or the regulation of church affairs. According to the testimony of the Fathers, the apostles appointed several such superintendents to take charge of the churches they had established. These spiritual directors were selected on account of their superior wisdom and piety, and were treated with deference on account of their years and character, though they claimed no preëminence in rank. The manner in which Paul defends himself, and expostulates with his brethren in Christian churches, shows that even his apostolic authority was far from being received with unquestioning submission.

That a class of people so unostentatious, so exemplary in their morals, and so benevolent to the poor, should be objects of hatred and persecution, seems surprising at the first glance; especially as they never interfered with civil or military affairs, and inculcated passive obedience to the government, in all matters not appertaining to religious faith. But if we try to look at the subject from the same point of view that the Jews must necessarily have done, we shall see that they could not do otherwise than regard with conscientious abhorrence men who ate and drank with foreigners, and thereby incurred the risk of touching something that had been connected with idolatry. Moreover, such a Messiah as the Christians said had come destroyed all their long-cherished hopes of conquest and universal dominion; and if the opinions of this originally obscure sect should come to prevail extensively among their countrymen, it would greatly tend to abate their zeal for resisting the Roman yoke. Although the followers of Christ increased with far less rapidity in Palestine, than they did in the Gentile world, still they were sufficiently numerous and bold to be very annoying to those who relied upon the old order of things. When Jews met in the synagogues, they were accustomed to repeat the following anathema in their prayers: "Send thy curse, O God, upon the Nazarenes." The following prayer was

added, by the Rabbi Gamaliel, to the eighteen prayers of Ezra: "Let there be no hope to them who apostatize from the true religion; and let heretics, how many soever there be, all perish as in a moment. And let the kingdom of pride [Rome] be speedily rooted out, and broken in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud." They sent emissaries from Jerusalem to synagogues in all parts of the world, warning them against an impious sect, despisers of the Law, who had lately risen up under one Jesus, a Galilean impostor. Their annoyance was increased by the fact that the Romans, who for a long time paid very little attention to the subject, confounded the Christians with the Jews, and whatever they disliked in one they attributed to the other. How much this was the case is indicated by the Roman historian, Suetonius, who says of the emperor Claudius: "He banished the Jews from Rome, who were continually making disturbances, at the instigation of one Christus." [Christ.] Under such circumstances, Jews were naturally predisposed to believe all rumours to the disadvantage of Christians, and prompt to bring accusations before the Roman magistrates, who readily listened to them, supposing them to be better qualified than foreigners could be to judge of disputed questions concerning their own doctrines. It was always the Roman policy to protect the worship of nations conquered by them. With the characteristic pliancy of polytheism, they had been very willing to acknowledge Jehovah as one of the national deities of the earth. But with them religion was a very important part in the machinery of state; and they considered it the duty of citizens everywhere to conform to the worship established in the nation to which they belonged: therefore, they had less respect for Christian teachers than they had for Jewish Rabbins; though they regarded both as different manifestations of the same strange superstition. Jews in general did not seek to proselyte. They considered the requirements of their Law, as well as its advantages and

rewards, intended for themselves only. Christians, on the contrary, had an unprecedented zeal for proselyting. They thus interfered not merely with old prejudices and sincere reverence for time-honoured institutions, but they assailed the worldly interests of various classes of men; from priests to the makers of images and shrines, and the vendors of cattle for sacrifice. All the nations, from time immemorial, had been accustomed to regard temples, statues, oracles, a consecrated priesthood, and sacrifices to the gods, as essential to religion; and as the followers of the lowly Jesus had none of these things, they regarded them as atheists. This prejudice was increased by the fact that Jews always spoke of the leader of the Nazarenes as a criminal condemned and executed by the laws of his country. Crucifixion was deemed by the Romans so peculiarly ignominious, that they never allowed any of their own citizens, not even the meanest and the worst, to be put to death in that manner. With minds thus pre-occupied, no wonder they accused Christians of worshipping "a dead malefactor," instead of the Immortal Spirits, which they were accustomed to adore.

The first Roman persecution under which they suffered was of short duration, and seems to have been a freak of imperial tyranny, directed toward them on account of their general unpopularity. Tacitus, the historian, describes the conflagration which destroyed a great portion of Rome, sixty-four years after the birth of Christ, and adds: "To suppress the common rumour that he had himself set fire to the city, Nero procured others to be accused, and inflicted exquisite punishments upon those people who were held in abhorrence for their crimes, commonly known by the name of Christians. They were thus called from Christus, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death as a criminal, by the Procurator Pontius Pilate. This superstition, though checked for awhile, broke out again, and spread not only over Judea, the source of this evil, but reached the city [Rome] also, whither flow from all quarters all things vile and shameful, and where they find shelter and

encouragement. At first, those only were apprehended who confessed themselves of that sect; but they afterward disclosed the existence of a vast multitude, all of whom were condemned; not so much for the crime of burning the city, as by the enmity of mankind toward them. These executions were so contrived as to expose them to derision and contempt. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs; some were crucified; others, having been daubed over with combustible materials, were set up as lights in the night time." This terrible scene was in the gardens of Nero's palace, and while innocent human beings were consumed with slow agonies, horses were racing through the grounds, for the amusement of the populace, and the insane emperor guided his chariot among them, by that horrid light.

It has been suggested that attention might have been attracted toward the Christians at the time of the great conflagration, in consequence of their frequent descriptions of the destruction of the world by fire, and the establishment of a new kingdom upon earth. It is true these descriptions were as old as the Hindoos and Egyptians, that they figured largely in the writings of Zoroaster, and were mixed with the teaching of Stoic philosophers. But in the minds of Jews and Christians these ideas were inseparably connected with the kingdom of their Messiah; and as one class was very impatient under Roman dominion, and both detested Roman idolatry, their descriptions of the millenium were often mixed with glowing images of the burning of a proud and mighty city, with its palaces, temples, and images. Even as early as the time of Nero, it is not impossible that something of the kind, misunderstood and exaggerated, afforded a plausible pretext for the imperial cruelty.

Fortunately, the fierce persecution under Nero did not spread far beyond the city of Rome, though the magistrates were astonished to find the despised sect so numerous. A more extensive persecution prevailed in the time of Domitian, ninety-three years after the birth of Christ. The em-

peror's own cousin, Flavius Clemens, a quiet and gentle character, was put to death, on the charge of practices at variance with the established religion of the empire; and his wife, Domitilla, was exiled for the same offence. No wonder Domitian's anger was excited when the unpopular doctrines thus approached the threshold of his own palace. Many Christians were banished, or put to death, during this persecution, especially in Asia Minor. There is a tradition generally believed, but doubted by some learned men, that the title of King, frequently bestowed upon Jesus by the Christians, excited the jealousy of Domitian, and that he caused search to be made for his surviving relatives, in the line of David. At that time, the sceptre had long "departed from Judah," and been successively in the hands of other families. The old royal line was languishing in forgotten obscurity, and the Roman government certainly seemed to have nothing to fear from that quarter. According to traditions of the Christian Fathers, two grandsons of the apostle Jude were discovered and brought before the tribunals. They confessed that they were descendants of David, but in very humble circumstances; having only a small farm, which they cultivated with their own hands. Being asked concerning the Messiah, they replied that his kingdom was not of this earth; that he would reign in heaven until the time appointed for the destruction of the world, and then he would appear in glory, to judge both the living and the dead. The emperor, perceiving their simplicity, dismissed them as harmless.

The Christian Scriptures do not inform us concerning the death of any of the apostles, except James the Greater. The only other sources of information are the writings of Josephus, and traditions handed down by the Christian Fathers. The earliest of these writings allude only to James the Greater, and James the Less, to Peter and Paul, as martyrs. But as time passed on, and the founders of Christianity acquired more importance in the world, stories multiplied concerning their missionary travels in distant regions of the earth, and their perils by fire and sword;

insomuch, that John alone escaped martyrdom, and he by aid of a miracle. Whether many of the chosen Twelve did in reality ever leave Jerusalem cannot be ascertained. But certain it is, that the sufferings of those actively engaged in propagating Christianity could not be easily exaggerated. Nothing could be more affecting than the sad simplicity of Paul's statement: "I think God has set forth us the apostles as it were appointed unto death. Even unto this present hour, we hunger and thirst, and are naked and buffeted, and have no certain dwelling place, and labour, working with our own hands. Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it. We are made as the filth of the earth, and the offscouring of all things. Of the Jews, five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep. In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren. In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."

As Paul's own writings form a prominent portion of the Christian Scriptures, and as his adventures are also recorded by his friend and companion, Luke, more is known of his labours, than of any others among the first teachers of Christianity. Little is said concerning most of the Twelve, on whom the Holy Spirit descended at Pentecost. It is incidentally stated that after the death of Stephen, the church at Jerusalem were scattered abroad, "except the apostles;" and the Christian Scriptures are thenceforth silent concerning nearly all of them. Peter, who was often associated with Paul, is the only one of them who makes a prominent figure in the subsequent pages. The first council, held at Jerusalem, ordained that Paul should go as a missionary among the Gentiles, and Peter among the Jews. Large numbers of their countrymen remained in Persia, when a remnant of two tribes returned

to Judea with Ezra, and it seems likely that Peter went thither, to convert them to Christianity; for the last information the Scriptures give concerning him is contained in a letter written by himself, apparently from Babylon, and addressed to various churches in Asia. Traditions concerning him abound. Eusebius, the earliest Christian historian, relates that Peter's wife was put to death during a period of persecution, and was consoled and encouraged by her husband during her last moments. There was also a tradition which passed into general belief, that he was in Rome during the time of Nero's persecution, and that some of the Christian converts persuaded him to leave the city till the storm was over. When he had gone about two miles on the Appian Way, he met Jesus travelling toward Rome. Struck with astonishment, he exclaimed: "Lord, whither goest thou?" Jesus looked upon him with gentle sadness, and replied: "I go to Rome to be crucified a second time," and immediately vanished. Peter considered this a sign that he was doing wrong to avoid danger. He accordingly returned, and persisted in preaching and baptizing. It is related, on the same traditional authority, that both he and Paul were arrested during the last year of Nero's reign, and thrown into the Mamartine dungeons under the Capitol. There they still continued to preach, and many prisoners were converted by them; as were also two centurions appointed to guard them. There being no water to baptize them, Peter prayed, and a fountain gushed up through the stone floor. When condemned to be crucified, he chose to be suspended with his head downward, saying he was not worthy to die in the same position as his Lord. As Peter was a married man in the life time of Jesus, he must of course have been aged, if living, at the time of the conflagration of Rome.

It is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles that Paul was at Rome two years, during which "he dwelt in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him." That he was

executed during a subsequent visit to that city is highly probable; for he wrote to Timothy, while a prisoner there, stating that he was awaiting a second trial, but expressing no hopes of release. His situation must have been extremely critical at that time, for he declares: "No man stood with me, but all men forsook me. I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge. I am ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth, there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but also to all them that love his appearing." There is a tradition that Paul, in the presence of Nero, healed a sick child, cast out devils from a woman who was diseased, and restored sight to a blind man. But the emperor was not convinced by these miracles. It is also said that his head made three bounds when it was cut off, and wherever it touched the ground a fountain sprang forth.

All traditions concerning the apostle John are in keeping with the gentle, affectionate disposition ascribed to him in Scripture. Though he fled, with the other timid disciples, in the hour of extreme peril, he soon returned to Jesus in the Judgment Hall, and remained with him through all the painful and insulting scenes of his trial and condemnation. He is the only disciple mentioned as present at the crucifixion, and he afterward received the mother of Jesus to his own home. He and Peter were arrested and imprisoned for preaching to the people, and when they were rebuked by the High Priest and Elders, they answered boldly: "Whether it be right to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." John afterward travelled into Asia Minor, and established churches at Smyrna, Pergamus, Laodicea, and various other places; but he resided principally at Ephesus. There is a tradition that once, as he was approaching that city, he met a funeral procession and inquired whose it was. They told him it was Drusiana, a charitable and religious woman, at whose house he

had often dwelt. He requested them to set down the bier, and when he stretched his hands over it, and prayed earnestly that God would restore her life, she rose up, and he returned home with her. Clement of Alexandria relates that when John was about to leave the city for some time, he entrusted a young convert to the especial care of the Presiding Elder, saying: "Be to him a father; for, at my return, I shall require his soul at thy hands." But the young man was led into evil courses, and went from one excess to another, till he became the leader of a band of robbers in the adjacent mountains. When the apostle returned to Ephesus, he inquired of the Elder concerning "the precious deposit" he had left in his hands. With downcast eyes, he explained what had happened. Whereupon, John wept aloud, and said: "Alas, alas, to what a guardian have I trusted our brother!" He immediately rode to the mountains, and asked the robbers to bring him to their captain. As soon as the young man beheld his old instructor, he covered his face and would have fled. But John exclaimed: "Why dost thou fly from me, my son? from me, an old, unarmed man? I will pray for thee. If need be, I will die for thee." The robber burst into tears, and implored forgiveness. His right hand, which had been so criminally employed, he tried to conceal beneath the drapery of his robe. But John seized it, and kissed it, and bathed it with his tears; nor did he cease from his affectionate exhortations, mingled with earnest prayers, till the erring soul turned from its evil ways, and had hopes of reconciliation with God.

There is a tradition of the Fathers that the emperor Domitian caused John to be arrested on the charge of magic, and that he was plunged into a cauldron of boiling oil, from which he emerged as fresh and vigorous as if it had been a pleasant bath. Afterward, the same emperor banished him to the island of Patmos, where he is supposed to have written the book called Apocalypse, or Revelations. During the mild reign of Nerva, he was permitted to return to Ephesus, where he lived to be nearly a

hundred years old. When he was very aged, his friends used to lead him to church. Being too feeble to preach, he gave them the brief exhortation: "Little children, love one another." When asked why he always repeated the same thing, he answered: "Because that injunction comprises the whole duty of man to man." There was a floating tradition, believed by many, that John did not die, but was taken up into Paradise. According to another tradition, the good old apostle died without pain or change, and immediately rose again in bodily form, and ascended up into heaven to rejoin Christ. It is impossible to separate the true from the imaginary in these traditions; but concurrent testimony, from various quarters, proves that John lived to be a very aged man. He had a disciple, called John the Presbyter, to whom it is supposed that some things ought to be attributed, which are generally ascribed to the apostle John.

James the Greater, brother of John, was the first martyr among the apostles. He is supposed to have remained most of his time at Jerusalem, where he was put to death by the sword, about thirteen years after the crucifixion of Jesus. Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, was king at that time, and being desirous to establish a reputation for strict Judaism, he was severe against those brought before his tribunal charged with heresy.

The other James was called the Younger, or the Less. He is supposed to have been the first Presiding Elder of the church of Jerusalem, and some asserted that he was appointed by Christ himself. The degree of his relationship to Jesus has been a subject of controversy. Paul calls him "the Lord's brother," and Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian, gives him the same appellation. His integrity and holiness of character, during an administration of thirty years, obtained for him the surname of the Just. According to a statement found in the works of Josephus, his zealous preaching rendered him an object of animosity to the Jews, especially to the High Priest Ananus. When he stood on a terrace of the temple, addressing the

multitude assembled at the Passover, a tumult arose, he was hurled down, and one of the infuriated mob below dashed out his brains with a club.

A volume might be filled with the traditional stories, which gradually clustered round the memory of the apostles and their companions. Most of them were garlands woven by imagination, for love and faith; and from that point of view they are sacred. The marvellous abounds in them. It was believed that Thomas went to India, where he became acquainted with the Three Wise Men from the East and baptized them; and that he suffered martyrdom there, being transfixed with spears by the enraged Bramins. Matthew was supposed to have remained several years in Judea, preaching to his countrymen. He afterward travelled into Ethiopia, where he raised the king's son from the dead, and cured his daughter of leprosy. He also is said to have been put to death, by sword or spear.

The same tendency to the marvellous is observable among all nations, at that period. Among many extraordinary statements of that character, is the following, by Tacitus, the Roman historian, concerning Vespasian, who became emperor seventy years after the birth of Christ: "While Vespasian was in Alexandria, waiting for favourable weather, many miracles happened, manifesting that he was the favourite of Celestial Powers. A well known blind man, one of the lowest of the people, fell at his feet, beseeching him to touch his eyes with spittle and restore his sight; saying he was directed to do so by the oracle of Serapis. Another, who had a diseased hand, came in obedience to the same oracle, and intreated Vespasian to place his foot upon the hand. The emperor at first spurned these petitioners, and laughed at their requests. But they persisted in earnest supplications, and some of his courtiers sought to flatter him with the idea that he was the chosen of heaven, and could perform whatsoever he would. Vespasian, fearing to excite prejudice against himself by an appearance of presumption and vanity, still

hesitated. He summoned physicians and inquired whether such blindness and infirmity could be cured by human means. They replied that the power of sight was not destroyed, and might possibly be restored, if the external obstructions to the eye could be removed. That the hand had fallen into a diseased vicious condition, but could be cured, if the right healing power were applied. They said perhaps it was the pleasure of the gods that the emperor should perform that office. They reminded him that the glory of a cure would be his; but the ridicule of a failure would fall on the supplicants themselves. Vespasian, thus urged, and persuaded in his own mind that everything was possible to his good fortune, with a cheerful countenance did as he had been requested, while a multitude eagerly watched the result. Immediately the hand was restored to use, and the blind man saw daylight shine again. Persons who were present recount each of those miracles, even unto this day, when there is no longer any hope of reward for speaking falsely."

PROMINENT CHARACTERS COTEMPORARY WITH THE APOSTLES.

In order to understand more distinctly the influences which surrounded Christianity, when it first began to spread among the nations, it may be useful to glance at some individuals, cotemporary with the apostles, or nearly so, who attracted attention, and had influence on the opinions of men.

PHILO.—Philo Judæus was a remarkable man, born in Alexandria, about forty-one years before Christ. He belonged to an illustrious Jewish family, and was able to avail himself of the best opportunities for education in that city of inquisitive intellect. He was endowed with great learning, and apparently with genius also. Of course, he became intimately acquainted with Greek philosophy, which at that time formed a prominent part of education.

The mystical tendencies of his own character particularly attracted him toward the writings of Plato, while religious reverence, and all the associations of childhood bound him to the faith of his fathers. When Grecians outgrew their mythology, the best minds among them tried to harmonize habitual veneration for ancient writings and institutions with increasing intelligence and a higher standard of morality, by resorting to a system of allegorical interpretation. As the intellectual stature of the Jews increased, by acquaintance with the literature and philosophy of other nations, they resorted to the same process. It has been already remarked, in the chapter on the Jews, that Aristobulus found the doctrines of Plato in the writings of Moses, by means of allegorical interpretation. More than a hundred years afterward, Philo adopted the same system, and carried it out more fully. How much he enlarged Hebrew boundaries by this method may be inferred from a few examples. He says: "If Moses made only one tent for the worship of Jehovah, it was to typify that the whole world is only one Temple of the Supreme." He supposes that the three men who appeared to Abraham, and dined on a calf with him, were three angels, in the literal sense; but in the hidden allegorical sense, they represented "God accompanied by his two Powers; one was the Power that created the world, the other was the Power which guides and governs it." In the same way, he finds spiritual significance in the description which Moses gives of the High Priest. He says: "This High Priest does not mean a man, but the Word of God, [The Logos] free from all sin, voluntary or involuntary. When Moses commands him not to defile himself, on account of his father or his mother, I think that he must have parents incorruptible and holy; his father God, who is also Father of all, and his mother Sophia [Wisdom] by which everything was produced." He also considered the Logos, or Word of God, represented by the breast-plate of the High Priest, by the aid of which he prophesied. He says: "It was necessary that he who officiated as priest to the

Father of the world, should have his most perfect Son as an advocate."

He said God clothed the spirit of the Hebrew Sacred Books in an outward covering, in order to accommodate himself to the weak intelligence of his people; but he plainly implies that in some cases the literal sense was shocking to his own mind. He taught that a divine science, received by intuition, was necessary to penetrate the hidden meaning; and this was possessed only by the initiated. He who elevated his soul above the material world, by the practice of virtue, and the contemplation of spiritual things, was enabled to pierce through the outward letter to the interior idea. What seemed to the common reader a mere historical fact, a traditionary custom, a metaphor, a word, even a single letter, or a number, might enclose the most profound truth, which he alone could unlock, who had the key of true science. He says: "He who knows God only through his creation, knows Him merely by his shadow. But the pure and perfect spirit, initiated into the great mysteries, is not reduced to the necessity of learning the cause from the effects. He is raised above that which is created, and receives revelation from The Eternal; so that he knows Him in himself, in the Logos, [Word] and in his shadow, the world."

Philo is eloquent in his praises of the intuitive science, and in his cautions to guard it against all but the divinely illuminated ones. He gives some profoundly allegorical interpretations of texts in the Hebrew Scriptures, concerning women and children, and adds: "O ye initiated, ye whose ears are purified, receive this into your soul, as mysteries that never ought to escape from it. Never reveal it to any of the profane. Hide it within yourselves, as a treasure not corruptible, like silver or gold, but more precious than all other things, since it is the science of the Great Cause, of Virtue, and of that which is born of both."

He taught the existence of One Invisible God, ineffable and incomprehensible; Creator of the *spiritual types* of all things; from whom all Intelligences proceeded; diffused

throughout the universe, and active in all its parts; never cognizable to the sense of man; and known to mortals only through the medium of his Logos, by whom he created the outward world of *visible forms*. This Father of all Spirits dwelt in a region of supernal light, the spiritual archetype of all other light, which Philo describes as "that super-celestial star, the source of the visible stars, which may be called the universal splendour, from which the sun, moon, and stars, fixed and wandering, derive their respective splendours."

Philo agreed with the Cabalists in believing there was a Mother of the Universe, whom he calls Sophia, a Greek word meaning Wisdom. By union with the Supreme, but not after the manner of men, she conceived and gave birth to the Ideas, or Types, according to which the Logos formed the world. He says: "The Father of all things wished his most ancient Son to arise, whom he declared his First-born, and who, imitating his Father's ways, and looking to his archetypical patterns, clothed them in visible forms." "The Intelligible World [by which he means the World of Divine Types] is nothing else but the Word of God preparing himself to create the visible world; even as an intelligible city is nothing else but the reasoning of the architect, who designs to build a city according to a plan that he has formed of it in his own mind."

He calls the Logos "The Son of God;" "The Express Image of God;" "The Oldest of Intelligences, between whom and the Supreme there is no medium." He believed the Logos was always with Jehovah, and of course was always invisibly present in the inmost sanctuary of the Temple at Jerusalem. If he does not intend to represent him as a *person*, rather than an *attribute* of the Divine Mind, he at least uses language which distinctly conveys that idea. He says: "The Lord is called God of gods, not with relation to created Intelligences, whether seraphs, angels, or human beings; but in relation to his Two substantial Powers; which are not simple attributes, but eternal, uncreated, infinite principles of action, represented

by the two wings of the cherubim, that covered the tabernacle." He also says: "I have heard a doctrine from my soul, which is accustomed to be divinely inspired, and to utter oracles concerning things of which itself is ignorant. My soul said to me, With the One God, who possesses true being, are two highest and principal Powers: Goodness and Authority. By Goodness all things are made; by Authority all things are governed. In the midst is The Logos, which connects both, by which God both rules and is good." Again he says: "In the midst is The Father, he whom the Scriptures call I Am. On one side of Him is the Word, which created all things; on the other is the Providence, which governs all things." "God, between these two Powers, presents to an enlightened soul sometimes one image only, sometimes three. The soul, when purified by contemplation, raises itself above all numbers, and advances to that pure and simple idea, which is One, and independent of all others. The soul, not yet initiated into the mysteries of the first order, stops at the smaller; not being capable of comprehending Him, who is considered in himself, without any foreign aid, she conceives of Three of them, and seeks God in his several relations of Creator and King."

He maintained that no creature in existence resembled the Supreme Father. Human souls were created in the image of the Logos. As First and Chief of all Intelligences, he calls the Logos an archangel, and supposes him to possess all the attributes of God, and exercise all the power of God. As the Type of all Souls, he is called The Model Man, or the Primitive Man. Being, in this latter capacity, a representative of the human race, he is their protector, and the Mediator between them and the Father. He contends with the Spirits of Darkness; he radiates heavenly light into souls that turn towards him; and he prays for them to the Father of the Universe. The Logos is often represented as taking the form of an angel, for some temporary purpose. He thus appeared to Abraham, and gave the Law to Moses. Speaking of Ha-

gar, Philo says: "She was met by an angel, which was the Logos of God, advising her to return to her mistress." In allusion to the migrations of Abraham, he says: "He who follows God must of necessity make use of the attending Logoi [plural of Logos] commonly called Angels." The idea often re-appears in his writings that the Logos could assume temporary personality, and then return to the Divine Being again.

He considered the stars as intelligent beings, who "never did evil, and were incapable of doing it;" by which he intended to discountenance the sayings of astrologers concerning malignant conjunctions of the stars, producing diseases, and other disasters on earth. He says: "Those whom other philosophers call demons, Moses usually calls angels; but they are Spirits flying through the air. The whole world, in all its parts, must be animated by spiritual beings. Earth, air, fire, and water, have theirs; and so have the stars of heaven. These Spirits are wholly immortal and divine. The air is filled with living creatures, as invisible to us as the air itself. Some of these souls descend into bodies. Others disdain to be connected with the earth, and are employed by the Creator as agents and servants in administering the affairs of mortals. Those who descend into bodies are overwhelmed as in a whirlpool; but some of them, by struggling, emerge and fly back to their home in upper regions, [after death.] These are souls who, while in the body, were taught a sublime philosophy. Those who sink, are souls of men who neglect the wisdom that pertains to the mind, and give themselves to carnal things. By considering that angels, demons, and souls, are different names for the same beings, you will clear away much superstition from the subject."

In another place he says: "The ethereal regions are like a populous city, filled with immortal Spirits, as numerous as stars in the firmament. Those nearest to the earth, and attracted by its pleasures, descend into mortal forms. Some cherish their bodies, others seek to subdue them, that they may rise higher in the world to come. However,

some of these last are again drawn down upon the earth by terrestrial desires. Others, disgusted with its vanities, fly from the body, as from a sepulchre, and with light wings rush toward the ethereal regions, where they pass their existence. The purest and best, despising all that the world can offer, and guided by the holiest thoughts, become ministers of the Supreme God, the eyes and ears of the Great King, seeing all, and hearing all. These divine messengers transmit to the children the orders of the Father, and to the Father the prayers of his children. They descend to earth, and re-ascend to heaven. Not that He who knows all things has need of their reports, but because it is good for mortals to have mediators and interpreters, in order that they may reverence the more the Supreme Arbiter of their destinies."

He supposed that some Angels were attracted toward the earth by love for mortal women, and became the fathers of giants. He drew this inference from the Septuagint version of the Scriptures, which declared that "the angels of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair."

He represents man as a threefold being, having a rational soul, an animal soul, and a body. The first is from the Supreme One, and is therefore capable of rising to contemplation of him, and a reception of his celestial light. The irrational soul is the seat of the passions, and comes from inferior Spirits, who are the protectors of men, but who are not capable of producing anything more perfect. The irrational soul, and the body formed of earth, are both offensive to God; and the rational soul is bound within them, like a captive in prison. Moreover, man made his condition far worse than it was in his original state; having made a deplorable fall, through voluptuousness, and thus immersed his soul more deeply in the thralldom of Matter. God allows evil to exist, that man may have freedom to choose. Man can rise from his degraded state, by contending against evil, and by following the guidance of Sophia, and the angels, whom God sends to his assistance. Souls who diligently purify themselves, by all the

aids thus given, will rise toward superior regions, and finally obtain perfect felicity. Those who persevere in evil must be condemned to pass from one body to another, filled with evil passions.

This idea of imprisonment in the body, and the consequent longing to release the spirit from its thralldom, produced the same effect on Philo that it had done ages before on the devotees of India. He strove to shut out the world, and devote himself entirely to meditation on divine things. He says: "Often I left kindred, friends, and country, and retired into the wilderness, that I might raise my thoughts to worthy contemplations; but I accomplished nothing so. My thoughts either scattered abroad, or, wounded by some impure impression, fell into the opposite current. But sometimes I find myself alone with my soul in the midst of thousands, when God dispels the tumult from my breast. And so He teaches me that it is not change of place that brings evil, or good; but all depends on that God who steers the ship of the soul in the direction he pleases."

The Oral Traditions of the Jews, both those which formed the Talmud, and others known under the name of the Cabala, were said to have been secretly handed down from Abraham and Moses, through successive series of wise men. Philo also taught some ideas to the initiated, which they were exhorted to guard carefully. But the Written Law was proclaimed to all the people, and from the time of Ezra, at least, was constantly repeated and explained to the public. Philo exults in this point of superiority over the populace of other nations, and compares it with the exclusive system observed by Greeks and Egyptians in their Sacred Mysteries. He says: "That which is the portion only of a few disciples of a truly genuine philosophy, the knowledge of the Highest, has become the inheritance of the whole Jewish people, by law and custom." He calls the Jews priests and prophets for all mankind. He says: "All mysteries, all parade, and trickery of that sort, Moses removed from the holy giving of the Law; for he did not wish those who were trained under such a form

of religious policy to be exposed, by having their minds dazzled with mysterious things, to neglect the truth, and to follow after that which belongs to night and darkness, disregarding what is worthy of the light and of the day. Hence no one of those that know Moses, and count themselves among his disciples, should allow himself to be initiated into such mysteries, or to initiate others; for both the learning and teaching of such mysteries are no trifling sins. If the things taught are beautiful and useful, why, O ye initiated, do ye shut yourselves up in profound darkness, and confer the benefit on two or three alone, when you might confer it on all, if you were willing to publish in the market-place what would be salutary for every one, and enable all to participate in a better and happier life?"

The Logos of Philo bears a striking similarity to the Adam Kadman, or First Adam, of the Cabalists in Palestine. Both were called "The First Born Son of God," and "The Express Image of God." Both were described as the Primal Man, or Model Man, because all souls were contained in them; and because human souls thus had part and portion in them, they both received the appellation of "Mediator," or "Intercessor" between God and mankind. The Logos contending with Spirits of Darkness, and radiating Light into souls that turned toward him, resembles Persian doctrines. In fact, Philo's system seems to be a mixture of Plato and Zoroaster, wearing Hebrew forms as a garment; but the Platonic element greatly predominates over the Persian; while the Cabalistic doctrines are decidedly Oriental in character.

But Philo, in common with all his countrymen, had a strong conviction that every religious truth floating round the world must have been derived from a Hebrew source. He believed that the children of Israel descended from a family, which had preserved in its purity the image of God imprinted upon man, and were therefore chosen as depositaries of his Law.

He scarcely alludes to a personal Messiah, and does not intimate that the Logos would assume that character. But

he draws eloquent pictures of the latter days when the Lord's chosen people would be gathered together from the four winds of heaven, under the guidance of a Heavenly Spirit, visible to their eyes only. All the nations would come and pay voluntary homage to the moral superiority of the Jews, and receive from them full streams of knowledge and virtue. Ferocious animals, subdued by this holy influence, would become the gentle companions of man, and the fruitful earth would be clothed with beauty beyond the power of imagination to conceive. Unlike most of his countrymen, he denied the destruction of the world by fire. The reader is left to infer that it would remain in perennial youth.

The morality of Philo was pure and elevated, leading to asceticism in its strictness. He says: "The true disciples of Moses exercise continence, frugality, and patience; they disregard wealth, pleasure, and glory; they use food merely to sustain life; they are ready to endure all hardships for virtue's sake; they are content with mean clothing, and esteem luxury a disgrace and a reproach; to them the grassy sod is a precious bed, with boughs and leaves for covering, and a stone for a pillow. The luxurious consider this a hard life, but the followers of virtue think it delightful." Such views inevitably grew out of his Oriental ideas concerning the sinfulness of Matter, and the degradation of inhabiting a body. To him God was all in all, and this world a mere fleeting shadow. He depreciated human learning, and maintained that all true knowledge came directly from God to the soul, by intuition, in exalted states of faith, or revealed in dreams, when the mind was quiescent.

His writings were extensively read by Hellenistic Jews, and had great influence over their opinions. This was especially true of those who resided in Egypt. He was also much read by the best educated of the early Christians. The stern image of the Hebrew Jehovah was rendered more mild and attractive thus reflected through the golden mist of Platonism.

After his death, a report was circulated that he became a Christian, during the reign of Claudius, and subsequently renounced his faith, on account of some mortifications it caused him. It was even said that in his old age he became an intimate friend of the apostle Peter. But it is now known that these accounts are unworthy of belief. He must have been about seventy years old when Christ died, and it is very doubtful whether he heard of him. He makes no allusion to Christianity in any part of his writings.

APOLLONIUS.—Apollonius, of Tyana, in Cappadocia, was born in the latter part of the reign of Augustus, about four years before Christ. He belonged to a wealthy Grecian family, and numbered several celebrated men among his ancestors. An old marine god, named Proteus, famous for his prophetic powers, is said to have appeared to his mother, previous to his birth, and informed her that he himself would be born of her. It is further related that she fell asleep in a meadow, while her maidens were gathering flowers, and dreamed that a circle of swans surrounded her. The noise of their singing, and the clapping of their wings, wakened her; and almost immediately afterward she gave birth to a son. The boy, who was thus ushered into the world by music from the birds consecrated to Apollo, god of prophecy, early attracted attention by extraordinary beauty of person, quickness of intellect, and tenacity of memory. At fourteen years of age, he was sent to Tarsus, to pursue his studies with an Epicurean philosopher. The prevailing extravagance in dress, the luxurious habits, and the fondness for shows, seemed to him unfavourable to philosophic pursuits, and he obtained his father's permission to remove to Ægæ, a famous resort for the learned men of that time. There he heard philosophers of various schools discuss their respective theories, and listened to them all, with a serious and wakeful mind. He always retained much personal affection for his teacher, but early manifested the independence of his character by

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rejecting the doctrines and habits of Epicureans, and attaching himself with great zeal to those of Pythagoras. The tutor delighted in choice wines, beautiful women, and a luxurious style of living, which had no attractions for his sedate pupil. The father of Apollonius had purchased for him a house, with a beautiful garden and fountain. At sixteen years of age, the studious youth bestowed these on his Epicurean teacher, saying: "Live you in what manner you please. I shall live after the manner of Pythagoras." After that declaration, he subsisted entirely on fruit and vegetables, drank water only, went barefoot, let his hair grow, and wore linen all the year round, because every substance connected with animals was deemed by him impure.

When he was twenty years old, his father died, and a large fortune was divided between him and an elder brother, who was much addicted to wine, gambling, and other forms of dissipation. Wishing to gain influence over him, he divided his half of the inheritance with him, saying: "I need but little, while you want much. Our father, who used to advise us, is gone. Let us rely upon each other. If I seem to you to do wrong, I beg of you to tell me so; and if I think you are doing wrong, I hope you will also listen to me." By his affectionate, gentle manner, and his judicious counsels, he gained such influence over his elder brother, that he became completely reformed. He bestowed nearly all the remainder of his fortune upon poor relatives, reserving a very small income for himself, but sufficient to supply his simple wants.

Having thus settled his affairs in Tyana, he returned to *Ægæ*, and spent most of his time in the celebrated temple of *Æsculapius*. The fame of his wisdom began to spread widely, and such numbers resorted thither to hear him discourse, that the temple became a Lyceum. He attracted such crowds, that when any person was seen walking rapidly, it was common to say: "Whither go you so fast? to hear the young man?" This passed into a proverb, which remained in use for centuries. Many miraculous

cures were performed by *Æsculapius*, in his temple at *Ægæ*, and it was said that the god himself expressed to the priest his delight at having *Apollonius* present on such occasions. The priests instructed him in all their secrets, whether of science or magic, and he is said to have acquired remarkable power over the bodies and souls of men. He taught the people that bloody sacrifices ought not to be offered, "on account of the relationship between men and animals;" and that the only prayer suitable to be addressed to Divine Beings was: "O ye gods, grant whatever it is best for me to have." When reminded of the law of *Pythagoras*, that a man should have union with only one woman, he replied: "That was spoken for others. For myself, I have resolved never to marry, and to abstain altogether from the society of women." In order to devote himself more completely to divine things, he imposed upon himself a vow of silence, which he preserved unbroken for five years; and during that time he committed to memory a vast amount of reading. Though he never spoke, he sometimes communicated with others by writing, and he had an expressive way of answering questions, by graceful motions of his head and hands. He acknowledged that this long period of silence was irksome to him, being often oppressed by something he wished to say, and tried severely by the remarks of those who brought accusations against him. Unable to enter into explanations, he drilled himself to patience, by inwardly repeating: "Be quiet, heart and tongue." It is recorded that no one ever succeeded in disturbing the serenity of his temper. Say what they would, he was always placid and courteous. Having visited *Apendus*, in *Asia Minor*, during his term of silence, he found women and children weeping for bread, and the enraged populace preparing to burn their governor, whom they would not allow to speak in his own defence. By earnest gestures, *Apollonius* signified to the people that the governor must be heard. His singular costume and majestic deportment arrested their attention, and they consented to listen to the magistrate, who succeeded in convin-

and then that he had been guilty if it iniquitous: that the famine had been occasioned by certain rich men, who hoarded up all the grain. The populace then attempted to make a violent onset on the speculators, but Apollonius, by expressive gestures, persuaded them to leave the affair to him. He then wrote the following brief epistle: "Apollonius to the Monopolizers of Corn, greeting: The earth is the common mother of all men; for she is just. You are unjust; for you have made her the mother of yourselves only. If you do not desist from this course, I will not suffer you to remain upon the earth." The monopolizers, knowing that the enraged populace had been restrained from violence solely by his power over their minds, immediately yielded to his admonition, and filled the markets with grain.

After his term of silence expired, he went to Antioch, where he was followed by a great concourse of people. Thence he travelled into India. At Nineveh, he became acquainted with an Assyrian named Damis, who became a very zealous disciple. Hearing of his intention to visit the Bramins, he exclaimed: "O Apollonius, let us travel together; thou following the gods, and I following thee." He then enumerated many languages of Asia, with which he was familiar. Apollonius replied: "I know them all myself, though I never learned them. Do not be surprised at this; for I can perceive even the thoughts of men, though they do not utter them." When Damis heard that, "he adored him, believing him to be an Immortal Spirit." He followed him everywhere, during the remainder of his life, and occupied himself with recording all his sayings and doings. To some who accused him of thus seeking to perpetuate things too trivial to be remembered, he replied: "If the gods give feasts, they have servitors, whose duty it is to take care that no particle of ambrosia be lost."

According to his account, the fame of Apollonius had preceded him to Babylon; the king's brother having previously seen him at Antioch, and brought home such a description as induced them to treat him with great defer-

ence. The king, who was partial to Greeks, and well versed in their literature, was rejoiced at the arrival of the famous Pythagorean philosopher, and offered him apartments in the palace. Apollonius replied: "Were I to live in a house above my condition in life, I should be uncomfortable. Every sort of excess is irksome to philosophers, as the absence of it is to you, who are the great ones of the earth. For this reason, I prefer living with some private man, whose fortune does not exceed my own." Afterward, the king, being much captivated by his conversation and manners, sent a messenger to offer him ten boons of his own choosing; particularly requesting that he would ask nothing of mean value. Not far distant from Babylon, there was a colony descended from Greeks, who had been taken captive by Darius. These poor exiles were at that time greatly harassed by inroads upon their lands, so that they found it difficult to raise a sufficient supply of food. Apollonius besought the king to redress their grievances, and see that they were justly and generously treated. The monarch readily promised this, and inquired what were the other nine boons he wished to have conferred upon him. He replied: "That which you have granted, I prize more than many tens of gifts." "But is there nothing you yourself stand in need of?" said the king. "Merely a little bread and fruit," replied the philosopher.

Having remained a year and a half with this hospitable prince, improving daily opportunities to converse with the most learned of the Magi, he departed for India, well provided with camels, provisions, and letters of introduction. This journey is described by his disciple Damis, with all the credulity that marked that period of the world. He records wonderful stories about the resurrection of the phoenix from her ashes, and golden treasures guarded by griffins. The principal object of Apollonius was to converse with the Bramins; whom he describes in a mysterious way, as "men who dwell on the earth, and not on the earth;" "possessing nothing, yet having everything." He mentions one of them, who restored sight to the blind,

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renovated a hand long withered, and cured a cripple, by simply touching his hip bone. His biographer states that in subsequent years "he was perpetually praising the sages of India." Not being aware that the ancient religion and philosophy of Egypt were nearly identical with systems prevailing in the East, he was surprised to find many of the deities in India, and many of the religious ceremonies, so very similar to those established by Grecians, who borrowed most of their ideas from Egypt.

He returned from India, after an absence of five years. In Bœotia he entered the celebrated Cave of Trophonius, and remained there seven days, asking questions, and writing the answers of the oracle in a book, which he carried everywhere with him. He visited Antioch, Ephesus, Athens, Alexandria, Rome, and many other cities; everywhere drawing crowds after him by the renown of his wisdom, the beauty of his person, and the singularity of his dress. He was constantly occupied with discussions on his favourite topics of religion and morality, and never failed to rebuke extravagance, dissipation and frivolity, wherever he witnessed them. The leading object of his life was to restore the old Grecian religion on a Pythagorean basis; purifying it from the fables, which he said poets had introduced, and restoring to its ceremonies the allegorical meaning, which he believed they originally possessed. When asked concerning the nature of the wisdom with which he was endowed, he answered: "It is a divine instinct, which teaches me what prayers and sacrifices are most proper to be offered to the gods."

He taught that there was One God, the Father of all, and that the numerous deities who were objects of popular worship, were intermediate Spirits, employed as agents. He invoked these Spirits, and burned frankincense and odoriferous wood upon their altars; believing that they were the appointed mediators between God and man. He always addressed prayers and hymns to the rising sun. He abhorred all bloody sacrifices; and when exhorted to offer such, by priests in various countries, he formed some

fragrant substance into the images of animals, and burned them on the altar. To the Supreme Being he offered no sacrifices at all; deeming all material objects, even fire, impure in his sight. He even thought that prayer to Him was polluted by human breath, and should therefore ascend silently from the sanctuary of the soul. In his work on Offerings he says: "A man may worship the Deity far more truly than other mortals, though he neither sacrifice animals, nor kindle fires, nor consecrate any outward thing to that God, whom we call The First; who is One, and apart from all, and by whom only we can know anything of the other deities. He needs nothing, even of what could be given him by natures far more exalted than ours. There is no animal that breathes the air, no plant the earth nourishes, nothing the world produces, that, in comparison with Him, is not impure. The only appropriate offering to Him is the homage of our superior reason. I mean that which cannot be expressed by the lips: the silent, inner word of the Spirit. From the Most Glorious of all beings, we should seek for blessings by offering that which is most glorious in ourselves. Pure spirit, the most beautiful portion of our being, has no need of external organs to make itself understood by The Omnipresent Essence."

He placed great reliance upon dreams and omens, and believed that he was often divinely guided by such agencies, particularly by those connected with the sun and fire. Hence, when he burned offerings on the altars, he always carefully observed the shapes assumed by the flame. To one of the Egyptian priests, he said: "If you knew the wisdom which is latent in fire, you would be able to discover many prognostics in the orb of the sun at rising." He was universally regarded as a prophet, and a worker of miracles. The power to do these wonderful things was supposed to have been derived from some supernatural knowledge obtained in the East; for the belief in magic, which took its name from the Persian Magi, was at that time almost universal, both with the learned and the un-

learned. Oracles in various places declared that he was endowed with a portion of Apollo's power to cure diseases and foresee the future: and those who were afflicted were commanded to apply to him. The priests of Ionia made over the diseased to his care, and his cures were considered so remarkable, that it is said divine honours were decreed to him. At Olympia also the young men wished to worship him as a god: but he forbade them: "fearing it might give rise to rivalries and jealousies." Embassies were frequently sent to him from princes or magistrates, who wished to hear him discourse, or to obtain his aid in some emergency. When he approached cities, processions of the citizens often came forth to meet him. He might have amassed wealth, if he had chosen to accept the gifts that were offered to him; but these he constantly refused, as unnecessary to his simple mode of life. His habitual prayer was: "O ye gods, grant me to have few things, and to stand in need of none."

At Ephesus, finding the people much occupied with dancing, pantomimes, and other shows, he exhorted them to leave such frivolous pleasures and devote themselves to the pursuit of wisdom. He warned them that a terrible pestilence was soon coming: but though they saw him visiting all the temples, offering prayers to avert the impending calamity, they paid no attention to his prediction, and rushed on as madly as ever in the pursuit of pleasure. Leaving them in that state of mind, he went to Smyrna, where a concourse of citizens came forth to meet him, and all the people thronged to hear his discourses. While there, ambassadors came from Ephesus, begging him to return to that city, where a terrible plague was raging, as he had prophesied. He went immediately, and as soon as he arrived, he said to the Ephesians: "Be not dejected. I will this day put a stop to the disease." The people followed him to the theatre, where they saw an old ragged beggar, with a wallet of crusts, who winked his eyes in a remarkable manner. As soon as Apollonius glanced at him, he commanded the people to stone him. They were

reluctant to do it, because the man was old and poor, and was appealing to their compassion. But as Apollonius insisted that it was necessary, they at last obeyed him. As soon as they began to stone the beggar, his winking eyes flamed with fury. Then the Ephesians took him to be a wicked demon, and pelted him so zealously, that he was soon covered with a pile of stones. Apollonius commanded them to remove the stones; and in lieu of the beggar, they found a fierce dog, large as a lion, his mouth covered with foam. It is not recorded whether he took any other means to cure the plague; but the pestilence was stayed, and the people erected a statue to Apollonius in token of gratitude.

At Athens, the philosophers received him with great joy; but the High Priest would not admit him to the Mysteries, saying it was contrary to law to initiate a magician. He was, however, subsequently admitted. When invited to attend the gladiatorial shows, he reproved the Athenians for patronizing such cruel sports, and told them he marvelled that Minerva continued to protect a city where so much blood was shed. There was one of the dissipated young citizens, who laughed and cried by turns, and talked and sung to himself, without apparent cause. His friends supposed these habits were the effects of early intemperance; but Apollonius told him he was possessed by a demon; and "as soon as he fixed his eyes upon him, the demon broke out into all those horrid violent expressions used by people on the rack, and then swore he would depart out of the youth, and never enter another." Apollonius required him to give some visible sign of his departure. He said: "I will make that statue tumble;" and immediately a statue in the portico began to totter, and presently fell. The young man had not been previously aware that he was possessed by a devil; but from that moment, his wild disturbed looks changed, he became very temperate, and assumed the garb and habits of a Pythagorean philosopher.

Apollonius subsequently went to Rome, and arrived just

at a time when Nero had passed very severe laws against magicians, who were suspected of using their art to aid political conspiracies. A philosopher, who met him on the way, advised him to turn back; saying that all who wore the philosopher's garb were in danger of being arrested as magicians. This so intimidated his disciples, that of thirty-six only eight accompanied him to Rome. He spent most of his time passing from temple to temple, discoursing concerning religious worship. When asked for what he prayed, he answered: "That justice may prevail, that the laws may be obeyed, that wise men may be poor, and the rest of mankind rich, though not by fraud." The singularity of his dress attracted attention whenever he appeared in the street, and whatever temple he entered was soon crowded with spectators, who thought his presence would secure to them greater favours from the gods. All who came to him he treated with courtesy, but he visited no one, and paid no court to the rich or powerful. He was prudently silent concerning Nero, but he could not be induced to praise his verses, or his public singing, on which the emperor especially prided himself, and which it was considered treason not to applaud. He became an object of suspicion, and was closely watched. Seeing the temples crowded with flatterers of Nero, praying for his recovery from a hoarseness which impeded his singing, he sought to restrain the indignation of one of his companions by saying: "The gods must be forgiven, if they take pleasure in the company of buffoons and jesters." These words caused his arrest; but when his accuser appeared before the tribunal and unrolled the parchment on which the charges against him had been written, he found that all the characters had disappeared. Apollonius made such an impression on the magistrate by the bold tone he assumed, that he was allowed to go where he pleased. Of the miracles he is said to have performed at Rome, the most memorable is that of having restored a dead maiden to life. She belonged to a family of rank, and was just about to be married, when she died suddenly. Apollonius

met the procession that was conveying her body to the tomb. He asked them to set down the bier, saying to her betrothed: "I will dry up the tears you are shedding for this maiden." They supposed he was going to pronounce a funeral oration; but he merely took her hand, bent over her, and uttered a few words in a low tone. She opened her eyes, and began to speak, and was carried back alive and well to her father's house. Her grateful relatives sent him a large sum of money, which he bestowed on her as a dowry. His biographer says it rained at the time, which caused a vapour to rise from the maiden's face; and it was difficult for those present to ascertain whether he restored the dead to life, or whether he perceived what others did not, that the vital spark was not quite extinct.

Not long after, he accepted an invitation to visit Alexandria, where his arrival produced a great sensation. A pompous procession came to escort him, and "while he was passing from the harbour to the town, all made way for him in the narrow streets, as was done for those who carried the sacred symbols of the gods." On his way, he met twelve men, who were led to execution, on the charge of robbery. He pointed to one of them, and said: "That man has made a false confession." Then turning to the executioners, he added: "Take care to have that man reserved till the last; for he is not guilty of the crime for which he has been condemned. You will be wise not to put him to death at all." Contrary to his usual custom of speaking briefly, he now prolonged the conversation, in order to detain them. Soon after, a courier arrived in hot haste at the place of execution, crying out: "Spare Phorion! It is proved that he is innocent, and that a false confession was extorted from him by torture." The man was saved, and the Egyptians were lost in wonder at the foresight of Apollonius.

He was said to have remarkable power over animals, and to understand their language, like his great pattern Pythagoras. There was a man in Alexandria who had a tame lion, which he led about with a string, like a dog.

This noble animal was allowed to enter the temples, but he would never lick the blood, or touch the flesh of victims. He delighted in bread, and cakes of honey, and would caress the spectators, to obtain them. One day, when Apollonius was in the temple, he fawned on him more than on any other person. People supposed he did it to get something to eat; but Apollonius said: "This lion asks me to inform you whose soul it is that animates him. It is the soul of Amasis, an ancient king of Egypt." As soon as the lion heard this, he roared piteously, bent on his knees, and burst into tears. Apollonius caressed him, and told his owner it was not becoming for a great king, transformed into the most royal of beasts, to wander up and down the world like a mendicant. Accordingly the priests took him, dressed him with collars and garlands, offered sacrifice to him, and sent him to the district where king Amasis formerly resided, accompanied by a procession playing on flutes, and singing hymns composed for the occasion.

What principally attracted Apollonius to Egypt was a desire to converse with the Gymnosophists; communities of philosophers, or devotees, who lived in solitary places, went without clothing, and had their own peculiar ways of worshipping. He wished to ascertain whether they were equal to the Bramins, whom they were said to resemble. One of their young candidates told him that he had resigned his patrimony and joined these naked philosophers, in hopes of learning the wisdom of India; because his father, who commanded a vessel and traded with that country, told him "their sages were the wisest of mortals; and that the Ethiopians were a colony from India, who trod very nearly in the wise steps of their forefathers." Another of the Gymnosophists said to Apollonius: "We are naked. Here the earth spreads no carpet under our feet. It affords us no milk, no wine. We are humble people. We live on the earth, and partake of whatever things it supplies us with, of its own free will, without labour, and unaided by any magical influence. It is enough for a wise

man that he is pure in whatever he eats, that he touches nothing which has had life, that he subdues all those irregular desires which make their approaches through the eyes, and that he removes far from him envy, a fruitful source of injustice." Their jealousy was somewhat excited by the well-known reverence in which the Bramins were held by Apollonius. Therefore, the speaker pointed to an elm near by, and said: "I will prove to you that we are able to perform things as wonderful, as can be done by the sages of India. O tree, salute the wise Apollonius!" As soon as the words were uttered, "the tree saluted him, speaking in an articulate voice, resembling that of a woman." Nevertheless, Apollonius told his disciples that the Gymnosophists were inferior to the Bramins, because on certain occasions he found that they failed to foresee the future, and to read his interior thoughts.

In Egypt, as elsewhere, he frequented the temples, and rebuked the people for their quarrelsome disposition, their love of horse-races, and gladiatorial combats. His enthusiastic biographer says that while he was thus employed, "a beauty shone in his face, and the words he uttered were divine." The emperor Vespasian arrived while he was in Alexandria, and immediately inquired for the celebrated Tyanean. He formed a great friendship for him, delighted to hear him recount his adventures in India, and was accustomed to consult him as an oracle in political affairs. He frequently urged him to accept large sums of money, which were uniformly refused. Vespasian afterward passed laws, which oppressed some of the Grecian cities. Having invited Apollonius to visit him again, he replied: "Apollonius to the Emperor Vespasian, health: You who, in anger, have reduced free people to slavery, what need have you of my conversation. Farewell."

Passing through Tarsus, in his travels, they pointed out to him a young man bitten, thirty days before, by a mad dog, and who was then running on all fours, barking and howling. Apollonius, having obtained a description of the dog, said: "He is now standing near the fountain,

wishing to drink, but afraid of the water. Go bring him hither. You have only to say that I want him." He then went on to say that Telephus was cured by the same spear that wounded him; that his soul had transmigrated into the rabid youth, who was subject to the same destiny. Accordingly, when the dog was brought, he patted him, and induced him to lick the place he had bitten. Whereupon, the young man was soon restored to his right mind. Then Apollonius offered up prayers for the diseased animal, and put him into the river; saying that water was medicinal for mad dogs, as soon as they were able to endure it. The dog swam the stream, shook himself on the other side, wagged his tail, and ran off cured.

Apollonius was intimate with Nerva; and the emperor Titus, during his short reign, frequently asked his advice. For these reasons, he became an object of jealousy to Domitian, who feared that conspiracies might be aided by his magical powers. Accordingly, when he revisited Rome, and his appearance in the streets as usual "excited admiration, which bordered on something divine," that emperor caused him to be arrested, on charge of allowing himself to be worshipped, speaking against the reigning powers, pretending that his words were inspired by the gods, predicting that Nerva would succeed to the throne, and sacrificing a child in some magical ceremonies to bring about that event. He was summoned to the palace, where he denied the charges against him, and declared that Nerva was a mild, excellent man, little inclined to meddle with affairs of state. Domitian, in a rage, ordered him to be loaded with irons, and cast into prison. "I have bound you," said he, "and you will not escape me, unless by your magical arts you change yourself into water, or a wild beast, or a tree." The prisoner replied that if he was an enchanter he would not use his power to escape, lest by so doing he should injure those who were implicated in his accusation.

His steadfast disciple Damis was in despair, and spent his time in praying to the gods to deliver them from their

perilous situation. One day visiting his master in prison, he asked him when he thought he should recover his liberty. He answered: "This instant, if it depended on myself." And drawing his legs out of the shackles, he added: "Keep up your spirits. You see the freedom I enjoy." Damis says he was then convinced that his nature was something more than human. He was brought to trial not long after, and so defended himself, that the emperor was induced to acquit him, but forbade him to leave Rome. The philosopher thanked him, and spoke some bold words concerning the miserable state of the empire under his suspicious administration; adding: "Listen to me, if you will. If not, send persons to take my body. It is impossible to take my soul. You cannot kill me, because I am not mortal." As soon as he had uttered these words, "he vanished from the tribunal." How he disappeared is not explained. It is recorded that "after he departed, Domitian behaved like a man under a divine influence, in a way not easy to be explained, being totally different from the expectations of those best acquainted with the tyrant."

Damis had been previously sent away from Rome, with the promise that his master would soon rejoin him. Apollonius vanished from the presence of the emperor at noon. On the evening of the same day, he suddenly appeared before Damis and some other friends, who were at Puteoli, more than a hundred miles from Rome. They started, being doubtful whether or not it was his spirit. But he stretched out his hand, saying: "Take it; and if I escape from you, regard me as an apparition." When he told them he had made his defence in Rome, only a few hours before, they marvelled how he could have performed the journey so rapidly. He said they must "ascribe it to a god."

He afterward travelled to various parts of Greece, but resided principally at Ephesus, where he established a school of Pythagorean philosophy, occupying himself with questions of morality, rather than of science. One day,

when a multitude were listening to him in groves near the city, his voice suddenly fell, as if he were alarmed by something. He lost the thread of his discourse, and finally became silent. Then suddenly advancing three or four steps, he cried aloud: "Strike the tyrant! Strike him!" Turning to the audience, he said: "Rejoice, Ephesians! The tyrant is killed. This very moment the deed is done. The news will soon be here. Meanwhile, I will go and return thanks to the gods for what I have seen." A courier afterward arrived, bringing tidings that Domitian had been stabbed at Rome; and it was ascertained that the murder took place at the moment Apollonius had spoken. This circumstance of course greatly increased his reputation for prophecy.

He is supposed to have lived more than a century. When Nerva succeeded to the throne, ninety-six years after our era, it is said the aged philosopher was still vigorous in mind and agreeable in person. The emperor invited him to come and assist him with his wise counsels. He replied: "We shall live together a long time, during which we shall not command others, nor will others command us." It was afterward supposed that he knew he was about to die, and that the reign of Nerva would be a short one. He never spoke on the subject to Damis. He sent him to Rome with a letter, and said at parting: "Whenever you are alone, and your whole soul given up to philosophy, think of me." When the disciple returned, he could find no traces of his beloved teacher. Some say he died at Ephesus; others that his last days were spent in Crete. There was a temple of Diana in that place, containing rich treasures, guarded by furious dogs. Apollonius frequented the temple whenever he chose, at all hours of the day and night. The dogs did not bark at him, but fawned upon him with the utmost affection. Once, after he had entered the temple at midnight, the priests heard sweet voices singing: "Leave the earth, and come to heaven! Come! Come!" Apollonius returned no more. This story induced many to believe that he was carried to the gods,

without dying. Philostratus, his biographer, says: "I do not remember ever to have seen any tomb, or cenotaph, raised in honour of him; though I have gone over most parts of the known world, and in all countries met men who told wonderful things of him." He elsewhere plainly implies doubts whether he ever died.

A young man, who did not believe in the immortality of the soul, visited Tyana, and during ten months prayed to the departed Apollonius that his spirit would become visible, and thus resolve his doubts. At last he grew weary, and said jestingly to his fellow students: "He, poor man, is so dead that he cannot hear me; or he would appear, in answer to my prayers, to prove that he is immortal." Five days after, he chanced to fall into a sound sleep in the midst of the same companions, some of whom were reading, others tracing geometrical figures in the sand. Suddenly he started up in a perspiration, exclaiming: "I believe you, now." When asked what he meant, he replied: "Don't you see Apollonius there, listening to our disputations? Haven't you heard him saying wonderful things about the soul?" They said they did not; though they would give the richest earthly possessions in exchange for such a sight. The youth then concluded that the vision was sent solely to enlighten him.

The fame of Apollonius long survived him, and many honours were paid to his memory. The emperor Adrian made a collection of his letters, which he preserved in his palace at Antium. Among them was the book of oracular answers brought from the cave of Trophonius. The emperor Caracalla ordered a temple to be erected, and dedicated to his memory. The emperor Alexander Severus caused his statue to be placed in the imperial chapel, together with those of Abraham, Orpheus, and Christ. When the emperor Aurelian took Tyana, he treated the inhabitants with great lenity, because it was the birth-place of Apollonius, and therefore regarded by many as a sacred city. The Tyanians, proud of their distinguished countryman, declared that he was a son of Jupiter; but he al-

ways said he was the son of Apollonius, whose name he bore. It was a common tradition among them that a flash of lightning descended to the earth, then rose suddenly, and vanished in the heavens, at the moment he was born.

The record of his life, by his disciple Damis, was written in an unpleasing style, and was therefore not sought by those who copied books for sale. But the empress Julia, wife of Alexander Severus, was so much interested in its contents, that she requested Flavius Philostratus, an Athenian author of reputation, to collect, from that and other sources, all that was known of Apollonius, and write an account of him in more attractive style. He did this more than one hundred years after the death of Apollonius, when many traditions concerning him were afloat. His book is often referred to by cotemporary writers. The early Christian Fathers, in alluding to it, do not deny the miracles it recounts, but attribute them to the aid of Evil Spirits, procured by magical arts. Philostratus himself expresses his belief that a man could learn the language of animals by eating the liver of a dragon; and this remark merely indicates the universal credulity of his time. Nothing in the volume implies that either Apollonius or his biographer was at all acquainted with the history or doctrines of Christ.

SIMON MAGUS.—Simon, the Samaritan, produced marked effects on the times succeeding him; being the progenitor of a large class of sects, which long troubled the Christian church. He is therefore entitled to a passing notice. A knowledge of magic had spread from Central Asia into Syria, by means of the return of the Jews from Babylone, and had afterward extended widely through the mixing of nations, produced by Alexander's conquests. In Simon's time, it was almost universally believed that men could foretell events, cure diseases, and obtain control over the forces of nature, by the aid of Spirits, if they knew how to invoke them. It was Simon's proficiency in this occult

science, which gained him the surname of Magus, or Magician.

The Christian Scriptures informs us that when Philip went into Samaria to preach Christ, he found "a certain man called Simon, who had used sorcery and bewitched the people, giving out that he himself was some great one; to whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying: This man is the Great Power of God." When Simon saw Philip performing miracles, he was baptized by him; perhaps thereby expecting to receive the Holy Spirit, because he had heard that it descended on Jesus at baptism. Afterward, when Peter and John went into Samaria to preach, and "Simon saw by laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying: Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost." He probably asked this because he had been accustomed to pay for instruction in magical arts, of which he supposed that the power of the apostles was only a new manifestation. Peter indignantly replied: "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money. Repent, therefore, of this wickedness, and pray to God if perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee." A reverent willingness to believe in all marvellous power is implied by Simon's meek response: "Pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of these things which ye have spoken come upon me."

Desire to obtain an increase of magical power, was probably all that attracted him toward the teachers of Christianity; for the Scriptures make no further allusion to him, and subsequent traditions represent him as acting in opposition to them. His doctrines seem to have been a mixture of Persian and Hindoo ideas, with variations of his own. He taught that the Source of all Good dwelt in plenitude of Light. From him emanated three successive couples of united beings, masculine and feminine. The first feminine emanation, he called Ennoia, which means Interior Thought. From her proceeded Spirits of greater

or less degree of perfection. By their assistance, she created the world, and entrusted them with the government of it. He supposed that Matter was a dark, chaotic mass, co-eternal with God. Moral and physical disorders were mere perversities occasioned by the soul's contact with it, and were observable only in the inferior world. He accounted for the ascendancy of evil in a manner peculiarly his own. According to him, the Spirits employed by Ennoia to create the world, and afterward to govern it, became jealous of her superiority. They felt humiliated in performing the part of simple agents, and resolved to combine together to enfranchise themselves. They accordingly seized her and held her captive. They detached the inferior world, of which they were masters, from the superior world, of which they were subjects; and to be free from any fear that Ennoia would return to her former dominion, they exiled her into a human body. From that time, evil triumphed over good in the world. To impede its progress, emanations from the Supreme had appeared to various nations, with instructions adapted to their wants. In an especial manner, God had spoken by his Holy Spirit to the Greeks. But Ennoia still languished far from her native sphere, subject to transmigration, and enslaved by material laws. She became the victim of all manner of abuse and ignominy, and sunk into the depths of degradation. Hindoo Vedas, Pythagoras, Plato, and Cabalists, all represented mortals as souls fallen from spheres of light, imprisoned in bodies, and striving to return whence they came. But the fall was always by their own fault; while Ennoia was an innocent victim, dragged down by others, and forever longing to be restored to the heavenly home, from which she had been forcibly withdrawn.

At last, the Wisdom of the Supreme, corresponding to the Logos, weary of these disorders, descended in the form of Simon Magus, to rescue her, and redeem the world from evil. Simon said he found the exiled Ennoia in the form of a beautiful Tyrian slave, named Helen, who was leading

a very impure life. He purchased her, and she became his inseparable companion. He travelled about preaching, and made many proselytes. He professed to be "The Wisdom of God," "The Word of God," "The Paraclete, or Comforter," "The Image of the Eternal Father, manifested in the flesh," in order to subdue demons. Helen being the incarnation of Ennoia, he called her "Mother of the Universe," sometimes "The Virgin of God," or "The Spouse of God." It is said some of his Greek proselytes worshipped them, under the name of Jupiter and Minerva.

Simon did not consider the Jehovah of the Jews as the Supreme Being, but as leader of the Spirits who created the world and were entrusted with its government. Of course, the Hebrew Books inspired by Jehovah could not be regarded by him as a perfect guide for men. He did not change their character by allegorical interpretation, as Philo had done, but unscrupulously condemned the text. Of course, those who acknowledged his supernatural claims, placed him far above Moses and the Prophets. They believed he was the First Born of the Supreme, sent on earth to free men from the imperfect laws given by Jehovah, who was one of the rebelling Spirits.

Simon denied the resurrection of the body, on the ground that pure souls would be polluted by re-union with flesh. He supposed the wicked would transmigrate into inferior forms, as an expiation of their sins. Holy souls would ascend to the realms of light whence they came. His followers often called God "The Root of the Universe." All their aspirations were to become like him, that they might be re-united to the Source whence all beings proceeded. They produced a Gospel, called The Four Corners of the World. Simon also composed some works, of which slight fragments remain. That he made a lively impression on his cotemporaries is indicated by the subsequent extension of his doctrines, under varied forms, by the wonderful stories which the Christian Fathers relate of him, and by the strong dislike they manifest toward him.

According to their accounts, he could make his appearance wherever he pleased to be at any moment; could poise himself on the air; make inanimate things move, without visible assistance; produce trees from the earth suddenly; cause a sickle to reap without hands; change himself into the likeness of any other person, or even into the forms of animals; fling himself from high precipices unhurt; walk through the streets accompanied by spirits of the dead; create a man from the atmosphere; and animate statues, so that they seemed to be alive. They say that when he found the Apostles of Christ excelled him in miraculous power, he quitted Samaria, flung his magical books into the Dead Sea, and went to Rome, where he became a favourite with the emperor Claudius, and afterward with Nero. In about two years, Peter and Paul followed him to the imperial city. Hearing that he gave himself out to be an incarnated Spirit of God, and asserted that he could raise the dead, they challenged him to a public trial of his skill. He accordingly attempted to restore a dead young man to life, and after he had failed in the attempt, Peter and Paul succeeded. He next attempted to fly in presence of the emperor and a multitude of people. Crowned with laurel, he flung himself from a high tree, and floated awhile in the air. But Peter knelt down in prayer, and commanded the Evil Spirits, who held him up, to let go their hold; and immediately he fell to the ground and was dashed to pieces.

Those who believed in Simon Magus thought he performed wonderful things because he was the Great Power of God. His Christian opponents did not deny the marvels, but attributed them to the agency of Evil Spirits. Whatever might be the real foundation for the extraordinary stories related of him, the theories he taught afterward re-appeared in various forms, to the great annoyance of the Christian church. Irenæus, one of the earliest of the Christian Fathers, says: "All who in any way corrupt the truth, or mar the preaching of the church, are disciples and successors of Simon, the Samaritan magician."

CERINTHUS.—Cerinthus, who was born in Judea, and had a Jewish education, followed very soon after. He resided in Alexandria when Christianity was first beginning to be taught there. He professed to believe in Jesus, but having imbibed oriental ideas concerning the degradation of Matter, he was unwilling to suppose that a Son of God could be born of woman, and clothed with human flesh. He, therefore, concluded that the Christ was a Spirit, who dwelt with God before the world was made, but that Jesus was a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary. By his justice, wisdom, prudence, and benevolence, he was powerful above other men, and became worthy to receive from the Supreme Being the communication of the Christ, who entered his soul at baptism, and continued allied to him through his mortal life. By this union, Jesus was enabled to work miracles, and was exalted above all the Spirits who govern this world. He was also thus introduced into perfect acquaintance with the Supreme Being, of whom he, in common with all the Jews, was ignorant, until the time of his baptism. The important revelation then received, it was his mission to communicate to mankind. The Christ left Jesus before his crucifixion, and ascended to Heaven, whence he came; but at the resurrection of the dead, he would be again united with him, and establish in Jerusalem a kingdom of perfect felicity, which would continue a thousand years.

Cerinthus was well acquainted with the allegorical school of Philo, and wished to retain many of the Mosaic rites, as significant spiritual types. He also thought some portions of the Law were worthy of observance, but taught his followers to regulate their lives mainly by the precepts of Christ. He regarded Jehovah as merely the delegated Creator and Ruler of this world: a subaltern Spirit, unacquainted with the character and purposes of the Supreme One, and incapable of appreciating them. He admitted that there were many good things in the Hebrew Sacred Books; but he considered them revelations from an inferior order of Spirits. He said an Angel instructed Moses in legisla-

tion, and other Angels of a lower rank had instructed the Prophets. His followers had a Gospel concerning Jesus, which is described as nearly resembling the Gospel by Matthew; but of course it did not contain the account of the miraculous conception, which was directly at variance with the doctrines he taught. They rejected the other Christian Scriptures, and had an Apocalypse peculiar to themselves, which they said was written by the Apostles. It contained glowing descriptions of Christ's reign on earth, ornamented with Jewish imagery of the wealth and grandeur of Jerusalem.

The claims of Cerinthus were less ambitious than those of Simon Magus. He did not assume to be a Power of God, or the Messiah, or a Prophet. He merely said that he received some of his revelations from angels. He went to Ephesus to teach; and it was a tradition among the early Fathers, that the Apostle John encountered him there. Irenæus says John inserted in his Gospel that "the Word was made flesh and dwelt among men," for the express purpose of refuting Cerinthus. He is likewise supposed to allude to him in his Epistles, where he says: "Who is a liar, but he that denieth Jesus is the Christ? Many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Christ has come in the *flesh*. This is a deceiver and an antichrist. Receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed." The Apostle considered such teachers as an additional proof that the expected millennium was nigh at hand. He says: "Little children, it is the last time. Ye have heard that antichrist shall come. Even now there are many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time." Irenæus states that Polycarp, who was personally acquainted with John, was accustomed to tell the following anecdote of him: One day the Apostle entered a bath in Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus there, he turned away hastily, saying to his own companions: "Let us escape, lest the building should fall upon our heads while Cerinthus is within." Some suppose this is one of the things which

ought to be attributed to John the Presbyter, a disciple of the Apostle.

COURSE OF THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT TOWARD
CHRISTIANITY.

While these influences from old religions and philosophies were floating toward the small stream of Christianity, the persecution of the government, after brief suspension, was renewed. Trajan, one of the wisest and best of the Roman emperors, who came to the throne ninety-eight years after the birth of Christ, received numerous complaints from the officers of his empire, that the Christians blasphemed the gods, and refused to pay the customary homage to his statue. Events during the thirty years preceding Trajan had greatly tended to increase animosity between Jews and Romans. Roman governors had greatly oppressed the Jews, and Vespasian had required them to pay taxes to rebuild the Temple of Jupiter, at Jerusalem, which had been destroyed during their civil wars. The Jews had at last broken out into furious rebellion, and Titus, in quelling the tumult, had destroyed their city and temple. In consequence of these events, the Jews were more than ever regarded as obstinate and incorrigible subjects. Christians, being generally confounded with their ancestral nation, were involved in the prejudice against them. On the other hand, Jews incurred additional odium in consequence of the proceedings of Christians; and they disliked them so heartily, that they were always eager to circulate reports to their disadvantage. They continued to say, as in the times of Paul: "These men do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar; saying there is another king, one Jesus." The accusation of intending to subvert the religion and overthrow the government of Rome, and to establish a new kingdom upon the ruins, was apparently sustained by the habitual expressions of Christians concerning the speedy coming of their king. Public rumour, always ready to assail the unpopular, also charged them

with shameful vices; such as indiscriminate licentiousness at their midnight assemblies, and the eating of human flesh at one of their religious ceremonies. Though these monstrous charges originated in confounding the meetings and usages of Christians with the nocturnal assemblies of other sects and associations, they were generally believed.

In consequence of the complaints made to Trajan he issued an edict against secret societies, and forbade the Christians to hold meetings. He, however, manifested his moderation by appointing Pliny the Younger, an intelligent and conscientious man, Governor of Bithynia, where the new sect were numerous, and had many enemies. He moreover instructed him not to search for any Christians, and not to listen to any anonymous charges against them. If brought before his tribunal by a regular accuser, they were to be strictly examined. If found guilty of being Christians, they were to be put to death, unless they retracted, and offered sacrifice to the gods of the empire.

Pliny found himself in an embarrassing position between his humane feelings as a man, and what he thought was his duty as a Roman magistrate. It was on this occasion that he wrote the following memorable letter to the emperor: "I have never been present at any trial of the Christians, so that I know not well why, or how much, they are punished, or prosecuted; whether a pardon should be granted to those who recant, and whether the name itself, without criminal actions, is to be punished. I have interrogated those who have been accused before me as Christians. If they confessed it, I questioned them a second and a third time, and threatened them with death. If they persisted, I ordered them to execution: for I did not doubt, whatever principles they might profess, they deserved punishment for their pertinacity and inflexible obstinacy. An anonymous list was sent to me containing the names of many, who, upon examination, denied that they were, or had been Christians. In obedience to my orders, they invoked the gods, and sacrificed with wine and incense before your image, which I had ordered to be set

before them with the statues of the deities. They also reviled Christ; and it is said the genuine Christian cannot be induced to do any of these things. Others were named by informers, who at first confessed themselves Christians, but afterward denied it. Some said they had belonged to the community, but had since left it; some three years, some longer; and one or two above twenty years. They all worshipped your image, and the statues of the gods; and they also reviled Christ. They affirmed that the whole of their fault, or error lay in this: that they were wont to meet together on a stated day, before it was light, and sing among themselves, alternately, a hymn to Christ, as to God, and bind themselves by an oath, not to commit any wickedness, but to refrain from theft, robbery, and adultery; never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them, when called upon to return it. When these things were performed, it was their custom to separate, and then meet together again at a meal, which they ate in common, without any disorder. [This was probably the Lord's Supper.] But they said they had discontinued this, since the publication of my edict forbidding associations, by your command. After receiving this account, I judged it the more necessary to examine, and that by torture, two maid-servants, who were called ministers; but I have discovered nothing except a bad and excessive superstition. Therefore, I have suspended all judicial proceedings, and apply to you for advice. It appears to me a matter highly deserving of consideration; especially upon account of the great number of persons, who are in danger of suffering; for many people, of all ages, of every rank, and of both sexes, are accused, and will be accused. The contagion has seized not cities only, but lesser towns also, and the open country. Nevertheless, it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It is certain that the temples which were once almost deserted, now begin to be more frequented; and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are revived. Victims likewise are everywhere bought up; whereas for a time they had few pur-

chasers. Whence it may be inferred what numbers of men might be reclaimed, if opportunity were granted them for repentance."

The two maid-servants, mentioned as ministers, were probably deaconesses; for it would have been contrary to the instructions of Paul to allow women to become teachers. That servants were intrusted with such an honourable and responsible office indicates the democratic ideas of rank, which prevailed among primitive Christians.

Though Trajan and Pliny were eminent for justice and moderation, yet reverence for the religious forms in which they had been educated, and which they considered essential to the preservation of the state, led them to sanction acts of great cruelty toward those humble non-conformists. But though some were intimidated and abjured their faith for a time, a far greater number preferred martyrdom. The governor of Palestine wrote to Trajan: "I am quite tired out with punishing and destroying the Galileans, according to your commands; and yet they cease not to offer themselves to be slain. Though I have laboured, both by threatening and persuasion, to make them avoid being known as Christians, yet can I not stave them off from being persecuted."

Adrian, who succeeded Trajan, one hundred and seventeen years after Christ, received complaints from magistrates in various parts of his empire, concerning difficulties connected with the Christians, who were frequently assailed by mobs, on one pretext or another. There were many causes in the then existing state of things to produce this general unpopularity. Christians were not only obliged by their conscientious scruples to refrain from sacrifices and prayers to the acknowledged gods of the country, but they could not be civil officers, or attend public festivals, or social feasts, or the marriages or funerals of friends or acquaintances, who were not Christians, because all such occasions were more or less mingled with ceremonies in honour of the gods. The Roman senate was held in a temple, or some other consecrated place, and before proceeding

to business, each senator poured wine to the gods, or dropped frankincense on their altars. The garlands worn at weddings, the libations poured at feasts, the holy water from the temples, sprinkled for purification at funerals, were all representative of a worship connected with idolatry, and therefore odious to the Christian mind. This induced habits of separation, which made them appear morose and unsocial. Many were grieved, or vexed, by having wives or daughters, sons or brothers, converted to a faith which ruined their worldly prospects, and endangered their personal safety. Their increasing numbers began to make a great difference in the sale of animals for sacrifice, and in various other articles of trade connected with the established religion. Moreover, the fears of the people were really alarmed by the progress of the innovation. They sincerely believed that the fruitfulness of a field was affected by the offerings laid on the altar of Ceres; that health was endangered by any disrespect to Æsculapius; that their friends would be shipwrecked, if the worship of Neptune was neglected; and that bad luck would follow a city or village, if the Temple of Fortune was deserted. Philosophers privately smiled at the literal sense in which these things were understood, and satisfied their own intellect by either regarding them as poetic fables, or adopting them as significant allegories. But to the populace, the literal story and the outward form were realities. They had the fullest faith that the gods needed sacrifices and prayers from mortals, as men needed their foresight and protection. Perfumes and music were supposed to be agreeable to divine beings, and the odour of consuming sacrifice to be a kind of sustenance suited to their ethereal nature. It was by no means an uncommon idea that an unbelieving age might actually starve the gods, on whom public and private prosperity depended. Having these views strongly fixed in their minds by the education of centuries, it was natural that the timid and reverent, as well as the selfish and violent, should regard Christians as atheists, and enemies to the state. If a long time passed without rain on the earth,

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if a building was struck by lightning, if many were observed to be absent from the religious festivals, it needed but one exciting word to set the populace furiously upon the Christians, and to cause them to be dragged before the intimidated magistrates, with the clamorous outcry: "Send them to the lions!" In such scenes, the persecuted sect suffered much and continually, both in person and property. Adrian, whose policy was pacific and humane, when not provoked by rebellions, issued an edict to protect them from such outbursts of popular fury; commanding the magistrates to proceed carefully according to the laws, and never to yield to the clamour of the multitude.

His successor was the gentle Antoninus Pius, who came to the throne one hundred and thirty-eight years after our era. The policy of his government was indicated by his saying: "I had rather save the life of a single citizen, than cause the death of a thousand enemies." An unusual number of public calamities occurred during his reign. There were earthquakes, famine, inundation of the Tiber, and destructive fires at Rome, Antioch, and Carthage. The populace attributed these misfortunes to the impiety of the Christians, and made violent attacks upon them in many places. The emperor did not repeal existing laws on the subject, being himself a devout worshipper of the gods: but he wrote to the provincial governors, expressing strong disapprobation of such persecution, and forbidding any illegal or excessive severities. The Christians had then become numerous, and were constantly acquiring increased influence by the accession of intelligent and learned men, attracted by the pure morality of their doctrines, and their undoubting faith in a blissful existence hereafter. They now ventured to address the throne; and though it was in the form of an Apology, they asserted the moral superiority of the religion they professed, and claimed their right to freedom of conscience. Communities were growing up in all parts of the empire, independent to a certain degree, being internally regulated by their own bishops and presbyters, and proceeding with open non-conformity to the

established laws concerning religion. These small scattered republics were in constant communication with each other by epistles, and interchange of visits among the bishops, while they were all very closely bound together by their proscribed faith, and the many sufferings it had caused them.

During forty years, the afflicted churches, though sometimes objects of local violence, enjoyed general quiet, and had time for peaceful growth. But when Marcus Aurelius came to the throne, one hundred and sixty-one years after Christ, the scene changed. He was a man of Stoic virtue, of devout tendencies, and reverently attached to the religion of his ancestors. That he was sincere and conscientious in his faith, there can be no doubt. He humbly thanks the gods for the virtuous example of his father, and the pious instructions of his mother. He says: "I owe these, and all other good things to the bounty of the gods. So far as it depended on their aids and suggestions, I might have already attained to a life in harmony with nature. That I fall short of this mark is my own fault, and should be ascribed to my neglect of following the admonitions, I might almost say the express instructions, of the gods." In answer to the question often asked by Christians: "How do you know the existence of the gods, that you so reverence them?" he answered: "In the first place, they sometimes make themselves visible to the eye. Moreover, I respect my own soul, though I have never seen it; so also I know the existence of the gods by constantly experiencing the effects of their power; therefore, I reverence them." He believed that those who honoured the Deities often received revelations in dreams, to assist them in emergencies, and that he himself had been several times cured of diseases, by remedies thus made known to him. He took cheerful views of the friendliness of Divine Nature, and passed a law that those should be banished, who did anything likely to produce fear of the Deity in excitable minds. He considered all public calamities as the consequence of neglected worship. Accordingly, when a pesti-

lence raged in Italy, he tried to avert the evil by summoning priests from all quarters of the empire, celebrating religious solemnities, and carefully restoring every minute particular of the ancient ritual. With these views, he of course regarded the Christians with an unfavourable eye. The dislike they excited in his mind, by their abhorrence of the established worship, was increased by his watchful jealousy of associations, always objects of suspicion to the Roman government. Moreover, some Christian zealots were very imprudent in their prophecies; and some of these predictions were all the more likely to influence the people and provoke the rulers, because they purported to have been uttered by the revered Sibyls of the Roman religion. One of these pretended Sibylline Prophecies, really written by Christians, announced the downfall of Rome, and distinctly declared that only three emperors should reign after Adrian; that Christ would then come, and establish his throne on the ruin of empires. Such descriptions as the following were very likely to be misunderstood by Roman politicians: "O haughty Rome, the just chastisement of heaven shall come down upon thee from on high. Thou shalt stoop thy neck, and be levelled with the ground. Destroyed to thy very foundations, fire shall consume thee, and all thy wealth shall perish. Wolves and foxes shall dwell among thy ruins, and thou shalt be as if thou hadst never been. Sit silent in thy sorrow, O guilty and luxurious city! The Vestal Virgins shall no longer watch the sacred fire. Thy house is desolate." A description of the emperor Adrian is followed by this prediction: "After him shall reign three, whose times shall be *the last*. O king of Rome, thou shalt mourn, disrobed of thy purple and clad in sackcloth. For there shall be confusion over the whole earth, when the Almighty Ruler comes, and, seated upon his throne, judges the living and the dead of the whole world."

The earthquakes, insurrections, and pestilence, which occurred during this and the preceding reign, were regarded by Christians as omens of Christ's second coming. The

Roman people attributed them to the displeasure of the gods, on account of their neglected worship. In their terror, they redoubled their prayers and sacrifices with a kind of frantic zeal. Christians would not assist in any of these modes of expiation, and it was moreover generally believed that their irreverence toward the protecting deities of the country had originally caused these calamities. Latent hostility was roused into violent activity; and the emperor, who viewed the subject in the same light as his people, sanctioned the most terrible persecutions. Some poor slaves, being tortured beyond their powers of endurance, confessed that the Christians ate human flesh at their meetings, and were guilty of indiscriminate licentiousness, even with their own mothers and sisters. These extorted confessions increased the sanguinary prejudice already existing. Many innocent victims had their limbs dislocated, or their flesh bound with red hot plates of iron. Others perished by suffocation in dungeons too noisome to be described. A few, under the agony of extreme torture, escaped from it by confessions of guilt, and promises to abjure their errors. Neither the tenderness of youth nor the feebleness of age was spared. Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, nearly ninety years old, was dragged before the tribunal. When the legate asked: "Who is the God of the Christians?" he answered, with calm dignity: "You shall come to the knowledge of him, when you show yourself worthy of it." Whereupon, the surrounding crowd attacked him with such fury, that the breath of life scarcely remained within him. But though his feeble body failed, his mind remained firm to the last. When half killed by a series of brutalities, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he survived but two days. Some who renounced their faith during the first examination were smitten with remorse, publicly acknowledged themselves Christians, and were put to death. By far the greater part were steadfast and firm through all the tortures that could be inflicted on them. Survivors, who described these scenes, in letters to the churches, say: "It was manifested how they were bedewed

and invigorated by the spring of living water, that flows from the heart of Christ; how nothing is dreadful where love of the Father dwells; nothing painful, where the glory of Christ prevails."

Ponticus, a youth of fifteen, and Blandina, a young female slave, were brought out together to be thrown to the wild beasts. They first tried to intimidate them by compelling them to witness the sufferings of others; and finding that ineffectual, they resorted to torture. The mistress of Blandina, who was in prison, under the same condemnation, was fearful that the extremity of suffering might tempt the poor young creature to deny her faith. But she remained strong and patient under all the torments they could inflict. While suspended to a stake, her prayers strengthened and cheered two other martyrs, who were waiting the attack of lions. She was brought into the amphitheatre three successive times, and tortured in a variety of ways; her tormentors being perhaps exasperated to find their efforts thus baffled by the fortitude of a woman, and a slave. She prayed tranquilly, while they were breaking her body in pieces, and by her exhortations strengthened the courage of Ponticus, who was dying near her, under the same cruel inflictions. During all this dreadful trial of their faith, they manifested extreme humility. When, from the scene of their sufferings, they were brought back to prison, sympathizing brethren hailed them as martyrs; but they replied: "That name belongs only to those whose testimony Christ has sealed by their constancy to the end. We are but poor humble confessors;" and then with tears they would beseech the brethren to pray for them, that their strength might endure to the last. Some of their fellow prisoners recanted, under the influence of terror. They always received such with extreme kindness, wept over them, and prayed that the Lord would restore those dead ones to life. They never manifested any resentment toward their persecutors, but often prayed to God to forgive them. To all their insulting questions, Blandina meekly replied: "I am a Christian, and there is no wick-

edness practised among us." After being scourged, suspended enclosed in a net, and tossed by a wild bull, she was at last released by the stroke of a sword. The bodies of these two martyrs, after being exposed unburied for a time, were at last thrown into the river, with the remark: "We will see whether they will rise from the dead, as they expected; whether their God can deliver them out of our hands."

An illustrious Roman matron, named Felicitas, educated seven sons in the Christian faith. Her excellent character, and the exemplary conduct of her family, exerted great influence, and caused the conversion of many. This, of course, exasperated the enemies of Christianity, and her wealth rendered her more likely to be accused by those who were desirous of sharing the spoils. When she was brought before the tribunal, the prefect of the city mildly and respectfully exhorted her to sacrifice to the gods of her country, and thus avert the impending danger. When she steadfastly refused, he said: "If thou hast no regard for thyself, at least have compassion on thy sons, and induce them to yield to the law." She replied: "My sons know how to choose between everlasting death and everlasting life." The prefect called them, one after another, and commanded them to deny Christ, on pain of death. But their mother said: "My sons, be strong in heart, and look up to heaven, where Christ and all his saints await your coming. Defy this tyrant boldly, and the King of Glory will reward you greatly." The enraged magistrate ordered the executioner to strike her on the mouth; but she still continued to exhort her sons to remain firm. They were tortured in various ways, before her eyes; and at last one was scourged to death, another killed with clubs, another thrown from a precipice, and the others beheaded. Their heroic mother comforted and encouraged them to the last; and when they were all dead, she blessed God, who had given her seven sons worthy to be saints in heaven. She suffered the prolonged cruelty of four months' imprisonment; but her spirit did not yield, even under that slow, dull martyrdom. She

steadily rejected all offers to procure release by renouncing her faith; saying she asked for no other mercy but permission to follow her murdered children. She was finally beheaded.

The glory of martyrdom was so coveted, that bishops were sometimes obliged to check the zeal of their people; so eager were they to be accused and brought before the tribunals. A governor of Palestine offered some Christians the choice to jump into a deep furnace of lime and fire, or to burn a sprig of the frankincense which was heaped up round it. Three hundred men jumped into the flames, without a moment's hesitation. In some instances, influential men, who had escaped proscription, came forward boldly to plead for their Christian brethren, representing them as blameless men and good citizens; and they suffered martyrdom themselves for their courageous humanity. Wives wept over husbands, who manifested any weakness in the hour of trial, and mothers called out to their children, on the way to execution: "Be steadfast, my son! keep the living God in thy heart! To-day, thy life is not taken from thee, but transfigured to a better."

These scenes excited the wonder of Greeks and Romans; for there was nothing in their religion to render earth so worthless to the soul, in view of the opening heaven. The stoic writer Arrian inquires: "Whether by insight of reason into the laws which govern the universe, it might not be possible to acquire the same intrepidity in view of death, which the Galileans attain to by mad fanaticism and custom?"

In the first ages, those who quietly avoided martyrdom, as long as they could do so, without denying their principles, were thought to act in obedience to Christ, who had said to his disciples: "When men persecute you in one city, flee unto another." Polycarp followed this injunction, and was commended for it. Clement of Alexandria pronounced it to be a kind of suicide not to flee from the malice of powerful enemies, if opportunity offered. But the stern Tertullian declared that those words of Christ

were addressed to the Apostles only; that they were applicable to their situation, but not to succeeding times. He said: "It is base in private Christians to fly; much more so in bishops and pastors. A good shepherd will lay down his life for his flock; but a bad one flies at the sight of the wolf, and leaves his flock to be torn in pieces. It is an affront to God to redeem by money those whom Christ has redeemed by his blood; to make private bargains with informers, soldiers, and magistrates, for the life of a Christian, as if he were a thief." This view of the subject gained ground, until it came to be considered extremely disgraceful to evade martyrdom, and multitudes rushed upon it needlessly with frantic zeal.

Every force, earthly and spiritual, combined to nerve the souls of Christians to an extraordinary degree of courage. The faith in immediate transition from suffering to Paradise was very strong. Those who endured martyrdom were believed to take the highest rank in Christ's kingdom, both on earth and in heaven, and to be powerful intercessors with him for the souls of others. Cyprian says: "Who would not strive, with all his might, to arrive at so great a glory? to be a friend of God, to enter into present joy with Christ, and after earthly torments to receive heavenly rewards? If it be glorious for worldly soldiers to return to their country, after conquering an enemy, how much greater glory is it, after having vanquished the Devil, to return into Paradise, whence Adam was expelled, and there to erect trophies over the very enemy who expelled him? to accompany God, when he comes to take vengeance on his enemies; to be placed at his side when he sits in judgment; to be made co-heirs with Christ, and equal with the angels; and, together with the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, to rejoice in the possession of an heavenly kingdom?"

On the contrary, those whom timidity induced to sacrifice to the gods feared to incur both present and future danger. There were many stories extant of those who were struck dumb the moment they had denied Christ, or

had died of violent convulsions after eating of the food offered in sacrifice. Delinquents, who had been induced to do these things secretly, were afraid to conceal it from their bishop. For if they dared to partake of the Lord's Supper with the church, without having confessed, done penance, and received absolution, they feared the bread and wine would turn to poison in their stomachs, and either kill them instantly, or subject them to dreadful diseases. If they ventured to taste the consecrated bread privately, at home, they dreaded similar results. And if they neglected to partake of it, they supposed they rendered themselves liable to the infestation of Evil Spirits. Even if they escaped signal punishments in this life, they were oppressed with the idea that they had consigned their souls to everlasting torments in the world to come. Human minds are generally strongly influenced by the public opinion of their sect; and the universal voice of the Christian churches required of their members complete separation from polytheistic worship, and unhesitating readiness for martyrdom. Those converts who accompanied unbelieving relatives or friends to the temples, on the occasion of any of the great popular Festivals, were not allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper for a long time afterward, even if they could prove that they had neither tasted or touched anything offered to idols; and to die without having recently received the consecrated bread and wine was deemed highly dangerous. Those whom the dread of torture induced to sacrifice, generally did it with pale, averted faces, and trembling hands, as if conscious of saving their bodies at the expense of the eternal welfare of their souls. Some of them afterward died of remorse, and anxiety of mind. Those who lived, crept about dishonoured, having lost caste with both the old and the new religion. The tender-hearted among Christians mourned over such apostates as if they had died disgracefully, and the more rigid avoided them with pious horror. The memory of martyrs, on the contrary, was almost deified. The anniversaries of their death were observed with the utmost

solemnity; their names were mentioned with the greatest reverence; the garments they had worn, and the articles they had touched, were not only preserved with affectionate veneration, but were supposed to be invested with miraculous power to cure diseases, and guard from evil. Those who were imprisoned and tortured, and afterward released, without making concessions to their tormentors, were honoured as Confessors of the Faith, who had suffered in its defence, though not unto death. They took rank next to the Martyrs, both in this world and the next. People of all ranks, especially devout women, crowded round them to kiss their fetters, and the wounds they had received. A blessing from their lips was courted as an honour and a safeguard; their persons were deemed holy; their advice was consulted on all important occasions, and their opinions received with the utmost deference. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that so many rushed upon martyrdom; nor is it singular that some, who were vain by nature, became exceedingly puffed up with spiritual pride, and others were tempted to make licentious use of their great power.

Though Christians had suffered so terribly under Marcus Aurelius, who was virtuous, and generally just, they were protected by Commodus, his base and cruel successor, because Marcia, his favourite mistress, was, for some unexplained reason, kindly disposed toward them.

Septimius Severus, who began to reign one hundred and ninety-four years after our era, took into favour a Christian, who had been so fortunate as to cure him of some disease by anointing him with oil. This predilection led to bestowing several offices of his household upon Christians. He even employed them to nurse and instruct his young son. The governors of provinces, taking their tone from the Sovereign, generally tried to avoid carrying the existing laws against Christians into effect, when they were denounced for no other crime than rejection of the popular deities. They themselves suggested various means of evasion, and often gave timely warning of danger. In some

provinces, the churches paid tribute to the magistrates, during the Saturnalia, and thereby secured their favour. Tertullian, and many other zealous Christians, strongly disapproved of this concession, and considered it peculiarly disgraceful, because gamblers, tavern-keepers, and the exhibitors of shows, obtained licenses by paying tribute at the same Festival.

In the latter part of the reign of Septimius Severus, the governors of some provinces, particularly in Africa, influenced by local causes, persecuted the Christians by authority of former edicts, which remained unrepealed. Tertullian, of Carthage, stood forth as the apologist of Christianity, in this emergency. The bold tone he assumed not only indicated the fiery temperament of the man, but the increasing strength of the new religion. He speaks with the utmost contempt of the gods of Rome, calls them Evil Demons, and announces the determination of Christians to destroy their worship utterly. He warns the magistrates to be careful how they offend the majesty of the Christian God, and dwells thus exulting upon the rapid increase of proselytes: "We are but of yesterday, and we have already filled your cities, your islands, and your armies. We have penetrated into your senate, your palaces, and your courts of justice. We have left you only your temples free from our presence. If your threats are fulfilled, what will you do with so many men and women, of all ages and conditions, as will freely offer themselves? In that multitude, every man will find his kindred, his intimate friends, his equals in rank. What is Carthage itself likely to suffer, if thus decimated?"

It was not far from this period, that one of the most interesting martyrdoms on record occurred in Africa; probably in Carthage. Five young converts were arrested, and among them a married woman, of honourable family, named Vivia Perpetua. She was about twenty-two years old, and a few months previous had given birth to an infant. Her mother was a Christian, and her two brothers were candidates for baptism. Her father was the only one

of the family who remained unconverted. The story is told in the Acts of the Martyrs, and is said to have been written by herself. She says: "When we were in the hands of the persecutors, my father, in his tender affection, persevered in efforts to cast me down from the faith. I said: 'Is not this a pitcher, and can we call it by any other name?' When he replied: 'Certainly not,' I answered: 'Neither can I call myself by any other name than that of a Christian.' My father looked as if he could have plucked my eyes out; but he only harassed me, and departed, persuaded by the arguments of the Devil. Then, after being a few days without seeing him, I was enabled to give thanks to God, and his absence was tempered to my spirit. After a few days, we were baptized, and the waters seemed to give power of endurance to my body. The Spirit bade me pray for nothing at my baptism, but patience. Again a few days, and we were cast into prison. I was terrified; for I had never before seen such total darkness. O dreadful day! the excessive heat, occasioned by a multitude of prisoners crowded together, the rough treatment we received from the soldiers, and anxiety for my babe, made me miserable. But two of our deacons, by the payment of money, obtained our removal, for some hours of the day, to a more open part of the prison. Each of the captives then pursued his usual occupation; but I sat and suckled my infant, who was wasting away with hunger. In my anxiety, I addressed and consoled my mother, and commended my child to my brother; and I began to pine away, at seeing them pining away on my account. For many days I suffered this anxiety, and accustomed my babe to remain in the prison with me; and immediately I recovered my strength, and was relieved from my toil and trouble about my infant, and the prison became to me like a palace. I was happier there than I should have been anywhere else. My brother said to me: 'Perpetua, you are so exalted, that you may pray for a vision, and it will be shown to you whether our doom is martyrdom, or release.' "

Accordingly, a vision was given to her excited mind. Supernatural gifts were supposed to be imparted to those who partook of the Lord's Supper, and the account she gives shows the importance which she reverently attached to that institution. It likewise indicates that she belonged to a sect of the Montanists, who were accustomed to receive morsels of cheese at the Communion, and to drink wine from cups ornamented with pictures of the Good Shepherd. In her vision, she saw a golden ladder that ascended up into heaven. Swords and lances were around it, and a great dragon lay at the foot, to prevent those that would ascend. But she was beckoned upward by a martyr, who controlled the dragon, in the name of Christ. She ascended, and found herself in a spacious garden, where a shepherd with white hair was milking his sheep. She says: "He welcomed me, and offered me a morsel of cheese. I received it with folded hands, and ate it; and all the saints around exclaimed, Amen! At the sound, I awoke, with the sweet taste in my mouth. I related it to my brother, and we knew that our martyrdom was at hand, and we began to have no hope in this world." "After a few days, there was a rumour that we were to be heard. And my father came from the city, wasted away with anxiety. He said: 'O, my daughter, have compassion on the gray hairs of thy father, if he is worthy of the name of father. If I have brought thee up to the flower of thine age, if I have preferred thee to all thy brothers, do not expose me to this disgrace. Look on thy mother, thy brother, and thine aunt. Look on thy babe, who, if thou diest, cannot long survive. Let that lofty spirit give way, lest thou plunge us all into ruin. For, if thou diest thus, not one of us will ever again have courage to speak a free word.' Thus spake my father, weeping and kissing my hands in his fondness, and throwing himself at my feet. And I was grieved for the gray hairs of my father, because he alone, of all our family, did not rejoice in my martyrdom. I consoled him, saying: 'What shall happen when I come before the tribunal depends on the will of God. We stand,

not by our own strength, but only by the power of God.' And he went away sorrowing."

When they were carried before the tribunal, she says: "We were placed at the bar. The rest were interrogated, and made their confession. When it came to my turn, my father instantly appeared with my child, and drew me down the step, and said in a beseeching tone: 'Take pity on thy babe!' And the magistrate, who had the power of life and death, said: 'Have compassion on the gray hairs of thy father, and on thy helpless infant. Consent to offer sacrifice for the welfare of the emperor.' I answered: 'That I cannot do.' 'Art thou a Christian?' said he. I replied: 'I am a Christian.' And while my father stood there to persuade me, the magistrate ordered him to be thrust down and beaten with rods. And I was as much grieved for my old father, as if I had been scourged myself. Then sentence was passed on us all, and we were condemned to the wild beasts; and we went back in cheerfulness to the prison. And because I was accustomed to keep my infant with me to suckle it, I sent the deacon to seek it from my father; but he would not send it. By the will of God, the child no longer desired the breast, and I suffered no uneasiness lest at such a time I should be afflicted by the sufferings of my child, or by pains in my breasts."

In the interval between her sentence and execution, she was in a very exalted state, and had many visions. Her mind being troubled about a little brother, who died without being baptized, she saw him in a very dark place, where there was a pool of water, which he could not reach, on account of his small stature. But the pool rose up and touched him, and he drank of the water, and ran away to play. She says: "Then I awoke, and I knew that he was translated from the place of punishment."

The keeper, impressed by the constancy and faith of his prisoners, allowed many of the Christian brethren to visit and console them. She says: "As the day of the Games approached, my father entered, worn out with affliction, and began to pluck his beard, and to throw himself down

with his face upon the ground, and to wish that he could die, and to speak words that might have moved any living creature; and I was grieved for the sorrows of his old age."

One of her sister martyrs, named Felicitas, gave birth to a daughter in prison. Some of her companions, seeing her sufferings, said: "If you cannot bear these pains, how will you endure exposure to the wild beasts?" She replied: "Now I bear my own sufferings; but then there will be one within me, who will bear them for me, because I suffer for his sake."

It was an ancient Carthaginian custom, in the time of human sacrifices, to dress the victims in priestly garments. This practice still continued; and it was proposed, in the present case, that the men should be dressed as priests of Saturn, and the women as priestesses of Ceres. But the prisoners resisted, saying: "We came here of our own will, rather than suffer our freedom to be taken from us. We have given up our lives that we may not be forced to such abominations." The justice of their plea was admitted, and the custom was set aside.

When Perpetua was brought out to die, she came forward singing Psalms. The men were exposed to leopards and bears. The women were placed naked in nets, to be gored by furious bulls; but the populace cried out against it, and they were led away to be clad in loose robes. When Perpetua was tossed by the wild animal, and her garments rent, she was more careful to cover her person modestly, than she was mindful of her pains. In the intervals of torment, she quietly bound up her hair, thinking a martyr ought not to appear with disordered tresses, which were considered a token of grief. She raised up the fainting Felicitas, and consoled her with encouraging words. When they were led from the arena to rest awhile, she seemed to be in an ecstatic state, unconscious of what had passed. Waking as from a dream, she inquired when she was to be exposed to the wild beasts. After a succession of tortures, her courageous spirit was at length released. With

her last words, she tenderly exhorted her brother to remain stedfast in the faith.

This company of martyrs were generally calm and meek; but some of them spoke with defiance to their persecutors. To the gazing crowd they said: "Mark well our countenances, that you may know them again at the day of judgment." To the magistrate they said: "Thou hast judged us, but God will judge thee."

The heroism manifested by Christians, and the dignity with which it invested them, led their persecutors to resort to a more humiliating process. Women who could not be intimidated by the prospect of death, were carried to evil houses, and subjected to insults from the basest of mankind. Tertullian reminded them that they complimented the modesty of Christian women, by thus admitting that contamination was more dreadful to them than death.

After the local persecutions, which occurred in the time of Septimius Severus, the Christians enjoyed a calm interval of more than thirty years. Alexander Severus, who became emperor two hundred and twenty-two years after our era, was a devout man, disposed to reverence everything connected with religion. Like most philosophers of that time, he was prone to extract whatever he could find good and true in all systems; but he did what other minds of the same tendency had not done, he admitted Christianity into his circle of ethics. He paid the customary homage to Roman gods, but likewise held Isis and Serapis in great respect. In his private chapel, he had statues of Abraham, Orpheus, Apollonius, and Christ, all of whom he regarded as wise instructors of mankind. It is even said that he wished to add Christ to the list of Roman deities. He caused the words: "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," to be engraved on the walls of his palace, and on public monuments. The Chinese Confucius, and the Grecian Pittacus, had both expressed the same sentiment, and it could not therefore be regarded as the distinguishing feature of Christianity; but the adoption of the motto at that time

indicated a decided friendliness toward the rising religion, which was also manifested in many other ways. During his reign, Christian bishops were admitted at court in their official character. Hitherto, the unpopular sect had held their meetings in private houses, or sequestered groves; but now they were allowed to purchase land and erect churches.

But with the rapid succession of emperors after his time, the policy of government was often changing. Decius, who came to the throne two hundred and forty-nine years after our era, was hostile to Christians, partly because his predecessor Philip, whom he had supplanted and slain, was favourably disposed toward them. During his brief reign, they were universally and rigorously persecuted: every expedient of terror and persuasion was tried to induce them to deny their faith, and if they remained firm, the most horrible tortures were inflicted. The persecution was aimed principally against bishops, several of whom were put to death. That the Christian church was not in a state to meet the storm so bravely as in former days is acknowledged by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, in the following terms: "Because the divinely prescribed regimen of life had been disturbed in the long season of peace, a divine judgment was sent to re-establish our fallen, I might almost say, slumbering faith. Our sins deserve more. Forgetting what believers did in time of the apostles, and what they should always be doing, Christians have laboured, with insatiable desire, to increase their earthly possessions. There has been no true devotion in the priests, no sound faith in the deacons; no benevolence in their works, no discipline in their manners. Men have stained their hair and beard, and women have destroyed the comeliness of their faces with paint. The simple have been deluded, and the brethren circumvented by fraud and cunning. It has been common to contract marriages with unbelievers, and to prostitute the members of Christ to the Gentiles; to swear not only rashly but falsely; to contemn their rulers with insolent pride; to speak against them with spite and rancour; and to quarrel among them-

selves with obstinate hatred. Many of the bishops, who ought to have guided others by precept and example, have neglected their divine stewardship to engage in the management of worldly concerns; rambling about into other people's provinces, seeking out markets for traffic and gain; instead of relieving their hungry brethren in the church, eager only to heap up money; to seize people's lands by treachery and fraud; and to increase their wealth by exorbitant usury."

To account for such a state of things, it is only necessary to remember that the time had come when large numbers of the Christians received their faith as an inheritance from their forefathers, and zeal was consequently less fervid and concentrated than it had been among those who yielded old prejudices to the irresistible force of conviction. Several bishops left their flocks, and hid themselves till the storm was over. Some said they had received express commands from heaven to pursue that course. Many of the citizens, especially of the wealthy class, did not wait to be accused, but publicly conformed to the established worship of their own accord. Some went so far as to deny that they had ever been Christians. Avaricious magistrates sold certificates testifying that the receivers had duly sacrificed to the gods; and some who were afraid of the vengeance of God if they did sacrifice, and of the vengeance of the emperor if they did not sacrifice, gladly availed themselves of that subterfuge. In other cases, merciful magistrates gave the accused timely notice to save themselves by flight, and some of the more moderate and prudent bishops advised that opportunities thus kindly offered should not be lost. The sterner class of minds regarded all such expedients with contempt and abhorrence. The crisis was all the more terrible because it came suddenly, after a long interval of peace and security. No wonder that multitudes renounced their faith. But though many wavered, there were also many who suffered all the tortures tyranny could inflict, and remained firm unto death, rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer for the

truth. Some who were imprisoned in Rome more than a year, enduring hunger and thirst, the scourge, and the rack, wrote to the bishop of Carthage: "What more glorious and blessed lot can fall to man, by God's grace, than to confess the Lord amid tortures and the fear of death? Pray for us, beloved Cyprian, that the Lord may daily confirm and strengthen each one of us more and more, with the power of his might."

Decius increased the severity of his measures, and the numbers who were driven back to the old worship, at the point of the sword, excited hopes of completely extirpating the new religion. But his career ended in two years, and Christianity was too deeply rooted to be destroyed.

After his death, there was a brief respite, and many of the exiled bishops returned. But unfortunately a pestilence spread through various parts of the empire, and made dreadful ravages. Again the popular outcry arose that the Christians had caused this disaster, by their neglect of the gods; and bishops retorted by saying their God had sent it as a judgment for their cruel persecution of unoffending citizens. An imperial edict was issued commanding all Roman subjects to offer prayers and sacrifices to the gods, that the empire might be delivered from this great calamity. The multitude who refrained from taking part in the prescribed solemnities proved that Christians were still very numerous. Persecution raged again. Bishops who courageously remained with their churches suffered martyrdom. Women and children were dragged to the altars, by husbands and relatives, and compelled to sacrifice, pale and shuddering, expecting to drop down dead, or be stricken with some dreadful disease, or to suffer the torments of eternal fire, for such an idolatrous act. Sometimes a husband held his wife's hand, and forced it to drop frankincense on the altar. One woman freed herself from participation in the deed, by exclaiming: "It was not I who did it. You did it;" and she received the mild punishment of banishment, when she had reason to expect death.

With the pestilence, the persecution subsided, and there

were four or five years of tranquillity. But in the year two hundred and fifty-seven, the emperor Valerian was induced to make fresh efforts to arrest the progress of Christianity, lest the old religion of the state should perish. He began by banishing the bishops and clergy, thinking the people would be easily reclaimed, if they could be separated from their teachers. Finding they still continued to meet for worship, he passed a law forbidding Christians to assemble in any place whatsoever. This edict was continually evaded, and constant communication by letters was kept up between the churches and their exiled bishops. New churches sprang up round them, in their places of banishment, and increased the spread of Christianity. The emperor, finding himself thus frustrated, resorted to more severe measures. Bishops and clergy, who were detected in communication with their people, were put to death by the sword. Christians of the higher classes, who met at the tombs of martyrs, or elsewhere for religious worship, forfeited their rank and property. The common people, men, women, and children, were imprisoned and scourged, sold into slavery, or sent to labour in the mines. This state of things continued two years; but when Valerian's son ascended the throne, he granted the Christians free exercise of their religion, and restored their lands and churches.

As soon as persecution abated, the greater part of those who had been terrified into a denial of their faith flocked back to the churches and implored forgiveness. After due examination, if there was reason to trust their sincerity, they were again received into communion, after passing through some probationary discipline. In many cases, those who had been weak during one season of peril proved strong in the next.

The arrogance of many of the confessors proved a source of great trouble. Elated by the deference with which all classes of Christians regarded them, many of them were puffed up with spiritual pride to such a degree that they undertook to grant absolution for misconduct, and to give certificates of church fellowship without examination; as

if it required their word only to restore the fallen. Cyprian complains that thousands of such certificates were issued daily. He altogether denied the validity of such absolution, saying: "The Lord alone can bestow forgiveness of the sins committed against him. The servant may not forgive a crime committed against his master." But delinquents who had been absolved by the confessors often refused to be examined, and were impatient of the least delay in being restored to communion with their churches.

These men, who had acquired half the glory of martyrdom, were sometimes unworthy of their high spiritual rank. Cyprian says: "The greater part of them are made better by the honour of their confession, and preserve their glory by a quiet, inoffensive manner. But some disgrace the name of confessors, by their evil conversation, being drunken, lascivious, and swollen with pride; by promiscuous lewdness defiling their bodies, the temples of God, sanctified by their confession. I am grieved when I hear how many of them run about wickedly and insolently, sowing discord, and polluting the members of Christ."

When Diocletian came to the throne, two hundred and eighty-four years after our era, Christianity had long been acknowledged as one of the legally existing corporations of the empire. Christians held many responsible offices in the provinces, the army, and even in the imperial household. Even local and transient persecutions had been rare for a long time, and churches had so multiplied, that there were forty in the single city of Rome. The empress and her daughter were said to be secretly inclined toward the new doctrines. The emperor was generally beloved for his amiable disposition; and every thing seemed to promise continued tranquillity. But Galerius, who had married the daughter of Diocletian, and was associated with him in the government, was bitterly opposed to the new religion. His mother was a zealous votary of Cybele, and was exasperated against all who refused to attend her numerous festivals in honour of that ancient goddess. Galerius omitted no opportunity to prejudice the emperor's mind; but

for some time he failed to produce any very decided effect.

There were at that time a multitude of Christians in the army; and so long as they did their duty as soldiers, their neglect of the customary worship appears to have been overlooked, either from policy, or from military indifference to such matters. Every Christian would have resisted swearing by the Genius of the emperor, because by his Genius was meant his tutelary deity, which we should call guardian angel. The church likewise required all its members, on pain of excommunication, not to sacrifice to the gods, not to invoke them for success on the approach of battle, or to do homage to the standards, which bore their images, or symbols. But these things seem to have constituted the whole of Christian objections to military service. Those who had conscientious scruples concerning war itself appear to have been rare exceptions. One such is recorded as having occurred in the year two hundred and ninety-five. A young Numidian, twenty-one years of age, named Maximilianus, was required to serve in the army. He replied: "It is wrong, and I cannot do it. I am a Christian." The proconsul, disregarding this remark, offered him the badge, saying: "Take it, and be a soldier." He replied: "I will take no such badge. I already wear the badge of Christ, my God." The magistrate answered: "Then I shall soon send you to your Christ." "Would you but do that," rejoined the youth, "you would bestow on me the highest honour." When they tried to fasten the military badge upon him, he thrust it aside, saying: "I cannot wear the livery of this world, after having received the saving token of my Lord Jesus Christ, whom you know not, but who has suffered for our salvation." His father would not try to persuade him to do anything contrary to the dictates of his conscience; but the magistrate reasoned with him, and explained that he could be a soldier, and still remain a Christian; that there were many of that faith in the army everywhere. But the young man refused to be guided by their example. He was accordingly condemned to death; not on the charge of being a Christian,

but for refusing to perform military service. He received the sentence with thanks to God; and when he was led away to execution, he said to the Christians round him: "Dearest brethren, strive with all your power to attain to the vision of the Lord, that he may bestow on you also such a crown." With a cheerful countenance, he asked his father to give the military dress, intended for himself, to the soldier who was to behead him. And his father returned home joyfully, blessing God for having bestowed upon him such a pious son.

Galerius, in common with all devotees of the old religion, believed that the sign of the Cross was hateful to the gods, and prevented them from manifesting themselves, when sacrifices were offered and their aid invoked. The Christian Fathers record that the augurs complained they could not receive any favourable omens, when they performed their customary rites, if a person was present with a Cross on his forehead. These complaints of priests concerning profane persons present at the sacred rites, often excited to fury those emperors who placed great reliance on the auspices. This had always been one of the prominent causes of persecution; and it acted powerfully on the mind of Galerius, who had been educated to have undoubting faith in sacrifices and auguries. In order to banish the unlucky sign of the Cross from his army, he ordained that every soldier should be required to sacrifice to the gods. Whereupon, many officers resigned their commissions, and many soldiers quitted the service. But few of these were sentenced to death, and those on the charge of treasonable expressions. During the celebration of some great festival, there was a banquet for the army, accompanied with the usual sacrifices and libations. A centurion, named Marcellus, rose up from the table, and throwing down his sword and official belt, said aloud: "From this moment, I cease to serve the emperor as a soldier. I despise the worship of your deaf and dumb gods, idols of wood or stone. Since the service involves the necessity of sacrificing to them, and to the emperor, I throw down my staff and belt. I will be a

soldier no longer." He was beheaded on the charge of refusing to perform military service, and speaking irreverently of the gods.

After the edict concerning the army, it was several years before Diocletian could be induced to proceed any further in persecution. To all propositions of that kind, he replied that Christianity was now a lawfully existing institution in all parts of the empire, and that its destruction would involve a vast amount of bloodshed. But he had it much at heart to restore the declining greatness of the Roman empire, and his son-in-law was always urging upon him that this could be done only by propitiating the gods with a strict observance of all the ancient rites. At last, in the year three hundred and three, when Galerius visited Diocletian in his palace at Nicomedia, he succeeded in inducing him to pass severe laws against the Christians. The spirit in which he did it, is indicated by the following passage in one of his laws: "The immortal gods have, by their providence, arranged and established what is right. No new religion must presume to censure the old; since it is the greatest of crimes to overturn what has been established by our ancestors, and what has supremacy in the state."

As Valerian had hoped to exterminate Christianity by separating the people from their bishops, Diocletian thought to accomplish it by universal destruction of their Sacred Writings. On the morning of a great Festival, called Terminalia, a magnificent Christian church in Nicomedia was burst open, the copies of the Scriptures found in it were burned, everything of value was pillaged, and the building destroyed. This was followed by an edict forbidding Christians throughout the empire to hold meetings for worship. Orders were issued for a general demolition of churches, and the burning of all Sacred Writings. Christians who held honourable offices were required to renounce their faith, or be degraded; people of all ranks might be subjected to torture, according to the discretion of magistrates; the common classes of citizens, who refused

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to sacrifice, were sold, or sent to labour in the mines. Slaves who remained Christians were forever deprived of the hope of freedom.

At this terrible crisis, some voluntarily brought forth their Scriptures to be burned in the market-place. These were ever after called by zealous Christians, *Traditores*, which signifies traitors. Others, especially in fiery-hearted Africa, defied the magistrates to do their worst; proclaimed themselves Christians without being asked, and boldly announced that they had copies of the Bible, but would not surrender them. Others pursued a quiet middle course. They concealed their Sacred Writings, allowed the writings of heretical sects to be taken and burned in their stead, and said nothing, until they were summoned to speak. Some magistrates were rigorous and violent in their measures; others, more humane, tried to execute the imperial decrees with as much lenity as possible; even going so far as to suggest evasions; inquiring of those who had refused to give up their Sacred Scriptures: "Cannot you give us some useless writings?"

In a town of Numidia a band of Christians were seized in a private house, where they had assembled to listen to the Scriptures and partake of the Lord's Supper. They were carried to Carthage for trial, singing hymns all the way. Among them was a young maiden and a boy. The fiercest tortures were tried upon them in vain. Even the boy, when threatened, persisted in saying: "Do to me what you please, I am a Christian." In the midst of their bodily agonies, they called out: "You are wrong, O unhappy men! You are lacerating the innocent." "Help, O Christ! Preserve my soul, that it fall not into shame. O, give me strength to endure!" "O Lord, deliver thy servants out of the prison of this world, into glory! The imperishable kingdom appears! I thank the God of the kingdom!" The man in whose house the meeting was held, being told that he ought to have obeyed the emperor, replied, under the rack: "I could not do otherwise than receive my brethren. God is greater than the emperor."

Being asked whether he had any Sacred Writings, he answered: "Such I have; but they are in my heart."

It happened, unfortunately, that the imperial palace at Nicomedia took fire soon after the persecution began. The cause of it was never ascertained; but it was immediately imputed to the Christians, and increased the hostility toward them. Their habitual expressions were again misunderstood. There were at that time four rulers in the Roman empire; and because Christians were accustomed to speak of one king, whose will ought to be obeyed, above all other authority, they were supposed to be plotting insurrection against the government. Jerusalem being always described as the seat of Christ's kingdom on earth, a rumour went abroad that the Christians had founded a great city in the East, where they were to assemble, and commence treasonable operations. It being naturally supposed that the clergy were the leaders, an order was issued to chain and imprison them all. The most cruel tortures were inflicted to extort confessions. The prisons were crowded, and multitudes were burned, drowned, and beheaded.

Amid so many painful scenes, it is pleasant to find it recorded by Athanasius that many adherents of the old worship did their utmost to protect the persecuted. At Alexandria many of them concealed the accused in their houses, and chose rather to sacrifice their own property and liberty, than to betray the fugitives who had taken refuge with them.

This fierce persecution, while it terrified many into submission or evasion, kindled the zeal of others to such a fiery height, that they needlessly provoked their fate. Eusebius tells of a young man in the same house with him at Cæsarea, who slipped out unobserved, when the public crier summoned all men to sacrifice to the gods. He rushed to the appointed place, and just as the prefect of the city was about to sacrifice, he grasped his hand so hard, that he was compelled to let fall the offering he held. Whereupon, the soldiers seized him with fury, and after torturing him in many ways, threw him half dead into the river.

According to Augustine, some who were indebted to the public treasury, or whose reputation had been injured by misconduct, eagerly sought martyrdom, either as a release from life, or as an expiation of their sins, or because they were greedy of the gifts liberally bestowed by Christian brethren upon those who were in prison, or because they hoped that the glory of the martyr's crown would so dazzle the eyes of men, that they would take no notice of their misdemeanours.

At last, the storm subsided. Diocletian retired from the government, and Galerius his successor was smitten with a most loathsome and painful disease, in the year three hundred and eleven. He consulted the oracles in vain. The medicine prescribed at the temple of Apollo increased his agony. Perhaps this severe visitation softened his hard nature; or it might be that the same character of mind, which rendered him so zealous to propitiate the favour of old Deities, induced him to fear the Christian's God, lest he should prove, as they said he was, more powerful than all other gods. Whatever may have been his motive, he published, a few days before his death, an edict permitting the free exercise of the Christian religion. He acknowledged the failure of all his efforts to suppress it, and added: "Let them now, therefore, after experiencing this proof of our indulgence, pray to their God for our prosperity, for the well being of the state, and for their own; that the state may continue to be well maintained, and they themselves may be enabled to live quietly in their own homes."

Maximinus, his nephew and successor, who became master of the Eastern portion of the empire, in the year three hundred and eleven, was bitterly opposed to Christianity. But, at the commencement of his reign, he announced his determination not to molest the Christians, "inasmuch as it would involve so many in danger. It having been made evident, by the experience of so long a period, that they could in no way be induced to desist from their own wilful determination." Crowds of Christians who had been banished, or sent to labour in the mines, returned

joyfully to their homes, and the highways resounded with their psalms of thanksgiving. Churches were rapidly rebuilt, and the Festivals were crowded. But they remained undisturbed scarcely half a year. The multitudes who attended the new worship, and the enthusiastic throngs that gathered at the tombs of martyrs, on the anniversaries of their death, began to excite jealousy and alarm. In several cities, adherents of the old worship petitioned the emperor that no enemy of the gods might be permitted to practise their impious rites within their walls. Maximinus, though strongly attached to the old forms, delayed granting such petitions. Actuated either by justice or policy, he told the deputies that he wished to leave every man free to follow his own convictions. But such requests became more humerous; and at last he was informed that the statue of Jupiter, at Antioch, had spoken aloud, and commanded that his enemies should be expelled from the city and territory. Not daring to resist this mandate, he relinquished the effort to be impartial, and said: "If they persist in their accursed folly, let them be banished, as you demand." In the same proclamation, he described the pestilence, and other calamities, which afflicted the empire under previous reigns, and added: "These things happened in consequence of the pernicious error of those reckless men, when it had taken possession of their souls, and covered almost the whole world with disgrace." Documents, called Trials before Pilate, representing Jesus as a malefactor, were diligently distributed in the schools of city and country, that the minds of young people might be seasonably impressed. Much zeal was manifested to keep up the splendour of the temples, and of the old Festivals; and all such exertions were approved and liberally rewarded by the emperor. But notwithstanding all this homage to the gods, the harvests failed, and famine came on. The Christians in Nicomedia collected the starving people and distributed bread; whereupon, the impressible populace began to praise the Christians' God, and to pronounce them the only truly pious men. However, in

various parts of the East, individuals conspicuous for zeal, or influence, incurred the animosity of magistrates, and suffered martyrdom. But this was the last persecution, outside of their own churches, to which the Christians were subjected.

Having thus rapidly traced the course of the government toward Christianity, I will now glance backward, and introduce a number of individuals and sects, who, during the times I have described, were intimately connected with its history.

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

CLEMENT.—Those supposed to be personally acquainted with the Apostles, have received the title of Apostolic Fathers. Clement, an educated man, said to have descended from a noble family in Rome, is classed among them, because he is supposed to be the one to whom Paul alluded, when he spoke of "Clement and other fellow labourers, whose names are in the Book of Life;" also, because there was a tradition that Peter himself ordained him bishop of Rome. He wrote two Epistles to the church at Corinth, fragments of which remain.

APOLLINARIS.—Apollinaris, the first bishop of Ravenna, is said, in the ancient traditions of the church, to have accompanied the apostle Peter from Antioch, and to have been for some time his companion and assistant at Rome. But, after a while, Peter, having laid his hands on him, and thereby communicated the gifts of the Holy Ghost, sent him to preach on the eastern coast of Italy. Wherever he went, he silenced the oracles in the Roman temples, and caused the deceiving Spirits that dwelt in the statues to go out of them. His preaching and his miracles soon gathered round him a large congregation in Ravenna. It is related that he once saw a poor boy, who was born blind, washing his rags outside of the city; and being moved with compassion, he made the sign of the cross on his eyes, whereupon he instantly received his sight. The father of the boy was a

Roman soldier; and he, with all his family, was converted by the miracle. A Roman gentleman, who had been many years dumb, tried various means to recover his speech. At last, hearing the fame of Apollinaris, he sent for him, and was cured instantly. In the same family, he cast out a devil that had for some time possessed one of the servants. The whole family were thereby converted to the religion of Jesus, and five hundred people beside. On another occasion, he said to a patrician lady, who was grievously ill: "Daughter, arise, in the name of Jesus!" She rose up at once, and exclaimed: "The God of Apollinaris is the only true God." More than three hundred people were converted by this miracle. His success excited the enmity of those who trusted in the old worship: they threw him into prison, but he escaped by assistance of the jailor, and fled from the city, by the gate which leads to Rimini. His enemies pursued him, and having overtaken him about three miles from the gate, they beat him, and pierced him with many wounds; so that when his disciples found him soon afterward, he died in their arms. This happened in the last year of the emperor *Vespasian*, seventy eight years after the birth of Christ. Five hundred years afterward, a magnificent church was built on the spot where he fell. This ancient building is still standing. It bears the name of Apollinaris, and contains a Mosaic picture of him, in bishop's robes, with his hands outstretched over a flock of sheep, intended to represent his congregation.

IGNATIUS.—Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is said to have been a disciple of the Apostle John. It is recorded of him that his youth was so innocent he could hear the angels sing; and afterward, when he became bishop, he introduced into his church the practice of singing in responses, just as he had heard the heavenly choirs. Probably this simplicity and guilelessness of character gave rise to the tradition that he was one of the little children, whom Jesus took in his arms and blessed. The following account of

his death is from ancient sources, and has been generally received; but learned men suppose it to be a good deal interpolated. It is said that Trajan visited Antioch, in the year one hundred and twelve, and summoned the bishop before him. After having reproached him for seducing people from their ancient faith, he offered him large rewards, if he would sacrifice to the gods of Rome. Ignatius replied: "O Cæsar, should you offer me all the treasures of your empire, I would not cease to adore the only true and living God." Trajan contemptuously rejoined: "What talkest thou of a living God? Thy God died on the cross; but our gods reign on Olympus." Ignatius answered: "Your gods were vicious mortals, and died as such. Your Jupiter was buried in Candia; your Venus lies in the island of Paphos; your Æsculapius was shot with an arrow; your Hercules burned himself in a great fire, because he could not endure pain. These be your gods, O, emperor!" These words kindled the anger of Trajan. He exclaimed: "What! is our religion to be treated as senseless? Are the gods, on whom we rely for assistance against our enemies, to be treated with scorn?" When Ignatius would have spoken further, he commanded his mouth to be stopped, and ordered him to be conveyed to a dungeon. He was afterward sent to Rome, to be exposed to lions in the amphitheatre, for the amusement of the populace. He exulted exceedingly over this sentence. On his journey, he was continually exclaiming: "O that I might come to those wild beasts they are preparing for me! I would invite them to devour me; I would encourage them not to be afraid to set upon me, as has sometimes been the case. I am concerned for nothing, seen or unseen, but to be with Christ. Let them rack my limbs, break my bones, bruise my whole body, hang me on the cross, burn me with fire, throw me into the jaws of furious beasts. I care not for all the punishments the devil can invent, so I may but enjoy Christ."

Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, had long been his intimate friend. When he passed through that city in chains, the

bishop, and other Christian friends, eagerly sought an interview. He affectionately recommended to them the care of his church. Polycarp said: "Would to God, I also might be found worthy to die for this cause." Ignatius replied: "Doubt not, my brother, thy time will come; but, for the present, the church hath need of thee." They all embraced him and wept; kissing his hands, his garments, and his chains, and rejoicing in his courage.

In the course of his journey, he is said to have written six epistles to churches in Asia Minor, and one to his friend Polycarp. In a letter to the Christians at Rome, he begged them not to intercede with the emperor in his behalf. He says: "I beseech you not to show an unseasonable good will toward me. I am willing to die for God. Suffer me to be food for the wild beasts, by whom I shall attain unto him. I am the wheat of God, and must be ground by their teeth, that I may become the pure bread of Christ." After he arrived in Rome, he spent the time previous to his execution in exhorting the brethren to be bold in the faith. When led into the amphitheatre to die, he thus addressed the assembled crowd: "Men and Romans, know that I am not brought here for any crime, but for the glory of the God I worship." He had scarcely uttered these words, when two furious lions seized him, and left nothing of his body but a few bones, which were gathered by his friends and carried back to Antioch to be deposited. On the anniversary of his martyrdom, the church assembled at his tomb, and performed religious ceremonies.

POLYCARP.—Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, is said to have been of Eastern origin, and sold into slavery when he was a little boy. Callisto, a wealthy and charitable lady, one of the earliest Christian converts in Smyrna, is said to have redeemed him from bondage, in consequence of a dream, which greatly impressed her mind. He was educated at her expense, and early acquired a character for gravity, self-denial, and diligence in his studies. He listened to the preaching of the Apostle John, and is said to have been

appointed by him to preside over the church in Smyrna. He is reputed to have filled the office with great integrity, and to have uniformly placed before his people the example of a blameless and holy life. He converted many to the Christian faith by his traditions concerning the Apostle John. The zeal and learning he displayed in controversies with Jews, philosophers, and those deemed heretics, gave him great popularity with the Christian Fathers, who speak of him as "the most eminent man in all proconsular Asia." Being thus distinguished, he of course became an object of animosity to those whose feelings and interests were intertwined with the old forms of religion. In the year one hundred and sixty-seven, during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, the people clamoured for his death. He heard their shouts, and intended quietly to abide the issue; but in compliance with the urgent intreaties of his church, he retired to a neighbouring village. His friends, hearing that officers had been informed of his place of retreat, removed him to another village, where he spent his time with them praying day and night for all the Christian churches. While thus occupied, he saw, in a vision, his pillow all on fire, and exclaimed: "I shall certainly be burnt alive!" These words were regarded as prophetic. Three days afterward, two slaves who were acquainted with his hiding-place, were forced to confess it, by excruciating torture. The approach of the officers was seen by his friends, and they might have effected his escape. But in answer to their persuasions, he merely replied: "The will of God be done." He ordered food to be prepared for those who came to arrest him, and asked them to allow him time for prayer, while they refreshed themselves. He spent two hours at his devotions, and so humble and resigned were his expressions, so forgiving toward his enemies, so full of faith and hope, that the hearts of the officers were touched, and they waited patiently till he was ready to accompany them. He was placed on a jackass and conducted toward the city, through a concourse of people, who were abroad that day, on some public occasion. Being met on the way

by one of the magistrates, he respectfully took the venerable prisoner into his own carriage, and tried hard to persuade him to consent to sacrifice to the gods. Finding his efforts unavailing, he became angry, and turned him out of his chariot so rudely that he injured one of his limbs. The old man took no notice of the violence, and quietly proceeded on his way.

The news of his arrest spread like wildfire. The amphitheatre was crowded with an excited multitude—a vast concourse of Jews, Greeks, and Romans, eager for his condemnation, and a small band of sorrowing Christians, many of whom would gladly have saved the life of their good bishop by the sacrifice of their own. When the aged prisoner entered, a loud, clear voice, was heard to say: "Polycarp, be firm!" and his friends believed that it came from heaven. The populace shouted with frantic joy. But the governor, touched by his venerable and benign appearance, tried to induce him to swear by the Genius of the emperor, and say: "Away with the godless!" He meant the Christians; but the old man gave another construction to the words. Looking mournfully round upon the fierce, unpitying countenances of that vast multitude, which filled the benches of the amphitheatre, he raised his eyes to heaven, and repeated: "Away with the godless!" The governor, encouraged by this apparent concession, said: "Swear by the Genius of the emperor, and denounce Christ, and I will release thee." The old bishop calmly replied: "Eighty and six years have I served Christ, and he has done me nothing but good. How can I denounce my King and my Saviour?" Being still urged, he replied: "If you would know what I am, I tell you frankly that I am a Christian. If you wish to know what are the doctrines of Christianity, appoint an hour and hear me." The compassionate governor, who feared the excited populace, said: "Do but persuade the people." Polycarp answered: "To you I am bound to give an account of myself; for our religion teaches us to pay due honour to the powers ordained of God, so far as it can be done without prejudice

to our salvation. But I do not regard those as worthy of hearing me defend myself before them." The governor reminded him that he was incurring the danger of exposure to wild beasts. He replied: "It is well for me to be speedily released from this miserable life." When threatened with being burned, he answered: "I fear not the fire which burns for a moment. Thou knowest not of that which burns forever and ever." The impatient crowd began to shout: "This is the blasphemer, who has taught so many not to sacrifice to the gods! Set the lions upon him!" When the President of the Games reminded them that the combats with wild beasts were over for that day, then they cried out that he must be burned. Jews and Romans eagerly vied with each other in bringing logs and faggots for his funeral pile. During this scene, his countenance remained serene and cheerful. When they unrobed him, and attempted to fasten him to the stake, he put them gently aside, and said: "Let me remain as I am. He who enables me to brave the fire, will strengthen me to stand at the stake without fastenings, unmoved in the midst of its fierceness."

Before the fire was lighted, he offered the following prayer: "O Lord God Almighty, Father of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received from thee the knowledge of thyself; God of Angels, Powers, and of every creature; of the human race, and of the just who live in thy presence; I thank thee that thou hast graciously thought me worthy of this hour, that I may take part in the number of thy witnesses, and share the cup of thy Christ."

The flames soon kindled, but a high wind drove them on one side, so that they played harmlessly round the old man, in the shape of a swelling sail, emitting fragrance as they burned. Seeing this, an executioner was sent to run him through the body with a sword. So much blood flowed from the wound, that it extinguished the flames immediately round him. One of the accounts affirms that his soul visibly ascended from the pile, in the form of a white dove.

His death satisfied popular fury for the time, and his church had rest from persecution. The governor instituted no further search for Christians, and seemed resolved not to know that any existed. The calm heroism and trusting piety of the good old man made all the deeper impression, because he had not sought death with any vain-glorious boasting. His church, writing an account of it to their brethren of other churches, say: "He waited to be delivered up; imitating our Lord in this respect, and leaving an example for us to follow; so that we should not look to that alone which may conduce to our own salvation, but also to that which may be serviceable to our neighbour. For this is the nature of true charity, to seek not merely our own salvation, but the salvation of all the brethren."

His friends were permitted to bury his remains, and they always assembled at his grave on the anniversary of his death. When unbelieving neighbours accused them of worshipping dead men, they replied: "We took up his bones, which are more precious than gold and jewels, and laid them in the proper place. God will grant that we may assemble there in joy and gladness, and celebrate the festival of his martyrdom, in memory of departed champions, and to prepare those who are still awaiting the struggle. You do not know that we can never worship any other than Christ, who has suffered for all the saved, and whom we worship as the Son of God. But the martyrs we venerate as they deserve, on account of their unparalleled love to our Lord and King."

The account of his death was written in an epistle from the church in Smyrna to the church in Philadelphia, which is still extant, and believed to be authentic. In this narrative, he is styled "a prophetic teacher, whose every word has either been fulfilled, or will be fulfilled." Of his writings there remains only one short Epistle to the Philippiana.

IRENÆUS.—Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, is supposed to have been a native of Smyrna, born some time between one hundred twenty and forty. His name signifies The Peaceable, and is said to have been indicative of his character. This disposition led him to be greatly troubled with those who disturbed the unity of the church by differences of opinion. He says: "God will judge those who excite divisions; who for slight and frivolous reasons, rend, and, so far as in them lies, destroy the great and glorious body of Christ; straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel. All the good they can do can never compensate for the evil of schism." In early youth, he heard Polycarp preach, and always cherished the greatest reverence for his memory. In his old age, he declared: "I remember what happened then, better than what happens now. What we have heard in childhood grows along with the soul, and becomes one with it. I can describe the place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and spoke; his going in and out; his manner of life, and the shape of his person; the discourses he delivered to the congregation; how he told of his intercourse with John, and with the rest, who had seen the Lord; how he reported their sayings, and what he had heard from them respecting the Lord, his miracles, and his doctrine. These things, by virtue of the grace of God imparted to me, I listened to, even then, with eagerness, and wrote them down not on paper, but in my heart; and, by the grace of God, I constantly bring them up again fresh before my memory."

Irenæus was the disciple of Papias, who presided over the church at Hierapolis. He describes this teacher as "an ancient man, a disciple of John the Apostle, and the companion of Polycarp;" but others of the Fathers suppose he was a disciple of John the Presbyter, not of the Apostle. Papias was a diligent collector of floating traditions. He says: "As often as I met any one who had conversed with the ancients, I inquired diligently after their sayings and doctrines; what Andrew, Peter, Philip, John, and the rest of the Lord's Apostles used to teach; for I

was persuaded that I could not profit so much by books, as by the voice of living witnesses."

He made a collection of all these unwritten sayings and doings of Christ and his Apostles, from which many of the current traditions are supposed to have been derived. Irenæus probably received from him many of the stories which he has handed down; though he informs us that he was himself acquainted with several who had conversed familiarly with the Apostles. He was also a zealous collector of traditions, which he gathered from all quarters with a child-like eagerness and credulity. He was accustomed to boast that he could enumerate all the bishops appointed by the Apostles and their successors, down to his own time. He was a man of considerable learning, which he zealously employed in defence of Christianity. He was first presbyter, and afterward bishop in Gaul. The earnestness of his preaching made many converts. He had strong faith that the second coming of Christ was nigh at hand, and drew luxurious pictures of the felicity of his kingdom on earth. He was fervent and energetic in the discharge of his pastoral duties, but none had cause to accuse him of arrogance; and he was so sincerely devout, that he was called Irenæus the Divine.

JUSTIN MARTYR.—Flavius Justinus, commonly called Justin, was born in Samaria, of Grecian parentage. He is the first of the Christian Fathers, on record, in whose mind Christianity mingled with Grecian culture; and especially with the Platonic philosophy. His youth was zealously devoted to the study of Zeno and Aristotle; but not finding in their writings the satisfaction he expected, he turned to the doctrines of Plato, in which he was for a while completely absorbed. Alluding to Plato's doctrine that the soul by contemplation on divinè things might be so lifted up as clearly to perceive spiritual realities, he says: "I foolishly hoped that I should soon behold the Deity." In this state of mind, he sought frequent opportunities for solitary meditation. Walking alone by the sea-shore one day, he

met a venerable old man, who spoke to him of Jesus Christ, and advised him to study the Hebrew Prophets, who had foretold his coming. This conversation, and the heroism with which he had seen some Christian martyrs suffer death, led to his conversion, about the year one hundred and thirty-three. But he carried into his new faith a strong attachment to many of the Platonic ideas. He believed in One Supreme Being, from whom emanated the Logos, [Word] who created the world. He supposed the Logos was a substantial ray of divine light internally communicated to the souls of men, by aid of which all truth was perceived. After his conversion to Christianity, he thought his own mind was supernaturally illuminated to discern that Christ was the Logos; and that it was he to whom God was represented as saying: "Let us make man in our image." He also deemed that the author of Proverbs represented Christ the Logos as saying: "I Wisdom was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was. The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways, before the works of old. When he prepared the heavens, I was there. When he gave to the sea his decree that the waters should not pass his commandment; when he appointed the foundations of the earth, I was by him as one brought up with him; and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him." Justin was the first of the Christian Fathers, who exalted the dignity of Christ by identifying him with the Logos.

Like Philo, he declared that no one had ever seen God the Father, at any time. He says: "It was our Christ who spake to Moses from the bush, in the form of fire, and said, Put off thy shoes." He believed the Logos had often appeared to the Patriarchs in the form of a man; that he dwelt in Jesus Christ, enabling him to work miracles, and reveal his Father unto men. Explaining Christian views, in an apology addressed to the princes of the empire, he says: "Next after God we adore and love that Logos which is derived from the ineffable and unbegotten God. Who alone is properly called his Son; the Logos, who was with

him, and begotten by him, before the creatures." "The Logos of God is sometimes called his Son; sometimes Wisdom; sometimes an Angel; sometimes the Lord; sometimes one sent by another. Hence, it was said, He that heareth me, heareth him that sent me." "The Logos of the underived and ineffable Deity, is Christ, of whom the whole human race partakes; who, for our sakes became man, that, sharing our infirmities, he might heal our diseases."

In the course of his investigations, Justin probably became acquainted with the writings of Philo. He might have received from him, or from other Jews, or from Jewish Christians, the idea, which was strongly impressed on his mind, that all knowledge of divine things had been originally revealed to Moses, and transmitted from him. He maintained that all truth ever perceived by men, in any part of the world, was by inspiration of the Logos; to this idea of Philo, and the Platonists, he added the doctrine that Christ was the Logos; therefore, the direct inference was that all gleams of truth, wheresoever found, might be justly claimed as Christian. He says: "All writers, through the seed of the Logos sown within them, are able obscurely to discern those things which have a real existence." He deemed that Plato far surpassed all other philosophers; and assuming that his wisdom came from the Logos, either by direct inspiration to his own soul, or indirectly, through what had been revealed to Moses, he came to the conclusion that whatever was valuable in his writings, as well as in those of the Hebrew Lawgiver, and Prophets, might be justly claimed as revelations from Christ, and as such incorporated with Christianity. The tendency thus introduced is conspicuous, under various modifications, in the after-growth of opinions.

But though Justin revered the truth he found in Grecian philosophy, and though he perceived its resemblance to Christianity, in many points, its cold intellectual light did not satisfy his religious nature; and this deficiency he endeavoured to point out in writings addressed to those

who still remained satisfied with philosophy. In the course of his argument addressed to such minds, he says: "The power of the Logos does not produce poets; does not create philosophers, or able orators; but, by forming mortal men anew, it makes them immortal; converts mortals into gods. It transports us from the earth, beyond the limits of Olympus. Come and submit yourselves to its influence. Become as I am; for I, too, was as you are. This has conquered me; the divinity of the doctrine, the power of the Logos. As a master serpent-charmer lures out and frightens away the hideous reptile from his den, so the Word drives the fearful passions of our sensual nature from the most secret recesses of the soul. The cravings of lust having once been banished, the soul becomes calm and serene; and, delivered from the evil which had cleaved to it, returns to its Creator." In other portions of his writings, he says: "I also was once an admirer of the doctrines of Plato, and I heard the Christians abused. But when I saw them meet death, and all that is accounted terrible among men, without dismay, I knew it to be impossible that they should live in sin and lust. I despised the opinion of the multitude. I glory in being a Christian, and I take every pains to prove myself worthy of my calling." "I found in the doctrine of Christ the only sure and salutary philosophy; for it has in it a power to awe, which restrains those who depart from the right way; and the sweetest peace is the portion of them that practise it. That this doctrine is sweeter than honey is evident; since we who have been formed by it, refuse to deny the name of Christ, even unto death."

Justin retained the Platonic idea, which was, indeed, common to nearly all systems, that a Spirit was appointed to preside over each of the elements, the planets, and the stars. He also adopted the idea that Matter was the origin of evil. He delighted in glowing pictures of the millenium, for which his mind was first prepared by descriptions of the Golden Age, in Plato and other Grecian and Roman writers, and afterward by pictures of the Messiah's kingdom, in the

Hebrew Prophets. He, as well as many others of the Christian Fathers, continued to wear the philosopher's robe; a garment then generally worn by teachers of wisdom, or morality. This attracted inquiring minds toward them, and furnished them with more frequent opportunities to converse upon Christian doctrines.

After his conversion, he still continued to be called Justin the Philosopher, though he devoted himself with great zeal to the propagation of Christianity. A Jew named Trypho, whom the war excited by Bar-Cochebas had driven from Palestine, was then travelling about Greece, and had become interested in Greek philosophy. Justin's robe attracted him, and brought them into conversation with each other, concerning the nature of God, and his dispensations of truth to mankind. Justin travelled to Ephesus with him, and improved every opportunity to convince him from the Hebrew Scriptures, that Jesus was the Messiah promised by the Prophets. These conversations were put down in the form of a written dialogue, which is still in existence. He wrote other works addressed to the Gentiles, and to the heretical sects, which from the time of Simon Magus troubled the church. When he went to Rome, he proved his sincerity and courage by writing an Apology for Christians, supposed to have been addressed and presented to the emperor Marcus Aurelius. He asks that men would cease to place reliance on the unfounded reports of the populace, and represents the injustice and cruelty of persecuting unoffending citizens, who were trying to lead a virtuous and holy life. He acknowledges that much truth was to be found in the old philosophies, and explains how he came to be convinced that Christianity was the more excellent way. This document was mild, liberal, and apologetic in its tone; but the author was soon after arrested, on the charge of impiety for neglecting the established worship. As he publicly confessed himself a Christian, and refused to sacrifice to the gods, he was condemned to be scourged and beheaded. The sentence was executed in the seventy-fifth year of his age; supposed to

be not far from one hundred and sixty-four years from our era. He was thenceforth called Justin Martyr. He is very highly praised by the early Christian writers.

TATIAN.—Tatian of Assyria, who flourished in the year one hundred and seventy, was educated in the old religion of Greece and Rome, and in the course of extensive travels became acquainted with almost every variety in its forms of worship. None of them seemed to him rational; and he was especially displeased with those Festivals, which, under the name of religion, had become scenes of intemperance and debauchery. The allegorical interpretations, which philosophers gave to stories concerning the gods, failed to satisfy the requirements of his soul; and he felt that it was hypocritical, and therefore wrong, to join in the popular worship outwardly, if it conveyed no religious meaning to his mind. He was initiated into the Mysteries, but the light he received did not fulfil the expectations he had formed. In this state of mind he met with a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures, in the Greek translation. Having heard them spoken of as of high antiquity, his curiosity was excited to read them; and he was deeply impressed by the perusal. He says: "These writings won my confidence by the simplicity of their style, the unaffected directness of the speakers, the intelligible account of creation, the predictions of future events, the salutary tendency of the precepts, and the prevailing doctrine of one God." He made a visit to Rome, where he became acquainted with Justin Martyr and was attracted toward him by the similarity of their philosophic education, and subsequent states of mind. This friendship introduced him to a knowledge of the Christian Scriptures, by which he was converted. Like his teacher, he joined many Platonic ideas with Christianity. He believed that the Logos emanated from God, without being separated from him. He supposed that Matter was the origin of evil, and that by means of a Spirit, or Soul, connected with it, and kindred to its own nature, it produced the devils. He believed that man had a

rational soul, an irrational soul, and a body. The rational soul was an emanation from the Logos; and by means of that indwelling celestial ray of light, he was rendered immortal, and capable of communion with Deity. The irrational soul, man received from Spirits inferior to the Logos; and being connected with Matter, it partook of its imperfection. If the inferior soul had been kept in perfect subjection to the superior, man would have remained an immortal image of the Logos, as he was when he was first created. But by yielding to sin, he lost the interior ray of celestial light, and became subject to death. From these premises, he adopted the conclusion that, after the fall of Adam, the souls of men became mortal, as well as their bodies; an idea entertained by many Jews, as mentioned in the first volume. To bring men again into communion with Deity, and restore the immortality they had lost, he supposed it was necessary for the Logos to enter a human form; and this he did in the person of Jesus Christ.

Tatian wrote a vindication of Christianity, under the title of a Discourse to the Greeks. He long survived his friend, Justin Martyr, whose memory he always cherished with the utmost veneration. The views here briefly expressed gradually developed into forms which did not receive the sanction of the church, and he was numbered among heretics.

THEOPHILUS.—Theophilus, who was bishop of Antioch in the year one hundred and sixty-eight, was also of Gentile parentage, and much imbued with Platonic philosophy before he became a Christian. He believed that God had always within himself his Logos, or Wisdom, which he sent forth from his bosom ages before the universe was produced; that all things were created by the agency of the Logos, who guided the Patriarchs and Moses, inspired the Prophets, and manifested himself in Jesus Christ.

TERTULLIAN.—Quintus Florens Tertullian, who was born about one hundred and sixty years from our era, was the
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son of a Roman centurion at Carthage. He is supposed to have been a lawyer, or a rhetorician, and not to have embraced Christianity till he arrived at manhood. He had accumulated a good deal of knowledge, for his time, and was familiar with Greek and Roman literature, but held all their artistic culture, and love of beauty, in stern contempt. He was a man of vehement zeal, austere in his principles, and fierce in his opposition to all whom he regarded as heretics. He was accustomed to say that none but Christians had a right to the Sacred Scriptures; heretics were not Christians; therefore, heretical sects had no right to quote Scripture. In the latter part of his life, he himself withdrew from what was considered the orthodox party, and joined the Montanists, regarded by the majority of Christians as heretics. He wrote a great deal, but mostly in a controversial form. Arguing concerning the existence of Deity, he thus expresses himself concerning the Logos: "God, before the formation of the universe, was not alone: for he had with him, and in him, his own Reason, which Greeks call Logos; and in Reason he had Speech, which he could make a second principle from himself, by acting within himself."

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.—Titus Flavius Clement is supposed to have been born in Athens. His eager thirst for knowledge led him to travel in search of it into various parts of Greece, Egypt, Italy, Syria, and Palestine. The various influences which acted upon his mind may be conjectured from the teachers he enumerates. One was from Ionia, another from Magna Grecia in Italy, another from Coelo Syria, another from Egypt; others came from the East; of whom one was an Assyrian, another a Jew. At that time, there generally prevailed among scholars a system called Eclectic, from Greek words, meaning to select from. Following this tendency, Clement strove to glean portions of truth from all sources, and combine them into one harmonious system. He says: "I espoused not this or that philosophy; not the Stoic, nor the Platonic, nor

the Epicurean, nor that of Aristotle; but whatever any of these sects had said, that was fit and just, teaching righteousness with a divine and religious knowledge, all *that* being selected, I call philosophy."

He spent most of his life in Alexandria, where he became acquainted with the Christian church and joined it. He was held in high esteem for his learning and virtues, and in the year one hundred and ninety he was appointed presbyter. There was at that time a Christian school established at Alexandria, and they selected for catechists, or teachers, converts who were thoroughly acquainted with Grecian religion and philosophy, and therefore well qualified to answer such objections as would be brought by learned Gentiles. Clement was for some time at the head of this school. He favoured an allegorical mode of interpreting the Scriptures, and thus found within them whatever his mind had been previously convinced of. Like Justin Martyr, he carried into Christianity a good deal of respect for the philosophies, which had stimulated his intellect in its search after truth. He says: "God, as the author of all good, was author of the Greek philosophy. This was the schoolmaster to the Greeks, as the Law was to the Jews, preparing the way for Christianity." He, however, thought that Grecian wisdom was received through the medium of an inferior degree of angels. He believed in One Underived God, from whom proceeded the Logos, that created the world. He says: "The Son is the Power of God, the Wisdom, in which the Father delighted; the most ancient Logos, before all things that were made, and especially the chosen teacher of those that were made by him. God cannot be shown, nor can he teach; but the Son is wisdom, and knowledge, and truth." He supposed that the stars were animated by Spirits, who were subordinate agents in the management of the universe, and also retained the Platonic idea that man had a rational soul, and an inferior soul, the seat of the sensations. The oriental idea that this world was created for the purification of erring Spirits, and that the process was continued in other regions, after death,

with a view to the final restoration of all things to original order, had passed into Greek philosophy, and was received by Clement. He urged this doctrine with great zeal, and thought it was proved by the statement that Christ descended into Hades. He believed a tradition then current that both Christ and his Apostles went there to baptize the old patriarchs and prophets.

Clement testifies of himself that he was instructed by several disciples of the very chief Apostles, who had truly preserved traditions of the teaching of Peter, James, and John. In the year two hundred and twelve he visited Jerusalem. The bishop there recommended him, in a letter to the church at Antioch, as "a godly minister, a man both virtuous and well known, with whom they were already acquainted, and who had confirmed and promoted the church of Christ." Clement of Alexandria wrote much in explanation and defence of Christianity. Many of these writings remain, and are valuable as illustrating the character of the times, and the state of the church at that period.

ORIGEN.—Origen was born at Alexandria, in one hundred eighty-five. He was early instructed in Christianity by his father, and became a pupil in the school of Clement. His father, Leonides, gave him a portion of Scripture to learn every day, and when he was a boy he was never satisfied with having merely the literal sense explained, but was always inquisitive concerning the inward meaning. His father sometimes checked this tendency, as a presumptuous spirit of curiosity, unbecoming to his years. But he secretly rejoiced in the activity and earnestness of his mind, and thanked God for giving him such a son. When the child was asleep, it is said he would often uncover his breast and kiss it reverently, regarding it as a temple for the Holy Spirit.

His intellectual as well as religious education received careful attention; and it is evident from his writings that he was thoroughly imbued with Grecian philosophy. When he was sixteen years old, Christians in that part of the

world were suffering under persecution, in the reign of Septimius Severus. His father was thrown into prison, and he was eager to rush before the authorities and avow himself a Christian, that he might share his fate. His mother, having vainly tried to dissuade him from his purpose, resorted to the expedient of hiding all his garments. Finding himself unable to leave the house, he wrote to his father: "See that thou changest not thy mind for our sakes." Leonides was beheaded, and all his property confiscated. His widow was thus left destitute, with seven children. Origen, who was the eldest, was received into the family of a rich and noble lady, a convert to Christianity. He soon freed himself from this dependent position, and sought the means of supporting his mother and six younger brothers, by teaching grammar and philosophy. In the midst of these labours, he was continually visiting the Christians who were in prison, ministering to their necessities, sustaining their courage, and manifesting his affectionate sympathy by hugging and kissing those who were led forth to execution. This so irritated the populace, that he was several times nearly killed by stones thrown at him. On some of these occasions, soldiers surrounded his house to seize him, and he was saved by escaping secretly from one house to another. The school for young converts, formerly superintended by Clement, was then suspended, on account of the persecution. The intellectual culture of Origen, and the earnestness of his character, combined with the exemplary purity of his life and conversation, induced inquiring minds among the Gentiles to apply to him for instruction. Many of these he conducted through the portal of philosophy into the Christian church; and some of them afterward became renowned teachers and martyrs. Though he was then but eighteen years old, his reputation for learning and sobriety, and his great success as a lecturer, attracted the attention of Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, who appointed him a teacher in the church. His lectures, meanwhile, were attended by crowds of men and women, and the number continually increased. His zeal and self-denial

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were truly wonderful. Printing was then unknown, and he had copied for his own use, with great neatness and beauty, a collection of the ancient authors. These he sold, and reduced his expenditures to about nine cents a day, that he might have more time to devote to Christian teaching, without incurring obligations to others. He slept but little, and always on the bare ground. He went barefoot, and wore but one coat, however inclement the weather; because Christ had said to his disciples: "Provide neither two coats, neither shoes." His careful conscience rendered him fearful of bringing reproach on the church by yielding to temptation, surrounded as he constantly was by young pupils, of both sexes, who were strongly attached to him; and in the sincerity of his youthful zeal, he obeyed, as if it were a literal injunction, the saying: "There be those who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven's sake." Later in life, he viewed such literal interpretation of Scripture as a mistake.

In the school of Clement he had doubtless become more or less acquainted with Grecian philosophy; and after the death of his father, he cultivated such studies, as necessary to his office of public teacher. He says: "When I had wholly devoted myself to the promulgation of the divine doctrines, and the fame of my skill in them began to be spread, and sometimes heretics, sometimes such as had been conversant with the Grecian sciences, and particularly men from the philosophic schools, came to visit me, it seemed to me necessary that I should examine the doctrinal opinions of the heretics, and what the philosophers pretended to know of the truth." Actuated by this motive, he attended the lectures of a highly esteemed teacher of Platonic philosophy, supposed to be the celebrated Ammonius Saccas. It required a much more exclusive and repellent nature than Origen possessed, to escape the tendency to eclecticism, which at that formative period so universally prevailed. His high moral sense bound him strongly to Christianity; the natural delicacy and refinement of his organization attracted him toward the poetic beauty of

Grecian culture, and particularly toward the spiritualized intellect of Plato; his kindly disposition led him to acknowledge good wheresoever he found it; and his large and liberal soul was ready to accept what seemed to him true, from whatever source it flowed.

He acknowledged a personal God, embracing in his consciousness all things that exist, and creating by the exercise of his will. This view differed from the Platonic theory of a pure impersonal Being, without consciousness, from whom other beings emanated by an inherent law. He believed the Logos was in the Father what reason is in man; that he was dependent upon him, and employed as an agent in creating the world; that he was the concentration of God's glory, by whom it was reflected throughout the world of Spirits. He was *the* Truth and *the* Wisdom, revealing truth and wisdom to all capable of receiving. The Holy Spirit was the Divine Energy of Deity. As the Son and the Holy Spirit were incomparably exalted above all other spiritual existences, so the Father was incomparably exalted above *them*.

He supposed that Jesus Christ was a perfect human being, with a rational soul, a sensitive soul, and a body, like other men. The Logos of God united himself to the rational soul of Christ; that being the part of mortals which was a portion of his own celestial nature. By this means, the Logos came into communication with the sensuous nature, and Christ received supernatural power. The union took place at the very first moment of human existence, but the consequences were not completely developed until after the resurrection. The indwelling Logos gradually assimilated the whole being of Christ to his own; so that at the ascension, even his body became transfigured to a form analagous with the Divine Essence. The Holy Spirit he supposed descended upon Jesus at baptism.

He thought prayers ought to be addressed to the Father only, but always through the mediation of the Son. He asks: "Why may not this be expressed in the sense of him who said, 'Why callest thou *me* good? There is none

good but one, that is God. Why prayest thou to me? Thou shouldst pray to the Father alone; to whom I also pray. You have learned from the Scriptures that you must not pray to the High Priest, whom God has appointed to intercede for you; but *through* him. So also you are not to pray to him whom the Father has ordained your advocate and intercessor; but you are to pray *through* him, who can be touched with your infirmities, having been tempted in all points, like as ye are, yet, by the gift of God, without sin. Learn then what a gift you have received from my Father, when, by your new birth in me, ye have received the Spirit of adoption, that ye might be called sons of God, and my own brethren.'"

He believed that the self sacrifice of a perfectly holy being helped to free others who were subject to the power of evil. This he regarded as a moral law of the universe, proved by the universal belief of mankind that innocent individuals, by sacrificing themselves, had averted great calamities impending over whole cities and nations. In this way, he thought Christ had aided all souls by crippling the power of Satan.

He taught that the Scriptures had a threefold sense, analogous to the rational soul, the sensitive soul, and the body of man. The inmost sense was for those who had attained to such spirituality that they could perceive revelations of Divinity in its fulness; there was an intermediate allegorical sense, for those who had not yet attained to such an exalted state of vision; and there was the outward letter, in which high truths were veiled for the instruction of the multitude. He says: "The mass of genuine and simple believers testify to the utility even of this inferior understanding of the Scriptures." In illustration of this view, he declares: "The Word *continually* becomes flesh, in order to dwell among us." The outward letter, he spoke of as "The Word taking the form of a servant." He says: "But when we have leaned on the bosom of the incarnate Word, and are able to follow him as he goes up into the high mountain, then we shall see the transfiguration of Scripture."

To attain to this state of exalted perception, faith was requisite. He said: "Believe first; and beneath that which thou accountest an offence, thou shalt find much that is profitable for holiness." All the external laws, and the history of earthly events, both in the Old Testament and the New, he explained as symbolical of higher laws, and a higher history, relating to a spiritual kingdom. He insisted that in most cases the external and internal sense must both be adhered to, and that it was never right to give up the latter until after the most careful and conscientious examination. In some cases he rejected the outward sense. He denied that there had ever been a material Paradise, and considered the Garden of Eden an allegorical representative of the heavenly world, from which the Spirit of Adam fell, when he was attracted toward Matter. Viewing David only as the inspired prophet of God, he could not regard the story of Uriah as literally true. Philo had met similar difficulties in the same way; and both of them, having great reverence for the Scriptures, explained such passages as stones of stumbling, interspersed to stimulate men to deeper investigation.

Origen acknowledged the importance of miracles, as a means of awakening faith; but he regarded such faith merely as a step by which men might ascend higher to an intuitive perception of truth. He says: "The Jews believed in Jesus as a worker of miracles, but they had not the recipient temper for divine truth, and therefore did not believe in him as a revealer of the more profound truths of religion. We see the same thing exemplified by multitudes at the present day, who wonder at Jesus when they contemplate his history, but believe him no longer when some doctrine is unfolded beyond their comprehension." "They who have received the free gift of Divine Wisdom, live no longer in faith, but in open vision; they are the spiritual-minded, who are no longer at home in the body, but even while here below are present with the Lord." But while he dwells much on these higher gifts of the spirit, he cautions Christian teachers "not to despise the little

ones, through vain conceit of wisdom and superiority, as great ones in the church; but to fulfil the will of Christ by becoming children with children."

Origen accepted the common idea that the stars had souls; and he considered it proved by Job's assertion that "the morning stars sang together." He believed that they took friendly interest in the affairs of men, and could foresee future events. He says: "We know that angels have the government of fruits and seasons, and the production of animals committed to them. We speak well of them, and think them happy that they are intrusted by God to manage the conveniences of human life, but we do not give them that honour which is due to Deity alone. For neither does God allow it, nor do they desire it. They love and care for us equally, whether we do or do not sacrifice to them." He supposed that Angels had ethereal bodies, and that Evil Spirits were in grosser forms. In the beginning, all existences were in harmony with God, and happy in communion with him. But the will of some became at variance with the Divine will, thus the harmony of the universe was disturbed, and could only be restored by a long process of purification. This world was created as a scene of purification for those who had become incapable of an entirely spiritual life. All human souls were fallen Spirits, who had sinned, in greater or less degrees, in their existence previous to entering a human body. Adam was the first of these Spirits who was clothed in flesh. They were of a vast variety of orders, placed in progressively ascending regions, and in various modes of existence, according to the use they had made of liberty. Through these spheres wandering souls passed till the process of purification was completed, and they were enabled to return to their original condition. Those who had made good use of their probation on earth, after they departed from the body felt sympathy for those they left behind and delighted to assist them in their upward course. Origen expressly says: "All the holy men who have departed from this life, retaining their charity toward those

whom they left behind, are anxious for their salvation, and assist them by their prayers, and their mediation with God." He believed that the Logos united himself to a mortal, to form a medium between human souls and their Heavenly Father, and lead them back to intimate communion with Him. The souls of the good would become continually more and more perfect, through the revolution of ages; the bad, both among human beings and Evil Spirits, would gradually become purified, and all would at last be restored to order and happiness. The imperfections of Matter had obstructed the beneficent operations of Deity; but Matter itself would finally become refined into a better substance, and thus nothing would be left at discord with the Divine Nature. All Spirits would have intuitive communion with the Supreme, through the Logos, and all would know the Son, as perfectly as the Son knew the Father. This universal restoration seemed to him the unavoidable result of God's impartial justice and all pervading love. But, like the Buddhists, he believed that the will of Spirits would again deviate from the will of the Supreme; and as soon as one ceased to be absorbed in the All Perfect, and wished to be anything for himself, evil would germinate anew. A world would be again created, and mortal bodies prepared for the Spirits, who would again descend into them; there would be another process of progressive purification, which would again result in the perfect union of all things with the Supreme. This alternation from unity to manifoldness would go on forever.

During a visit to Palestine, Origen attracted great attention, and was invited by the bishops to preach at their assemblies. On his way to Cæsarea, he was consecrated to the office of presbyter, by an assemblage of bishops. This was the beginning of persecutions, which ever after troubled his life. His own bishop at Alexandria, who is said to have been jealous of his great reputation, took offence at this proceeding. He maintained that he alone had a right to consecrate Origen. He recalled him, summoned two coun-

cils to deprive him of his priestly office, banished him from his native city, and finally excommunicated him from the church. This sentence was confirmed at Rome, and by most of the other bishops. The nullification of his ordination is said to have been grounded more on points of ecclesiastical order, than on questions of doctrine. Origen returned to Cæsarea, where he was received with much favour by all the bishops in the surrounding regions. The high estimation in which he was held is shown by the fact that Synods of Bishops were accustomed to consult his opinion, when it was difficult to settle theological questions. He went to Arabia, by invitation of bishops in that province, to refute the bishop Beryllus, who affirmed that the divine nature of Christ did not exist before his human nature. Origen spoke so eloquently on the subject, that Beryllus was convinced, and sent him a letter of thanks. He was afterward summoned to a council held against certain sects, who maintained that the soul died as well as the body; and there also he reasoned with so much ability, that he brought them all over to his opinion. He visited Athens and Rome, where he obtained great celebrity by the learning and skill he displayed in the refutation of various systems of philosophy. Mamœa, mother of the emperor Alexander Severus, a woman of uncommon intellect, requested an interview with Origen, when she passed through Antioch. She received him with great respect, and had a long conversation on the subject of Christian doctrines. Though she was not converted by his arguments, it is not improbable that this conversation had considerable effect in producing the liberal policy which her son pursued toward Christians.

The writings of Origen were exceedingly voluminous; most of them biblical criticisms. Nearly all of them are lost; having been committed to the flames, because some of his doctrines were not sanctioned by the sect that eventually became paramount in the church. The greatest labour of his diligent life was the collection of a great variety of ancient versions of the Old Testament, and the careful

comparison of them, word by word, with the original Hebrew text. He was induced to this because Christians, in their controversies with Jews, were unable to quote from anything but the Greek translation, called the Septuagint; and Palestine Jews constantly accused them of quoting texts which did not exist in Hebrew. Upon examination, he found that copies of the Septuagint varied from each other, and none of them altogether agreed with the Hebrew. It was a stupendous labour, and occupied him many years.

During the persecution under Decius, Origen was arrested, and having boldly confessed, was thrown into prison. There they tried to subdue him by gradually increasing tortures. But though he was then an old man, the strong soul sustained the infirm body. He endured all his sufferings with patience, and from his prison wrote a letter of consolation and encouragement to his persecuted brethren of the faith. The cruelties inflicted on him are supposed to have shortened his life. He died about three years after, at the age of sixty-nine.

Few men have had such warm admirers and such bitter persecutors, both before and after his death. He always had steadfast friends among some of the greatest ornaments of the church, and his most prejudiced opponents never denied his moral excellence. The general respect for his great intellect and uncommon worth was much increased by his candour and courtesy in argument, and by the uniform meekness with which he met the attacks of his enemies. He is described as "one of the most eminent of the early Christian writers; not only for his intellectual power and attainments, but also for the influence exercised by him, on the opinions of subsequent ages; and for the dissensions and discussions respecting his opinions, which have been carried on through many centuries, down to modern times."

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.—Gregory of Neocæsarea, in Pontus, was born of a noble and wealthy family. His father was devotedly attached to the old Roman worship,
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and educated his son in accordance with his own views. After his father's death, he travelled to perfect himself in Roman law; being expected to open a brilliant career for himself as an advocate. But at Cæsarea he became acquainted with Origen, and was so much attracted by his lectures, that he forgot everything else in his eager pursuit after religious truth. He remained with him eight years. Concerning his expositions of the Scriptures he says: "It is my firm belief that he was able so to discourse only by communion with the Holy Spirit; for it requires the same power to be a prophet and to understand prophets. This man received from God that greatest of all gifts, to be to men an interpreter of the words of God; to understand God's Word as God speaks it, and to announce it to men as men can understand it." He was extremely reluctant to part from Origen and return with his brother to their native city. In view of it, he exclaims: "Do thou, beloved head, stand up and dismiss us with thy prayer. As thou hast, by thy holy doctrines, guided us to salvation all the long time we have been with thee, so now we are to leave thee, guide us to salvation by thy prayers. Pray God to send a good angel to lead us, and to console us for our separation from thee. But pray also that he would bring us back to thee."

Origen kept up an affectionate correspondence with this enthusiastic disciple. He assured him that he could become an able teacher of Roman law, or an eminent instructor in the philosophical schools; but he advised him to devote his talents to the Christian church. When he returned to Neocæsarea, there were only seventeen Christians in that place; but the majority were soon converted by his zeal and eloquence. He retired for a while into the wilderness, to devote himself to religious contemplation, and to avoid being chosen bishop of the church which had grown up under his auspices. But during his absence, he was ordained to that office without his knowledge, and came from the wilderness with great reluctance to answer to the call. He had remarkable success in mak-

ing converts, and he was so celebrated for the miracles he performed, that he was universally called Gregory Thaumaturgus, the Wonder Worker.

A Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus was written about a century after his death, by Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa. It contains many strange legends, which remarkably illustrate the credulity of the times. A work which he wrote on the Trinity is much eulogized by his biographer. He says the Virgin Mary herself, accompanied by the Apostle John, appeared in a vision, and explained to him the mystery of godliness, which he wrote down in this short summary of faith, and left as a legacy to his church. He adds: "For excellency of divine grace, it may be compared with those tables of the Law made by God and delivered to Moses." In the time of Gregory of Nyssa, this document was still preserved as a holy relic by the church at Neocæsarea; and they averred that it was in the author's handwriting. But the doctrine of the Trinity was then very hotly controverted, and some learned men say the manuscript had been much interpolated, to meet the exigencies of the time.

CYPRIAN.—One of the most celebrated of the early Fathers was Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. He was educated in the old religion of Rome, and taught rhetoric with distinguished success. He was converted to Christianity in the year two hundred and forty-six, and became bishop two years after; in which office he maintained a high reputation for eloquence and virtue. His ideas concerning subordination in the churches were very strict; and, combined with the dignity of his demeanour, did more to exalt the claims of bishops, than had been done by any of his predecessors. He believed they were divinely appointed to guide mankind, and that it was impious for any one to dispute their authority in matters of faith. The church was then much troubled with schismatics, and he seems to have taken this ground from an earnest desire to preserve unity, rather than from personal ambition. It made him rigorous to-

ward all whom he deemed heretics; but the bishops regarded him as a tower of strength, and he was greatly admired and beloved by his people, toward whom he discharged his pastoral duties in a conscientious and paternal manner.

Such a man was, of course, a conspicuous mark for persecution. He had always discountenanced rashness in incurring unnecessary danger, and, at the commencement of the Decian persecution, he prudently withdrew from the city, till the storm blew over. Extreme zealots blamed him for this, and accused him of setting a cowardly example; but the motives he assigns are such as would naturally actuate a man careful of the welfare of those over whom he presided. He says: "On the first commencement of the troubles, when the populace, with furious clamours, had frequently demanded my death, I retired for a while, not so much out of regard for my own safety, as for the public peace of the brethren; lest the disturbance which had begun might be increased by my obstinate presence." From his retreat, he wrote thus to his clergy: "I beg of you to use all prudence and care for the preservation of quiet. If our brethren, in their love, are anxious to visit those worthy Confessors, whom divine grace has already honoured by a glorious beginning, this must be done with caution, and not in crowds, lest suspicion should be excited, and our access to them wholly prohibited. Be careful then, that for the greater safety, this matter be managed with due moderation. Indeed, we must in all things, with meekness and humility, as becomes the servants of God, accommodate ourselves to the times, and seek for the preservation of peace, and the best good of the people."

Soon after he returned to Carthage, a pestilence began to spread through the empire. Everybody was commanded to sacrifice to the gods, and those who refrained from so doing were again cruelly persecuted. Cyprian, being summoned before the tribunal, declared his determination to worship no other than the God of the Christians, "the true

and only God." He was accordingly banished to the city of Curubia, where he remained in exile eleven months. But though absent in the body, he kept up an active correspondence with the Christian churches, to whom he wrote as follows: "My dearest brethren, let no one be disturbed because our people are scattered by the fear of persecution; because he can no longer see the brethren together, nor hear the bishops preach. We, who may not shed the blood of others, but must be ready to pour out our own, cannot, at such a time, all meet together. Wherever it may happen that a brother is separated from the church a while, in body, not in spirit, by the necessity of the times, let him not be appalled by the solitude of the desert, where he may be obliged to take refuge. He who has Christ for a companion is not alone. If robbers, or wild beasts, fall upon the fugitive, if hunger or cold destroy him, if the stormy waves of the sea overwhelm him, still Christ is present to witness the conduct of his soldier, wheresoever he fights."

To those Christians who were imprisoned, or labouring in the mines, he sent money from the church treasury, and from his own income, accompanied with letters full of sympathy and affectionate encouragement. "What triumph," says he, "when you can walk through the mines with imprisoned body, but with a heart conscious of mastery over itself! When you know that Christ is with you, rejoicing over the patience of his servants, who in his own footsteps, and by his own way, are entering into the eternal kingdom."

When new governors were appointed, at the accession of Valerian, the banished bishops were recalled, and ordered to wait in retirement till the commands of the emperor decided their fate. Cyprian took up his residence at a secluded villa in the neighbourhood of Carthage, where he gave instruction and advice to such as could privately resort to him. Hearing that he was to be conveyed to Utica for trial, he yielded to the persuasions of friends, who urged him to hide himself for a time, till the governor, who was then absent, returned to Carthage; for being

aware that he was soon likely to join the band of martyrs, he chose to give his last testimony to the truth of Christianity in the presence of those who had long looked up to him for example. From his place of concealment, he wrote thus to his flock: "It becomes the bishop to confess the Lord in the place where he presides over the church of the Lord; so that the whole church may be honoured by the confession of their bishop. For whatever proceeds from the lips of the confessing bishop, under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, comes from the mouths of all. Let me then await the return of the Proconsul to Carthage, that I may learn from him the commands of the emperor, and speak whatever the Lord, in that hour, may cause me to speak. But do you, my dearest brethren, study to preserve quiet, in conformity to the directions, which, according to the doctrine of the Lord, you have often received from me. Let no one of you lead the brethren into tumults, or voluntarily give himself up. The only time for any one to speak is after he has been apprehended. In that hour, the Lord, who dwells in us, speaks in us."

Soon after the governor's return he was arrested on the charge of continuing to teach Christianity, contrary to the orders of the government. During the day that he was detained in prison, to await his trial, the keepers treated him respectfully, and a multitude of Christians thronged round the building to catch a glimpse of their beloved bishop, knowing it might be for the last time. The examination was very brief. The magistrate said: "Art thou Cyprian, the bishop of so many impious men? The most sacred emperor commands thee to sacrifice." Cyprian calmly replied: "I will not sacrifice." The magistrate had him consider well. "Execute your orders," answered the bishop: "it is a case that admits of no consideration." After a preamble, reminding him how pious emperors had vainly tried to reclaim him from his evil ways, he was sentenced to be beheaded; to which he quietly replied: "God be thanked." As soon as the mournful tidings reached the multitude of Christians thronging round the palace gates, a general cry

arose: "We will die with him." He was carried to a neighbouring field to be beheaded. Before he received the fatal stroke, he directed that twenty-five pieces of gold should be bestowed on his executioner. His body was given to his sorrowing friends, who conveyed it to the Christian burial-place, with a long procession by torch-light. The magistrate who condemned him died a few days after; and though he had long been in ill health, Christians regarded it as a signal punishment from God for the death of their holy bishop. This martyrdom occurred in the year two hundred and fifty-eight. Cyprian left several works, which are still in existence.

OPINIONS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY FATHERS.

From this brief sketch of a few of the early Fathers of the church, it may be inferred that some of the wisest and best men of the time were in their ranks. But, like all other men, they bore the impress of the age in which they lived. They were credulous to an extreme degree; but it was not peculiar to them; for all the world was credulous. They believed that angels, who had fallen from their high estate by disobedience, were permitted to roam about the earth, producing diseases by entering the bodies of men, and endangering their souls by tempting them to idolatry; that it was their greatest delight to induce men to worship their own images, instead of the true God; that they resided in the temples, entered the statues, pronounced oracles, and performed miracles. Tertullian exults in the torments they endured, when Christians exorcised them in the name of Jesus. Some instances are recorded where the demon, being expelled from human bodies, and commanded to acknowledge his name, confessed that he was Jupiter, or Apollo, or some other god of antiquity, who had impiously induced men to adore him. Justin Martyr says that all the saints and the prophets had fallen under the power of Evil Spirits, like Python, at the time of Christ's coming; and that was the reason why, when he

was ready to give up the ghost, he commended his own spirit to God.

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, cotemporary with Irenæus, declares that it was Evil Spirits who inspired the poets and prophets of Greece and Roma. He says: "The truth of this is manifestly shown; because those who are possessed by Devils, even at this day, are sometimes exorcised by us in the name of God; and the seducing Spirits confess themselves to be the same Demons who before inspired the Gentile poets."

Tertullian challenges the magistrates "to call before their tribunals any person possessed with a Devil, and if the Evil Spirit, when exorcised by any Christian whatsoever, did not own himself to be a Devil, as explicitly as in other places he would call himself a God, (not daring to tell a lie to a Christian,) that they should then take the life of that Christian." He asks: "What can be more manifest than this operation? What more convincing than this proof?" He further says, that Evil Spirits, in order to sustain the popular belief in their divinity, and to obtain nourishment from the steam of sacrifices, often miraculously cured the diseases which they themselves had occasioned.

Cyprian says: "There are Evil Spirits, who lurk in the statues, inspire the soothsayers, direct the flight of birds, move the entrails of victims, excite terror in the minds of men, disturb their sleep, convulse their bodies, and destroy their health, in order to force men to worship them; that being fattened by the steam of sacrifices, they may appear to cure the diseases which they themselves had caused; though the only cure is in their ceasing to do harm. When adjured by us, in the name of the true God, they presently yield, confess, and are forced to quit the bodies they possessed. By our command, and the secret operation of the Divine Power, you may see them lashed with scourges, scorched with fire, tortured by an increase of pains, howling, groaning, begging, confessing whence they came and whither they go, even in the hearing of their own worshippers. They either vanish immediately, or go out gradu-

ally, according to the faith of the patient, or the grace of him who works the cure." He says elsewhere that sometimes, when the Devil promised to go out of the diseased, he practised deception, "till compelled to depart by the salutary water of baptism."

Minucius Felix, a converted Roman lawyer, who wrote an Apology for Christianity, early in the third century, says: "The greatest part of you know what confessions the Demons make concerning themselves, as often as they are expelled by us out of the bodies of men, by the torture of our words, and the fire of our speech. Saturn himself, and Serapis, and Jupiter, and the others whom you worship, constrained by the pain they feel, confess who they are. Nor do they tell a lie, though the truth be to their own shame, especially when some of your people are present. Believe them, therefore, to be Devils, from their own testimony and true confession, when adjured by us, in the name of the true and only God."

In a book ascribed to Justin Martyr, it is said: "Demons still speak, by those who are called ventriloquists."

The Jewish Scriptures in Hebrew were at that time almost unknown to Christians, who used only the Greek translation, called the Septuagint. In that version it was written: "The *Angels* of God saw that the daughters of men were fair, and made them wives of all that they chose; and they bare children to them." From this text, Philo and other Jews who used the Greek translation of their Scriptures, derived the doctrine that Angels fell in love with mortal women, who gave birth to giants. The same idea was inculcated in the Book of Enoch, to which Jude refers in his Epistle. From these sources it was borrowed by the Christian Fathers, who seem also to have admitted what Greek and Roman poets wrote concerning the love-affairs of their Deities, and then combined them with the Hebrew tradition. Justin Martyr, in his Apology, says: "When God created the world, he committed the care of it to Angels, who, transgressing their duty, fell in love with women, and produced children, whom we call Demons."

These subdued mankind to their power; partly by magical writings, partly by terrors and punishments, and partly by the institution of sacrifices, fumes, and libations, of which they soon began to stand in need, after they had enslaved themselves to their lusts and passions." Again he says: "The truth shall come out. Evil Demons of old debauched women, corrupted boys, and spread terrors among men, who did not examine things by reason. Seized with fear, and not knowing they were Evil Spirits, they called them Gods, and gave each one the name he had taken to himself. When Socrates endeavoured to expose their practices, and by true reason draw men away from their worship, the Demons, by the help of wicked men, caused him to be put to death, as an atheist, and an impious person."

Clement of Alexandria declares that the love of the Angels for women transported them so far beyond all prudence, that they revealed to them many secrets, which they ought to have kept concealed. The knowledge of alchemy and magic was supposed to have been obtained in this way. Some maintained that all ideas of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul, except those revealed to Hebrews and Christians, came from conversation with these fallen Angels. Tertullian traced rouge, powder for the eye-lashes, bracelets, necklaces, and other ornaments of women's dress, to the researches of their celestial lovers into the hidden mysteries of nature, to find whatever might adorn the objects of their passion. He supposed Paul's injunction to women to wear veils had reference to the fatal effects their beauty once had on the Spirits above. He therefore strongly urges upon young women the duty of covering their heads. In the course of an elaborate argument upon this subject he says: "We read that Angels fell from God and heaven, because they lusted after women. Therefore, faces so dangerous that heaven itself may be scandalized by them, ought to be shaded. When in the presence of God, before whom they have been guilty of the extermination of Angels, they ought

to blush before the other Angels, and refrain from an exposure of the head, not to be made even to the eyes of men."

These and many other similar declarations prove that the Christian Fathers believed in the actual existence and power of the polytheistic Deities, as fully as any of their worshippers had ever done; the only difference was that one regarded their influence as malignant, and the other as beneficent. The Bishop of Nyssa, in his *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*, relates the following story: Once, when Gregory was on a journey, he was obliged to take shelter for the night in one of the temples famous for oracles and divination, where the Demons were accustomed to appear visibly to the priests. Gregory, by invoking the name of Jesus, and making the sign of the cross, expelled them, and purified the place; so that when the priest came in the morning, to perform the customary rites, he could obtain none of the usual signs of their presence. At last, they informed him that they had been driven out the night before, by a stranger, and had not power to return. The priest offered expiatory sacrifices, but it was all in vain. Upon this, he pursued Gregory in great wrath, and overtaking him on the road, made use of violent threats. Gregory told him he possessed a power superior to Demons, and that he could drive them out whenever he pleased. The priest begged him to give proof of this power, by causing them to appear again in the temple. He consented; and wrote on a scrap of papyrus: "Gregory to Satan: enter!" As soon as the priest laid these words on the altar, the Demons made their appearance; and this miracle converted him to Christianity.

It was a common opinion with the Fathers that every magician had an attendant Evil Spirit, who came when summoned, obeyed his commands, and taught him ceremonies, and forms of words, by which he was enabled to do supernatural things. In this way, they were accustomed to account for miracles performed by Gentiles and heretics. They also state that Jews could cast out devils,

by invoking the name of God, provided it was spoken in Hebrew.

But the power to cast out devils is often alleged by them as one of the most convincing proofs of Christianity. Tertullian says: "If Christians were to retire from the Roman empire, where would be your protection against the devils, who make such havoc with your souls and bodies? It would be a sufficient piece of revenge if they should thus leave you open to the uncontrolled possession of Evil Spirits."

Justin Martyr, in his Apology, says to the people of Rome: "That the kingdom of Evil Spirits has been destroyed by Jesus, you may, even at the present time convince yourselves, by what passes before your own eyes. For many of us Christians have healed, and still continue to heal, in every part of the world, and in your city, numbers possessed of Evil Spirits, such as could not be healed by other exorcists, simply by adjuring them in the name of Jesus Christ."

Irenæus says: "All who are true disciples of Jesus, receive grace from him, and work miracles in his name. Some cast out devils, so that those from whom they are ejected often turn believers and continue in the church; others have visions, and a knowledge of future events; others heal the sick by merely laying their hands upon them. Even the dead have been raised, and have afterward lived many years among us. It is impossible to reckon up all the mighty works, which the church performs every day, to the benefit of nations; neither deceiving, nor making a gain of any, but freely bestowing what it has freely received." Again, speaking of raising the dead, he says: "It has been frequently performed on necessary occasions, when by great fasting, and joint supplications of the church of that place, the spirit of the dead person returned into him again, and the man was given back to the prayers of the saints." Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch cotemporary with Irenæus, though younger, was challenged by his friend Autolyceus, an eminent Roman, to

produce one person actually raised from the dead, and he would himself turn Christian; but the answer of Theophilus implied that he could not furnish one satisfactory instance.

Origen says: "By prayers and the repetition of passages of Scripture, we drive Devils before us, out of men and beasts. This is not done by any magical arts, but by prayer alone, and plain adjurations, or exorcisms, which any simple Christian may perform; for common and illiterate laymen are generally the actors in these cases." "The miracles that began with the preaching of Jesus were multiplied after his ascension, and then decreased; but remains of them still continue with a few, whose souls are cleansed by the Word, and a life conformable to it." Some by a miraculous power, received through faith in Christ, heal the sick, by invoking over them the name of God, or of Jesus, with a recital of some story from his life. I have myself seen many difficult cases so healed: insanity, madness, and innumerable other evils, which neither men nor demons could cure." "There still remain among Christians many indications of that Holy Spirit, which was seen in the shape of a dove. For they cast out devils, perform many cures, and foresee things to come, according to the will of the Divine Word. Many people have been converted to Christianity, as it were against their wills, by the Spirit giving a sudden turn to their minds, and offering visions to them, either by day or by night; so that instead of hating the Word, they became ready even to lay down their lives for it. I have seen many examples of this sort. Should I only relate such as were transacted in my own presence, I should expose myself to the loud laughter of unbelievers, who imagine that we, like the rest, whom they suspect of forging such things, are also imposing our forgeries upon them. But God is my witness that my sole purpose is to recommend the religion of Jesus, not by fictitious tales, but by clear and evident facts."

Visions and prophetic gifts are mentioned as of common occurrence. Justin Martyr says: "There are prophetic

gifts among us at this day, and both men and women indued with extraordinary powers by the Spirit of God."

Tertullian says the greater part of converts came to the knowledge of the true God by means of visions. In an argument to prove that women ought to wear veils, he mentions a sister of the Church, to whom an angel, in a dream, revealed the proper length and breadth of the veil.

Cyprian says: "Besides visions of the night, even boys among us are filled with the Holy Ghost, and in fits of ecstasy, see, hear, and speak things by which the Lord thinks fit to instruct us."

The Fathers acknowledge that skilful magicians, by aid of Evil Spirits, could perform similar miracles; being able to infuse into people whatever dreams or visions they thought fit. Justin Martyr, addressing the Roman people, says: "Let their magical power to call up ghosts, especially of boys, and of those who died in some violent manner, convince you that the souls of men exist after death."

The general tendency to view things in a supernatural light is indicated by the following circumstance, which Cyprian considered so remarkable, that he deemed it necessary to assure his readers he himself witnessed it. Certain parents, who fled hastily in time of persecution, left an infant in the care of a nurse. She carried it to the place where the people assembled to sacrifice, and the officiating priests gave the child some remains of what had been offered to the gods; consisting of bread dipped in wine. The mother returned soon after, and carried the babe with her to the Christian Sacrament. "Being mingled with the saints, it was seized with fits of crying, with tortures of mind, as if it had been upon the rack; betraying all the signs its tender age could give of a consciousness of guilt. When the deacon offered the cup of wine, the infant, by a divine instinct, turned away, and shut its lips close. When he poured a little down its throat, by force, convulsions and vomitings ensued. The consecrated portion of the Lord's blood could not stay in a body and mouth so defiled. So

great is the power and majesty of the Lord! The secrets of darkness are detected by its light; for this happened to an infant too young to tell the crime practised upon it."

Irenæus says many in his day received the gift of tongues, and were heard to speak all kinds of languages in the church. He himself did not receive that gift; for being appointed Bishop in Gaul, he complains that one of the greatest obstructions in the way of his usefulness was the necessity of learning a barbarous dialect before he could communicate with his people.

Among innumerable miracles recorded is the following, wrought by Narcissus, who was Bishop of Jerusalem, about the end of the second century. During the vigil of Easter, the oil in the lamps was nearly exhausted, and the people were greatly troubled. The bishop ordered those who had charge of the lamps to draw water from a neighbouring well and bring it to him. He prayed over it, and then told them to pour it into the lamps with sincere faith in Christ. They did so, "and by a miraculous and divine power, the water was changed to oil." Eusebius recorded this in his Ecclesiastical History, a hundred years after; and he says that "numbers of the faithful still preserved small quantities of the oil."

In some cases, the stories of miracles performed by Gentiles, in the course of being repeated year after year, came to be transferred to the Christians. In the year one hundred and seventy-four, when the army of Marcus Aurelius was expecting an attack from the enemy, the blazing sun shone full in the faces of the soldiers, who were perishing with thirst, in consequence of a long continued drought. In this extremity, the emperor stretched forth his hands to implore aid from Jupiter, saying: "This hand, which has never yet shed human blood, I raise to thee!" This act of devotion was followed by an abundant shower of rain, to allay their thirst, succeeded by a tempest, which terrified their enemies. The Romans gained the victory, and ascribed it to the emperor's prayer to "Jupiter, god of gods." Marcus Aurelius commemorated the event by a medal, on which Jupiter was

represented hurling thunderbolts at the barbarian troops, many of whom lay stretched on the ground. There were also paintings in the temples, in which the emperor was represented in the attitude of prayer, while his soldiers caught the refreshing shower in their helmets. There were doubtless Christians in his army, and it is not unlikely that they crossed themselves, and prayed to their God, while others were invoking the aid of Jupiter. Perhaps Tertullian might have heard some of them say so, and have taken it for granted that only *their* prayers had any efficacy on the occasion; or he might have assumed that the phrase "God of gods," though commonly applied to Jupiter, must necessarily mean Jehovah. Giving an account of the event, in after years, he says: "Marcus Aurelius, during the German expedition, obtained, through prayers offered to God by Christian soldiers, showers of rain, in a time of thirst. When has not the land been delivered from drought by our genuflexions and fasts? In such cases, the very people who cried to the 'God of gods,' gave *our* God the glory, under the name of Jupiter." He states that the twelfth legion of the army was entirely composed of Christians, who fell on their knees and prayed to God. Thunder and rain were sent in answer to their prayers; in consequence of which the emperor named them "The Thundering Legion," ceased to persecute the Christians, and published an edict threatening with severe penalties those who accused them on account of their religion. But the severe persecution of Christians took place three years after the miracle; the twelfth legion had always been called The Thundering Legion, from the time of the emperor Augustus; and the medals and paintings prove that the emperor believed the rain was sent by Jupiter, in answer to his prayer.

A great number of miracles were ascribed to making the sign of the cross. It is not possible to ascertain at what period this custom was introduced into Christianity. There is no allusion to it in the writings of the Apostles; but it is conspicuous in those of the very early Fathers. It has been already stated that devotees of India have a perpen-

dicular line and a horizontal line marked on their foreheads; being, in their religion, types of the generative principle in universal nature. Egyptians had a sacred emblem formed by the same lines; and, to express the same idea, they called it the Emblem of Life. It was used by them as a talisman to protect them from evil. Its universality is indicated by its frequent recurrence in all the religious and domestic scenes, represented in their palaces, temples, and tombs. When the early Christians saw this hieroglyphic symbol marked everywhere on Egyptian monuments, they inquired its meaning, and were very much impressed when told that it was the Emblem of Life. In their minds this signification was immediately associated with the cross of Christ. As they considered the brazen serpent of Moses typical of Christ, they would be likely to be still more struck with the fact that the Egyptian cross, twined with a serpent, signified Immortal Life. Whether the Egyptians of their time were in the habit of signing themselves with this ancient talisman is not recorded, so far as I am aware. Sir G. Wilkinson, in his valuable work on Egypt, states that he saw several tombs of the early Christians in that country inscribed with the Egyptian cross; which is easily distinguished from the Christian, by the fact that the perpendicular line did not extend above the horizontal one. He says: "I can attest that numerous inscriptions headed by this symbol are preserved to the present day on early Christian monuments." Tertullian says: "The Devil, who makes it his business to pervert the truth, imitates the divine sacraments by idolatrous mysteries. If I rightly remember, the God Mithras makes the sign of the cross upon the foreheads of his worshippers." Whatever may have been the origin of the custom, the cross was universally used as a talisman against evil among the Christians, as it had been among the ancient Egyptians. It was believed to have miraculous power to cast out devils, to cure diseases, to counteract poison, and protect from accidents. It formed a part of the ceremony in baptism, marriage, the Lord's Supper, and the ordination of the

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clergy. Christians always made the sign of the cross on the occasion of any sudden surprise, or whenever they were obliged to be present while others sacrificed to the gods; as was the case with those who served in the army. Supposing that the popular deities actually came, in answer to invocations and sacrifices, and believing them to be evil, they were particularly cautious to render their presence powerless by the sign of the cross. Some had it marked on their foreheads; probably as a perpetual protection against evil, whether conscious of its presence or not. Tertullian says: "At every setting out, or entry upon business, whenever we come in or go out from any place, when we dress for a journey, when we go into a bath, when we go to meat, when the candles are brought in, when we lie down, or sit down, and whatever business we have, we make on our foreheads the sign of the cross." Justin Martyr says the sea could not be passed, if sails were not suspended on a cross, and the earth could not be tilled if spades were not in that form. "Neither diggers nor artificers could do their work, except by instruments of that shape. The form of man differs in nothing else from other animals, but in the erectness of the body, and the extension of the arms, which shows nothing else but the figure of the cross." He says: "When the son of Nun, called Jesus [in Hebrew Joshua] led the people to battle, Moses employed himself in prayer, with his hands stretched out in the form of a cross. As long as he continued in that posture, Amalek was beaten; but when he remitted, Israel suffered. This was owing to the power of the cross. The people did not conquer because Moses prayed; but because the name of Jesus was at the head of the battle, and Moses was exhibiting the figure of the cross."

It has been shown in the first volume that it was a custom among all nations of antiquity to commemorate the death of a relative, by assembling at his grave, on the anniversary of his departure from this world. They dressed the tomb with flowers, offered oblations for the soul of the deceased, implored his protection and aid in their under-

takings, and employed priests to offer sacrifices and prayers. At the sepulchres of kings and heroes, these ceremonies were observed with an unusual degree of expense and splendour; as is proved by Virgil's elaborate description of the honours paid by Æneas to the soul of his father. It was universally considered a great misfortune to leave no posterity to perform such rites. The same human feelings, which originally led to this custom, in all parts of the world, prompted Christians also to adopt it. Those among them, who had lost a relative, went to the church on the anniversary of his death, and laid a gift on the altar in his name, to signify that he was still a member of Christ's church, though his body was absent. They also partook of the Lord's Supper in token of continued fellowship with him; and the bishop, before administering the bread and wine, prayed for peace to the soul of the deceased. Tertullian says: "The widow prays for the soul of her departed husband, and begs refreshment for him in his intermediate state, and to be a partner with him in the first resurrection, and offers an oblation for him every year, on the day of his death." In another place, addressing a widower, he speaks of "her for whose soul you pray, and commend, to God, through the priest, when you offer the annual oblation." Martyrs, who were the kings and heroes of the Christian church, were honoured with peculiarly solemn observances. All the members of the church to which they had belonged on earth assembled annually at their tombs. The clergy offered prayers, thanking the Lord for the example his saints had given to the world. Eulogies were pronounced, recounting the holy deeds and sayings of the deceased, their sufferings, and courageous death. The Lord's supper was administered, and the rites concluded with a distribution of gifts to the poor. These anniversaries were beautifully called, "The Birth Days of the Martyrs;" to signify that when they died, they were born into everlasting life. Romans had a time-honoured Festival, called the Parentalia, on which prayers were said, and oblations offered by all the people, for the souls of their

ancestors. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bishop of Neocesarea, early in the third century, thinking to increase the number of his proselytes by accommodation to popular customs, substituted on the same day, a Festival in honour of All the Martyrs, the spiritual ancestors of the church. Gentile nations were universally accustomed to offer to the gods, on such occasions, sacrifices of animals, or human beings. Christians had abrogated such customs, but preserved the idea of sacrifice in another form. The administration of the Lord's Supper was said to be a renewed sacrifice of his body and his blood, every time the ceremony was performed; and in thus offering up the Son of God himself, they offered a sacrifice superior to thousands of oxen and ten thousands of rams. Expressions used by Cyprian indicate that this idea was inculcated in his day. Customs which originate in tender and devout feelings change their character when they become traditionary observances. The Festivals of the Martyrs gradually lost their simplicity, and the affectionate reverence which gathered up and cherished their remains, gave place to faith in the power of their relics to work miracles. Even during the lifetime of Tertullian, the honours paid to martyrs seemed to him so excessive as to need rebuke.

The capacity for belief in those times was wonderfully great. Justin Martyr repeats the Jewish tradition that king Ptolemy sent to Jerusalem for seventy Rabbins, and shut them up in seventy separate cells, to translate the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. When the translations were compared, they were found not to vary from each other in a single word; "which is a demonstration that they were guided by divine inspiration." As proof of the story, he affirms that the seventy cells had been pointed out to him. Irenæus tells the same story, and likewise asserts that the Hebrew Scriptures were utterly destroyed during the captivity in Babylon, and restored seventy years afterward by Ezra, whom God inspired expressly for the purpose.

The predictions of Sibyls were held in great reverence

among the Romans, and the credulity of the people was often imposed upon by spurious productions bearing that name. These the emperors from time to time caused to be collected and destroyed; but the genuine Sibylline books were preserved in golden chests in the Temple of Apollo, and consulted only on important state occasions. Some of the early Christians, in their zeal to gain influence over the minds of men, wrote predictions concerning Christ, and passed them off as the genuine utterance of the ancient Sibyls. One of these Sibyls informs her readers that she was a daughter-in-law of Noah, and was with him in the Ark. Some of the prophecies were "merely the Mosaic history written in Greek hexameters." One described the miracles of Jesus, whom it mentioned by name, and foretold that there would be an eclipse at the time of his crucifixion, that he would rise from the dead, and show his hands and feet to his disciples. Another, purporting to be composed by the famous Erythrean Sibyl, in the sixth century after the Deluge, was written in the form of an acrostic; the first letters of the lines forming the words, Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. Another Sibyl says: "The Son of God shall come clothed in flesh, made like to men on earth, and shall have in his name four vowels and two consonants;" which was the case with the name of Jesus in Greek. Another prophesied that Rome would be utterly destroyed in one hundred ninety-five. These fragments, after floating round for a considerable time, were collected into a book some time in the second century, under the title of Sibylline Oracles. In many of them the imposture is so very thinly veiled, that it is surprising they should have gained credence even with the most unreflecting. Nevertheless, they were often and triumphantly quoted by the Fathers, as evidence all the more valuable, because it came from the prophets of a religion opposed to Christianity. Justin Martyr speaks of them as written by divine inspiration. Alluding to the custom of keeping the Sibylline Books locked up in the Temple of Apollo, he says: "The Demons contrived to make it a capital crime

in order to keep men in subjection to themselves and prevent them from coming to the knowledge of what is good. But they were not able to effect it; for we do not bind them freely without fear, but offer them as if in your person: knowing that they will be found according to all. Clement of Alexandria likewise speaks of a man inspired by the same God who inspired the Hebrew Prophets.

Irenæus said he was told by those who had it from the Apostles themselves, that Enoch and Elijah were translated into that very Paradise from which Adam was expelled, to remain there till Christ came to judge the world; and that it was the same place into which Paul was caught up. This idea prevailed among all the Fathers, who received it as apostolical doctrine, on the strength of tradition. Some supposed that the souls of deceased Christians waited there till the second coming of Christ. Cyprian seems to have entertained this opinion. Because Christ said of John: "What if I will that he tarry till I come?" some supposed that John did not die, but was taken up into the same Paradise, to wait with Elijah for the coming of the Lord; and that they would both descend upon the earth to prepare the way before him, by preaching against Anti-Christ.

Irenæus likewise declares that the Apostle John gave his disciple Papias the following description of the millennium, in the very words which he had received from Christ himself, and that Papias taught it to him: "The days shall come in which there shall grow vineyards, having each ten thousand stems; each stem ten thousand branches; each branch ten thousand shoots; each shoot ten thousand bunches; each bunch ten thousand grapes; each grape will yield twenty-five measures of wine; and when any of the saints shall go to pluck a bunch, another bunch will cry out, I am better. Take me, and bless the Lord for me. A grain of wheat will bear ten thousand stalks; each stalk ten thousand grains; each grain will make ten thousand pounds of the best flour." Irenæus endeavours to sustain this by quotations from various Hebrew prophets, and from the Apoca-

lype of John. He maintains that it is not to be understood allegorically, but that it will be literally fulfilled in the earthly Jerusalem. All the descriptions of Canaan, as a land abounding with grapes, and "flowing with milk and honey," he applied to the reign of Christ on earth. He quotes the promise to Abraham: "All the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed forever. Walk through the land, in the length and the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee." He says: "If an earthly Canaan was meant, this prophecy was never fulfilled; since Abraham himself never owned a foot of land, and his posterity were always faithless or unhappy, and never possessed but a very small point of the habitable earth. Therefore, all the descriptions of fertility and delight must refer to the earth restored and renovated for the elect, who are to reign upon it with the Messiah at his second coming."

The description, which Papias represented as coming from the mouth of Christ, was evidently borrowed from the Talmud; but it was received, on his authority, as an Apostolic tradition, and generally adopted by the early Fathers. They did not, however, all take equally material views on the subject. Even Tertullian, though he luxuriates in highly-coloured pictures of the millennial reign, admits that its highest happiness would consist in spiritual blessings. The spiritual-minded Origen zealously opposed the prevailing tendency to sensual views on this subject, by giving an allegorical interpretation to those texts which were generally thought to support it. He complains of some "slaves of the letter, whose imaginations revelled in a carnal resurrection and millennium, including eating, drinking, and marrying." On the contrary, Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, wrote a book in defence of the literal interpretation, from which he drew what he considered satisfactory proof of the earthly luxuries and delights that would characterize the Messiah's kingdom. This book was seized with avidity, and became a favourite study with polemical writers. But though the nature of the happiness in the millennial reign was a contested point, all believed

in it, in some form or other; all supposed that the struggle with Jewish and Gentile religions would continue till then; all believed that Christ would come in person, and render his church triumphant on this earth; and all had full faith that the great event was nigh at hand.

Christians of Gentile origin were prepared for the reception of such a doctrine, by the ancient and universal idea concerning a Golden Age in the Future; while Jewish converts brought with them into Christianity strong faith in similar predictions by the old Hebrew Prophets, which the Talmud overloaded with details. The near approach of the event was likewise sustained by preconceived opinions, both among Jews and Gentiles. In the reign of Augustus, there was a general idea prevailing that the Golden Age described by so many poets, and predicted in the Sacred Books of so many nations, was about to be realized. Tacitus and Suetonius both allude to a prediction, vaguely purporting to come from Sacred Books, that the East should prevail, and that those who should come out of Judea would possess the world. Both those historians considered the prophecy fulfilled by Vespasian, who was chosen emperor while he was in Judea, a few years after the death of Christ, when the empire of Rome comprised nearly all the civilized world. Josephus, the Jewish historian, maintained the same idea; but Christians applied it to the birth of Jesus, which occurred when the prophecy was generally believed to be near its fulfilment; a coincidence calculated to make a strong impression on Greek and Roman converts. The Jews commonly considered the creation of the world a type of its duration. The Psalmist says, "a thousand years are with God as one day;" and, therefore, according to the usual mode of Rabbinical interpretation, they concluded that the six *days* of creation indicated six thousand *years* of earthly labour and suffering, and that the following day of rest was a type of the one thousand years the Messiah would reign on earth. They had a tradition that a prophecy to that effect had been uttered by Elijah. Christians of the first centuries were acquainted with the

Old Testament only through the medium of the Greek translation called the Septuagint. In that version, the creation was dated two thousand years further back than it was in the Hebrew versions. Consequently, the Fathers computed that nearly six thousand years had elapsed between the creation of the world and the birth of Christ: thence they came to the conclusion that the end of all things was at hand. Corroborations of this opinion were brought from Daniel, and Matthew, and Peter, and Paul, and the mysterious predictions of the Apocalypse. It was supposed that human misery would be at its height just before this glorious period; therefore, every war, famine, pestilence, earthquake, or eclipse, was regarded as a precursor of the great event, and was used as a text to urge men to prepare themselves for a place in the Messiah's kingdom.

The resurrection of the body was absolutely necessary for the enjoyment of such a kingdom as Christ was generally expected to establish at Jerusalem. The old Jewish idea had confined it to their nation only; but when Christians found numerous proselytes among the Gentiles, they taught that all the faithful followers of Christ would share the glory and bliss of his earthly reign, from which those who remained Jews would be excluded. A day of universal resurrection is described in the Persian Zend-Avesta; but nothing similar to it occurs in the Hebrew Sacred Books. In the latter times Nachmanides, a Jewish Rabbi, taught that there would be two resurrections from the dead; one a special resurrection, for those who were to live again on the earth during the reign of the Messiah; another general resurrection, at the end of the thousand years, when the whole world would rise to receive final judgment. This idea of a universal resurrection does not appear to have passed into general belief until after the time of Christ. In the Book of Revelations, the Martyrs and Saints are described as descending from heaven with Christ, and reigning with him for a thousand years; "but the rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection." Then an-

other resurrection is described in which all the dead stand before God, and are judged out of the Book of Life.

This idea of a first and second resurrection was universally received by the Christian Fathers; and the thousand years with Christ on earth were supposed to be a preparation for a higher state of spiritual perfection and enjoyment in realms above. Many of them entertained another idea which seems to have grown out of some admixture with the Cabalistic notions concerning Adam Kadman, or the First Adam, who was to appear again on earth as the Messiah, or second Adam. They supposed that before the Fall, the body of Adam was immortal as well as his soul; that if he had not eaten of the forbidden fruit, death would not have been introduced into the world; that in consequence of his disobedience, the souls as well as the bodies of all the human race became subject to death; that it was necessary for the Logos to assume a human form in order to restore immortality; and without his intervention, all mankind must have remained forever in their graves. The circumstance of his resurrection was the ground on which they based their own hopes that their bodies would rise from the dead. They urged this doctrine more earnestly and prominently than any other; and among the numerous sects that arose none were so odious to the infant church, as those whose theories involved a denial of bodily resurrection. Origen manifested the usual tendencies of his mind on this subject. He made a distinction between the material body and the spiritual body. He did not think the covering of flesh would rise again; but the interior substance lying at the foundation of the body he supposed would be quickened at the resurrection, would unite with the soul, and receive additional glory from its perfected character. In every way, the Fathers manifested and taught undoubting faith on this subject. The general custom of wailing and mourning at funerals was entirely discountenanced by them. When pestilence swept away great numbers at Carthage, Cyprian said to his church: "We may long after them, as we do for those who have

sailed on a distant voyage; but we ought not to lament them; since we know they are not lost, but merely sent before us. We may not put on dark robes of mourning here, when they above have already put on the white robes of glory. We, who abide in Christ, who through him and in him rise again, why do we not ourselves wish to depart out of this world? Why are we not in haste to see our country and home, to greet our elders? There await us a multitude of those whom we love; fathers, brothers, and children, who are secure already of their own salvation, and concerned only for ours. What mutual joy to them and to us, when we come to their embrace!" It was supposed that all except the Martyrs awaited the resurrection in some intermediate state, where they could be benefited by the prayers and oblations offered for them on earth. This belief formed a strong bond between the living and the dead.

Many stories were in circulation at that time concerning a large bird with golden plumage, who, when he found himself near his end, built a funeral pyre and burned himself, but immediately rose from his ashes, with renovated youth and beauty. This account of the Phoenix, which was probably an allegory, somehow connected with Egyptian worship, was often alluded to by Greek and Roman authors. The Christian Fathers, and many other people, believed there really was such a bird. Clement of Rome referred to it as a type and proof of the resurrection of the body. Later Fathers adduce the extraordinary habits of the Phoenix for the same purpose; and some of them declare that God created that wonderful bird on purpose to refute the incredulity of the Gentiles on that subject.

There was still greater facility in believing marvellous accounts from a Jewish source. It was a current tradition among the Jews, and is stated by Josephus, that before the Fall, animals could talk, and men could understand their language. In this way, they accounted for the conversation between Eve and the serpent, which was supposed to have walked erect upon two legs, before the curse was

pronounced upon him. These opinions were also entertained by the early Fathers. Whether Eve was created in Paradise, or out of it, was a subject of much controversy among them. All agreed that Adam was created out of it. Some inquired why woman, who was the less noble creature of the two, should have been created within Paradise; others supposed the distinction was no more than a just tribute to the superior beauty and purity of woman. Whether Eve's sin was greater than Adam's was another controverted point. They generally inclined to the opinion that hers must have been less, because she was not created at the time of the prohibition, and therefore could not have heard it. Their construction of Scripture was sometimes exceedingly literal. Justin Martyr, in controversy with a Jew, endeavoured to prove that it could not have been God the Father who rained down fire and brimstone, because he could not have been in heaven at that time; it being declared in Genesis that the Lord came down to inquire whether Sodom and Gomorrah were as bad as they had been represented to him.

Clement of Alexandria says: "A woman ought not to look in a mirror, because by making an image of herself she violates the commandment, which forbids making the likeness of anything in heaven above, or on the earth beneath." On the other hand there was an extreme tendency to allegorical interpretation. All the patriarchs were regarded as types of the Messiah, and all the Jewish rites as symbolical. These explanations seem to have been arbitrary with each individual; not guided by any rules, or formed into any system. Justin Martyr says: "God by his grace revealed to me all that I know from the Scriptures." Appealing to certain Jews, with whom he was engaged in controversy, he says: "Do you think, O men, that I should have been able to understand these things in the Scriptures, if I had not received the grace to know them, by the will of Him who wills these things?" He explained the Tree of Life in Paradise, the miraculous rod of Moses, and the sticks that Jacob laid before

Laban's cattle, as symbolical of the cross of Christ. Clement of Rome says Rahab's hanging a scarlet thread from her window was typical of man's redemption by the blood of Christ. Irenæus says those animals pronounced clean by the Mosaic Law, because they divide the hoof and chew the cud, were figurative of Christians, who believe in the Father and the Son, which is their double hoof; and because they meditate day and night on the laws of God, which is chewing the cud. Gentiles do neither, and are therefore unclean. Jews chew the cud, but do not divide the hoof, therefore they are unclean.

But the literal interpretation was applied to Isaiah's prophecy, understood to refer to the Messiah; describing him "with no form or comeliness: when we shall see him there is no beauty that we should desire him." Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian took this for a description of Christ's personal appearance, and were accustomed to speak of him as "without form or comeliness." Tertullian, controverting with the Jews, says: "Christ was not even comely, or well proportioned. His body was neither of divine brightness, or human comeliness." Elsewhere, he speaks of "his unhonoured form, faulty above all men." Grecian and Roman writers, accustomed to conceive of radiant, ethereal deities, and to see them embodied in graceful and majestic statues, reproached Christians with maintaining a monstrous doctrine, in supposing that a Divine Spirit *could* enter a mean, ill-proportioned form. Origen, in reply, endeavoured to soften Isaiah's prediction, by saying it merely meant the absence of preëminent beauty.

Although the reverential feeling was deep and sincere, the modes of expression were sometimes extremely homely and familiar. Mark having described the townsmen of Jesus as asking, "Is not this the carpenter?" the Fathers inferred therefrom that he worked with Joseph, at his trade, up to the time of his entrance upon his public ministry. Justin Martyr says Jesus helped Joseph to make yokes and ploughs; and an ancient author is quoted, who

says in his time they still showed the yokes which he had made. In the early times of the church, there are no traces of adoration paid to the mother of Jesus. Irenæus, in some of his writings, draws a parallel between her and Eve, and supposes her to be in heaven, interceding with God for the fallen mother of mankind. Tertullian intimates that Mary was not convinced of the divine mission of her son; that she partook of the incredulity which Luke ascribes to his relatives. He adds: "His mother is shown not to have adhered to him, when Martha, and the other Marys, were in frequent communication with him."

Matthew calls Jesus the "first born" of Mary; an expression which implies that there were younger members of her family. He also records that when Jesus, after the commencement of his public ministry, returned to his own part of the country, and taught in the synagogue there, the people were astonished at his wisdom, and inquired: "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? And his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas, and his sisters, are they not all with us?" Mark also describes his neighbours, on the same occasion, as asking: "Is not this the carpenter? the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joses, and Juda, and Simon? And are not his sisters here with us?" Paul also, when he describes his visit to Jerusalem, speaks of "James the Lord's brother" as one of the chief apostles in the church there. Elsewhere, he alludes to Peter, and other apostles, "and the brethren of the Lord," as accompanied in their travels by "a wife, a sister." From this Scriptural testimony, the early Fathers inferred that Jesus was the eldest of several children. An early tradition, handed down by them, describes James the Less, "brother of the Lord," as so nearly resembling him in form, features, and deportment, that "Mary herself, had she been capable of error, might have mistaken one for the other." It was said this exact likeness made it necessary for Judas to designate Jesus by a kiss, when he betrayed him to his enemies. But after the doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos began to be promi-

ment, it seems to have given rise to an idea that the dignity and purity of Mary, as Mother of the Word of God, would have been impaired by her having other children. Origen and Tertullian account for the mention of brothers and sisters, by supposing that Joseph was a widower, with children, at the time he was married to Mary.

Origen says: "In some things, philosophy agrees with the Law of God; in others it is contrary to it. Many of the philosophers say there is One God, who made all things; and some of them have added that God made and governs all things by his Logos," [Word]. Justin Martyr was the earliest among the Fathers who distinctly taught that Christ was the Logos. It was the general opinion among them that all the Apostles were ignorant of Christ's divinity, until after the Holy Ghost descended upon them at Pentecost; and that when they became aware of it, they made very slight allusions to it, as he himself had done, from prudential motives. Origen says: "The Jews thought Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary; and they would not have believed him if he had said he was the son of Mary only." Concerning the Christian Scriptures, he says: "John alone introduced the knowledge of the eternity of Christ to the minds of the Fathers." "John was himself transformed into God, and so became partaker of the truth; and then pronounced that the Word was in God from the beginning." "Since Christ lives in John, he says to Mary, concerning him, Behold thy son, Christ himself."

The doctrine of the Logos was as yet in an unsettled state, and its inculcation involved the Fathers in many perplexities. Jewish converts were extremely jealous of the unity of Jehovah, taught by the prophets of so many centuries. From the time of Socrates, the idea of One God had also been gaining ground among the more reflecting class of Grecian and Roman minds. Christian teachers, in their efforts to convert polytheistic worshippers, urged that doctrine more earnestly than any other; constantly asserting that it was impious to associate any companion with God, in the creation and government of the universe.

Minutius Felix, who wrote in the year two hundred and thirty, proves that the idea had then taken strong hold of the popular mind. He says: "I listen to the common people when they raise their hands toward heaven. They say nothing but God; God is great; God is true; if God wills." Tertullian and Cyprian express the same. It required some caution to teach the doctrine of the Logos, without shocking those who revered the Divine Unity, and at the same time to guard against the idea that Christ ought to be worshipped as God. The old emanation theories, which pervaded nearly all religions and philosophies, taught that each successive emanation was inferior to the preceding. All religions which taught the existence of The Word, as a Great Primal Spirit, represented him as secondary to the Supreme. This idea of the subordination of the Logos was used by the early Fathers to quiet the uneasiness of those who were jealous concerning the unity of God; and on the other hand to guard against the worship of Christ as God. All the early Fathers taught that the Logos was inferior to God, employed by him as an agent in making and preserving the world. Origen says: "Care must be taken that no derivative being is the object of prayer; no, not Christ himself; but only the God and Father of the universe, to whom our Saviour himself prayed, and taught us to pray." Tertullian says: "God was not always a Father or a Judge; since he could not be a Father before he had a Son, nor a Judge before there was any sin; and there was a time when the Son and sin were not." Again he says: "I may venture to assert that God, before the formation of the universe, was not absolutely alone; as he then had reason within himself, and in reason speech, which he could make a second principle from himself, by acting within himself." To explain the doctrine metaphorically, they said Christ was like a torch lighted at the fire: the torch was the same as the fire, but it did not diminish it. But this explanation brought upon them the charge of teaching a plurality of Gods; for the people at once replied: "Then there are two separate fires." To

avoid this appearance of duality, the teachers were obliged to be very careful not to use illustrations which implied separation between the Father and the Son. They compared Christ to a branch from a root; a river from a spring; a ray from the sun. Tertullian says: "As the branch is not separated from the root, the river from its fountain, or the ray from the sun, so the Word is not separated from God." "This ray of God, passing into a certain virgin, became flesh in her womb, and was born a man, mixed with God. The flesh, animated by the Spirit, was nourished, grew up, spoke, taught, operated, and was Christ." "I do not call the ray the sun, and thus make two suns; but I say the sun and his beam are two things, and two species of one undivided substance." Notwithstanding these precautions, he complains that they were charged with not preserving the unity of God. He says: "The simple, the ignorant, and the unlearned, who are always the greater part of the body of Christians, because the Rule of Faith transfers the worship of many gods to One true God, imagine that this number and disposition of a Trinity is a division of the Unity. They therefore will have it that we are worshippers of two gods, and even of three gods; but that they are worshippers of one God only." All the Fathers believed that the Logos frequently appeared in a visible human form to the patriarchs and prophets.

Early controversies were not mingled with discussions concerning the Holy Ghost. The allusions to him are indefinite; as if the subject had not much occupied their thoughts. Origen represents him as subordinate to the Son; and calls him "The source of all the gracious gifts proceeding from God, communicated through Christ; the first begotten of the Father, through the Son."

It was the general opinion that Christ was exempt from all human appetites and passions. On this subject, they seem to have made some approach to the old Hindoo idea, that the incarnations of their deities were mere appearances, or phantoms. Clement of Alexandria says: "It would be ridiculous to suppose that the body of our Lord

had need of food for nourishment. He did not eat on account of his body, which was supported by a divine power; but lest those who conversed with him should suspect that he was merely the appearance of a man." Origen says: "As he always remained the Logos, it was impossible for him to feel any suffering, of the body or the soul." Damascenas says: "As the sunbeams are not hurt, when a tree on which it shines is cut down, so neither was the divinity of Christ affected when his flesh suffered."

It has been already stated that Jewish Cabalists taught that Adam Kadman contained within himself the types, or germs, of all succeeding existences; that some Jews believed he had appeared as the earthly Adam, and would again appear in the person of the Messiah. Tertullian entertained an idea somewhat analogous concerning the progenitor of the human race, in the Garden of Eden. He supposed that Adam had within himself the undeveloped germ of all mankind; that he was the fountain whence all human souls proceeded; that he was created capable of attaining to fellowship with God, and of inheriting immortality, without subjection to death; but having sinned by refusing to submit his will to the will of his Creator, he became subject to a sinful nature, and to death; and as all souls were contained in him, all became corrupted by his sin. Tertullian is said to have been the first among the Christian Fathers who taught this theory of the propagation of sin with souls.

There is no record that the Apostles baptized any but adults; but as early as the time of Irenæus, it was common for both grown people and their children to share in the rite. Tertullian was strongly opposed to infant baptism, on the ground that the need of salvation ought to be felt before the ordinance was administered; also that the remission of sins would be more needed at a later age. It was supposed that the water possessed a certain mysterious sanctifying power, whereby it washed away the stain of Adam's sin, and at the same time imparted a participation in the nature of Christ: so that when infants were baptized,

their human nature, while yet in the germ, was purified and protected from evil. Irenæus says: "As the parched earth cannot yield fruit without moisture, neither can we produce living fruit without the rain which is freely poured down from above; for through the Spirit our souls obtain communion with the imperishable Essence, and our bodies through baptism." There was a difference of opinion whether the rite should be administered to babes on the first, the third, or the eighth day after their birth. Some were in favour of the last, because it was the day on which Jesus was circumcised. But as Tertullian's doctrine concerning original sin gained ground in the church, it naturally suggested the idea that delay might be dangerous. Cyprian, in council with sixty-six bishops, decided in favour of the first day. "By descent from Adam, they have brought with them the infection of the old death," said he; "and we must do everything in our power that no soul may be lost." Origen, with his usual tendency to rise above material views, considered baptism as a symbol of the inward cleansing of the soul by the action of divine truth; though he thought that a sanctifying power was imparted to the water by the consecration pronounced over it. In the beginning, all Christians were regarded in the light of a priesthood dedicated to Jesus; therefore, consecrated oil, and the imposition of hands, were used at baptism, as they were in the ordination of the clergy. The sign of the cross was always made on the forehead, and a portion of salt administered, over which a blessing had been pronounced. In some places, the baptized tasted of milk and honey, symbolical of the spiritual Canaan to which he now belonged. In the days of the Apostles, it was merely necessary to signify belief in one God, and in Christ as the Messiah, in order to be baptized. But as converts increased, it was deemed necessary to prepare them by a course of previous instruction. During this period, they were called catechumens, from a Greek word meaning the catechised, or questioned. They were not allowed to be present when the Lord's Supper was administered, or to repeat

the Lord's prayer; because it was thought that only baptized lips were worthy to call God their Father. On the day of baptism, they wore white robes, symbolical of the spiritual purity to be obtained by the ceremony. It was performed by immersion in any lake, river, or pond, that was most convenient, and always in presence of the congregation. Those who were too ill to undergo this process, were sprinkled; but some doubted whether they could be entirely penetrated by the Holy Spirit, unless the water covered them. In the second century, the form was very simple. The candidate merely renounced the pageantry of polytheistic worship, in the following terms; "I renounce the Devil, his pomp, and the worship of his Spirits; and I am united to Christ. I believe in the resurrection of the dead." But after heretical sects increased, minute confessions of faith were drawn up, to guard against their errors. From the words of Christ, that a man could not enter the kingdom of God, unless he were "born of water and of the Spirit," it was inferred that no unbaptized person could be saved; except a martyr, who was supposed to be baptized in his blood. The Fathers, while they taught these doctrines zealously, strove to guard people against relying upon the mere external rite, by urging that faith was essential, in order to procure the promised benefits; but the populace were prone to attach a sort of magical virtue to the ceremony; deeming that by a sudden, mysterious process, it purified the body and regenerated the soul, and thus prepared them to become temples of the Lord by participation of the holy eucharist.

Irregularities, similar to those which Paul rebuked in the church at Corinth, early occasioned a separation between the Lord's Supper and the social meal with which it was at first connected. Members of the church gave the bread and wine to be used on the occasion, and this was regarded as a thank-offering to the Lord. Justin Martyr says: "The prayers and thanksgivings offered by worthy men are the only true sacrifices, well pleasing to God; and these alone have the Christians learned to offer." Irenæus

says: "It is not the offering that sanctifies the man; but if his conscience be pure, that sanctifies the offering, and induces God to receive it, as from a friend." Because Christ said, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," it was inferred that no person could be saved, unless he partook of the eucharist. The idea prevailed that Christ himself was infused into the participant; and it being the universal belief that all men must have remained in their graves, if the Logos had not taken a human form, and triumphed over death, this intimate union with him was deemed essential to secure a part in his resurrection. Ignatius calls the consecrated bread and wine, "an antidote against death, a medicine of immortality, enabling us to live forever in Jesus Christ." Alluding to certain sects, who abstained from the Lord's Supper, he says: "It were better for them to receive it, that through it they might one day rise again." Out of this view of the subject grew the general custom of administering it to infants. In some places, a daily participation of it was regarded as necessary to preserve a perpetual bond of union between Christ and the soul. After the morning devotions, every Christian, before he went to his usual avocations, partook of it with his family. Deacons carried it to those who were sick, or in prison. Sailors and travellers took it with them, lest they should die at a distance from the church, without partaking of the divine elements. It was used at the ordination of the clergy, at the conclusion of the marriage ceremony, and at solemnities in honour of the dead. In Tertullian's time, it had become customary for communicants to carry home portions of the consecrated bread, and lock it up in boxes for private use. The wine they were afraid to take; because if they spilled a drop of it, they regarded it the same as spilling the blood of Christ. As the Logos entered into a human body, and was sacrificed for the sins of mankind, so it was supposed that he each time entered into the bread and wine that represented his body, and was sacrificed anew. The language of Irenæus implies that this

was symbolical; but in process of time, it came to be represented as an actual sacrifice. Justin Martyr says: "We eat this not as common bread, and drink this not as common wine. But, as Jesus Christ, after having been made man, by the Logos of God, had flesh and blood, so we believe also that the food consecrated by his words has become the flesh and blood of the man Jesus." Origen says: "You who are allowed to partake in the Holy Mysteries, know how to keep, with all caution and care, the body of the Lord, which you receive, lest any part of the hallowed gift fall to the ground. You believe justly that you would bring guilt upon yourselves, if by negligence you dropped any part of it." Tertullian speaks of "feeding on the fatness of the Lord's body;" and of "our flesh feeding on the body and blood of Christ, in order that the soul may be fattened of God." Cyprian says: "The sacrifice of the body of Christ is always offered up for the Martyrs at their annual Festival." This doctrine is supposed by some to have occasioned the charge against Christians of eating human flesh. It was not discussed or explained before catechumens, but was reserved as a great mystery for the initiated. Clement of Alexandria quotes the words of Paul: "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden mystery;" and adds: "The Apostle here observes the prophetic and truly ancient concealment, whence the Grecian philosophers derived their excellent doctrines." Tertullian representing what would be the consequences if Christian widows should be induced to marry men of another religion, says: "You would thereby fall into this fault, that they would come to the knowledge of our Mysteries. For would not your husband know what you taste in secret, before eating any other food? And if he found it was bread, would he not imagine it was what is so much spoken of?" Spiritual communion with Christ was the idea most prominently urged. Origen considered the external rite as symbolical of the internal communication of the Divine Word, the true heavenly bread of the soul. He said all could partake of the outward supper, but only

the worthy recipient could receive the spiritual food, of which Christ said: "He that eateth of *this* bread shall live forever." But, in general, the external idea prevailed over the internal; and a certain supernatural power, resembling talismans and charms, was generally supposed to be imparted to the bread, by the ceremony of consecration. It was believed to have power to avert danger, and to expel devils from men and from haunted houses. Cyprian expressly teaches that no secrets could be hidden from it; an idea which was truly awful to delinquents belonging to the church. He tells of a man who, at some of the popular Festivals, had partaken of a banquet in honour of the gods, and afterward ventured to take a piece of the consecrated bread; but before he could convey the holy morsel to his polluted mouth, it turned to a living coal in his hand. He also tells of a woman who, having committed a similar offence, went to her private box to take a piece of the sacred bread, according to her daily custom; but flames burst forth, and prevented her.

As soon as a church was formed, it was necessary to appoint Presbyters or Elders, to preserve order; from this it naturally grew that the Presbyters of churches in large towns would take the lead at meetings to arrange the ecclesiastical affairs of a whole province. To these presiding elders was applied the Greek word *Episcopos*, meaning an Overseer or President; in English Bishop. Far into the second century, the terms Presbyter and Bishop were indiscriminately applied, and interchanged for each other. Tertullian frequently calls all who presided in Christian communities, whether Bishops or Presbyters, by the common title of Elders. But gradually the distinction of ranks in the church became more definitely marked. Cyprian went further on this subject than his predecessors had done; being probably urged thereto by the frequency of troublesome schisms. He declared that Christ communicated the Holy Ghost to his disciples; that the Apostles, by laying on their hands, communicated it to those whom they appointed to preside over Christian communities;

that these ordained bishops, by imposition of hands, imparted to their successors the holy gift they had received; and in this manner a perfect transmission of the Holy Ghost had continued, and would continue. Therefore, in all controversies, he maintained that there should be no appeal from the decision of the Bishop; that his authority was inviolable; and that whoever disputed it, impiously presumed to judge over the judgment of God and Christ. Consequently, all sects, or individuals, who separated themselves from the bishop, became thereby separated from Christ, and were deprived of the guidance of the Holy Ghost. He declared that he heard a Divine Voice saying to him: "He who believes not Christ, who appoints the priest, will be compelled to believe him when he avenges the priest." He habitually consulted with his presbyters concerning church affairs, and apologized when he departed from this rule. But on some occasions, he professed to receive immediate guidance from Heaven. Having ordained a reader, without calling his church together, as usual, to decide upon his fitness for the office, he said he did it by "a divine admonition." To a member who absented himself from the communion, and to certain priests, who absolved delinquents without authority from him, he said: "If you do not change your course, I will execute against you what I have been ordered to do." But though Cyprian took such high ground, he claimed for Christian communities the supreme right of deposing an unworthy bishop. As presbyters had been chosen by votes of the church, so bishops long continued to be elected by popular suffrage. Instances of it are recorded as late as the beginning of the fifth century.

It was natural that in cases of controversy concerning doctrine or discipline, reference should be made to the oldest churches; especially those that were believed to be established by the Apostles. Irenæus says: "If a dispute should arise about any matter, though but of little moment, ought we not to have recourse to the most ancient churches, in which the Apostles resided, and receive from them what

is certain and clear about the point in question?" Tertulian declared: "To know what the Apostles taught, that is, what Christ revealed to them, recourse must be had to the churches which they founded, and which they instructed, either by word of mouth, or by their epistles." "That is the true faith, which is the most ancient; and that is a corruption, which is modern." "We must not appeal to the Scriptures, or trust the merits of the cause with them; in which case there can be no victory, or an uncertain one."

The church at Jerusalem, founded forty days after the crucifixion, was said to have been guided by "James, the Lord's brother." It was therefore naturally regarded as the venerable Mother Church. It was consulted concerning the earliest difficulties that occurred, and was assisted by contributions from other communities. The church at Antioch was said to have been founded by Peter, the church at Ephesus by John, and the church at Alexandria by Mark. The only church in the West that claimed an apostolic foundation was that of Rome. She laid claim to two Apostles, and those the most renowned: Peter and Paul. Such was the tradition, even in the time of Irenæus, who speaks of it as "the church founded by the two most illustrious Apostles, and the most universally known." This assertion is not founded on any Scriptural account; on the contrary, evidence from that source seems rather against it. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, says: "I thank my God for you all, that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world;" and he adds that he had often purposed to go to Rome, but had hitherto been hindered; from which it is evident that a church was established and widely known, before he visited that city. As early as the reign of Claudius, about twenty years after the death of Christ, it had excited so much animosity among the Jewish population of Rome, and occasioned so many tumults, that the government expelled both parties from the city. The Scriptures show that Paul resided some time in Rome, and that he probably died there; but in the epistles which he wrote from that place, he gives no indi-

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cation that Peter was with him, or had been with him; nor do the Scriptures anywhere state that Peter was ever in Rome. The church at Jerusalem early appointed him to go to "those of the circumcision." His epistles are addressed to Asiatic churches, and he appears to write from Babylon, where Jews were numerous. But the tradition that he founded the church at Rome was universally believed by the Fathers, who reconciled it with Scripture by supposing that by Babylon he intended to designate Rome, on account of its wealth and licentiousness. On the strength of the tradition that they both suffered martyrdom in Rome, a magnificent tomb was erected to Peter in the Vatican, where Nero's gardens were situated, the scene of the first persecution; and another to Paul on the Ostian Road, near the city, where he was said to have been beheaded. Many other causes combined to render the church at Rome more prominent than any other. It was situated in the far-famed metropolis of the world, and was the great central point for the propagation of Christianity in the West. It was superior in wealth, and was very liberal in donations to other churches. It was early applied to for advice in cases of controversy. When disputes arose in the church at Corinth, they appealed to Clement of Rome, who, according to Tertullian, was ordained by the Apostle Peter. He wrote Epistles to the Corinthians, in which he calls their schism "a most foul and unholy sedition." This is the first instance of selecting the Bishop of Rome as umpire. There is a passage imputed to Irenæus, but found only in the form of a translation, in which he declares: "It is necessary the whole church, that is, believers everywhere, should hold to that church on account of its great superiority; for the apostolic tradition has been preserved in that church." In the year one hundred and ninety the Bishop of Rome excommunicated the churches of Asia Minor, for keeping Easter on the day of the Jewish Passover; but Irenæus openly rebuked him for that proceeding. Cyprian says: "Peter, whom God elected, and on whom he built his church, did not arrogantly assume to hold the

primacy, and presumptuously claim that he ought by preference to be obeyed." In another place, he says: "Each of the other Apostles was the same as Peter was; endowed with an equal share of honour and authority. But a beginning must proceed from unity; and the primacy is given to Peter, that one church of Christ, and one see, might be manifested." He urged the Bishop of Rome to "defend, against all schismatics, the unity of the church, founded on the union of bishops." He, however, asserted the right of individual bishops to manage the affairs of their own churches; and he strenuously maintained that right, in the face of opposition from Rome. But this spirit of independence gradually grew weaker, in the course of multifarious disputes, which seemed to render an infallible arbiter indispensable. Before the end of the third century, Christian churches agreed in acknowledging the Bishops of Rome lineal heirs of Peter, whom Christ had invested with authority to feed his sheep.

The discipline of the church was very strict. A religious atmosphere pervaded all the domestic and social relations. Bishops, deacons, and deaconesses, were summoned to add their sanction to marriage. The bride and bridegroom presented offerings to the church, partook of the eucharist, and received a benediction. Tertullian expresses the general Christian feeling where he says: "What language can express the happiness of that marriage which is concluded by the church, sealed by the communion, and consecrated by the benediction: which the angels announce, and God the Father ratifies?" The strictest morality was enjoined, and any deviations from it were punished according to the knowledge and experience of the delinquent. Thus the same fault was judged more severely in a bishop or presbyter, than it was in the deacon; and more allowance was made for the catechumens than for the baptized. Origen writes: "The Christians sorrow over those who have been overcome by lust, or any other noticeable vice, as if they were dead. After a long period, if they have given proof of a change of heart, they receive them once more to the

standing of catechumens, as those risen from the dead." Tertullian says: "Inward compunction of conscience should be manifested also by outward acts. They should fast and pray for forgiveness, express sorrow by their whole deportment, present a confession of their sins before the whole community, request the prayers of all the Christian brethren, and especially humble themselves before the presbyters, and the known friends of God." Some maintained that the church had no right to absolve a sinner, who had trifled away the pardon obtained for him by Christ, and appropriated by him at baptism; that the sins spoken of in the Gospel as forgiven were committed before baptism; that God, in the plenitude of his mercy, might doubtless forgive them, but the church had no right to do it. On the other hand it was urged that they were the very ones who required the aid of the church; that they who were well needed not a physician, but they who were sick.

Whoever carried on any trade contrary to generally received Christian principles, was not baptized till he had pledged himself to lay it aside. Astrology and magic, which were at that time very lucrative, were forbidden. Sculpture was also prohibited, because it was principally employed on images of the gods. To those sculptors who excused themselves by saying they considered their works objects of Art, not of religion, Tertullian exclaimed indignantly: "Assuredly you are a worshipper of idols, when you help to promote their worship. It is true you bring to them no outward victim, but you sacrifice your mind to them; your sweat is their drink-offering; you kindle for them the light of your skill. How can you be said to have renounced the Devil and all his Spirits, if you make images of them? It is not enough to say, I do not worship them; for thou dost so far worship them, in that thou makest them for others to worship." All who were connected with the circus, or the theatre, were excluded from communion; as were also those who frequented such scenes. Tertullian wrote a book exhorting Christians not to be tempted into such places. He says: "An example hap-

pened, as the Lord is witness, of a woman who went to the theatre, and came back with a Devil in her. When the unclean Spirit was urged and threatened, in the office of exorcising, for having dared to attack a Christian, he replied: 'I did merely what was fitting and just; for I found her upon my own ground.'" In the same book he tells of a woman who having witnessed a tragedy at the theatre, dreamed in the night that somebody showed her a winding-sheet, and reproached her for what she had done; and five days after that, she died. The dress of actors was very offensive to him. He was particularly displeased with their high buskins, which he regarded as a violation of Scripture; inasmuch as they sought thereby to add a cubit to their stature. An actor, who became a Christian, attempted to earn a living by instructing boys in the art he had left. Cyprian, being asked whether he could remain in communion with the church, declared thus strongly against it: "If in Deuteronomy a curse is pronounced on him who puts on the garment of a woman, how much more criminal must it be to form a man to effeminate and unseemly gestures, by an immodest art; to falsify the image of God by tricks of the Devil? If the church where he resides is too poor to support him, let him come to Carthage, where he will be supplied with what is necessary for food and clothing; provided he does not teach what is pernicious out of the church, but himself learns within the church what tends to salvation. He must not, however, suppose that he is to be hired to leave off sinning, since he does it not for our sakes, but for his own."

The cruel contests between gladiators and wild beasts, in which the Roman populace took a savage delight, were held in the greatest abhorrence by Christians, and were earnestly rebuked by their public teachers, as "a custom which turned murder into an art, and taught it as a profession." Tertullian, whose style partook of the general heat and severity of his character, draws the following terrible picture, while reproving the people of Carthage for their love of games and public shows: "What a Spectacle is at

hand in the Advent of the Lord! doubted, humbled, withheld from triumph no longer! What joy among the angels! What glory for the saints rising to life! What a kingdom for the just forevermore! What a city in the New Jerusalem! It will not be without its Games. It will have the final and eternal Day of Judgment, which the Gentiles now treat with unbelief and scorn; when so vast a series of ages, with all their productions, will be hurled into one absorbing fire. How magnificent the scale of *that* Game! With what admiration, what laughter, what glee, what triumph, shall I perceive so many mighty emperors, who had been represented as received up into the skies, even Jupiter himself, and his votaries, moaning in unfathomable gloom. The Governors, too, persecutors of the Christians, liquifying amid shooting spires of flame, in fiercer torments than they had ever devised against the faithful. And those sage philosophers, who had deprived the Deity of his offices, and questioned the existence of a soul, or denied its future union with the body, meeting again with their disciples, only to blush before them in those ruddy fires. Not to forget the poets, trembling at the unexpected bar of Christ, not before the tribunal of Rhadamanthus, or Minos. Then will be the time to hear the tragedians, doubly pathetic, since they bewail their own agonies; to observe the actors, released by the fierce element from all restraint upon their gestures; to admire the charioteer glowing all over on the ear of torture; to watch the wrestlers, thrust into the struggle of the flames, instead of the gymnasium. But even this Spectacle I shall forego, to revel, with insatiable gaze, at the dismay of the Lord's own persecutors. Here he is! I shall say. Here is the carpenter's son; the Sabbath-breaker; the Samaritan; the possessed of the Devil! Here is he whose life you purchased from Judas; he whom you buffeted and scourged, and spit upon, and presented with vinegar and gall. Here is he whose body was removed by his disciples to support the tale of a resurrection; or by the gardener, anxious lest his lettuces should be hurt by the trampling of visitors. What Prætor, Consul, or Priest, by

his munificence, can purchase for you a Game of triumph like unto this? Yet we, by the imaginative power of faith, can enjoy a foretaste of it already. And what must we say of those reserved felicities, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and it hath never entered the heart of man to conceive? I flatter myself they will be more grateful than the Circus, or the Stadium, or the stage-box itself."

The Fathers not only censured amusements, but all articles of luxury, such as gay garments, white bread, foreign wines, silver utensils, or warm baths. Though a very large majority of Christians belonged to the poor and the middling classes, yet even as early as the time of Clement of Alexandria, he found it necessary to rebuke the extravagance of those who wore embroidered dresses, rode in gilded chariots, and used vessels of silver and gold; of men, who had a multitude of slaves; of ladies, who kept peacocks from Media, birds and monkeys from India, and dogs from Malta, instead of maintaining poor widows and orphans. He compares richly dressed women to Egyptian temples. "Outwardly, those edifices are magnificent and splendid; surrounded by groves, enclosed by stately pillars; the walls curiously carved, garnished with gold and precious stones; but when you inquire for the deity there worshipped, you shall be gravely showed, behind a curtain, a cat, or a serpent, or some other ill-favoured beast." He says it is allowable to have some difference in garments, according to the age, shape, and employments of men. He even admits that "women who cannot otherwise keep the affections of their husbands, may go a little more neat and trim, if their lords require it; provided it be done solely for the purpose of pleasing them." Tertullian says: "Beauty is such a useless thing, it ought to be despised by those who have it not, and neglected by those who have it." He recommends women to seek the crown of martyrdom, as the only ornament for their heads.

The almost universal prevalence of the idea that Matter was the origin of evil, has been abundantly shown in the preceding pages; also, that Matter was considered a femi-

nine principle, and that Spirits were attracted downward into union with it, whereby visible forms were produced. Abstract ideas often become very material, and even gross, by passing through generations of minds. It, therefore, seems to me not unlikely that from these premises grew the idea presented in the Sacred Books of several religions, that the First Mother introduced sin into the world, by enticing the First Father. Whatever might be the source, it was a common opinion among the Jews, and was universally entertained by the Christian Fathers, that Adam being tempted to union with Eve caused the fall of man ; though the command to "increase and multiply" was expressly given by God himself, before the fall. This Jewish doctrine concerning our first parents combined very easily with the oriental idea, every where promulgated by East India devotees, and Egyptian ascetics, that marriage was an impediment in the path of holiness. Among the primitive Christians were some who thought it a duty to live unmarried, in order to devote themselves more completely to God. Athenagoras, cotemporary with Irenæus, says: "There are among us both men and women, who have grown old in celibacy, with the hope of a closer union with God." They supported themselves by labour, and all that remained of their earnings, after their very simple wants were supplied, was given to the poor. Women who thus consecrated themselves, were distinguished by the appellation of virgins ; the men were styled ascetics. They lived with Christian families, or in houses by themselves, were diligent in various trades and professions, and sold the proceeds of their industry to whoever wished to purchase. Some few, who resembled Hindoo devotees in extreme mortification of the body, appear to have considered this traffic with the world irreligious. That such existed in the time of Irenæus, and were not approved by him, is implied by the following remark: "If these things are imputed to you by one who has separated himself from Gentile communities, and lives naked and barefoot in the mountains, feeding on herbs, like ani-

mals, he should be pardoned, because he does not rightly understand what Christian life ought to be." Clement of Alexandria objected to celibacy, as calculated to produce misanthropy. He notices the fact that in various polytheistic religions, the priests were required to refrain from marriage, wine, and animal food. He speaks, also, of rigid ascetics in India; and argues that customs existing in those religions, certainly had no claim to be considered peculiarly Christian. He adds: "As humility is shown not by castigation of the body, but by gentleness of disposition, so, also, abstinence is a virtue of the soul, not consisting in that which is without, but in that which is within the man. Abstinence does not refer to pleasure only. It is also abstinence to despise money, to tame the tongue, and to obtain dominion over sin by the exercise of reason." He commends marriage as follows: "The genuine Christian has the Apostles for an example. In truth, it is not in solitary life that one shows himself a man. He is superior to other men, who withstands all the temptations that assail him in providing for wife and children, servants and substance, without allowing himself to be turned from the love of God. The man with no family escapes many temptations; but as he has none save himself to care for, he is of less worth than the man who accomplishes more in social life, though he has more to disturb him in the work of his own salvation; who, in truth, presents in himself a miniature of Providence." Describing a Christian matron, he says: "The mother is the glory of her children; the wife is the glory of her husband; both are the glory of the wife; and God is the glory of them all." Tertullian, who was a married man, still more warmly contests the oriental ideas, as "contrary to the commands of God, who blessed marriage, and ordained the increase of the human race." He says: "What a union is that between two believers, having in common one hope, one desire, one order of life, one service of the Lord. Like brother and sister, undivided in spirit or body, they kneel, pray, and fast together, mutually teach,

exhort, and bear with each other. They are not separated in the church of God, and at the Lord's Supper. They share each other's persecutions, troubles, and joys. Neither avoids the other; neither has any thing to hide from the other. There is freedom to visit the sick, and to sustain the needy. The harmony of psalms and hymns goes up between them. Christ rejoices to behold and hear such things, and sends them his peace. Where there are two, there he is also; and where he is, the Spirit of Evil can not enter." He was, however, violent in his denunciations against second marriages, which were in general disrepute among the Christians, and considered a sufficient objection to admitting a man into the priesthood.

Christians long observed the Jewish custom of offering prayers at the third, sixth, and ninth hours of the day, dating from six in the morning: that is, at nine o'clock, at twelve, and at three in the afternoon. They also prayed in preparation for all the principal transactions of life. They usually knelt at their devotions; but on Sunday all the congregation stood up, in commemoration of Christ's rising from the dead. It was customary to turn toward the East when they prayed; in support of which the Fathers quote the example of the Apostles. They assign various reasons for it. Among others, they say: "The Apostles thereby paid respect to Paradise, which God planted in the East; begging of Him that they might be restored to that ancient country, from which Adam was cast out." There are, however, reasons more obvious. Temples usually faced the East, because the worship of the Sun was intimately connected with nearly all religions. Therefore Gentile converts would have been likely to have formed the habit in childhood of turning toward the East to pray. Jews, who were absent from their Holy City always turned toward it, when they performed their devotions. Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria, and Rome, where the earliest Christian churches were established, were all west of Jerusalem; and Jewish converts in those places would naturally carry their old custom into Christianity.

This circumstance, combined with the observance of the first day of the week, led many people to suppose that Christians were worshippers of the Sun; for the first day was called by Romans, *Dies Solis*, The Sun's Day; because ceremonies were then performed in honour of the Spirit of that luminary, in the rotation of the worship of the Spirits of the Seven Planets. In the Eastern churches, the Jewish Sabbath, on Saturday, was strictly observed, by abstinence from labour. On that day, as well as on Sunday, a meeting was held, a sermon delivered, the Scriptures read, and the Lord's Supper administered. They stood up during prayer, on both days, and never fasted on either of them. The case was otherwise with communities which had always been chiefly composed of Gentile Christians. In Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew reproaches Christians for not keeping the Sabbath, [Saturday.] Justin admits the charge, by replying: "Do you not see that the elements keep no Sabbaths, and are never idle? Continue as you were created. If there was no need of circumcision before Abraham's time, and no need of the Sabbath, of festivals, and oblations, before the time of Moses, neither of them are necessary after the coming of Christ. If any among you is guilty of perjury, fraud, or other crimes, let him cease from them and repent, and he will have kept the kind of Sabbath pleasing to God." This difference of customs occasioned some controversy when members of Eastern churches spent a Sabbath with any of their brethren in the West. Of those who advocated the Eastern practice, Tertullian said, with more moderation than he usually manifested: "The Lord will bestow his grace, so that they will either yield, or else follow their own opinion without giving offence to others." Every Wednesday and Friday, Christians of all churches had meetings for prayer, and fasted till three o'clock in the afternoon. This was done in commemoration of the betrayal of Christ by Judas, and of his crucifixion; as Sunday was joyfully observed in memory of his resurrection. These existed as customs, long before they were established as

rules. Tertullian is the first writer who manifests a tendency to transfer to Sunday the strict observances of the Jewish Sabbath. Speaking of kneeling, he says: "On the day of the Lord's resurrection, we ought not only to refrain from that, but from all anxious habits and duties, deferring even business, so that we may give no place to the Devil."

The Fathers have much to say concerning the duty and efficacy of prayer. Tertullian says: "It behooves the faithful neither to take food, or enter a bath without prayer; for the nourishing and refreshing of the spirit should have precedence of nourishing and refreshing the body." Clement of Alexandria says: "If I may speak so boldly, prayer is intercourse with God. Though we do but lisp, though we address God without opening the lips, we cry to him from the inward recesses of the heart; for when the whole direction of the inmost soul is toward God, he always hears." Origen says: "He prays without ceasing, who suitably unites prayer with action; for active duty is an integrant part of prayer. The whole life should express, 'Our Father, who art in heaven.'" It was supposed that attendant angels always stood ready to carry up to heaven every sincere prayer. Tertullian urged it as proper respect to these mediators, that the congregation should not be in haste to be seated after prayer, before the angel had departed with their supplications. They believed that every human being had a guardian angel, who sought to protect them, and was grieved when he sinned. The ministry of Spirits, good and evil, contending for the souls and bodies of men, was as conspicuous in their teaching, as in that of Zoroaster.

The social meal, originally connected with the Lord's Supper, was retained after the two were separated, and was designated by the term *Agape*, or Love Feast; where the poor of the church feasted on a banquet supplied by the rich. Tertullian thus describes it: "Our supper shows its character by its name. It bears the Greek name of Love; and however great may be the expense of it, still

it is gain to make expense in the name of piety; for we give joy to all the poor by this refreshment. The cause of the supper is a worthy one, and it is managed with propriety suited to its religious object. No vulgarity, nothing unbecoming, is permitted. No one approaches the table till prayer has first been offered to God. As much is eaten as is necessary to satisfy the demands of hunger; as much is drunk as consists with sobriety; every one remembering that the night remains consecrated to God. The conversation is such as might be expected from men fully conscious that God hears them. The supper being ended, and all having washed their hands, lights are brought in. Then each one is invited to sing, as he is able; either from the Holy Scriptures, or a song of praise to God, for the common edification, from the promptings of his own spirit. The whole is concluded with prayer." When the relations of men were simple, and the bond between them was heartfelt, these feasts were beautifully significant of their character. But their original simplicity was not long preserved. The rich began to be ostentatious of their liberality in providing for the Agape. In the beginning, masters and servants had eaten at the same table. But afterward, distinctions of rank were introduced. The text of Scripture: "Let the elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double honour," was interpreted to signify that a double portion of food should be set before the clergy. Scandalous stories began to circulate concerning the kiss of charity, with which they were accustomed to separate. Clement, of Alexandria, expressed disapprobation of those who thought to purchase heaven by their bounty on these occasions. Tertullian, after he seceded from the church, and joined the heretical sect called Montanists, attacked the institution he had formerly applauded, and brought against it the grossest charges of gluttony and profligacy.

Three annual Festivals were observed in very early times. The Jewish Passover was retained in commemoration of the Resurrection, and in process of time took the name of Easter. Pentecost was kept in remembrance of the descent of the

Holy Ghost on the disciples. On the sixth of January, the Eastern churches observed a Festival called The Manifestation of Christ, in commemoration of his baptism in the Jordan, when he was manifested as the Messiah.

Several of the early Fathers were somewhat imbued with the eclectic tendencies of the period, which induced them to take kindly views of other religions, and to adopt whatsoever they found of goodness or truth. Origen thus vindicates some of the ancient religions from an attack made upon them by Celsus: "The Egyptian philosophers have sublime ideas of the Divine Nature, which they keep secret, and never discover to the people, but under a veil of fables and allegories. Celsus is like a man who has travelled into that country, and though he has conversed with none but the ignorant, yet takes it into his head that he understands the Egyptian religion. All the Eastern nations, the people of India, the Persians, the Syrians, conceal sacred mysteries under their religious fables. The wise men of all religions penetrate the true meaning, while the ignorant see only the exterior symbol, the bark that covers it." "The Bramins say God is Light; not such as one sees, nor such as the sun or fire. But God is to them the Logos; not having a form, but the Being of *thought*, through whom the secret mysteries of knowledge become visible to the wise." Justin Martyr calls all human beings Christians, who had lived conformably to the Logos; that is, to the Divine Wisdom, or Reason; "even if they were regarded as atheists by their fellow men; such as Socrates, Heraclitus, and others." He says: "Ammon, in his Books, called God The Most Hidden; and Hermes plainly declares that it is hard to conceive of God, and impossible to express Him." Cyprian says: "Hermes acknowledged One God, whom he confessed to be ineffable and inestimable." Clement of Alexandria had some knowledge of the Hindoos, and alludes either to the Jains or Buddhists; though he does not call them by those names. By the class who admitted women to a life of consecrated celibacy, he probably refers to the Buddhists. He says: "There are two kinds of philosophers in India,

the Bramins and the Sarmans. Some of them do not inhabit cities, or houses. They clothe themselves with the bark of trees, subsist upon acorns and wild berries, and drink water from their hands. They eat no living creature, drink no wine, and keep themselves perfectly chaste. Among some of them there are consecrated virgins called Semnai. Some of these philosophers take food daily, others only every third day. Some among them go naked all their lives. They seek after truth, observe celestial phenomena, and from them predict future events."

Clement of Alexandria and Origen had great respect for Plato, whom they call "the truth loving." They were particularly impressed by the fact that he taught One God, called The Good, whose providence was universal; that the soul was immortal, and ascended to higher and higher spheres of being, according to its purity; that its perfection consisted in resemblance to God, and finally resulted in complete union with him. They especially commended him for teaching that the chief end of man was to resemble the Deity; whereas Stoics said it was to live according to nature. Clement of Alexandria says: "Every movement toward good comes from God. He employs those men who are peculiarly fitted to guide and instruct others, as his organs to work on the mass of mankind. Such were the better sort among Greek philosophers. That philosophy which forms men to virtue cannot be the work of evil. Consequently it must be of God, whose only work is to induce that which is good. And all gifts bestowed by God are given for right ends, and received for right ends. Philosophy is not found in the possession of bad men; it was given to the best men among the Greeks. It is evidently, therefore, the gift of Providence, who bestows on each one whatever it is proper for him to receive, under his own peculiar circumstances. Thus we see to the Jews was given the Law, and to the Greeks Philosophy, until the coming of our Lord. From that period, a universal call has gone forth, for a peculiar people, who are to be made righteous through the doctrine of faith; now that the common God

of both Greeks and barbarians, or rather of the entire human race, has brought all together by one common Lord. Before the appearance of Christ, philosophy was necessary to the Greeks, as a means of righteousness; but now it is useful in the service of piety, as a sort of preparation for exhibiting the evidence of faith. Our feet will not stumble, if we derive all good from Providence, whether it belongs to the Gentiles, or to ourselves; since God is the author of all good. He is so partly in a more special sense, as in the gift of the Old and New Testaments; partly in a more indirect sense, as in the case of Philosophy. But perhaps philosophy was also given to the Greeks in a special sense, before our Lord called the Gentiles; since it educated them for Christianity, as the Law did the Jews. Both were preparatory steps for those who were to be conducted through Christ to perfection." In Deuteronomy, the Hebrews are told: "The sun, the moon, and the stars hath the Lord thy God divided unto all nations under the whole heaven. But the Lord hath taken you to be unto him a people of inheritance." From this text, Clement inferred that star-worship was of divine institution. He says: "God assigned to the Gentiles the sun, moon, and stars, as objects of worship, that they might not fall into atheism." From an apocryphal book, called *The Preaching of Peter*, the Fathers received an idea that Peter, as well as Paul, preached at Athens. Clement says: "Peter, when preaching to the Athenians, implied that the Greeks had a knowledge of the Deity. He supposed they adored the same God we do, though not in the same manner. He does not forbid us to adore the same God as the Greeks; but he forbids us to worship him in the same way."

There was a class of minds among Christians, of whom Tertullian was a prominent representative, who were strongly opposed to all classical learning, as detrimental to holiness. They denied that any of the philosophers were inspired by "the most ancient Logos." Regarding Jupiter, Apollo, and the other deities as the Fallen Angels, who fell in love with women, and taught magic, they main-

tained that the philosophers and poets of Greece and Rome were inspired solely by Demons, and consequently all of them were organs of Evil Spirits. The Book of Enoch, then much in vogue among Christians, was frequently quoted to sustain this doctrine. Clement of Alexandria combated these views; for he could not forget by what process his own mind had been prepared for Christianity. He says: "Allowing this view to be correct, yet even Satan could deceive men only by clothing himself like an angel of light. In order to draw men, he must be obliged to mingle truth with falsehood; and we must still search for and acknowledge the truth, from whatever quarter it may come. Even this communication can take place no otherwise than according to the will of God. It must therefore be included with all the rest of God's plan for the education of the human race. But when we consider that sin and disorder are the only appropriate works of Satan, is it not strange that he should be represented as the bestower of philosophy, which is a benefit? In this, he would seem to have been more benevolent to good men among the Greeks, than Divine Providence himself." Elsewhere he says: "He who would gather from every quarter what would be for the profit of the catechumens, especially if they are Greeks, must not, like irrational brutes, be shy of much learning, but must seek to collect round him every possible means of helping his hearers." An heretical teacher, named Hermogenes, taught that men did not receive immortality until it was imparted by the new life infused into them from Christ; hence only those who believed on him would be immortal; all others would sink back into the inert mass of Matter, whence they sprang. Others who believed human souls were originally immortal, thought they had lost the gift, and could regain it only by baptism and participation of the eucharist. Both these views of course excluded all Pagans from salvation.

Many converts came into Christianity through the portal of Greek philosophy, and some of them proved the greatest ornaments of the church. But in general, the

views entertained by Christians appeared monstrous and absurd to the learned among the Gentiles. Celsus, supposed to have been an Epicurean philosopher, toward the close of the second century, was the first writer who entered the lists against them; and he made his attack mostly in a sarcastic vein. The pictures of God's vengeance, borrowed from the Jews, were peculiarly offensive to Greek and Roman philosophers, who could never conceive of the Supreme Being as capable of anger, or any other passion. The fictions of the poets, which so represented Jupiter, were, by them, uniformly regarded as impious. Celsus and other writers scoffed at the idea that the Logos of God was born of a woman, walked about in a human form, and was subject to human infirmities. They compared it to the fables of their poets, which represented Jupiter as assuming various shapes to pursue his love-affairs on earth. They retorted the charge of polytheism, by accusing Christians of believing in more than one God; for Christ, as the Maker of heaven and earth, had "more power than was ever attributed to Apollo, or Mars." The idea that the world was made for man, and that the providence of God watched over the well-being of every individual, seemed to Celsus mere arrogant presumption. He says: "It is not for man, any more than for lions and eagles, that everything in the world has been created. It was in order that the world, as the work of God, might present a perfect whole. God provides only for the whole; and *that* his providence never deserts. This world never becomes any worse. God does not return to it, after a long interval. He is as little angry with man, as he is with apes and flies. The universe has been provided, once for all, with all the powers necessary for its preservation, and for developing itself after the same laws. God has not, like a human architect, so executed his work, that at some future period it would need to be repaired."

With regard to the Christian doctrine of One God, Celsus says: "We also place a Supreme Being above the world, and above all created things; and we approve and sympa-

thize with whatever may be taught concerning a spiritual rather than a material adoration of the gods. For with a belief in the gods, worshipped in every land and by every people, harmonizes the belief in a Primal Being, a Supreme God, who has given to every land its guardian, to every people its presiding deity. The unity of the Supreme Being, and the consequent unity of the design of the universe, remains, even if it be admitted that each nation has its gods, whom it must worship in a peculiar manner, according to its peculiar character; and the worship of all these different deities is reflected back to the Supreme God, who has appointed them, as it were, his delegates and representatives. Those who argue that men ought not to serve many masters, impute human weakness to God. He is not jealous of the adoration paid to subordinate deities. His nature is superior to degradation and insult. Reason itself might justify the belief in the inferior deities, the objects of established worship. For since the Supreme Being can only produce that which is immortal and imperishable, the existence of mortal beings cannot be explained, unless we distinguish from Him those inferior deities, and suppose *them* to be the creators of mortal beings, and of perishable things."

Celsus, in common with most of the Grecians, despised Christianity as a blind faith, that shunned the light of reason. He says: "They are forever repeating, Do not examine. Only believe, and thy faith will make thee blessed. Wisdom is a bad thing in life; foolishness is to be preferred." He jeers at the fact that ignorant men were allowed to preach. He says: "You may see weavers, tailors, fullers, and the most illiterate and rustic fellows, who dare not speak a word before wise men, when they can get a company of children and silly women together, set up to teach strange paradoxes among them." The words of Jesus, "I thank thee, O Father, that thou hast concealed these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes," Celsus construes thus: "This is one of their rules: Let no man that is learned, wise, or

prudent, come among us; but if any be unlearned, or a child, or an idiot, let him freely come. So they openly declare that none but the ignorant, and those devoid of understanding, slaves, women, and children, are fit disciples for the God they worship." The calling of sinners into the fold of the church also seemed to him a degrading feature in the new religion; for it was altogether foreign to the dignified respectability of the philosophic schools. He says: "Those who invite us to become initiated into other religious Mysteries, begin by proclaiming, Let only him approach who is free from stain, who is conscious of no wickedness, who has lived a good and upright life. But let us hear who it is these Christians call. They say, Whoever is a sinner, whoever is foolish, whoever is wretched, him will the kingdom of God receive." He ridicules the self-abasement of the Christian, whom he describes as "forever on his knees, or rolling in the dust; a man who dresses meanly, and sprinkles himself with ashes." The miracles of Christ and his followers, he attributed to magic. He says: "The magicians in Egypt cast out Evil Spirits, cure diseases by a breath, call up the spirits of the dead, make inanimate things move as if they were alive, and so influence some uncultured men, that they produce in them whatever sights and sounds they please. But because they do such things shall we consider them sons of God? Or shall we call such things the tricks of wicked and pitiable men?" He speaks also of wonder-workers among the Christians, "who ramble about to play tricks at fairs and markets; not indeed in circles of the wiser and better sort, for among such they never venture to appear; but wherever they see a set of ignorant young fellows, slaves, or fools, there they take care to intrude themselves, and display all their arts." Lucian, a friend of Celsus, writing in the same spirit, says: "If a magician, or impostor, who is apt at his trade, goes among the Christians, he can shortly make himself rich; having to deal with an ignorant class of people."

Celsus especially holds up to ridicule the gross pictures

of the millenium, which some delighted to draw; nor does he fail to take advantage of the divisions continually springing up. He says: "When Christians were few in number, perhaps they agreed among themselves. But, as their numbers increased, they separated into parties, mutually attacking and refuting each other, retaining nothing in common but their name; if indeed they did that. Many who came, as it were out of a fit of intoxication into their sober senses, altered the evangelical narrative, in manifold ways, from the shape in which it was first recorded, that they might have wherewith to refute objections." He also reproached them with forging imitations of the Grecian Sibyls, and passing them off as prophecies concerning Christ.

Origen wrote an able and earnest reply to Celsus. He ridiculed the images which the populace were taught to regard as gods; saying that swallows would build nests in their mouths, and spiders cover their heads with cobwebs, unless great pains were taken to brush and wash them. He gloried in it, as a peculiarity of the Christian religion, proving it to be a revelation from that God who cared for all men, that it had power to attract, by mere faith, the masses of mankind, who by their situation were incapable of scientific inquiry. He adds: "But we are far from prohibiting the wise, the learned, and the prudent from coming among us, provided the rude, the simple, and the unlearned be not excluded. We are most willing to instruct our youth in the presence of masters of families, and Doctors of philosophy, if they are men who aspire after the best things; for we are well assured that we should find such men favourable judges.

No charge was more frequently brought against the Christians than that of trying to introduce a religion which had no antiquity to recommend it, whose founder was a poor carpenter in Judea, a malefactor, condemned to an ignominious death. To this reproach the Fathers replied in various ways. They affirmed that he who was apparently a carpenter, and a malefactor, was the Divine Logos,

who had dwelt with the Father from all eternity. Secondly, they maintained that their teaching was according to the law of nature, and therefore as old as the world. Lastly, they declared that Christianity was substantially the same as the Hebrew religion, for which they claimed superior antiquity and worth, above all other religions. Having thus identified Christianity with Judaism, and being fully convinced these were the only revelations from God himself, they very naturally ascribed everything that was good or true elsewhere to a Jewish origin. Philo intimates that Plato and Aristotle borrowed all that was excellent in their philosophy from the Hebrew Sacred Books, and that Zeno was an imitator of Moses. It was also a common opinion among Hellenistic Jews that Grecian legislators had transcribed from the tables of Moses all that was valuable in their own laws. The Christian Fathers readily imbibed these ideas. Some of them were accustomed to call Plato "the Hebrew Philosopher," "the Athenian Moses," or "Moses speaking Greek." Pythagoras was said to have been acquainted with Ezekiel in Babylon, and "Golden Verses" were attributed to him, which were in fact mere transcripts of Mosaic precepts against idolatry and theft. It was generally agreed that everything false in Greek or Roman writers was taught by the Evil Spirits, whom they worshipped as deities; but all that was true, they borrowed from the Hebrews. A few believed that the best philosophers, Plato especially, were enlightened in a lesser degree by the same Logos who taught the Patriarchs and inspired Moses and the Prophets.

But while they revered the same God, and the same Scriptures as the Jews, they were engaged in hotter controversies with them, than with the Gentiles. The allegorical mode of interpretation, established on no system whatever, and resorted to by both parties, was of itself sufficient reason why disputes should be interminable. The Jewish mind trained for centuries to regard the unity of God as inviolable, could not be made to view the doctrine of the Logos in any other light than as teaching a plurality

of gods. The expectation of a personal Messiah had become much less strong among Hellenistic Jews, than it had been in Palestine; a fact indicated by the writings of Philo and Josephus. They were therefore less attracted toward those who believed they had found the long-promised one. Moreover, they continually disputed the evidence brought by Christians. It could not be made to appear clear to them that the life and character of Jesus fulfilled the predictions of their prophets. When his birth was brought as a proof, they replied: "But if Joseph was not his father, he was not of the lineage of David." To meet this objection it was asserted that Mary also was a descendant of the old royal line; and Justin Martyr thought it was satisfactorily proved. They continually accused the Christians of misquoting their Scriptures. These frequent charges induced Origen to undertake the vast labour of comparing all the different versions of the Old Testament.

But there is a pleasanter point of view, from which to contemplate those old heroes of the faith. Their credulity belonged to the age in which they lived; and polemical strife was inevitable, when old religions were breaking up, and giving place to the new; but their unflinching sympathy with the poor, and their patient instruction of the ignorant, were peculiarly their own. Origen says: "We openly avow our purpose of instructing all men in the Word of God. We give to every one such training as is adapted to him. We disdain not to teach slaves to conceive noble sentiments, and to obtain freedom by obedience to the Word of God." When ridiculed for the great preponderance of the poor among them, they replied: "It is not our dishonour, but our glory. Yet how can that man be poor, who wants nothing, who envies not another's possessions, and who is rich in God? He rather is poor, who, having much, desires more." Athenagoras says: "With us you may find ignorant people, mechanics and women, who, though unable to prove with words the saving power of their religion, yet by their deeds prove the saving influence of the disposition it has bestowed on them; for they do not learn words by rote,

but they exhibit good works. When struck, they strike not again. When robbed, they do not go to law. They give to them that ask them, and love their neighbours as themselves." Justin Martyr says: "We can point out many among us, who, from overbearing and tyrannical men, have been changed by a victorious power, when they have seen how their neighbours could bear all things, or observed the singular patience of their defrauded fellow travellers, or come to be acquainted with Christians in any of the other relations of life." Origen says: "The work of Jesus is manifested among all mankind, where communities of God, founded by Jesus, exist. They are composed of men reclaimed from a thousand vices. To this day, the name of Jesus produces a wonderful mildness, decency of manners, humanity, goodness, and gentleness, in those who embrace the doctrines of Christ, and faith in the judgment to come; not hypocritically, for the sake of human advantage and selfish ends, but in sincerity and truth. The Christian communities, compared with those among whom they dwell, are as lights in the world." Justin Martyr says: "We, who were once slaves of lust, now have delight only in purity of morals. We, who once practised arts of magic, have consecrated ourselves to the Eternal and Good God. We, who once prized gain above all things, give what we have to the common use, and share it with those who are in need. We, who once hated and murdered one another, who, on account of differences of customs, would have no common hearth with strangers, do now live together with them. We pray for our enemies; we seek to convince those that hate us without cause; so that they may order their lives according to Christ's glorious doctrine, and attain to the joyful hope of receiving like blessings with us from the Lord of all."

The extreme charitableness of Christians doubtless might sometimes induce the poor to join their communities, without becoming Christians by conviction; but at that period of the church, there were so many perils to be encountered,

and so few worldly advantages to be gained, that they were not liable to receive many spurious converts. Tertullian says: "If you assert that Christians are the worst of men, in avarice, riotousness, and dishonesty, I will not deny that *some* are so. In the purest body, some freckles may doubtless be discovered."

Many Christians were in the habit of setting apart days for private self-examination and prayer. They usually fasted during such seasons, and what was saved from daily food was given to the poor. Sometimes, when there was distress in other Christian communities, the bishop appointed a general fast, to raise money for their relief. If the smaller towns were too poor to do all that was needed, the wealthy metropolitan churches were always ready to make up the necessary sum. Many converts, at baptism, gave most of their property, or all of it, to the church fund for charity; guided by the precept: "If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." In times of persecution, magistrates were surprised to find how young patrician girls in Rome had privately sold their jewels to relieve the indigent. While Christians were still limping from the rack, and marked with the brands and scars of the Decian persecution, a pestilence began to rage in North Africa, and the terrified people deserted the dead and the dying. Cyprian called his church together, and said: "If we do good only to our own, we do no more than publicans and heathens. But if we are children of God, who makes his sun to shine on the just and the unjust, who scatters blessings not merely on his own, but even on those whose thoughts are far from him, we must manifest it by our actions; striving to be perfect even as our Father in Heaven is perfect; blessing those that curse us, and doing good to those that despitefully use us." Animated by this advice, the rich gave their money liberally, and the poor their labour. The sick were carefully tended, and the dead bodies scattered in the streets, infecting the whole city, were soon buried. When barbarians made an irruption into Numidia, and carried some of the Christians

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away captive, Cyprian speedily raised more than four thousand dollars, and transmitted it to the Numidian bishops, for their ransom. In his letter, he says: "Who ought not to look on the distress of his brother as his own? Who that is a father, and respects the claims of humanity, ought not to feel as if his own children were among those barbarians?" The Apostle Paul tells us, if one member suffers all the members suffer with it. It is our earnest hope that you may never again be visited with a like affliction; but should any similar calamity befall you, to try the love and faith of our hearts, delay not to inform us of it; for be assured all the brethren here are ready to assist you, cheerfully and abundantly." During the reign of Trajan, a Prefect of Rome, named Hermes, was converted to the Christian faith, with his wife and children. At the succeeding festival of Easter, he proved how deeply the teaching of Christ had taken possession of his soul, by emancipating one thousand two hundred and fifty slaves; and on that joyful occasion they all received baptism and liberty. The thoughtful kindness of the conscientious master went still further. Knowing that their condition as slaves had deprived them of the means of acquiring property, and fearing that their families might suffer for a time, from dearth of employment, he added a liberal donation to each one, to assist him in commencing business for himself. Christians had such strong sympathy with their own brethren who were sold into slavery, either by war or persecution, that they often sold themselves to redeem others. Bishops considered that no more pious use could be made of the funds of the church, than to redeem a Christian brother from bondage; and for this purpose they did not hesitate to sell the silver goblets and plates used for the Lord's Supper. Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, writes thus: "We have known many among us, who have delivered themselves into bonds and slavery, that they might restore others to their liberty; many that have let themselves out as servants, that by their wages they might sustain those who are in need." Clement of Alexandria bears

the same testimony, and adduces examples within his own knowledge.

Obedience to the government was deemed a duty in all cases, except those which involved the worship of the old deities. Tertullian, in answer to a charge of disloyalty, says: "The Christian is the enemy of no man; assuredly not of the emperor. The Sovereign he knows to be ordained of God. Of necessity, therefore, he loves, honours, and reveres him; and prays for his safety, with that of the whole Roman empire, that it may endure; and endure it will, as long as the world."

THE EARLIEST SECTS.

THE JUDAIZING CHRISTIANS.—Having thus given a summary glance at the prominent characters of the early Fathers, I will endeavour to describe, as concisely as possible, the sects who were especially troublesome to them. First, I will speak of those which most strongly retained the stamp of their Jewish origin. How difficult it was for the disciples of Moses to free themselves from their deeply-rooted national exclusiveness has been repeatedly stated. Among the Twelve Apostles, Peter seems to have made the greatest advance in this respect; probably owing to his more frequent companionship with Paul, and his acquaintance with the devout Roman centurion. Though appointed by a Council at Jerusalem to be the "apostle of the circumcision," he declared: "Of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." The whole drift of Paul's preaching went to prove that the Mosaic dispensation was local and transitory, while the principles inculcated by Christ were universal and permanent; that the old ritual consisted of types, to shadow forth the new doctrines, which were the substance. His superior education, combined with the earnestness and directness of his character, and the consequent certainty of his convictions, rendered him a very powerful and efficient preacher.

He was not only eminently successful in gaining Gentile proselytes, but converts from the Hellenistic Jews were everywhere more or less modified by the expansion of his ideas; though in all the churches established by him there was a Peter party and a Paul party.

The case was different with Christianized Jews in Palestine. The first fifteen bishops at Jerusalem were all observers of the Mosaic law. People in the old country were generally less educated, and less enterprising than the Jews scattered abroad in foreign cities. They had very little communication with other countries, and, of course, the spirit of conservatism remained strong among them. They were in the same state as those who said to Paul: "Thou seest, brother, how many Jews there are that believe, and they are all zealous for the Law." In their view, Christianity was in fact merely a perfected kind of Judaism. Obscurity rests on the history of the church at Jerusalem. From statements of the Christian Fathers, we learn that they left the Holy City before it was attacked and destroyed by Titus; that they retired to Pella, a country east of the Sea of Galilee; that after the war was over, many of them returned, and remained there till the insurrection under Bar-Cochebas, who professed to be the Messiah. The city was then taken by Adrian, who established a Roman Colony there, and expelled the Jews. The Palestine Christians, being all strict observers of the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic Law, were regarded merely as a sect of Jews, and consequently shared in the banishment. In their exile, they formed acquaintance with Gentile converts; their prejudices gradually relaxed; a portion of them discontinued the practice of circumcision, and other Jewish ceremonies, in which they had persevered for more than a century; and, finally, in the year one hundred and thirty-eight, they elected a Gentile bishop. By these concessions, and by asserting that they believed in a spiritual Messiah, whose kingdom was not of this world, they disarmed the political jealousy of Rome, and were allowed to return to Jerusalem, where they established a Christian church, into

which Gentile converts were received on an equality with converted Jews.

But a considerable portion of the exiles adhered to their old views, and refused to follow the foreign bishop. They spread into the villages round Damascus, and considering themselves as the true depositories of the genuine apostolic doctrine, they refused to hold religious communication with uncircumcised believers in Christ. Jews rejected them as apostates, and Christians regarded them as heretics. For one hundred years it was a subject of controversy whether a man could be saved if he accepted Jesus as the promised Messiah, *without* conforming to the Law of Moses. Through manifold and perilous struggles, Paul gained the victory. The Petrine controversy gradually subsided, and at last it became a question whether a Christian convert could be saved if he *did* conform to the Law. Justin Martyr says that, as early as his time, the more rigid Gentile Christians would hold no intercourse with such, and maintained that they could not be saved. Others thought they might escape damnation, provided they practised Mosaic rites without pretending to assert their necessity, or general use.

Jews called all Christians Nazarenes, on account of their originating in Nazareth; and Christians seem to have applied the same term to one sect of those who retained their attachment to old Hebrew forms. But they were accustomed to designate all the Christian followers of Moses by the general term of Ebionites. These had a Gospel, written in modern Hebrew, [Aramæan] which they believed contained an authentic account of the sayings and doings of Jesus, as related by the Twelve Apostles, and recorded by Matthew. It did not contain the two first chapters, but began with the baptism of Jesus. The copy used by the Nazarene sect had two chapters preceding the baptism; but quotations which remain indicate that they differed somewhat from those that have come down to us. The Nazarenes considered the Mosaic law binding upon themselves, but were willing to dispense with its observance in the case of Gentile converts. They denounced the Scribes

and Pharisees, who by their traditions had hindered the people from believing in Jesus. But they said the whole world would finally be converted to Christ, and all that the prophets had promised concerning the Messiah's kingdom would be fulfilled in him. They called him "The First Born of the Holy Spirit;" but their Gospel represented the Holy Spirit as his *Mother*; probably from the Cabalistic idea that the Divine Wisdom was feminine. Philo embodied the same idea in the Universal Mother, whom he named Sophia. Another class of Ebionites supposed that a superior Angel, one who presided over all the other Angels, descended upon Christ at baptism, filled him with Divine power, and remained with him during his life. Others supposed that the Heavenly Man, called Adam Kadman, or the First Adam, who appeared as the progenitor of the human race, had re-appeared in Christ, as the Messiah, to deliver God's last revelation to mankind. Epiphanius, one of the later Christian Fathers, of Jewish parentage, says: "The Ebionites believe that God created the Spirit of Adam before any of the Angels, and made him Lord of all; that this immortal Adam descended from above whenever he pleased; that he had dwelt in the body of the earthly Adam, and afterward in Abraham and David; that in the latter days he had appeared in the form of Jesus, who was the Messiah; that his body was crucified, and he had returned to heaven." He also says: "They do not believe that Christ was born of God the Father, but that he was created, like the archangels; being greater, however, than they, governing the Angels, and all things made by God."

These sects, and others, are confounded together under the general term of Ebionites, a word which Origen defines as meaning The Poor. Some suppose it was contemptuously bestowed upon them because the members of Christian communities generally belonged to the labouring class. Others suppose it originally designated one sect among Jewish Christians, who renounced property. Epiphanius speaks of an Ebionite sect, existing in his time, who ate

no meat, and offered no animals, because they considered sacrificial worship an innovation upon primitive Judaism, and derived from a foreign source. They had a book, called *The Steps of Jacob*, in which that patriarch is represented as discoursing against sacrifices, and the ritual of Temple worship. They considered renunciation of worldly goods essential to Christian perfection, without which no one could participate in the kingdom of the Messiah. They gloried in the name of Ebionites, and traced it back to the circumstance that their forefathers, who, they said, formed the *first* church at Jerusalem, renounced all rights of property, and held all things in common. They praised early marriages, as conducive to virtue, and were opposed to those who over-valued celibacy.

The strict Ebionites considered the Law of Moses binding upon all followers of Christ, whether Jews or Gentiles; therefore they would hold no communion with uncircumcised converts. They believed that the mission of Jesus was confined to Israelites, and those who became so by adopting their customs. They sustained this position by quoting the assertion of Christ, that he did not come to do away the Law, and that whosoever infringed the least of its commandments, could not share his kingdom. They regarded Paul as an apostate, and rejected his writings; saying they were not intended for them, and were written in a language they did not understand. Once a year, at the Passover, they celebrated the Lord's Supper, with unleavened bread and water; the use of wine being contrary to their strict ideas of temperance. They regarded Jesus as a man, the son of Joseph and Mary, whose birth differed in no respect from other mortals. They said he was distinguished by reverence for the Law of Moses, and eminently pious in the observance of it; and on that account he was chosen to be the Messiah. They supposed that he and others were ignorant of his important mission, till Elijah, who had re-appeared in the form of John the Baptist, revealed it to him when he entered the Jordan. At the moment of baptism, he was filled with divine

power, which enabled him to work miracles. This power was supposed to have been infused into him by the descent of some great Spirit from above; concerning whom they had different ideas, as has been already stated. They regarded the Devil as a Power, which God allowed to exist in opposition to the Messiah; that he had control over the present world, and Christ over that which was to come. They lived in constant expectation that the Messiah would return, and restore Jerusalem to more than its former splendour; that the time was at hand when Gentile nations would come and humbly offer to be servants to Israel, bringing with them horses and chariots, litters and dromedaries, silver and gold.

Though the Ebionites were generally too poor to command great advantages of education, there were some learned men among them. The most conspicuous was Symmachus, who flourished about the year two hundred. His translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek is spoken of with the highest respect by Origen, and other writers of his own time.

A strictly Jewish Christian church remained at Pella down to the fifth century. They gradually dwindled away, and all traces of them disappeared, except a few incidental allusions in the writings of the Fathers. The externals of Judaism vanished from Christianity, but many of its ideas and traditions remained permanently fused with the new religion to which it had unconsciously given birth; though the limited idea of Christ, as the Messiah of the Jews, was merged in the doctrine that he was the Redeemer of the World.

THE GNOSTICS.—While the fermentation of the new wine thus burst the old bottles of Jewish conservatism, into which it was first poured, a flood of influences had been pouring in from the Gentile world. The epoch was a peculiar one, and remarkably favourable to the reception and general dissemination of a new religion. War and commerce had mixed people, in an unprecedented manner

from the Indus to the Mediterranean. A multitude of nations were bound together under the government of Rome, and their characters were beginning to be ameliorated by the progressive excellence of Roman laws, which were wise and just beyond any the world had then known. The Greek language was familiar to scholars of all nations, and a door was thus opened for the general dissemination of Grecian philosophy and literature. There had been a long interval of peace, during which art and literature flourished. Socrates, Plato, Cicero, and others, had done much to establish a higher standard of morality, and introduce wiser ideas of Deity. Thinking men had outgrown the religious forms in which they were educated, and either scoffed at them openly, laid them aside silently, or endeavoured to adapt them to their wants, by allegorical interpretation. It was a period of wonderful intellectual activity, and spiritual amalgamation. The souls of men were hungry for truth. They were travelling through all regions of the earth in search of it, with willingness to find portions of it every where, and to adopt them where-soever found. It was precisely a state of things which must inevitably give birth to a new religion, in some form or other.

The earliest establishments of Christianity were in cities which formed a focus for this universal admixture of nations and creeds. Antioch, which was the earliest headquarters of foreign operations, where the followers of Jesus first received the name of Christians, and where the first cathedral was erected, was one of the wealthiest and most populous cities in the world. From its geographical position, the high road between Asia and Europe passed through it; and the magnificent worship of the Daphnæan Apollo annually attracted thither crowds of worshippers.

Ephesus was the great emporium of all Southern Asia, and was of course full of foreigners, especially orientals. Asia, Egypt, Palestine, and Greece, were represented there. Philosophers, and teachers of doctrines new and old, of course, congregated where there was such an audience.

Apollonius the Pythagorean, Cerinthus the Gnostic, the New Platonists, and the Christian Apostles John and Paul, are all recorded as having taught there. We are also informed that disciples of John the Baptist had wandered thither. It is a singular circumstance that they seem to have been unacquainted with the religion of Jesus, notwithstanding their own teacher is said to have announced him so distinctly as the Messiah, in consequence of a visible and audible miracle at his baptism, though they were connected by the natural ties of relationship, and by remarkable visions and prophecies preceding the birth of each. When Paul encountered these disciples of John at Ephesus, they said, in answer to his inquiries, that they had been baptized by John, but had not so much as heard whether there *was* a Holy Ghost. Paul said to them: "John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on him who should come after; that is, on Christ Jesus. When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus."

Rome, where it is generally believed that the Apostle Peter established a church, and where a Christian community certainly existed at a very early period, brought back from her extensive conquests not only the spoils of half the world, but their opinions also. Every system of philosophy was promulgated there, and almost every form of religion was introduced and tolerated, so long as it did not endanger the permanence of existing institutions.

But above all places, Alexandria was the arena for all new theories under the sun. Its founder, Alexander the Great, was well aware that mankind are more tenacious of theological opinions and observances, than they are of civil liberty; he, therefore, very wisely pursued a system of extreme toleration, and permitted almost unlimited freedom of discussion. The wish to make his new city a place of fusion for all nations might have led to the introduction of the worship of Serapis, who was represented as combining all the attributes of all the gods, and who was conse-

quently surrounded by symbols sacred in various religions. The far-famed Library attracted crowds of inquirers from all parts of the world. Not less than fourteen thousand students are said to have been accommodated in the city at one time. Whoever had a new theory to preach, or wished to hear one, went to Alexandria. It was as famous for commerce as for literature; being a great thoroughfare between the East and the West, the half-way house of Asia and Europe. Dion Chrysostom, who wrote in the time of Trajan, says: "I see among you not only Greeks and Italians, Syrians, Libyans, Ethiopians, and Arabians, but Bactrians, Scythians, Persians, and travellers from India, who flow together into this city, and are always with you." There the belief in the supernatural, so conspicuous in Judaism, mingled with the refined speculations of Plato. There were the magnificent monuments of Egypt, her significant traditions, her secret doctrines, her mystic emblems. There the philosophies of Greece attracted more attention than in any country which spoke her harmonious language. The number of Jews in Alexandria equalled those in Palestine; and there were many more educated men among them. They established schools, much frequented by their brethren residing in Babylon, with whom they kept up intimate relations of commerce and friendship. The deserts in the adjoining regions swarmed with Egyptian hermits, who, like their models in Hindostan, considered mortification of the body essential to the good of the soul. In the same solitary places were planted communities of the Jewish Therapeutæ, who mingled oriental doctrines with their reverence for Moses. In this spiritual atmosphere a Christian church grew up, said to have been founded by Mark, the Evangelist, and to have numbered many of the Therapeutæ among its converts. This circumstance, and the constant communication of Alexandria, and other great cities, with the East, are worthy of observation, because the subsequent growth of Christianity was thereby greatly modified.

What goes under the name of oriental philosophy varied in its details in different ages, countries, and sects; but in all its modifications it may be easily recognized by a few characteristic features. They all represented One Supreme Being, dwelling in fulness of Light, from whom Spiritual Intelligences emanated, by laws of inherent necessity, as rays from the sun. Matter, co-eternal with the Supreme, was a refractory force in the universe, the origin of evil. It was contrary to the dignity and purity of the Supreme to make this material world; therefore, they always supposed that one of the Spirits who emanated from him was the Creator and Governor.—Usually, it was the first emanation; as was the Brahma of the Hindoos, the Amun of the Egyptians, the Ormuzd of the Persians, the Logos of Philo and the Platonists, and the Adam Kadman of the Cabalists. But abhorrence of Matter led some sects to suppose a long series of Spirits between God and the world. They all considered the souls of men as inferior emanations from God, degraded and fettered by connection with Matter, and regarded it as the great object of existence to become re-united to the Source whence they proceeded. This could be done by subduing the appetites, avoiding external attractions, and thinking intently upon holy things. In this state of mind, the science of God, the only true knowledge, would be revealed to the soul by intuition. The Hindoo Vedas are full of praises of this “science,” and the blissful “absorption in Brahm,” which it produces. Plato prescribes subjugation of the senses, and contemplation on divine subjects, as the means of obtaining inward perceptions of the World of Spirits, and becoming one with God. The number Three is sacred in all theories derived from oriental sources. Deity is always a Trinity of some kind, or the successive emanations proceed in threes. Seven is likewise significant; being the number of the Planetary Spirits, and of the spheres of light they inhabit; of which the resplendent sphere of the Supreme is the eighth and highest. What was the original source of these systems the learned may settle, if they can. The germ of it all is evi-

dently in the most ancient books of Hindostan. Whether India borrowed it from Egypt, or lent it to her, is immaterial. The old Grecian philosophers took it from Egypt. When Christianity was introduced, it was floating all round the world, and intellectual men had everywhere a leaning toward it, in some form or other. In its more elevated Platonic form, it was grafted upon Judaism by Philo; and the Cabalists did the same thing, in a more complicated oriental fashion. How early it mingled with Christianity may be seen in the theories of Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others. It has been already shown how Simon Magus modified it, and Cerinthus attempted to join it with both Judaism and Christianity. They were followed by a series of teachers, whose systems differed from each other in various particulars, but who were known by the general name of Gnostics, from the Greek word Gnosis, meaning Science; because they all agreed in believing that the soul could arrive at perfection only by means of the science, or knowledge, of God, intuitively received from Him.

SATURNINUS.—One of the earliest of the Gnostic teachers was Saturninus, born at Antioch in Syria, early in the second century. He taught One Supreme God, from whom emanated many Spirits, or Powers. Seven of these, whose leader was the Jehovah of the Jews, created the world, and rebelled against the Supreme. He said the Hebrew prophets were inspired by these Spirits; though he supposed they were in some cases inspired by Satan. Not being educated in the Jewish religion, he did not see it in the hallowed light which surrounds all traditionary faith. He was shocked at the idea that the Supreme God could be jealous of other gods, that his anger could "wax hot," that he could command the Israelites to rob the Egyptians, and to slaughter whole tribes, with their women and children; that he promised temporal rewards for goodness, and confined his fatherly care to one single people. He was of a religious turn of mind, and deeply impressed by the purity

and benevolence of Christian morals. He found it difficult to believe that "a religion which called man so high, could be the daughter of a religion which often placed the character of God so low." He believed that Christ was an emanation from the Supreme, and was sent into the world by Him, not by Jehovah, who was a Spirit far inferior to Christ. His oriental views concerning Matter led him to reject the idea that Christ was born of a woman. He said he had not a real human body, but was a mere appearance, an incorporeal image; as Hindoos were accustomed to say concerning the appearance of their deities on earth. He denied the resurrection of the body, deeming it pollution for the soul to re-enter its prison of flesh. He thought souls of the good finally returned to the Celestial Source whence they emanated. He divided human souls into two distinct classes; children of light, who emanated from Good Spirits, and children of darkness, who emanated from Evil Spirits. Satan was always assisting the latter class to tempt and ensnare the children of light. It was the mission of Christ on earth to effectually separate these conflicting races; to rescue good souls, and destroy the kingdom of evil. He thought it wrong for the elect to propagate an imperfect, impure race, or to indulge in any sensual pleasures. Therefore, he and his followers were strictly ascetic. They abjured matrimony, and abstained from wine and animal food.

BASILIDES.—Basilides, cotemporary with Saturninus, was a Syrian by birth, but resided in Alexandria. His system was more complicated. He taught that seven families of Spirits emanated from the Supreme One, in progressive degrees of descent, and went on multiplying, till they numbered three hundred and sixty-five. Every family formed for itself a sphere of light, wherein they dwelt. Each of these abodes was a copy, or reflex, of the one above it, but less perfect. The lowest one approached near the kingdom of darkness, which felt its rays, and tried to be united with it. Spirits of Light were thus drawn down into the inert mass,

and brought into contact with Matter. The Presiding Angel of the lowest sphere of light was the Jehovah of the Jews. He resolved to reduce the chaotic mass of matter into order; and, with the assistance of his companions, he created this world. He manifested his selfishness by being jealous of other Principalities and Powers, and by wishing to reduce all nations to his own dominion. He was entirely ignorant of the Supreme One, who dwelt in the eighth sphere, high above all the other spheres. Man had a threefold nature; consisting of a pure spirit, which emanated from The Supreme; a sensitive soul, which he received from Jehovah the Creator; and a body formed of brute matter. By successive emigrations into various bodies, the imprisoned soul was to be at last released from the impure companionship of the body, and re-ascend to celestial spheres. Basilides said of himself: "I lived once without the law; that is, before I came into this human body, I lived in a form which is not subject to the law; in a brute body." Origen says his disciples held that one class of human souls were always finally saved by the influence of Good Spirits, to whom they were related, and that another kind were always influenced by Evil Spirits, and never saved; in support of which they quoted what John said of "the children of God," and "children of the Devil." To enable souls fettered and tempted by Matter in this world, to elevate themselves to the upper kingdom of light, the Supreme sent down the highest emanation, Christ, his First Born Son, who descended on the man Jesus when he was baptized, and remained united with him during his life, enabling him to perform miracles, and teach the true God. By faith in him, and obedience to his precepts, souls arrived at a consciousness of their high origin and destination, and were thus redeemed. Their ideas concerning Matter of course prevented the Basilidians from regarding the sufferings and death of the body as any atonement for sin. They said Jesus was not crucified; that Simon of Cyrene, who carried the cross, was changed into his form, and the Jews executed him, while Jesus stood aloof, and

smiled at the mistake of his enemies. This sect was numerous, and continued till into the fourth century. They began in purity, but are said to have degenerated fast. Having admitted that the soul might be too much elevated above the body to be polluted by its actions, and that the saints were thus freed from all law, some of them manifested the same disregard of morality, which has often characterized devotees of Hindostan, who held similar doctrines. Clement of Alexandria speaks of followers of Basilides, "who lead incorrect lives, as persons authorized to sin, because of their perfection; who will certainly be saved, though they sin now, because of an election founded in nature."

MARCION.—Marcion was born at Sinope in Syria, at the commencement of the second century. He was educated in the polytheistic worship; but his father became a Christian convert, and was elected Bishop of Sinope. The son also embraced the new faith with great enthusiasm. The moral precepts of Christ seemed to him far superior to anything that had ever been revealed to man, and he had the most earnest wish to bring his mind into strict conformity with them. So great was the austerity of his manners, that he was soon chosen presbyter of his father's church. The Hebrew Scriptures did not commend themselves to his mind. He was continually troubled by the feelings and actions ascribed to Deity; and by the idea of his direct agency upon Matter, in the creation of the world. Oriental views concerning the body led him to consider celibacy essential to holiness; and thinking this view was favoured by expressions and examples in the Christian Scriptures, he vowed himself to perpetual chastity. Similarity of religious sentiments brought him into frequent communion with one of the consecrated virgins of the church, and rumours arose that earthly feelings mingled with their spiritual friendship; but there is no evidence that the report was well founded. His father, displeased with his views concerning the Hebrew Scriptures, thought it a duty

to excommunicate him, lest he should infect the church.

He repaired to Rome, hoping to be better understood there, than he had been in his native place. His theories developed themselves into a form of Gnosticism, more simple and practical than most of the systems bearing that name. He did not occupy himself with metaphysical speculations, or genealogies of Spirits. He held the common doctrine that God and Matter were co-eternal principles. From the Supreme One emanated many Spirits. One of them was Jehovah, the Creator of the world, and lawgiver of the Jews. His intentions in making the world were just, but limited. Unhappily, the refractory force of matter, and of Evil Spirits, was so strong, that Jehovah could not entirely realize his plans. Though his ideas were not of the most elevated order, the world would have been much better if he had not been counteracted in his operations. Man was his noblest work, whose soul was of the same essence with his Maker. But the Creator could not separate from his world the evil inherent in Matter; and man could not withdraw himself from the influence of the bad elements, of which his body was formed. Jehovah gave them a commandment too difficult to keep. They disobeyed it, and thus fell still more under the influence of Matter and of Evil Spirits. According to Marcion's ideas, "the Creator acted toward them with as much weakness as severity. If he had been all-good, he would not have willed their fall; if he had been all-wise he would have foreseen it; if he had been all-powerful, he would have prevented it." However, he did what he could to console them. Those who were faithful to his commandments, as Abel, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he adopted as his favourites, and lavished terrestrial favours upon them and their descendants. Though he afterward required them to bear the heavy yoke of the Mosaic Law, he lightened their burdens by placing them in a fertile territory, and he cheered them with prophecies that his Son would appear on earth, clothed with great power, to destroy their enemies, and secure to them the dominion of the whole

world. But Marcion maintained that Jesus was not the Messiah promised to the Jews, and was not sent by Jehovah. He said his character wanted many of those marks of the Messiah contained in the Prophets; and, on the other hand, his peculiar characteristics were *not* among those foretold by them. He said the Supreme One, seeing the world in such hopeless confusion, and having compassion on the many nations who had no knowledge of himself, or even of Jehovah, but who were nevertheless threatened with destruction for disobeying laws of which many of them had never heard, resolved, in his infinite mercy, to make a revelation of himself, and call the whole human race to a high destiny. Being entirely unknown to men, he could not introduce himself to them in any other way, than by assuming a human form. He was not born of woman, not even apparently; and he was not clothed in human flesh; for that would have been contrary to the laws of the universe, and unworthy of a God of purity. He quitted his celestial abode, invisibly traversed the sphere where Jehovah dwelt, and suddenly appeared in the synagogue of the Jews at Capernaum, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar. He announced himself as the Son of God, the Christ, the Redeemer. He discountenanced their strictness in outward observances, reproved their faith in traditions, encouraged those who, like himself, were elevated above the Law, taught an entirely new system of morals, and called all people, the Jews included, to happiness not merely terrestrial, but heavenly and eternal. "He preached a God who had never before been known, either to the Gentiles by nature, or to the Jews by revelation." To sustain this assertion, Marcion quoted his saying: "No man knoweth the Father but the Son."

As Christ had only the appearance of a human body, of course he could only appear to die. Marcion considered his redemption of mankind to mean nothing more than enfranchisement from the limitations of the old Law, and the introduction of high and universal laws. After his apparent death, being touched with compassion for the past

generations of men, he went into the regions where existed those departed souls, who had been rewarded by Jehovah, or punished by him. To all of them he preached the Unknown God. Those who were enjoying the rewards of Jehovah were contented with their condition, and rejected his teaching; but those who were suffering, heard him eagerly. Cain and his descendants, who had perished in the Deluge, the Sodomites, and the Egyptians, who had been so severely punished, were led by him into celestial regions.

Above all other Gnostics, Marcion was characterized by inveterate aversion to Jewish institutions. This appears to have been, in a great measure, the result of exceeding spirituality, leading him to despise and condemn every thing external and temporal. He wrote a book to prove the complete antithesis between the Hebrew religion, and that of Christians. He would not admit that they had any thing in common, or that they were taught by the same Deity. He said the God revealed by Christ was incapable of change, full of love, compassion, and forgiveness. But Jehovah was jealous, vindictive, cruel, and arbitrary, and manifested his weakness by repenting of things he had done. So far from having sent Jesus on earth, he considered him incapable of understanding his character or mission, as trying to impede it in every way, and being in all respects his adversary. To prove this, he quoted Paul's words: "In whom the God of *this world* hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." This passage was supposed to give him so much the advantage in controversy, that Irenæus and Tertullian were for putting a comma after God, and straining the sentence to mean "God had blinded the minds of the unbelievers of this world." Marcion said the Messiah, whom Jehovah had promised to the Jews, would certainly come, sooner or later, and gather his partisans together in Palestine, where they would enjoy the earthly felicity so much coveted by their external natures.

He urged it as a proof of the very limited nature of Jehovah, that he did not know where Adam was, and whether he had transgressed his commands; but had need to inquire: "Where art thou? Hast thou eaten of the tree?" As proof that he was not the All Good Being, he alleged that he declared to his prophet, Isaiah: "I create darkness, and I create evil." Believing the Hebrew Scriptures to be dictated by Jehovah, or his Angels, he, of course, considered them exceedingly imperfect. He said Christ spoke of them as old bottles, that would burst as soon as the new wine of his doctrines was poured into them; and that Paul described them as the letter which killeth, while he called the teaching of Christ the spirit that maketh alive.

At that period, almost every new sect made a Gospel to suit its own theories, or mutilated and patched together those already in use. Marcion did not produce any book professing to be a new revelation, as did many of the Gnostics. He did not wish to embellish Christianity with any Egyptian, Persian, or Grecian ornaments; for he maintained that no system, religious or philosophical, had ever approached it in excellence. But he asserted that the Scriptures had been changed; and he thought it was his mission to restore them to their primitive purity. With his oriental ideas of Matter, he could not be otherwise than offended with the general expectation that Christ would come again in the flesh, and establish an earthly kingdom. He was particularly disgusted with the unspiritual pictures of the millennium, which some of the Christian Fathers delighted to sketch, and which they thought were sustained by Jewish and apostolic writings. Believing himself to be enlightened by the divine Gnosis, he refused to adopt any thing that appeared to him at variance with the character of the Universal Father. He maintained that the Apostles were imperfect mediums of the truth; that they were full of Jewish prejudices, and, therefore, incapable of understanding the elevated and comprehensive teaching of Christ, or of representing him correctly. In support of

this view, he quoted the saying of Jesus: "I have many things to tell you, but you can not bear them now." The Fathers, in controversy with him, admitted that the Apostles perceived only fragments of truth, while Jesus was with them, but contended that they perfectly comprehended all truth after the Holy Spirit descended upon them. Marcion went still further, and alleged that the Apostolic Fathers had altered the imperfect writings they had received. Upon that ground, he rejected a large portion of the collection. In compiling what he called The Gospel of the Lord, he principally made use of the writings of Luke. But he struck out the first two chapters, concerning the miraculous conception, and the circumcision of Jesus. He likewise omitted every indication of Christ's conformity to Jewish institutions; also the sanction of a wedding by his presence, and furnishing the guests with wine. The Fathers say that he even erased the beautiful text: "For your Heavenly Father maketh his sun to shine on the evil and the good, and causeth his rain to fall upon the just and the unjust." He omitted this, because the sun and rain were mere material blessings, which it belonged to Jehovah to dispense, but which were altogether beneath the notice of the Supreme Being. His opponents alleged that "he was directed by his opinions; that he first formed a system, and then arranged a Gospel to suit it." Tertullian says: "I maintain that my Gospel of Luke is the true copy; Marcion says that his is so. I affirm that his copy is adulterated; he says that mine is so." He adds that his own copy was the more ancient one, and that Marcion himself for some time received it. From the acknowledged character of Marcion, it does not seem likely that he consciously practised fraud in making alterations. Believing himself freed from the letter, and guided by the Spirit, he might have done it with all honesty of purpose. Moreover, it should be remembered that there is no existing copy of his Gospel, and all the accounts we have of it are contained in the writings of his theological opponents.

Marcion was a strict moralist, and of a very devotional

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turn of mind. He seems to have been actuated by an earnest and sincere conviction that he was restoring the doctrines of primitive Christianity. He made frequent journeys, and spent his life in continual controversies with philosophers and Christians. The dislike he encountered was painful to him, but it never tempted him to conceal or modify his opinions. He looked upon this world as a scene of perpetual conflict, and was accustomed to call his disciples "fellow sufferers." His habits were exceedingly ascetic; for he considered it the chief object of life to mortify the body. It was a rule with his sect to eat and drink merely enough to sustain existence. They fasted often, and lived principally on bread, water, milk, honey, and oil. They never tasted meat, but sometimes ate a little fish, citing the example of Jesus as authority. They abjured marriage, and admitted none but the perfectly chaste to partake of the Lord's Supper; the reception of which they believed communicated the Spirit of God. Their manners were habitually grave, and their dress very plain. The men cut off their hair, regarding it as of no use to the soul. They despised all shows and amusements, and everything intended to please the eye, the ear, or any of the senses. They taught that there was no merit in any actions, except those which were done purely for the love of God. They generally led very blameless lives, and their virtues were acknowledged even by those who most strenuously denounced their doctrines. Though Christians refused to acknowledge them as brethren, they had such reverence for the character and doctrines of Christ, as they understood them, that many of them endured martyrdom in their defence.

The sect of Marcionites increased rapidly, and became very numerous. The great number of books written against them in the second century shows the prevalence of their doctrines. They had many societies in Egypt, Persia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Italy, and other places. There was a long succession of Marcionite bishops. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus, so late as the middle of the fifth

century, says he found a million of Marcionites in his diocese, whom he converted. They continued to be objects of persecution as late as the sixth century, when they disappeared from history.

CARPOCRATES.—Carpocrates, who flourished near the middle of the second century, was an Alexandrian, said to have been educated in Christianity. He was nearly cotemporary with Basilides, and taught similar theories concerning emanations, though in a much simpler form. His doctrine concerning Christ was peculiar. He did not regard him as the first emanation from God, but as a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary. Being imbued with the Oriental and Platonic ideas concerning the preëxistence of all souls, he explained the superior wisdom and power of Jesus, by attributing to him a clearness of reminiscence above all other men; so that he remembered more perfectly what he had seen with the Supreme One, before he descended through the spiritual spheres, and at last entered a human body. The celestial types of things, which remained in his memory, led him to the most sublime contemplations, by means of which he united himself with the Supreme Being, and became one with Him. All men who attained to such union were believed to share the power of the Supreme, and to be thus enabled to accomplish supernatural things. It was by this means that Jesus performed miracles, supplanted the religion taught to the Jews by their imperfect Deity, and revealed a God of infinite benevolence and purity. Another and prominent part of his mission was supposed to be to free men from external laws, and enable them to be guided solely by the interior light of the Gnosia, or Divine Science. The Carpocratians, in common with other Gnostics, did not consider this intuitive wisdom as their own peculiar possession. They believed it had been imparted, in a greater or less degree, to the wise and good of all ages and nations. Abraham, Moses, Pythagoras, Plato, and Jesus, had all been enlightened and guided by the Gnosia. Those who were habitually under its influence

were freed from the laws of this world, from external ceremonies, from all that the populace regarded as religion. They were raised above all sublunary considerations, and became calm and unalterable, like God. All human souls being preëxistent, it was supposed that all might become as holy as Jesus, and do the same things, or even greater, if they despised external things more than he did. Some of this sect thought they had attained to a spiritual state far above the Apostles, and on an equality with Christ. The idea of expiation by blood they regarded as a gross superstition. The physical agonies of Jesus had no relation to his mission; they were like the sufferings of an innocent child, who merely shares the common lot of human nature. The doctrine of the fall of man, and of original sin, was rejected by them. They thought beings in this world were merely inferior in degree to those of the upper spheres; fettered by their connection with Matter, but not wicked. All religious ceremonies, including vocal prayer, and all that Christians generally called good works, they considered as external and indifferent things. Those who attached importance to such forms, they regarded as still under subjection to those inferior Spirits, who had established the religious and civil institutions of nations. Being slaves to those subordinate Deities during their human lives, they would still continue to be so after death; they could never raise themselves above their imperfect masters. It was only by contemplating God, by faith, and charity toward others, that men could attain to a calm and serene holiness in this world, and to the felicity of the Supreme in the next.

This sect occupied themselves but little with abstruse discussions, or spiritual genealogies. They were very numerous, and consisted of various branches. They venerated images of Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Plato, Jesus, Carpocrates, and others, whom they regarded as great teachers, and as common benefactors of mankind. Hebrew Sacred Books they considered as the work of inferior Spirits. Of the Christian Scriptures, they accepted only the Gospel by

Matthew; which must, of course, have been without the first two chapters.

The system of Carpocrates was developed to its extreme results by his son Epiphanes, a youth of distinguished talent. He said there was but one law, the Law of Nature; and that law taught the community and unity of all things. Laws regulating marriage and property he regarded as infringements on the great principles of nature, and only calculated to make men selfish and hostile to each other. He therefore inculcated community of wives and of worldly goods. Though he lived but seventeen years, he gained such influence over the minds of many, that in Cephalaria they paid divine honours to his memory, erected a large temple, and consecrated altars and chapels to him. At the New Moon, they came together from all the neighbouring regions, and celebrated his birth, and elevation among the gods, with hymns, garlands, libations, and banquets.

BARDESANES.—Bardesan was born near Edessa, in Syria, in the latter part of the second century. He was educated in Christianity, and always cherished devout reverence for its precepts. He had great aversion to all forms of polytheistic worship, but was strongly attached to Grecian philosophy. Born on the confines of Syria and Mesopotamia, he was at the confluence of Persian, Jewish, Grecian, and Christian doctrines. He thus became well versed in Chaldean astrology, and in the traditions of various nations, all of which were received into an earnest soul, naturally ardent and imaginative. He reduced to writing certain communications made by ambassadors from India to the philosophers who accompanied Lucius Verus in his travels to the East. In these Commentaries on India he described anchorites, and religious communities, in the forests of Hindostan, who merely endured life as a necessary bondage to nature, and were in haste to have their souls freed from the body. He said they were divided into two sects, Bramins and Samaneans; [either Jains or Buddhists,] that one had an hereditary priesthood, and

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the other elected theirs. Any one who chose that mode of life was at liberty to join the Samaneans. When he resolved upon taking such a step, he left his wife and family, divested himself of all worldly possessions, shaved his head, and joined one of the religious communities, where they fed on bread and herbs, lived entirely apart from women, and were frequently summoned to prayer. He says they were held in such reverence for sanctity, that kings often visited them, to obtain advice and ask their prayers.

Bardesanes was religious by temperament, sincerely devoted to Christianity, and an eloquent pleader in its behalf, even when the persecuting decrees of Marcus Aurelius were in full force. His uncommon talent and exemplary character rendered him of importance; and he was urged in the name of Lucius Verus, the emperor's colleague, to renounce Christianity, at a time when it was perilous to refuse. He replied: "I do not fear death; I know very well that I cannot avoid it, even by yielding to the emperor." He preached against Marcion's system, but subsequently became a Gnostic, and chief of a numerous sect. In his time doctrines were not defined with much precision, and, at the beginning, he uttered his own convictions without intending, or expecting, to produce any schism in the church. He admitted the sacredness of both Jewish and Christian Scriptures; and also of many other writings then reverentially received, but afterward decided to be apocryphal. But to all these he gave mystical and allegorical interpretations, like Philo and the Cabalists.

At the head of all things, he placed the unknown Father, dwelling in the Pleroma, or Fulness of Light, and happy in his own perfect purity. Matter, co-eternal with him, was a dark inert mass, the source of all evil, and the mother of Satan. Like the Cabalists, he supposed that the first emanation from the Supreme was his feminine companion Sophia, [Wisdom.] From them proceeded seven successive couples of emanations. At the head of them all was Christ, the first-born Son of God, and his sister and

spouse, named Sophia Achamoth; which signifies the Lower Wisdom.

This last character is conspicuous in the system of Bardesanes, and seems to be the embodiment of a complicated idea. In one aspect, she is presented as a Presiding Intelligence, like the Spirits of the planets. In the religious sense, she seems to be the same as the Holy Ghost in Christian theology, who was always represented as feminine by some sects of Judaizing Christians. In the physical order, she apparently represents the Platonic Soul of the World, which could be brought into relations with Matter, and thus produce visible forms. From Christ and herself proceeded Spirits of the Elements. With their assistance she formed the world; and being greatly captivated by the terrestrial beauties thus produced, she remained a long time brooding over Matter, at a distance from Christ, her celestial mate. But, at last, she began to feel within herself something superior to all that surrounded her, and she was filled with longing to be restored to the spheres of light, whence she had descended. Her long connection with material things made it difficult; but Christ, perceiving her efforts to rise, came to her assistance. He did not force her to act as he would have acted himself; he left her at liberty, but sought to lure her upward. She saw in him the perfect image of Celestial Light, and loved him with her whole being. Through paths of purification he tenderly guided her to her heavenly home, where she was finally re-united with him. Bardesanes, in one of his hymns, commemorates this spiritual consummation under the imagery of a sublime, mysterious marriage, celebrated by a banquet. Human souls, who received the divine gift of the Gnosis, could raise themselves toward regions of light, and finally become united to Sophia Achamoth, as she was united with Christ. The disciples of Bardesanes were accustomed to express their aspirations for this holy union in the following prayer, addressed to the Divine Sophia, Mother of Christ, and of Sophia Achamoth: "May we assist at thy banquet, contemplate thy guests the Angels, and thy daughter Sophia

Achamoth, whom thou holdest upon thy knees, loading her with caresses, and charming her with songs." Prayers were often addressed to this Divine Mother of the Universe, supposed to dwell with her mate, the Supreme Father, in the Pleroma, or eighth Sphere of Light. At the moment of baptism this prayer was repeated: "Come, Mother of Mercy! Come, thou Mother, who revealest hidden mysteries! that we may attain to repose in the eighth house."

Bardesanes adopted the Persian doctrine of a perpetual struggle for supremacy between the Supreme and Satan, with Spirits of Light on one side, and Spirits of Darkness on the other. Human souls were Spirits, who had transgressed the laws of the Supreme Father, and thus become imprisoned in material bodies, by the law of affinities, evil to evil. In this condition, the race of mortals gradually lost all knowledge of their high origin. Many Spirits had been sent, from time to time, to give them laws. At last, Christ, the Son of the Supreme, descended upon earth, to open to them the perspective of their heavenly destiny, and relieve them from the heavy burdens which weighed upon their life. He had not a body of flesh, but a celestial form, the same in which he appeared as an Angel to the patriarchs; therefore he could not suffer death, but only appeared to die. Having fulfilled his benevolent mission, he ascended to his Father.

Bardesanes supposed that the material world was intrusted to Spirits residing in the Planets, and in the Constellations of the Zodiac. They caused abundance or famine, storms or fine weather; thus they had great power over the destinies of men. But, like everything else in the universe, these Spirits were subject to the will of the Supreme Father. No beings could resist his will. If they appeared to do so, it was because he, in his goodness, granted each one that which was proper to his nature, and to his individual will. The Spirits of the Stars had power only over man's exterior nature, by which he lived in relations with the material world; such as hunger, disease, and

death. His rational soul, being an emanation from the Supreme, was above all natural laws. There was no resurrection of the body: the soul, once freed from its prison, could never enter it again.

Bardesanes composed a hundred and fifty hymns, said to have been remarkable for musical rhythm, and glowing poetic imagery. Through these attractive channels he spread abroad the mystical ideas, he had brought from the great storehouse of doctrines, with which his learning had made him acquainted. Being of a musical temperament, he himself trained the young people to sing the devotional songs, which might be heard everywhere in the Syrian churches, and wherever the devout were assembled. Harmonius, his son, composed hymns embodying similar ideas, and said to have been still more beautiful. They also were in all hearts, and might be heard from all tuneful lips.

This sect had numerous adherents; but they always endeavoured to avoid a schism with the Christian church, to which they were sincerely attached. By successive efforts at conformity, they gradually lost their distinctive traits, and scarcely any traces of them can be discovered in the fifth century. But the fame of Bardesanes remained conspicuous among his cotemporaries. His rare eloquence was long remembered; his character was venerated, and his devotional poetry sung in Christian churches, many years after he and his followers were excluded from orthodox communion.

VALENTINIANS.—Valentinus, a learned and eloquent man, of Jewish origin, was educated in Alexandria, in the second century. He taught a system resembling that of Bardesanes in its general features, but very much more complicated. He had enthusiastic disciples, especially in Rome and Cyprus. They respected the Hebrew Sacred Books, and were accustomed to sustain their theories by allegories and symbols drawn from them. The Fathers speak of them as the most numerous and the most fanatical of all the Gnostic sects.

OPHITES.—The Ophites, supposed to have originated in Alexandria, received their name from Ophis, the Greek word for Serpent, because that emblem was conspicuous in their worship. Their theory of emanations was about the same as that of the Valentinians, with the exception of the formation of a Spirit named Jesus. They considered the Creator of the world a very inferior Spirit, and the presiding Deity of the Jews. They despised his Mosaic Law, and the external character of the Messiah he promised. They said he forbade man to eat of the tree of knowledge merely out of jealousy, because he knew it would reveal valuable mysteries, and confer upon him power from on high. But Sophia Achamoth, mother of the Creator, who was always counteracting his efforts against the human race, sent a Spirit in the form of a serpent, to induce Adam to disobey his command. The Creator, finding man enabled to rise to spheres above himself, by the assistance of Sophia and other guiding Spirits, cast an angry glance into the depths of Matter, and an image of envy and hate was reflected there, in a tortuous form; and that was Satan.

Christ was the guide and saviour of all that appertained to the spiritual spheres. The imperfect Sophia Achamoth governed and protected all that was connected with Matter. The perfect came to the aid of the imperfect, and attracted upward all who wished to follow the light. At the intercession of Sophia, Christ descended on the man Jesus at his baptism, and by uniting with him enabled him to reveal the true God, and to work miracles. The Creator seeing his worship in danger of being abolished, instigated the Jews to crucify him. The Christ departed from him during his sufferings, but afterward re-animated him, and gave him an ærial body; and that was the reason his disciples did not know him. In this form, Jesus remained on earth eighteen months, and by means of Sophia received the true Gnosis, which he communicated to a small number of Apostles, who were capable of receiving it. Then he ascended through the seven Planetary Spheres to the Pleroma,

whither he attracted all souls who loved the light. When Spirit was entirely separated from Matter, the redemption would be complete, and the world would be consumed.

They said the Hebrew Books contained very few and imperfect revelations from Sophia, and that the prophets, who predicted a Messiah, had no conception of the true Christ. They believed there had been degrees of revelation imparted to thinking men of all nations. They regarded that of Jesus Christ as superior to all others; but they said it had been altered by his disciples, who were never capable of comprehending him. The Ophites had several books which they revered as revelations of spiritual truth, suited to the initiated. Some of them they ascribed to Adam, others to the Patriarchs.

They were a numerous and celebrated sect, and divided into various branches. One branch of them was characterized by extreme strictness. They prescribed absolute chastity, abstemious diet, frequent fasts, and abstinence from all pleasures of the senses. Others, imbued with the same contempt for the body, regarded its actions of no consequence, and gave themselves up to the greatest excesses. One branch, called the Sethites, were of Jewish origin. They did not combat Judaism, and recognized both patriarchs and prophets as servants of the true God. They thought Seth was the son of Sophia, who had filled him with the divine Gnosis, and that his descendants were a spiritual race. Afterward, when Evil Spirits were bringing everything into confusion, Sophia again sent her son Seth into the world, in the form of Jesus, to save mankind. They attributed to her all that was good and pure in the inferior worlds.

In extreme opposition to the Sethites were the Cainites, the greatest enemies of Jewish institutions, and the most daring of all the Gnostics in maintaining that the spirit was independent of all acts of the body. Cain, Dathan, Abiram, the inhabitants of Sodom, and all who suffered by the judgments of Jehovah, they regarded as a superior race of men, the true family of Sophia, and therefore per-

secuted by him. The Hebrew Sacred Books, being instigated by such an inferior Spirit as Jehovah, contained no high revelations. The Gospels and Epistles used by Christians were mere appendages of Judaism, and explained very badly either the true history, or the true doctrines of Christ. The majority of the Apostles were blinded by Judaism. Judas was the only spiritual one among them. Sophia had imparted to him the divine Gnosis, so that he comprehended the true relations between the superior and the inferior worlds. He knew that the empire of Jehovah would be destroyed by the death of Jesus; and it was to bring about that desirable result, that he betrayed him. These facts were established in the Gospel of Judas, the only true Gospel; and it was in the possession of the Cainites, who regarded themselves as the only true Christians.

MARCUS.—Marcus, from Palestine, avoided the objection brought against many of the Gnostic sects, that the doctrine of masculine and feminine emanations, in couples, conveyed sensual ideas. He said when the Father wished to manifest himself, he uttered a Word of four letters, and each letter became a Spiritual Being. The first and highest was the Logos, who included in himself all the attributes of the Supreme. This Logos was the Christ, who came on earth to free men from the entanglements of their material being. The second word uttered by the Father produced four other Spirits; the third word, being of ten letters, produced ten; and the fourth produced twelve. God imparted to each Spirit as much truth as his nature was capable of receiving. Marcus, being in full unqualified possession of the Gnosis, to him all truth was revealed. The Marcosians were in the habit of administering two baptisms. By the first, they believed men were purified from sins; by the second, they attained perfection, and were brought into full communion with the Pleroma. By this second baptism, the soul was supposed to be united to its other half in the spiritual world, its Archetype, or Angel; what Greeks were accustomed to call a man's

Genius, or Demon; therefore they celebrated the last baptism like a wedding, and the room where the ceremony took place was decorated like a bridal chamber. They anointed the dead, and pronounced a form of prayer, that the departed soul might rise to its Mother Sophia, unimpeded by Evil Spirits.

MANI.—The most celebrated of all names among the Gnostics is that of Mani, said to have been born in Persia, in the year two hundred and thirty-nine. In early life, he met with a collection of books called *The Treasury of Mysteries*, purporting to have been written by an Egyptian, and to have been introduced into Persia by one of the author's disciples, called Buddas; whom tradition declared to have been born of a virgin. These books which were doubtless connected with the religion of Bouddha, took strong hold of Mani's impressible soul. Having come into possession of them by the death of their original owner, he made them the foundation of a new theological system, to which he soon gained adherents. He is said to have been of the class of the Magi, and well versed in the knowledge of his age and nation. He was acquainted with astronomy and mathematics, and had made a globe. He was also considered skilful in medicine, and had the general reputation of a wise man. The king of Persia imprisoned him. Some say it was because his son died after being intrusted to his medical care; others that it was on the charge of teaching things contrary to the Magian doctrines. While he was in prison, one of his disciples brought him some of the Christian writings. His eager mind seized hold of them with avidity, and grafted them upon his previous theories. He persuaded himself that he was the Paraclete, or Comforter, promised by Christ; that he was sent to purge Christianity from Jewish imperfections, and from errors which the clergy had introduced, and to preach a new mysterious doctrine, too elevated to have been revealed to the Apostles. Having escaped from prison, he spent some time in a cave, where he thought he

received special revelations. He afterward went into Mesopotamia, where he began to preach his doctrines to the Christians. Like Zoroaster, he thought that there was a perpetual conflict between Spirits of Light and of Darkness, the Chiefs of which ruled the world between them. But he did not teach that there was One Supreme Source, from which all these Spirits emanated. The Good God lived in resplendent Light. All pure things proceeded from him, and were under his dominion. The Evil God dwelt among Shadows and Darkness. He was the Spirit of Matter, and governed all sensual and evil things. The Good was superior, and must eventually conquer; though after prolonged and terrible struggles. From him emanated a long series of Spirits, all portions of himself, sharers of his majesty and glory, and co-workers with him in various departments, to subdue the Spirits of Evil. The Satan of Matter had also his legion of Spirits, emanating from his essence, and subservient to his orders. But harmony did not prevail among Spirits of Darkness, as it did among Spirits of Light. There were dissensions among them, and the defeated faction withdrew to the extreme verge of their dominions. An interior feeling attracted Satan toward the kingdom of Light, of which he had caught a distant glimpse. His legions, being ravished by its beauty, wished to conquer it. The Good God, seeing Darkness about to invade his brilliant spheres, produced a being called the Mother of Life, and placed her on the frontiers, to protect his kingdom from the Evil Powers. She was too pure to come in contact with Matter, but she produced a son, called the Primeval Man, who was fitted for the work. His name and mission seem like a repetition of the Cabalistic ideas concerning Adam Kadman, the Immortal Adam. In his contests with the Powers of Darkness, they so far succeeded as to drag down a portion of his Light. He himself would have fallen into the realm of Shadows, had not the Good God created the Holy Spirit who was sent to rescue him. The Prince of Darkness, fearing the celestial Light would escape from him, resolved to create

material forms, in which it could be imprisoned. His legions had been struck with the radiant beauty of the Primeval Man, whom they had seen high above them, in the regions of the sun. Their Chief said to them: "It behoves you to give up to me all the light you have; from it I will make an image of that lofty one, who appeared so glorious: through which we shall be able to rule, and one day liberate ourselves from our abode in darkness." After long deliberation, they complied with his proposal. Accordingly, he created Adam; whom Mani says was called the Son of Man because he was made of a portion of the Primeval Heavenly Man. His body was formed of opaque Matter, and had a soul in affinity with it, the seat of the passions; within them both was a more excellent soul, formed of the heavenly Light they had stolen. He was thus closely allied with the Good and the Evil Powers. Contrary to the expectation of his Creator, the interior soul proved too strong for its envelopment, and seemed likely to free itself. In vain he strove to attract it to the earth, by surrounding it with a Paradise of material beauty. The tendency was ever upward. He was obliged to forbid Adam to eat of the tree of knowledge of Good and Evil, lest he should learn how to escape from the Evil and unite with the Good. But an Angel of Light was sent to induce him to disobey the command, and to give him a promise of victory. Then the Spirits of Darkness, to maintain their power over Adam, created Eve. She was of an inferior nature, because the celestial fire had been used up to make the soul of man. But she was surpassingly beautiful, and, for her sake, the soul of Adam was content to remain imprisoned in his body. The sensual principle triumphed over the divine; an imperfect race of beings was propagated, and the Primeval Light, thus divided among many souls, was more feebly attracted toward its Source. All human beings shared the mixed nature of their ancestor. But some had a larger infusion of the ethereal essence, and were consequently more powerfully drawn toward the heavenly regions whence that

essence was derived. Others received a greater portion of the sensuous soul, which came from the Evil Powers, and thus had a proclivity toward earthly things. As the generations of men increased, the interior soul lost much of its original power by continual division and immersion in Matter. The Prince of Darkness turned men from the worship of the Good God, by means of false prophets, and the religion of the Jews. Some of the most daring of the Evil Spirits had been seized by the Good, and chained to the stars. These malignant demons exercised the most disastrous influence over human affairs, sending down upon the earth, storm, pestilence, and famine, and inducing men to worship them through fear. To extricate human souls from the imprisonment of Matter, and thus restore the stolen light to its celestial origin was the constant effort of all the Heavenly Powers. Christ, the first emanation from the Good God, had his residence in the Sun. His Father, seeing mankind ever more and more involved in trouble, sent him on earth, to withdraw the Celestial Light from its dense environment of Shadows, and thus release captive souls. Of course, the Pure Light could not unite with Darkness, as he must have done to have been born of a woman. He only appeared to have a human body, and took the name of the Messiah merely to accommodate himself to the expectations of the Jews. Mani considered this doctrine proved by the fact that Jesus passed untouched among a crowd of Jews, who would have stoned him; and he regarded his transfiguration as merely a revelation to his disciples of his true form of celestial Light. The world did not accept or understand him; because "the light shone in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." But he turned some Jews from the worship of a jealous and tyrannical God, and induced many among polytheistic nations to cease their adoration of Evil Spirits, chained to the stars. The Prince of Darkness, alarmed for the permanence of his empire, instigated the Jews to crucify him. But as he had no human body, he only appeared to die; and by so doing

offered to all souls the symbol of their enfranchisement, by death to this world. His form having disappeared from the earth, there remained in its place a Cross of Light, from which a celestial voice proclaimed these words: "The Cross of Light is called the Logos, the Christ, the sun, the door, the joy, the bread, the resurrection, the life, the truth, the grace." But these symbols were only given for the sake of the multitude; the elect few, who attained to the intuitive science called Gnosis, had no need of them. Christ, having returned to his abode in the sun, powerfully attracted toward him the Spirits imprisoned in material bodies. He increased their strivings to return to their home of light, and assisted them in all their efforts. All souls were capable of participation in his redemption, and might be restored through various processes of purification.

The Manicheans were divided into two classes. Those whose souls were endowed with a larger infusion of the Principle of Light were the Elect; but the great majority belonged to the class called Auditors. From these last, the higher mysteries of their religion were concealed, and they were instructed merely by allegories and symbols. They married, and supported their families by labour. They were taught to rejoice in poverty, to abstain from all luxuries and amusements, to regard war and fighting as sinful, and to reverence life in its minutest forms. Therefore they killed no animals but vermin, whose life they believed was derived from Evil Spirits.

The Elect constituted a priestly order, and were regarded as mediums of communication between this earth and the Realms of Light. They held no property, and performed no labour, because it brought them into contact with material things, for material purposes. They abhorred marriage, as an institution of the Devil, to propagate an imperfect race, that their bodies might keep the pure Light in captivity. They devoted themselves entirely to devout contemplation, and the spiritual instruction of others. All officers of the society were chosen from their order, and

their commands were obeyed with the utmost reverence. The Auditors provided them with everything necessary for subsistence. Every act of kindness to them was regarded as something toward expiating any sins they might have committed; such as tasting of meat, or carelessly neglecting to spare the life of some animal. Among Hindoos and Buddhists, there was the same idea that benefits conferred on holy men procured remission of sins. The Elect also copied those devotees in strict chastity, abstinence from meat, wine, and every pleasure of the senses. They lived on fruit and vegetables, and drank water only. Some of them considered even the bath objectionable, as bestowing too much care upon the body. They never harmed an animal, pulled an herb, or plucked fruit. They particularly disliked husbandry, because it involved the continual wounding of plants and insects. They sometimes wept to see vegetables gathered for food; because "in them also there was a certain portion of life, which was a part of the Deity." They had an idea that fruit and vegetables became purified when eaten by the saints. Augustine says: "When a fig was plucked, they believed the tree, its mother, shed milky tears. Yet if eaten by some Manichean saint, he would breathe out of it angels; yea, there should burst forth particles of divinity at every moan or groan in his prayer; which particles of the Most High and True God had remained bound in that fig, unless they had been thus set at liberty by some of the Elect saints. And I, miserable, believed that more mercy was to be shown to the fruits of the earth, than to men, for whom those fruits were created. For if any one not a Manichean was hungry, and asked for a fig, the fruit would be condemned to capital punishment, as it were, if given to him." Jerome says: "Mani asserts that his Elect are free from all sin; that they could not sin, if they would." Proselytes who practised rigid self-denial, and loved to meditate on religious subjects, were thought to give evidence that their souls had a large endowment of the pure light, and thus possessed holiness as a birthright. After going through

suitable probation, they were received among the Elect. Mani aimed at teaching a strict system of morals, and even the enemies of his sect acknowledged that their conduct was generally exemplary.

A pure and holy life, by abstracting the soul from the senses, rendered it worthy, after death, to ascend to the regions of the moon, where during fifteen days it was purified in a great lake; thence it passed to the regions of the sun, where it was purified by fire. Through these ordeals, it gained admission to the presence of Christ, who dwelt in the sun, surrounded by sanctified Spirits, who had been redeemed through his influence. The souls thus happily released from the thralldom of Matter, had no remembrance of the bodies they had quitted. Wicked and sensual souls were obliged to enter other bodies, and begin another career for purification. At last, there would come a time when Spirit would be entirely withdrawn from Matter, which would then be consumed by fire, and reduced to a dark inert mass, as it was before the world was made. Evil Spirits would be confined to their own realms, and remain there forever. The least perfect souls would be stationed on the frontier of the Realm of Light, to keep watch over the extinguished mass of Matter, and prevent the two from mingling again. This was a departure from Zoroaster, who taught that even the Prince of Evil would finally worship the Good, and be admitted to his spheres of glory.

The worship of the Manicheans was extremely simple. They had no temples, images, or altars. They prayed with faces turned toward the sun, and sang hymns to the Principle of Light. Mani appointed twelve apostles to preside over the sect; and this constitution continued after his death, with the addition of a thirteenth at the head of them all, to represent him. Subordinate to them were bishops, presbyters, and deacons. These were called brethren by the others, and lived on terms of perfect equality with them. They celebrated Sunday as a festival, consecrated to Christ, their Spirit of the Sun. As they supposed him never to have had a human body, they could not, of course, asso-

ciate that day with the resurrection. They observed the Lord's Supper as sacredly symbolical; but in what manner is not known, as they veiled it with great mystery.

Mani claimed to be endowed with divine authority for the reformation of the church; and his followers acknowledged him as the Paraclete sent by Christ; of course, his was the infallible authority by which everything was to be judged. He considered the Hebrew Scriptures as the work of inferior and even bad Spirits, and containing little that was of value. He thought partial revelations of divine truth had been made to prophets and philosophers of all nations; and some of them he preferred to those of the Jews. He said Jesus accommodated himself to Jewish opinions, with a view to prepare men gradually for the reception of truth; that the Apostles were entangled in various Jewish errors; and that the original records had been corrupted by the Prince of Darkness. It was for the Paraclete to distinguish the true from the false, by the light of the Gnosis within him. Accordingly, they received such portions of the Christian Scriptures as he endorsed, and understood them according to his interpretation. He also composed a Gospel, called the Book of Mani, which his followers believed to be written by inspiration from above. He excelled as a painter, and illustrated the book with pictures, which were the wonder of his age, and famous long afterward.

He returned to Persia, and having become involved in controversies with the Magi, he was pronounced a heretic. He refused to renounce his opinions, and was flayed alive, in the year two hundred and seventy-seven. His skin was stuffed and hung before the gates of the city, as a warning to his followers. They cherished his memory with the utmost reverence. On the anniversary of his martyrdom, they erected in their hall of worship a pulpit hung with rich drapery. All the Manicheans, as they entered, prostrated themselves to the ground, in obeisance to his spirit, which was always supposed to be present on the occasion. Later Manicheans said that Buddas, Zoroaster, Mithras, Christ, and Mani, were all the same Spirit; a view in ac-

cordance with the idea that Buddha had appeared on earth at various epochs, and under various forms, to teach the same religion.

This sect spread with wonderful rapidity from Persia, through Syria, Asia Minor, Northern Africa, and even into Italy. The strong impression they made on the minds of men is indicated by the active animosity they encountered. They suffered much from the severity of Persian kings, zealous for the religion of Zoroaster; from Roman emperors, equally zealous for the worship of Jupiter; and from Christians, who persecuted them with more violence than was manifested toward any other heretical sect. After flying from place to place, to hide themselves from those furious storms, they at last retreated to Eastern Asia. The name of the sect disappeared, but its doctrines became mixed with various forms of Gnosticism in Syria and Egypt, and, during the Middle Ages re-appeared in various European and Asiatic countries, sometimes publicly, sometimes privately.

The numerous Gnostic sects differed from each other in a variety of particulars. They generally believed that the Gnosis was received directly from heaven, in ecstatic states of mind; some supposed it was originally such a revelation, but had been orally transmitted by the Children of Light, from generation to generation; a very few believed they had received it from some disciple of Christ, more capable than others of understanding his meaning in its purity. From some source or other, they were always passive recipients of what they deemed spiritual truth. What the Gnosis revealed was not to be analyzed by reason.

The Syrian sects were generally strict to asceticism in their morals, and less inclined to speculative theories than the Gnostics of Egypt, who lived in the shadow of the ancient mysteries, and were excited to greater activity of intellect and imagination by the presence of the Alexandrian Library, and the vast concourse of seekers after truth, who flocked thither from all quarters of the world.

Most of the Gnostic leaders were of Gentile origin, and

men of education. Of course, they were familiar with Oriental theories, and with the writings of Grecian and Roman philosophers, who all represented the Supreme God as a serene Existence, happy in his own purity, and utterly devoid of passions. Therefore, when they were attracted toward Christianity by the superiority of its moral maxims, they were at the same time repelled by its Jewish appendages. They regarded the Hebrew Scriptures with extreme aversion, because they were sincerely shocked at the idea that the Supreme Being could be jealous or angry, or changeable of purpose; that he could command slaughter, or be capable of punishing the beings that had proceeded from Him. In their view, all that seemed like punishment was a benevolent process of purification. Tertullian brings it as an accusation against the Gnostics, that they denied God was to be feared. Clement of Alexandria says: "Their worship consists in continual attention to their souls; in meditations upon the Divinity, as being inexhaustible love." Very few of their founders were of Jewish origin; and those few changed the literal sense of their Scriptures, by allegorical interpretations, which rendered the character of Jehovah less repulsive; a lesson they had previously learned from the writings of Philo.

Jews believed that the human soul was created out of nothing, or was merely the breath of God. But Gnostics held the Oriental theory that all Spirits emanated from God, and were a part of Him; therefore, they were accustomed to speak not only of Christ, but of human souls, as being of one substance with God, though inferior in degree. Theodoret says: "The soul is not consubstantial with God, as the wicked Manicheans hold, but was created out of nothing." Gnostics taught that the universe was created by Angels, who governed it, as agents of the Supreme. By most of them this mission was assigned to the Seven Great Angels, who ranked next to the immediate emanations from the Highest. When a distribution of offices was made among them, they supposed that the Chief of the

Creating Angels had the Hebrews particularly entrusted to his care. Jews could easily adopt this idea; for, from the most ancient times they had been taught that all nations, except themselves, were governed by Spirits of the Planets, and the Stars. And after the return from Babylon, it was a common belief among them that the Archangel Michael, Chief of "the Seven Great Princes," was the especial guardian of the Jews.

In the Gnostic theories, there is a singular mixture of the profound with the fantastic. If their speculations concerning the origin of evil, and the nature of God, sometimes seem wild and absurd, theirs is the common lot of finite minds seeking to fathom the Infinite. Their wish to separate God, by a long series of intermediate Spirits, from any participation in a creation involved with evil, was prompted by a reverential sentiment, though the details sometimes seem otherwise. Their various ideas of Christ as a Heavenly Spirit, and their unwillingness to invest him with a mortal body, are only eccentric expressions of a sincere wish to do him honour, as the highest messenger from God to man. The division of Spirits into masculine and feminine, and the offspring proceeding from these couples, seemed gross to many minds; but the names given to them show that they were mere representatives of metaphysical ideas. Thus the mate of the Supreme was Silent Thought; and the offspring was Mind, or Wisdom; as if they had said, God, in the silence of his own thought, resolved to create the worlds; and he did it by the agency of his wisdom. A boldly figurative style always prevailed in the East; and no metaphors were in such common use, as those alluding to sexual attraction. The Hindoo, Hebrew, and Christian Scriptures abound with them. The passion of Sophia [Wisdom] for the Unknown One, and the imperfect being produced by her longing, is only a metaphorical way of expressing the eager curiosity of the human mind to know the nature of God, and the incomplete and unsatisfactory result of all such investigations; and the ultimate purification of that imperfect offspring, after a

long process of ages, merely utters the universal prophecy of a final union of the soul with God.

The doctrine of many Gnostic sects, that some human souls were derived from Good Spirits, and must be saved by virtue of their birthright, whatever might be their outward acts; and their common maxim, "Give to the spirit that which is spirit, and to the flesh that which is flesh," were doubtless abused by some individuals, and even occasioned the degeneracy of entire sects. Their exceeding contempt for the body would naturally lead some ascetic temperaments to starve it, and abuse it in every way; while opposite temperaments would infer, from the same premises, that its actions were of no consequence to the soul. There seems to be sufficient evidence, even from their enemies, that many of them were characterized by strict morality. This was peculiarly the case with regard to the Syrian sects. But they all suffered under the general odium brought on their name by those whose contempt of external laws was not limited by inward restraining grace.

The small importance they attached to outward things induced them generally to avoid persecution. Most of them thought it no harm to sacrifice to the gods, when magistrates put them to the test, because their souls did not participate in the worship they were thus compelled to offer; therefore, they did not sympathize with the enthusiastic reverence for martyrs. Clement of Alexandria says: "Some of them held that man to be a self-murderer, who, by confessing Christ, gave up his life." However, this rule was by no means universal. Many of the Marcionites endured martyrdom. Mani died in a most terrible manner, rather than renounce his opinions; and multitudes of his followers endured the most horrible persecutions with unshaken constancy.

Gatherings at the tombs of martyrs would of course be inconsistent with their views. Most of them believed, as did also the Hindoos and Buddhists, that souls would suffer or enjoy more or less hereafter, according to deeds done on

earth. But none of them believed in the resurrection of the body; conceiving that it would be a degradation to the emancipated soul to reënter its prison-house. By the word resurrection in the Scriptures, many of them understood resurrection from sin.

Their oriental ideas concerning Matter as the origin of Evil made them generally regard the propagation of material bodies as a sin; therefore, nearly all of them were advocates of strict celibacy. Some of them taught that when a human soul left the body, its was questioned by Superior Spirits concerning its life, and if unable to answer satisfactorily, was sent back to the world again. Above all things, it was necessary for the soul to declare that it had left no children on the earth; otherwise, it would be compelled to go through a severe process of purification.

It will be obvious to every observing reader that Gnosticism was merely an attempt to graft Christianity upon oriental and Grecian theories, then generally current in the world, as another class of minds had already grafted it upon the old Jewish system. In most of the sects, the Persian element predominated; in some, the Platonic; in all of them there was an infusion of Hindoo ideas, derived from India, or Egypt. Mani's system was an amalgamation of Zoroaster, Buddha, and Christ. Agreeing with each other in a few prominent points, they differed in a multitude of details. Some sects rejected external worship altogether; others attached great importance to it. Some regarded baptism, the Lord's Supper, and vocal prayer, as useless; saying, all those things ought to be strictly spiritual. Others said outward baptism constituted initiation into spiritual life, and that participation of the Eucharist produced an intimate union between the soul and the Celestial Christ. The most ascetic sects drank water on such occasions, instead of wine. The Christian Fathers, commenting on this practice, say: "Jesus drank wine after his resurrection, in order to eradicate the pernicious heresy of those who use water instead of wine at the Eucharist." Paul, urging the doctrine of resurrection, inquires: "What shall

they do, who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptized for the dead?" Some of the Gnostic sects inferred from these words, that representative baptism ought to be administered to the living, for the benefit of converts who had died unbaptized. Many of those who believed that the Spirit called Christ descended on the man Jesus at his baptism, kept a religious festival in honour of that event. Some regarded music as a mere pleasure to the senses, and therefore ensnaring to the soul; others stimulated devotion by singing glowing religious hymns.

Some sects had bishops, and a regular church government; but, in general, there was great scope for individual freedom. Tertullian finds great fault with their discipline. He says: "It is uncertain who is a catechumen, or who is one of the faithful; for they all attend the worship, and hear and pray in common. How noisy are their women! How they have the assurance to teach, to argue, to exorcise, to undertake cures, and perhaps to baptize!" Women performed a prominent part in the progress of Gnosticism. Helen had powerful influence with Simon Magus. Apelles, a leader of one of the sects, believed he received constant revelations through the inspirations of Philomena, whom he seems to have regarded with a pure and sincere reverence. Ptolemy, another leader among them, constantly corresponded with his friend Flora, concerning all views of spiritual subjects, which dawned upon his mind. Agape, a Spanish lady of rank, was a zealous proselyte of Marcus, and the founder of a society of Gnostics, which took her name. Marcellina, a celebrated teacher, about the middle of the second century, preached with general acceptance to the Gnostics at Rome.

All the Gnostics agreed in abhorrence of idolatry; but many of them regarded with reverence the images, or portraits of those whom they considered great teachers, sent by God to various ages and nations. Marcellina, during her discourses, was accustomed to exhibit to the audience likenesses of Homer, Pythagoras, Jesus, and Paul. Some

of these sects had likewise a variety of small medallions, supposed to have been used as symbols to teach secret doctrines, or as amulets for the cure of diseases. These were probably of Egyptian origin. Some of them represented deities with a human form, with the head of a hawk, or a dog, like Osiris and Anubis. These were inscribed, in Greek characters, with the word *Abraxas*, the meaning of which is lost. The head of Christ was engraved on some of them, with his name in Greek, and the symbol of a fish below; because the initials of Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, formed the word fish in that language. In some of the sects, the Egyptian element greatly predominated; and emblems of the Ram, the Serpent, and the Cross of Hermes were conspicuous in their worship.

As Christians were divided into many sects, which mutually attacked each other, whose differences were little understood by their Jewish and polytheistic neighbours, the opinions and customs of the Gnostics were continually ascribed to the great body of the Christians. This was very annoying to the Fathers, who considered them the spiritual offspring of Simon Magus, and the most troublesome corrupters of the church. Their censure is unsparing and indiscriminate. They call them "heretics," "blasphemers," and "atheists," and constantly repeat the charge of licentiousness. They are peculiarly severe in their strictures upon Carpocrates and his son. They accuse all the Carpocratians of carrying out their speculative opinions into very immoral practices; but the charge is probably exaggerated. Judging from the general history of human nature, some sincere aspirations and efforts after goodness would be likely to mingle with the dangerous abuse of theories not originally intended for evil. The devout and ascetic Marcion was regarded with equal abhorrence. Justin Martyr describes him as "everywhere teaching blasphemies, by instigation of the Devil." Irenæus relates the particulars of a meeting between him and Polycarp, with whom he had been well acquainted before he began to preach objectionable doctrines. When Marcion advanced

toward his old friend, and asked whether he would own him, Polycarp replied: "I own you to be the first-born of Satan." Epiphanius says: "Every one who does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the *flesh*, is Anti-Christ; whoever does not confess the martyrdom of the cross, is of the Devil; whoever says there is no resurrection, is the first-born of Satan." Irenæus, speaking of those who denied that Christ had a material body, says: "The Holy Spirit, foreseeing their perverseness, and guarding against their artifice, said by Matthew: 'The generation of Christ was in this wise.'" It has been already stated that the Apostle John was supposed by the Fathers to have written against Cerinthus. He evidently refers to him, or some other Gnostic, where he says: "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus is Christ come in the *flesh*, is not of God." It is also supposed that Paul alludes to the same class, where he speaks of some who "give heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats." Also, where he exhorts Timothy not to give heed "to fables and endless genealogies;" probably referring to some of the long series of spiritual emanations. And where he says to the Colossians: "Let no man beguile you; worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen." It is very likely that the presence of Gnostics in the churches might have originated those early questions concerning marriage, in answer to which Paul took middle ground between the oriental and the Jewish feeling on the subject.

The hostility of the Fathers was doubtless increased by the fact that Gnostic theories proved very attractive to men of genius and learning, and enticed some from the bosom of their own churches. Tatian, who was converted by Justin Martyr, went over to the Gnostics, and entertained their characteristic views concerning innumerable Spirits, emanations from the Supreme One. He thought a life of celibacy, and total renunciation of property, were necessary, in order to follow the example of Christ. He was the founder of a large sect, who, on account of their ascetic habits, were

called Encratites, meaning the Self-Restrained. Tatian wrote a book, which obtained considerable circulation, called *The Harmony of the Four Gospels*. The Bishop Theodoretus found two hundred copies of it in his Syrian diocese, in the fifth century; and, following the usual policy of the church, caused them all to be destroyed. The father of Gregory of Nazianzen, was a Gnostic; but, being converted by the prayers and tears of his pious wife, he afterward became a bishop of orthodox standing. The celebrated Augustine was for several years a zealous Manichean. There were also numerous instances of bishops and teachers in the church, not professedly Gnostic, who mingled with Christianity similar ideas from oriental and Platonic sources. In the first centuries, before Councils of Bishops had settled what were the doctrines of the Christian church, there was an effort to reconcile Gnostic ideas with Christianity, in order to present some standard of unity to the believers in Christ. This was particularly the case in Alexandria, where the Platonic philosophy greatly prevailed; for Plato also taught that spiritual things were revealed to man only by an intuitive perception. The Alexandrian Christians, in controversy with the Gnostics, acknowledged the existence of the divine science termed Gnosis; but they said it must come in consequence of faith, and a life in obedience thereto. A man must begin by believing the Holy Scriptures, and the traditions handed down by the church, and then the interior of his mind would be enlightened by the Gnosis. They were accustomed to quote Isaiah vii: 9, which, in the Septuagint, was translated: "If ye do not believe, neither shall ye understand." The words were spoken by the prophet with reference to a very different subject; but it was a common practice, with people of all sects, to apply texts for controversial purposes, without any regard to the connection in which they were used. Clement of Alexandria says: "As is the doctrine, so also must be the life; for the tree is known by its fruit, not by its leaves or its blossoms. The Gnosis, then, comes from the fruit and the life, not from the

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blossom and the doctrine. For we say that the Gnosis is not merely doctrine, but a divine science. It is that light which dawns within the soul, in consequence of obedience to God's commands, and which makes all things clear; which teaches man to know all that is contained in creation, and in himself, and instructs him how to maintain fellowship with God. For what the eye is to the body, the Gnosis is to the mind."

Every observing reader will have noticed in the Gnostic systems many striking resemblances to the theological ideas of Persia and Hindostan. It is not unlikely that some, especially of the Asiatic Gnostics, might have been personally acquainted with Persian Magi or East Indian devotees, either Buddhist or Braminical. The simultaneous and general development of these oriental doctrines, in various countries, early in the second century, shows very plainly that the seed had been scattered long before that time. The Gnostics branched into more than fifty sects, and were not suppressed till near the sixth century. They were finally scattered and crushed by persecution of the dominant church. Their writings were destroyed, and what we know of them is mainly derived from their theological opponents.

NEW PLATONISTS.

Another class of opinions, similar to Gnosticism in some features, yet very distinct in general character, and not mixed with the name or doctrines of Christ, prevailed extensively among the educated classes at the same period, and for some time contended with Christianity for supremacy over the minds of men. This was the Alexandrian school of New Platonists. Their earliest leaders were men of uncommon intellect, who both by precept and example inculcated pure and elevated morality. They were often called Eclectics, a name compounded of two Greek words, meaning to choose from; because they selected from all philosophies what they considered the best, and formed a new system from them. But though they drew from

various sources, their doctrines were principally Platonic. Of course, they believed in the preëxistence of the human soul, and its imprisonment in Matter, during which it had glimpses of its heavenly home, received by intuition, in elevated states of mind; and also in its final return, through holiness, to the spheres of glory, whence it came. The complicated spiritual machinery of many of the Gnostic sects never appeared in their teaching, and they represented no Redeeming Spirit, of any rank, as descending to the rescue of suffering humanity.

PLOTINUS.—Plotinus, founder of the New Platonists, was born at Lycopolis in Egypt, two hundred and three years after Christ. He devoted himself to the study of philosophy, and, when thirty-nine years old, joined the army of the emperor Gordian, in order to become acquainted with the sages of Persia and India; but the emperor was killed on the way, and Plotinus narrowly escaped with his life. Soon after his return, he went to Rome, and held public conversations concerning philosophy. He excited great enthusiasm, and his school was frequented by men and women, young and old, senators and plebeians. He was a great favourite with the emperor and empress, and was almost adored by his disciples. Among them was the senator Rogentianus, who emancipated all his slaves, became indifferent to property, and refused all worldly dignities, in order to devote himself entirely to philosophy. The moral character of Plotinus stood so high, that he was continually chosen as the guardian of orphans, and intrusted with the care of large estates. His integrity and prudence inspired such undoubting confidence, that during twenty-eight years of his residence at Rome, he never made a single enemy among the great numbers thus intrusted to his care. His style and pronunciation were not good; but the power of his reasoning, and the fervour of his convictions, so carried away the minds of his hearers, that they forgot all defects. His personal beauty also was remarkable; and on such

occasions a glow of enthusiasm lighted up his whole countenance, and gave it a character almost divine. The existence of a God, his absolute Unity, his action upon the world, and the relation of the human soul to him, were his absorbing themes. "All his metaphysics went to show that God is One; that the world is not God, or a part of God; though it exists in his mind, derives all life from Him, and can not be separated from Him." The Perfect, Uncreated Principle, he called The Good, the Absolute Unity. Mind, or Wisdom, was the Logos of the Good, the most perfect of all that proceeded from Him. From Wisdom proceeded a third principle, called The Soul of the World. Each of these Three Principles were supposed to know and love the one above it, but not the one below it. The Absolute Unity, having nothing above Him, knows and loves only himself. Plotinus says: "We ought not to maintain that there are any other Principles save these Three. Having placed the simple Good first, we ought to place Mind, or Wisdom, next after Him, and in the third place, The Universal Soul. This is the immutable order, neither to make more or fewer distinctions in the Sovereign Intelligence." He adds: "Plato declared the same. This account of things is not new; but though formerly given, was not well unfolded." He taught that man also was threefold; having a rational soul, which was one with the Divine Unity; a sensitive soul, the seat of passions and sensations; and a material body. He delighted in the contemplation of an eternal immutable world above this, where existed, in pure spiritual forms, ideas of the Divine Mind, the models by which all things in this visible world were created. There beauty shone unveiled, in an atmosphere of glory. The images of it here below were imperfect, shadowy, and transient; and the light that revealed them was a pale reflection of the celestial splendour. The human soul, in its highest states, could penetrate into this superior world, and hold communion with the essences of things. To attain to this, by subjugation of the senses, a scrupulous practice of all the virtues, and the contemplation of divine

themes, was the constant subject of his exhortations. He says: "When I shake off corporeal impressions, and, forgetting the world without, concentrate into myself, I discover such admirable beauty in my soul, and am so closely united to the nature of God, that I am confirmed in the thought that my destiny here below is not my true destiny; that I am here by a descent; and that I must return to my country, which is near God." He describes the soul, in its most exalted states, as so elevated above all sublunary things, so freed from the shackles of Matter, that it could perceive clearly the hidden mysteries of God, and enjoy intimate union with Him. He said such union could not be permanent while man was in the body. In this life, it was a mere flash of light, which God, in his goodness, granted to the soul for solace. While it continued, memory vanished, and the mind saw past, present, and future, at one glance. His disciple Porphyry relates of him, that four times, when he was near him, the soul of Plotinus was raised up to the First and Sovereign Good; and he himself describes such elevated states, as if he had experienced them.

He believed that some classes of souls were less heavily chained to Matter than others; that "lovers, musicians, and philosophers," had stronger wings, and could more easily rise into supernal regions. The idea embodied in these words was far more elevated than that which they convey to modern ears. He thereby signified those who delighted in what we should call *spiritual* beauty, harmony, and wisdom. He supposed also that the study of beautiful forms, harmonious sounds, and the relations of numbers, tended gradually to withdraw the soul from things merely corporeal. He was well versed in music, geometry, arithmetic, and the mechanical powers, as they were then understood. According to the custom of his day, he studied astronomy more as an astrologer, than as a mathematician. He believed that the stars had souls, because, according to his system, everything, great or small, existed by means of a soul derived from God. But being convinced that as-

trology was not a true science, he argued against it. He says: "If the stars are inanimate, how can they make men grammarians or musicians, wise or ignorant, rich or poor? If they are animated, why should Divine Spirits do harm to us, who never injured them? There is only One Power, which animates and vivifies all, and establishes order everywhere. Our virtues come from the Divinity within us; our vices from communion with Matter. Whoever possesses himself, and triumphs over his passions, to follow the road leading to God, holds in his hands his own destiny, and depends only upon Providence, whose decrees are immutable."

Some of the Gnostics said the world came into existence, because it was necessary for the Creator to have a witness of his grandeur. They regarded creation as "a hymn sung by the Creator to his own glory." In answer to this, Plotinus exclaims: "What! The glory of God have need of such creatures as we are? God weary of solitude? *He* have need of praises? Would you assimilate Him to our sculptors, who work for their own fame? Would you place Him below the wise men, who despise the praises and honours of this world, provided they may perceive the true essences of things, and enter into the enjoyment of realities?"

He considered the body merely a temporary companion of the soul, and not partaking of its nature. It transmitted impressions from the material world, but was an obstacle to pure contemplation, and rendered all intellectual operations more difficult. In all ways, he manifested disdain for the body. He blushed for his parents that they had given birth to it; and he always disliked to be asked where he was born. His own corporeal necessities were extremely mortifying to him, and he was exceedingly annoyed by any discussions relating to such subjects. He refused urgent intreaties to have his likeness taken, because he thought it unworthy of a wise man to transmit an image of his body to succeeding generations. He ate sparingly, and of the simplest food. He slept but little,

and was often debilitated by the constant tension of his mind, always occupied with subtle questions concerning the relations between the Divine Mind and the universe. His pupil, Porphyry, was so carried away by enthusiasm for his master, that he not only adopted his contempt for the body, but came to have such an aversion to it, that he resolved to commit suicide. But Plotinus, who always preserved a degree of moderation, even in his most fervent mysticism, divined his intention, and taught him to wait with resignation; urging that the tie between Spirit and Matter, ought to be broken only by Him who had formed it. He even wrote to prove that men ought to be careful not to exaggerate Plato's disdain for Matter. He says: "It is true the material world is only an image; but it is an image of the Divine Mind, and is worthy of its model. The Gnostics calumniate this dwelling to which they chain us. But we Platonicians know how at once to admire it, and to quit it for a more beautiful abode, the world of Divine Ideas; which is not another world between him and us, but God himself in his Wisdom. The Gnostics say much about suffering, and about moral evil. Of what do they complain? Of struggle? That is the condition of victory. Of injustice? There is nothing terrible in that to an immortal. Of death? That is deliverance. They trust to incantations, and think to expel diseases by mysterious words, which they suppose the devils must obey; not by temperance and regularity of life, as is done by true philosophers."

"Of two sages, one abounding in this world's goods, and the other deprived of necessaries, shall we say that both are equally happy? We can say it with truth, if both are equally wise."

"The wise man preserves in his own bosom the sacred flame, which enlightens him, though winds may blow, and tempests roar without."

"The loss of the dearest friends, or even of a son, can not hinder him who possesses The Good from being happy. That which there is inferior in him, that which does not

partake of the Divine Mind, is dismayed and afflicted by such events; but not the rational soul, which is he himself. Grief is nothing; not even if it kills the body. It can take away life, but not liberty. He fears neither misery nor death, though it be violent. He cares not for burial; for he knows the body will perish above the earth, as well as under it. He will not even disturb himself about the future conduct of his children. If they are reasonable, they will behave well; if they are not, how do they merit the attention of a wise man?"

With regard to immortality, Plotinus believed that souls perfectly purified became united with God. Virtuous souls, whose purification was not completely accomplished, returned to some Star, to live as they did before they descended to this earth. Others, still less elevated, who had, nevertheless, respected the character in themselves, would enter a new human form, for further probation. Those who had given themselves up to the senses, or the passions, would enter into the forms of various animals, agreeing with their character. Tyrants and cruel men would become ferocious beasts. Those who exercised only the politic virtues of this life, such as prudence, industry, or courage, would enter into the form of some creature socially wise, like the bee. Those who had taken excessive delight in music, would become singing birds. Philosophers, who had been bold to irreverence in their speculations, would become eagles, or other birds, whose flight was high. Those who had possessed no energy, who had lived the life of vegetables, would become plants. Punishments more dreadful than any of these awaited great criminals, who would descend to regions below this earth, and suffer terrible chastisements.

As Philo thought he could find the doctrines of Plato in the writings of Moses, by allegorical interpretation, so Plotinus imagined he found them under the veil of Grecian mythology. He did not forbid his disciples to worship the Gods, whom he regarded as intermediate Spirits; but he never assigned passions to them. On the contrary, he

said they had no need of prayers and sacrifices; that their justice was inflexible, and their benevolence unchangeable. He did not proscribe any of the customary religious ceremonies, but left each one to judge for himself concerning the symbolical meaning they contained.

The disciples of Plotinus ascribed to him miraculous power. They affirmed that he could discern the secret thoughts of men. When Porphyry contemplated suicide, he discovered it, without receiving any outward intimation. When a theft had been committed in the house, he collected the domestics, and immediately pointed out the culprit, without asking a question. They prayed him to evoke his Guardian Spirit, which the Grecians called his "demon." He refused for a long time. Finally, when he yielded to their intreaties, they saw a God appear. The Spirit attendant on every man was supposed to be the archetype of his soul, as it existed in the world of Divine Ideas; of course, the inference was that the model of his soul was above that of other human souls; that it was in fact one of the Superior Spirits, whom he had as his constant guide and familiar companion. When some of his disciples asked him to go to the public sacrifices, he answered: "It is for them to come to me;" and so great was their reverence, that they dared not ask the meaning of his words.

After the philosopher became too infirm to continue his labours, he retired to Puteoli, where the liberality of friends supplied his very simple wants. In his last illness, he resisted medicines, and when they would have forced them upon him, he hid himself to die; saying he wished to render up what was divine within him to the Source whence it came. He departed from the body in the sixty-sixth year of his age. After his death, his friends inquired of an oracle where his soul was. The reply was given in verse, testifying to his gentleness and goodness, the elevation of his ideas, and his ardent desire to return to God. It stated that his soul had gone to rejoin the just spirits of Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus; and had been permit-

ted to see face to face what other philosophers had not seen.

Plotinus, in his youth, studied eleven years with Ammonius Saccas, a celebrated philosopher in Alexandria, said to be of Christian parentage, who was also the tutor of Origen. In the writings of Plotinus, there are no obvious indications that he took any interest in Christianity, for or against it; but some scholars have thought that his arguments occasionally appear as if aimed at the well-known opinions of Christians. Amelius, one of his disciples, quotes John, the Evangelist, in some of his writings, and calls him "the barbarian." This was not intended as an insult; for Grecians habitually bestowed that epithet on all other nations, in consequence of their own supremacy in literature and the arts. Like the word Gentiles, among the Jews, it came to be synonymous with foreigner. He says: "It is the Logos [Word] which is the eternal cause of all that has been produced. It is in this sense the barbarian could say that the Word exists in God as a principle, and is God; that all has been made by his efficacy; that all being exists in him, and by him; that he descends into a body, clothes himself with flesh, and lives our human life; that during his exile, he still gives proofs of his divinity; that being released from his prison, he returns to God, such as he was before he descended into a body." Amelius did not apply the passage to Jesus, or to any other individual. To his mind, it merely presented the Platonic theory concerning every human soul, imprisoned in a body, and finally returning to unity with God. Basil says he knew many philosophers who admired those verses, and copied them into their own writings. Augustine also quotes a Platonist who said the Christians ought to write them in golden letters and place them in all the churches.

PORPHYRY.—Porphyry, a Phœnician, born in two hundred thirty-two, was the most distinguished pupil of Plotinus, and succeeded him as the head of the Alexandrian school. He taught nearly the same system, but had a

tendency to mix oriental doctrines with the philosophy of Plato. He is described by the learned Neander as "a man of noble spirit, united with profound intellectual attainments; a man of the East, in whom the oriental basis of character had been completely fused with the elements of Grecian culture." Unlike his master, he was inclined to favour, to a certain degree, the study of magic, called Theurgy. The eclecticism which Plotinus had favoured, he explicitly announced in the theory that a universal religion ought to float above all rival religions and philosophies, to conciliate what was good and true in each, and transfer them all into the bosom of a superior unity. Christianity was then making rapid progress, and New Platonists formed the most powerful barrier to its encroachments on the old religion, to which they outwardly conformed, while they gave spiritual significance to its mythology and ceremonies, and were distinguished from its other worshippers merely by the superior purity of their lives, and the elevation of their doctrines. Porphyry was the earliest and most formidable champion in this warfare. He studied the Septuagint, and the Christian Sacred Writings, for the express purpose of refuting them. He wrote a work for that purpose, in which he pointed out discrepancies between different portions of the Sacred Scriptures, ridiculed the allegorical mode of interpretation, so much in vogue with the Fathers, and from their predilection for it inferred that the literal sense had little worth, and could not be explained in a way consonant to reason. Yet he himself adopted the same system to extract meaning from the mythology of the Greeks; and found in it whatever his own state of culture placed there. The Fathers triumphantly quote his admission that some of the prophecies of Daniel were so correct, they must have been written after the event. They also quote him as speaking respectfully of Christ, though he thought those were to be pitied who mistook him for a God. He says of Jesus: "That pious soul, which ascended to heaven, by a certain fatality became an occasion of error to those souls that were destined

to have no share in the gifts of the gods, and in knowledge of the eternal Jupiter."

Little is accurately known concerning his books against Christianity; for they were zealously destroyed, when that religion became dominant. The importance attached to them is thereby indicated; also by the fact that they received more than thirty answers, and that Porphyry's name is seldom alluded to by the Fathers without expressions of strong dislike.

He inculcated a high standard of morals, and the purity of his life is admitted even by his enemies. He was ascetic, like others of his school. He lived separate from his wife after he devoted himself to philosophy, and was in all respects as abstemious as an anchorite. He wrote a Treatise on Abstinence, in which he gave a curious account of the Bramins of India, and the Buddhist monks.

Porphyry believed all religions had a divine origin, and that consequently portions of truth might be found in them all. In a letter to his wife, he calls faith, love, and hope, the foundation of all genuine religion; and declares it the noblest fruit of piety to worship God after the manner of one's own country. In conformity to this sentiment, he reconciled his mind even to image-worship, by spiritualizing the outward forms as symbols. He says: "By images addressed to the senses, the ancients represented God and his Powers. By the visible, they typified the invisible; for the sake of those who could learn to read in those figures, as in books, a writing that treated of the gods. We are not to wonder if the ignorant consider them merely as wood, or marble; for those who are unacquainted with writing can perceive in monuments nothing but stone, in tablets nothing but wood, and in books nothing but a roll of papyrus." But though he defends the popular forms of worship, he writes to his wife: "That man is not so much of an atheist, who neglects to worship the statues of the gods, as he is who transfers to God the opinions of the multitude." Regarding it as wrong to kill animals, he did not hesitate to condemn bloody sacrifices, though they were

sanctioned by immemorial custom, and commanded by law. He says: "The philosopher ought to destroy bad usages, not submit to them. He owes obedience to the laws only when they are not contrary to a superior law, which he carries within him. We have seen Syrians, Jews, and Egyptians, brave death rather than transgress a religious precept; and is a philosopher, after having passed his life in proving that death is no evil, is he to hesitate between peril and his duty?"

"The philosopher carries within him, as a sacred deposit, an unwritten, but most divine law. Whatsoever is not for the love of God is nothing; this is the only nourishment that strengthens."

"It is by purity of heart, and the sacrifice of ourselves, that we truly honour Divine Beings. The offerings of the wicked are vain. They can not bind the gods to them by benefits. As for pompous sacrifices, to sustain and augment piety, they, on the contrary, only increase superstition, and spread abroad the deplorable idea that we can corrupt the justice of the gods by presents." He quoted Apollonius in favour of silent prayer, as alone worthy of the Supreme Being. He says: "Prayer is reasonable and holy. The prayer of the just is especially efficacious. It produces a sort of union between the gods and the just, who resemble them. It is a law of nature that similarities unite. Shut up in the body, as in a prison, we ought to pray to the gods to deliver us from our fetters. They are our true fathers, and we ought to pray to them, like children exiled from the paternal mansion."

Porphiry, though a truly learned and great man, shared the general credulity of his time. He was much impressed with the power of Evil Spirits, and frequently alludes to them as the cause of diseases, drought, earthquakes, quarrels, and wars; as obscuring the idea of God in the soul, and spreading abroad all manner of superstitions. He took very great interest in animals, and quotes with approbation Aristotle's opinion that their reason differs from ours in degree, but not in essence. He expresses a belief

that animals have a language, and that some men are endowed with power to comprehend it. He also believed that the spirit of prophecy could be gained by eating the liver of certain animals. He says his soul was only once elevated to complete union with God, so as to have glimpses of the eternal world; and that did not occur till he was sixty-eight years old. He complains bitterly of the incredulity of his cotemporaries; which seems singular enough to us, who look back upon the records of that distant time. He was seventy-one years old when he died. Some of his numerous writings have come down to us. Among them are a Life of Pythagoras and of Plotinus.

JAMBlichus.—Jamblichus, a Syrian, pupil of Porphyry, was the third leader of the school. He also was a man of great erudition, but is generally considered to have had less originality and judgment than his predecessors. Like them, he urged the practice of all the virtues, conjointly with the acquisition of knowledge; and sustained his precepts by his own example. Though born of a wealthy and illustrious family, he lived as frugally as the ancient sages. His style of teaching is described as rather dry; but though he lacked the eloquence of Plotinus, scholars flocked to him from all parts of Greece and Syria, in such numbers that it was surprising how one man could attend to them all. They sat at his table, followed him in crowds wheresoever he went, and listened to his sayings with the most profound reverence. Alypius, one of the great men of Alexandria, meeting him in the street, thus accompanied, stopped and abruptly asked him whether it was true that a rich man must either be unjust, or the son of the unjust. The philosopher, whose thoughts were mostly occupied with the nature of the human soul, and its relations with other Spirits of the universe, was unprepared for such a practical question. He replied: "All that is strange to me. I know of no other riches than virtue;" and immediately turned away. Afterward, when he re-

flected upon it, the question seemed to him so deep and comprehensive, that he was filled with admiration for Alypius, and wrote a panegyric upon him.

Jamblichus lived in the reign of Constantine, when Grecian philosophy had yielded the palm to Christianity; of course, he could make no open attacks on what he regarded as "the impostures of barbarians."

His system differed in some details from that of his predecessors. His theory of emanations was more complicated, and he mixed the study of magic with philosophy more than Porphyry had done. He says: "It is difficult to know how to please God, unless he himself reveals it to us, or we have recourse to theurgy."

His disciples thought he possessed supernatural power. A story had spread abroad that, while engaged in prayer, he had been raised fifteen feet above the earth. When one of them asked if this were true, he smiled, and gave an evasive answer. Some of them expressed a strong desire to witness a decisive proof of his miraculous power. He replied that he could not make an occasion for such manifestations. Afterward, all his school accompanied him to the baths of Gadara, in Syria. He asked the inhabitants the names of two very pure springs of water. They told him they were called Eros, and Anteros: deities whom the Greeks always represented in a juvenile form. He had scarcely touched the water with his hand, and murmured a few words, when there rose up from it two children, of celestial beauty, and clasped their arms round his neck, as if he had been their father. This miracle shut the mouths of the most incredulous; thenceforth, none of his disciples presumed to doubt his communion with the gods. Eunapius, his biographer, an accomplished and conscientious writer, says: "They recount many other marvellous things concerning him; but they are so fantastic and incredible, that I fear to repeat them; for the gods forbid to mingle fables and false stories with true and conscientious history. I should even scruple to report these examples, if they had not come from those who were eye-

witnesses. However, neither Edesius or his friends have dared to put them in their works."

For the practice of Theurgy, the philosophers prepared themselves by fasting, watching, praying, and intense religious contemplation. By this process, they sometimes arrived at a state of exaltation thus described by Jamblichus: "The senses were in a sleeping state. The theurgist had no command of his faculties, no consciousness of what he said or did. He was insensible to fire, or any bodily injury. Carried by a divine impulse, he went through impassable places, through fire and water, without knowing where he was. A divine illumination took full possession of the man, absorbed all his faculties, motions, and senses; making him speak what he did not understand, or rather *seem* to speak it; for he was in fact merely the minister, or instrument, of the god who possessed him."

Jamblichus was a devout believer in the efficacy of prayer. He says: "Frequent prayer nourishes our superior part, renders the receptacle of the soul more capacious for the gods, discloses divine things to men, accustoms them to the splendours of the World of Intelligences, and gradually perfects our union with the pure Spirits, till it leads us back to the Supreme God. It purges away every thing noxious to the soul, divesting the ethereal and luminous spirit of whatever tends to corruption. It perfects hope, augments faith, increases divine love, and kindles whatever is celestial in the soul."

Jamblichus wrote a good deal, but his works are nearly all destroyed, or lost. He is supposed to have died before three hundred and thirty-three.

Plotinus, whose eloquent enthusiasm was so tempered with moderation, had given a great impulse to the Alexandrian School; but none of his successors attained to the height of his genius. There was a gradual decline after his departure; but noble examples abounded; and, during the whole existence of the school, many of its followers manifested an admirable earnestness to conform their conduct to their principles. Simplicius, the very last cham-

pion of the expiring religion of Greece, retained all the best characteristics of his class. He was a devout believer in a constant living relation between man and the gods; but rejected altogether the idea that Divine Beings could be propitiated by sacrifices or offerings. He says: "When we sin, God does not turn from us. He is not angry. He does not leave us, and consequently does not return to us when we repent. All this is human, and quite foreign from the Divine. We separate *ourselves* from God, by departing from that course which is in harmony with nature; and by restoring our original nature, *we* return back to fellowship with God; and the act of our own return we ascribe to God, as if he returned back to us." The following prayer, preserved in his writings, is very expressive of the Platonic spirit: "I pray thee, O Lord, Father and Guide of the reason within us, that we may remember our nobility, whereof thou hast deemed us worthy. Help us, of our own free will, to be purified from the body, and disturbing passions; to be superior and rule over them; to use them merely as instruments, and in a becoming manner. Help us also to the accurate correction of the reason within us, and to unite it with the realities that exist in the light of thy truth. And I pray the Preserver to remove entirely all film from our spiritual eyes, that we may rightly know both God and man."

The writings of the New Platonists are generally obscure and confused. The idea of a three-fold existence in one is always preserved; but sometimes they say that the Logos created the world, and sometimes they seem to say the same concerning the Soul of the World, proceeding from the Logos. In the time of Porphyry and Jamblichus, it was much discussed which of the two was the Creator. They held the usual ideas concerning the three-fold nature of man. Of the spiritual body, between the soul and the material form, Proclus says: "In the world above, there is no need of the divided organs, which we have in our mortal life. The uniform, lucid, resplendent vehicle is sufficient; this having all the senses united in every part of it."

Some of them denied that human souls ever entered into brutes. They understood Plato to mean that imperfect souls would enter human bodies resembling beasts in the character of their passions; not that they would literally become animals. They said God would always preserve the human soul from such degradation.

They respected marriage, and considered it necessary; but they regarded everything that tied them to the world, or induced any thought concerning the body, as an obstruction in the pursuit of philosophy. Therefore, when they consecrated themselves to meditation on divine things, they lived unmarried; so that the term philosopher and ascetic came to be synonymous.

In addition to inward purification of the soul by knowledge of God, and a life in harmony with his laws, they also believed in outward means of cleansing, taught by the gods, whereby men could obtain a sanctifying power from the Supreme, to preserve both body and soul. Their meaning with regard to these external ceremonies is veiled; but there is little doubt that they referred, in part, to the ablutions preparatory to being initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries. They never based their theories on any written revelation; believing that divine truth could be perceived by human reason in exalted states of perception.

In common with others of their age, they believed that enchanters, by aid of Evil Spirits, could command the forces of nature, and had power over men who had not raised their souls above external things; but that their spells were powerless over those who were in close communion with the Deity. They did not deny the miracles of Christ and his followers; because miracles were easily and universally admitted by all classes; but in comparison with them, they brought forward the wonders wrought by Pythagoras and Apollonius, whose power was received from the gods. Some, who distrusted all such phenomena, ascribed the miracles of both Apollonius and Christ to magical arts, ingenious tricks, and the blind faith of the multitude. Others acknowledged Jesus as one of the great

teachers sent to instruct mankind, and only objected to his being regarded as God.

The universal tendency to invest great teachers of mankind with supernatural glory was manifested by the Platonists, and doubtless increased by their competition with the claims of Christianity. Jamblichus declares that Pythagoras was the son of Jupiter, by an earthly mother; that a Delphian priest predicted his birth and character; that his early gravity, temperance, and wisdom, were so astonishing as to command reverence even from gray hairs, and lead many to assert that he was the son of a God. It was also said that Plato was the son of Apollo, who endowed him with a portion of his own celestial intelligence. Spurious maxims of Pythagoras and Zoroaster, and Golden Verses of Orpheus, were in circulation, with a view to increase their reputation for wisdom and piety.

The philosophers, in general, disliked the Gnostics, not only because they were a modification of Christianity, but because it appeared to them that they perverted and degraded the Platonic ideas, departed from the dignity of Grecian culture, and ran into fanatical extremes. Against both them and other Christians, they brought the charge of representing each human being of too much consequence in the plan of the universe. It was particularly at variance with their ideas, that the ignorant and the sinful should be taught a process by which they could be at once introduced from this life into the presence of God and Angels. They constituted the religious respectabilities of their day. They were advocates of the established and the venerable; to whom Christianity, taught as it was by the common people, seemed a mean fanaticism, "a barbarous boldness," "dangerous to the Roman state." Their doctrines were elevated, and their standard of morality was high; but their teaching was intellectual and philosophic, adapted only to educated minds. Nevertheless, their agency was an important one in the great change that was going on in the world. They continued the noble work which Socrates and Plato had begun centuries before. They kindled aspirations they were un-

able to satisfy, and were thus the means of bringing into the Christian church many excellent and educated men, whose influence served to counteract the exclusiveness, and contempt of general culture, which Christianity derived from its Jewish origin. At the same time, Platonists, in their turn, acquired an increased degree of moral elevation and refinement, from the example of Christians, and the competition excited by rivalry. As usual, neither party perceived the obligations it owed to the other; but God, as ever, was overruling all for good.

Gnostics were the most troublesome to the church of all who professed to believe in Christ, and Platonists were the most formidable of all who denied him. If Christians ridiculed the stories which poets told concerning their gods, they covered them with a veil of allegorical significance. If it was urged that the literal sense of such stories must be injurious to young minds, inasmuch as it taught drunkenness, revenge, falsehood, murder, licentiousness, and treachery, by example of the deities, philosophers retorted by reminding Christians that their God was represented as a jealous God, greedy of his own glory, whose anger waxed hot, who consumed his enemies, changed his mind, and sent lying prophets to deceive. These continual attacks on the literal sense of the Jewish Scriptures, both by Gnostics and Platonists, undoubtedly had great influence in producing the tendency to defend them by allegorical interpretation. Controversy with the Platonists was rendered still more difficult by the fact that, on many points, they apparently approached Christianity very nearly. Both taught One Supreme God; both believed his Unity was mysteriously composed of Three Principles; both asserted that his first-born Son was the Logos, the Creator of the world. Under these resemblances, there existed very different ideas concerning the relation between God and the individual soul, and also concerning the mission of the Logos. With regard to the direct and constant agency of Spiritual Beings on the human mind, they were both agreed. It has been remarked that, "among all the objections made by philosophers to the doctrines of

the Gospel, no exception was ever taken to the operation of the Holy Spirit on the human soul. The direct action of Divine Minds on the human was recognized as a familiar truth; and it could not appear as a novelty, when all the highest minds in the moral world were imbued with the philosophy of Plato or Zeno."

Minucius Felix, in his *Apology for Christianity*, introduces a dialogue between two Romans, one converted to Christianity, and the other opposed to it. In the course of their discussion, the Christian remarks: "I have explained the opinions of almost all the philosophers, whose most illustrious glory it is that they have worshipped One God, though under different names; so that one might suppose either that the Christians of the present day are philosophers, or that the philosophers of all days were already Christians."

END OF VOL. II.

THE
PROGRESS
OF
RELIGIOUS IDEAS,

Through Successive Ages.

BY

L. MARIA CHILD.

God sends his teachers unto every age,
To every clime, and every race of men,
With revelations fitted to their growth
And shape of mind, nor gives the realm of TRUTH
Into the selfish rule of one sole race:
Therefore, each form of worship that hath swayed
The life of man, and given it to grasp
The master-key of knowledge, REVERENCE,
Enfolds some germs of goodness and of right.

J. B. LOWELL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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PROGRESS

OF

RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

CHRISTIANITY.

“Whatever errors may have crept in among the simple, yet sublime views, published by Christ, the practical *moral character* of his Gospel has always stood prominently above the abstract *doctrines*. From the first publication of Christianity, to this very day, it may be safely asserted that no sincere convert has embraced it allured by its *creed*.”—J. BLANCO WHITE.

FROM THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE.

WHILE internal changes were being gradually wrought in Christianity, by the previous opinions of its converts, and by the various sects and schools, with which it was constantly engaged in controversy, important changes were also taking place in its relations to the government. The emperor Constantius, one of the colleagues of Diocletian, had been uniformly tolerant, and even friendly toward the Christians, either from humanity, or from motives of policy; they being numerous in the part of the empire which he governed. His son Constantine had been left as a hostage at the imperial court, and suffered much from the jealousy and tyranny of Galerius. He is said to have been in Nico-

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media at the first furious outbreak of persecution, and to have witnessed the heroic endurance of the Christians. He afterward commanded the army in Gaul, and, on the death of his father, in the year three hundred and six, when he was nearly forty years old, the troops proclaimed him emperor; but rivals were in the way, and battles must be fought to decide who should wear the imperial purple. He was at that time a worshipper of the gods, and the Sun was his tutelary deity. In consequence of the successful termination of a war with one of his rivals, he gave public thanks in a celebrated temple of Apollo, presented magnificent offerings, and had coins stamped with *Soli, Invicto Comiti*: To the Sun, the Invincible Companion. His situation at that period was perplexing. Adherents of the old religion, if not the most numerous, were still in possession of power. On the other hand, Christianity had become an important element in state affairs. The numerous communities, scattered throughout the empire, were united by the strongest of all bonds, that of a persecuted faith, and might be expected to serve zealously the interest of any ruler who would espouse their cause. The political enemies of Constantine were also the enemies of Christianity. His rival, Maxentius, was diligently employing every means of worship and of magic to secure the protection of the gods of Rome; and Constantine had great dread of the effect of such rites. If advantage was to be gained by pursuing an opposite course, it would be exclusively his own. He felt the need of assistance from some powerful Deity; and he reflected that emperors who had persecuted the Christians had generally ended miserably, while his father, who protected them, had a happier fate. A recent example had occurred in the painful death of Galerius. This was continually urged by the Christians; and Constantine appears to have been in a state of mind similar to Ahaz, king of Judah, who sacrificed to the gods of Damascus; saying: "The gods of the kings of Syria help *them*, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help *me*." Eusebius, the historian, represents him as in a state of conflict; and the

fluctuating course he pursued for some time afterward, indicates the uncertainty of his faith.

A short time before the great battle, which was to decide his destiny, he prayed to the Christians' God that he would reveal himself, and protect him from his enemies. It is not easy to imagine a state of mind more favourable for the appearance of omens. It is recorded that, in the course of his march, he saw, about noon, a Luminous Cross above the Sun, which heretofore had been his tutelary deity. On it was inscribed the motto: "Under this sign thou shalt conquer." He and his army gazed at the brilliant phenomenon with astonishment. The following night, he dreamed that Christ appeared to him, and showed him a cross bearing the monogram of his name, with the assurance that, if he assumed it for a standard, he would march to certain victory. He sent for Christian teachers, and inquired of them concerning their God, and the import of the symbol. He then caused a standard to be made according to his dream, and, under its protection, he conquered Maxentius, entered Rome in triumph, and was proclaimed emperor. This occurred in the year three hundred and twelve.

The story is told by Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in his *Life of Constantine*, written after the death of that emperor, which occurred twenty-five years after the battle. He asserts that Constantine made the statement to him, in familiar conversation, many years after the event, and affirmed it with an oath. Rufinus, a celebrated Christian writer of the fourth century, states that Constantine saw a flaming cross in a dream, and waking up in a fright, found an angel by his side, who exclaimed: "By this conquer!" Contemporary history is silent; which is remarkable, considering that a whole army were astounded by the extraordinary vision. It is also singular that Eusebius himself, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, makes no allusion to such a wonderful intervention of Deity to change the religion of the Roman Empire. It, however, remained an unquestioned miracle for many centuries. But, in modern times, the scientific have ventured to inquire of what nature such a

luminous apparition in the sky could be; and many of the religious have felt that Jesus could not have assumed the entirely new character of a military protector, without a manifest departure from his own pacific maxims. At the present day, the miracle is very generally rejected. Some consider it a fiction, invented either by Constantine or Eusebius, to throw supernatural interest round the first union of Christianity with the State. Others more reasonably suppose that the emperor really saw some uncommon meteor, and that, as years passed on, the account of it became greatly exaggerated. Being in an anxious state of mind, having prayed that the Christians' God would reveal himself, and living at a period when everything was construed into an omen, or a miracle, the imagination of Constantine would doubtless have been easily excited, either by northern lights in the evening, or a solar halo at noon; and it would be very natural that his dreams should be connected with what he had seen. If he subsequently adopted the motto, it would readily be added to the marvellous story in process of time. The probability that meteors were actually seen is increased by the statement of Nazarius, a Roman orator, and a votary of the old worship. He pronounced a panegyric on Constantine, nine years after his decisive victory, long before Eusebius wrote his account of the miracle. He describes a troop of beautiful Spirits in the sky, clad in refulgent armour, who were heard and seen by the whole army. He says: "It is the report throughout all Gaul that armies were seen, who professed to be divinely sent; saying, We want to find Constantine. We are sent to his assistance." The flattering orator adds that even Divine Beings were ambitious of such distinction, and glorified themselves with the idea of fighting for Constantine. Among the fantastic forms of the Aurora Borealis, none are more common than shooting streams of light, resembling lances hurled across the sky. In that age of the world, a supernatural cause would of course be assigned for such appearances; and where Greek and Roman imagination saw deities descending with brilliant

spears, Christians in the army could quite as easily perceive a luminous cross.

Whatever might have been the real origin of the story, the emperor caused a standard to be made in the form of a cross; and, according to tradition, it was an exact copy of the one seen in his dream. The shaft was cased with gold, and it was surmounted by a golden crown, on which were inscribed a monogram, signifying the name of Christ. Beneath the crown was a small purple banner, and the bust of Constantine, which shared the homage paid by the soldiers to their consecrated standard, without necessarily bringing them under the charge of idolatry. This standard was called the Labarum, the meaning of which is now unknown. It was for a long time carried at the head of the imperial army, intrusted to the care of fifty faithful guards; and a belief prevailed that no weapon could harm them while they were employed in guarding the sacred emblem.

After the victory over Maxentius, Constantine adopted the cross as a kind of amulet, to which he ascribed supernatural powers of protection. It was always carried with him on important occasions, and he was often observed to make the sign of the cross upon his forehead. But his proceedings indicate a prolonged uncertainty in his mind, as if he were waiting for events to decide what deity would prove most powerful to advance his own interests. It is likely that during the first years, the old and the new were mixed in his mind; reverence for the ancient worship remained to a considerable degree, and struggled with the conviction that Jehovah was the greatest of all gods. He pursued a very liberal policy toward Christians; but many of his actions were obvious violations of their precepts. He set at liberty those who were unjustly imprisoned, and pardoned most of those who had taken up arms against him; but he caused many of his enemies to be executed, and put to death the infant son of his rival Maxentius. Many of his German captives, whom Roman pride designated as barbarians, were exposed to contests with lions and tigers in the circus, for the amusement of

the populace; as had been the custom with previous emperors. In the year three hundred and thirteen, he published an edict of unlimited toleration, in which Christianity was recognized as one of the forms in which Deity might be lawfully worshipped. The church property, confiscated during previous reigns, was restored, and he gave large sums of money to the Christians in Africa to rebuild their ruined edifices. Those who had meanwhile come into legal possession of the land were indemnified. A regular allowance of corn was granted in each city, to meet the demands of ecclesiastical charity. His pious subjects received permission to bequeath land or money to the church to an unlimited extent. The clergy were exempted from taxes, contributions, and certain municipal services, which pressed heavily on other citizens. Thus the nucleus of an ecclesiastical power, distinct from the civil, was introduced into the Roman Empire, which had hitherto never known an established priesthood. The emperor, in a letter to the Bishop of Carthage, assigns, as a reason for these privileges, that the Christian Clergy ought not to be withdrawn from the worship of God, on which the prosperity of the state depended.

But while so much favour was shown to the long-persecuted faith, entire freedom was secured to other forms of religion. The old temples and altars were not only left undisturbed, but in many cases were repaired at the expense of government; and orators lauded him for the munificence of his donations. His medals and coins still bore the image of the Sun, and other emblems of the old religion. He did not offer sacrifices to the gods himself, or cause it to be done for him by representatives in the provinces; but he followed the custom of his predecessors in accepting the title of Supreme Pontiff of the old religion, and performed many of the public functions of that office.

In three hundred and nineteen, he published laws in which it was declared: "They who wish to remain slaves to their superstition, have liberty for the public exercise of their worship." "You, who consider it profitable to your-

selves, may continue to visit the public altars, and observe the solemnities of your usage. We do not forbid the ancient rites to be performed, provided it be done in the open light." This prohibition against secrecy grew out of the fact that his colleague, Licinius, was disposed to head a party in opposition to him and Christianity. Itinerant magicians and soothsayers were forbidden to exercise their arts; for Constantine was always unable to overcome his dread of having magical rites practised against himself. From the same fear of treasonable designs, private consultation of Augurs was forbidden, and people were not allowed to offer sacrifices in houses. If the Augurs visited each other's dwellings, they were to be burned, even if they urged the plea of friendship. Whoever summoned an Augur to his house was banished, and his goods confiscated. But public auguries were consulted by priests at the temples, the same as formerly. As late as three hundred and twenty-one, he passed a law that in case lightning struck the imperial palace, or any of the public buildings, the Augurs should be consulted, according to usage, as to what it might signify; and that a careful report of their answer should be drawn up for his own use. He also gave public permission to use magical ceremonies for good purposes; such as the prevention of storms, and the preservation of harvests. Oracles convicted of fraud were silenced; but otherwise they were not interfered with; and it is even said that he sometimes availed himself of their services. Some popular festivals, connected with midnight revels, and licentious practices, were interdicted, as dangerous to public morals. But, with these exceptions, rites endeared to the people by ages of reverent observance, were performed by the priesthood as usual. Offices of trust were impartially distributed between adherents of the old and the new religion. All the measures of government indicated the prudent policy of a statesman, adapting himself to a transition state in public opinion, rather than the fresh zeal of a thorough proselyte.

It has been already stated that most of the ancient na-

tions had a series of seven days, named for the seven planets known to them, in which the sun and moon were included. This does not appear to have been a division of time, but to have grown out of certain ceremonies and invocations successively offered to the Seven Spirits of the Planets, who were universally supposed to have a very powerful influence on human affairs. The Romans, following a very ancient custom, called our first day of the week *Dies Solis*, the Day of the Sun; the second, *Dies Lunæ*, the Day of the Moon; the third, *Dies Martis*, the Day of Mars; the fourth, *Dies Mercurii*, the Day of Mercury; the fifth, *Dies Jovis*, the Day of Jupiter; the sixth, *Dies Veneris*, the Day of Venus; the seventh, *Dies Saturni*, the Day of Saturn. Apollo had gradually become more popular, as an object of worship, than Jupiter the Thunderer. As god of poetry and eloquence, he was attractive to cultivated minds; as god of prophecy, he had strong hold of the reverential and superstitious; and as god of medicine, he wore a friendly aspect to the populace. He was originally god of *intellectual* light, the divine *archetype* of the sunlight of this world; but in the latter days, his worship had become gradually mingled with Helios, god of the material sun. Therefore, it is likely that peculiar ceremonies were appropriated to him on *Dies Solis*. The sun had always been the chosen emblem of Constantine. Apollo was his tutelary deity; and, until he was forty years old, had always been honoured by him as his invincible protector and benefactor. The Sun's Day was therefore consecrated both to his heart and his imagination; and men do not suddenly outgrow long-cherished ideas. One of the earliest acts of his reign was to add that day to the list of public Festivals; and the following edict was passed: "Let all the people in towns, judges, mechanics, and tradesmen, rest on the venerated Day of the Sun. But those who are in the country may freely cultivate their fields; since it often happens that on no other day can grain be more suitably sowed, or the vines set." A large proportion of the soldiers adhered to the old worship. A form of prayer was

written for them, such as a person of any religion might offer for the health of the emperor and the welfare of the state. They were required to go into the fields and repeat this, at the word of command. In this edict no allusion was made to the Sun's Day as connected with Christianity. The increasing humanity of the age, to which Christ, his Apostles, and those who revered their kind and gentle morality, had contributed so very largely, was indicated by one feature in the law: the courts were closed on that day for all purposes, except the manumission of slaves. Military exercises were also prohibited.

Licinius, who married the sister of Constantine, governed the Eastern part of the empire. Jealousy between the two emperors resulted in war. Licinius was defeated, and peace remained unbroken for several years. He is said to have been avaricious and sensual, while Constantine was generous, temperate, and virtuous, in all his habits. The strict morality enjoined by Christian bishops was probably an uncomfortable restraint upon the debaucheries of Licinius, while, at the same time, jealousy of Constantine's power led him to seek popularity with a large class of his subjects by throwing his whole influence in favour of the old religion. He allowed no one to retain rank in his army unless he consented to offer sacrifices to the gods. He confined bishops to the care of their own dioceses, and forbade them to meet in councils; probably fearing such opportunities might be used to his disadvantage. On the ground of salutary moral regulations, he ordered that women belonging to Christian communities should be religiously instructed only by deaconesses; that men and women should assemble for worship in the open air, and not meet together in churches. He forbade Christians access to the prisons, which they had been in the habit of visiting frequently for purposes of charity and devotion. Finally, he ordered their churches in the province of Pontus to be closed, and in some cases destroyed. Acts of personal violence, and even of martyrdom occurred. The terrified Christians fled from the cities, and hid themselves in woods and

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caves. In consequence of these outrages, Constantine again took up arms against his brother-in-law. Political rivalry was the real cause of strife, but, by force of circumstances, it became a struggle for mastery between the old and new religions. Licinius solemnly invoked the gods, offered sacrifices, and consulted oracles and divinations, from which he received promises of universal empire. Constantine marched to the contest with his standard of the cross, and accompanied by bishops. He gained the victory, which Christians attributed to the prayers of their bishops, and the presence of the holy Labarum. Eusebius declares that Constantine himself told him that one man, who, in terror, gave up the standard of the cross to another, was immediately transfixed by a spear in his flight, while the bearer of the cross passed on unhurt amid a shower of javelins, and not a man in its immediate neighbourhood was even wounded. This battle gave Constantine undivided mastery of the Roman world. He gave orders to spare the lives of his enemies, and offered rewards for all captives who were brought to him alive; an improvement on the old customs, probably owing to the humanizing influence of the bishops. Licinius was permitted to retire to private life, and it is said Constantine took a solemn oath to spare the life of his sister's husband; which, however, he failed to keep.

The adulation of the bishops was excessive; but much may be excused in men who had found an imperial protector, after such frequent and fierce storms of persecution. Eusebius of Cæsarea represents him as giving orders for battle under the influence of direct inspiration from heaven, in answer to his prayers. When the bishops in attendance upon him congratulated him as ruler over this world, and destined to reign with the Son of God in the world to come, he admonished them rather to pray for him, that he might be deemed worthy to be a servant of God, both in this world and the next.

He recalled the exiled Christians, restored their confiscated property, and the honours of those who had been

degraded in state or army. He rebuilt the churches at his own expense, and empowered the clergy to receive donations of land, as he had previously done in the Western parts of the empire. In the proclamations announcing these decrees, he expresses the conviction that the only true and Almighty God, had, by special interposition in his favour, given him victory over the Evil Powers, in order that his own worship might, by his means, become universally diffused. In one of them he says: "I invoke thee, Lord of the Universe, holy God! for by the leading of thy hand, have I undertaken and accomplished salutary things. Everywhere, preceded by thy sign, have I led on a victorious army. For this reason, I have consecrated to thee my soul, deeply imbued with love and with fear. I sincerely love thy name, I venerate thy power, which thou hast revealed to me by so many proofs, and by which thou hast confirmed my faith."

With regard to the adherents of the old worship, he says: "Let the followers of error enjoy the liberty of sharing peace and tranquillity with the faithful. The improving influence of intercourse may lead them into the way of truth. Let each act according to the dictates of his own soul. Let no one molest his neighbour concerning that which is according to his convictions. If possible, let him profit him by the knowledge he has gained; if not possible, he should allow him to go on in his own way. It is one thing to enter voluntarily into the contest for eternal life, and another to force one to it against his will. Let those who remain strangers to the holy laws of God retain their temples of falsehood, since they wish it." He adds that "the mighty dominion of error was too firmly rooted" to admit of the universal prevalence of Christianity.

The first instance in which he caused any temples to be destroyed, or old forms forcibly suppressed, was in the case of certain temples of Venus, where licentious rites were practised. The site of one of these, in Phœnicia, was occupied by a new church. There were no Christians in the place; but he sent bishops and a body of the clergy there,

and bestowed large sums on them for the support of the poor; on the ground that the people might be converted to the new faith by doing good to their bodies. The famous old Temple of Æsculapius, at Ægæ, was destroyed, on the charge that impositions were practised on the people by cures pretended to be miraculous. He took many objects of Art from these temples to adorn the imperial palace, or bestow upon his friends. Some of the images were found to be so constructed that the priests could enter and speak through them. These were exhibited to convince the people of the deceptions that had been practised upon them. In order to advance Christians to office, a law was not long after passed forbidding public functionaries to sacrifice to the gods. The erection of any new images was likewise prohibited.

The letters and proclamations of Constantine, after his victory, generally betray that temporal success was to his mind the strongest evidence of the truth of Christianity. With this view of the subject, his recent good fortune could not do otherwise than increase his zeal for his adopted faith. He studied the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, delivered theological discourses, and considered himself competent to decide controverted points of doctrine. In this kind of warfare it may be fairly presumed that the successful soldier was guided by his bishops. In his discourses, he quoted the Sibylline Prophecies in proof of Christianity; and placed peculiar reliance upon the one purporting to be composed six hundred years after the Deluge, in the form of an acrostic, making the words, Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.

Virgil, who died nineteen years before Christ, was a sort of poet laureate to the imperial family of Augustus, from whom he received munificent presents. The poets, from time immemorial, had sung of a Golden Age, under the reign of Saturn. They said when the Iron Age commenced, Astrea, Goddess of Justice, departed from this earth, and was placed in the Zodiac, as the constellation of the Virgin; they predicted that the reign of Saturn would

return, and the Virgin Astrea again live upon the earth. During the peaceful and prosperous reign of Augustus, Virgil wrote an Eclogue, dedicated to his friend Pollio, embodying this universal prophecy. He coupled it with the birth of a wonderful child; which scholars suppose to be a complimentary allusion to some infant about to be born in the imperial family. He says: "The last age, prophesied by the Cumæan Sibyl, comes. The great procession of centuries begins anew. Now the reign of Saturn and the Virgin returns. Now a new race is sent from the high heaven. Only be thou propitious, O chaste Lucina,* to the infant boy, by whom the Iron Age shall first cease, and the Golden shall begin throughout the world: then may we say thy own Apollo reigns. In thy consulship, Pollio, this grace of our time shall enter, and the great months shall set forward. * * * * * He shall partake the life of the gods, shall see heroes and demi-gods associated, shall himself be seen by them, and shall rule the tranquillized world with his father's virtues. For thee, boy, the earth shall spread out her offerings. * * * Goats shall of themselves bring home their distended udders, and herds shall not fear the huge lion. Thy cradle shall yield fragrant flowers. Serpents and treacherous herbs of poison shall perish. When thou shalt be able to read the deeds and praises of thy father, and know what virtue is, the plain shall become yellow with waving grain, purple grapes shall hang on the rough thorn, and rugged oaks distil honey, clear as the dew. * * Every land shall produce everything. The soil shall not feel the harrow, nor the vine the pruning-hook; the fleece shall no more cheat with artificial hues, but the ram shall imbue his wool with rich purple, or glowing saffron, and the grazing lambs shall be clothed with scarlet. The Fates have said to their distaffs: 'Run off these ages!' Loved offspring of the gods, great child of Jupiter, advance to the exalted honours! for the time is at hand."

* The goddess who presided over birth.

The general features of this Eclogue obviously resemble prophecies found in all the Sacred Books, and ancient poems, of the world; while others clearly imply the expected birth of some Roman child of regal rank; and the empress Scribonia was about to become a mother at the time it was written. But Constantine assumed that it predicted the advent of Christ, and the establishment of his kingdom upon earth. The return of the Virgin he supposed to be a prophetic allusion to the Virgin Mary. This idea was adopted by the Fathers of that age, and zealously propagated for centuries.

At that time a very hot controversy was raging between the partisans of Arius and Athanasius, concerning the persons of the Godhead. Constantine, or some mild and judicious bishop, who dictated his epistle, wrote to the contending parties, rebuking them for disturbing the unity of the church by agitating such unimportant questions. He advised them to copy the prudence and moderation of philosophers, who agreed to differ amicably upon abstruse questions, and never discussed them in presence of the ignorant multitude. He reminded them that as they all believed in the same God, and worshipped him after the same manner, they ought to meet in a friendly synod, and not fall into discord about exactness of expression concerning minute distinctions; that each should allow the other individual freedom, and agree to remain united in the common bonds of Christian brotherhood. He soon after issued a mandate summoning bishops from various parts of the empire to meet in council at Nice, in Bithynia, for the purpose of settling disputed questions. He himself met with them, dressed in imperial costume, and took an active part in the proceedings. "He exhorted the bishops not to lay the foundation of schisms, by mutual jealousies, lest they should give occasion to their enemies to blaspheme the Christian religion. He reminded them that unbelievers would be most easily led to salvation if the condition of Christianity was made to appear in all respects enviable. Some might be drawn to the faith by

being seasonably supplied with the means of subsistence; others were accustomed to repair to that quarter where they found protection; others were won by an affable reception; others by being honoured with presents; few loved the exhibitions of religious doctrine; few were the real friends of truth. For this reason, they should accommodate themselves to the characters of all; as skilful physicians gave to each man what was likely to contribute to his cure." He acknowledged the supremacy of the ecclesiastical power, in all matters connected with the church, by taking a seat lower than the bishops. Eusebius even goes so far as to say that he waited for their permission to be seated. He invited them all to a sumptuous banquet at the palace, where they were received with the utmost deference, as representatives of the Deity. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, who was one of the guests, describing the scene, says: "One might easily imagine that he beheld a type of Christ's kingdom." Constantine declared that the decrees of this council ought to be regarded as the decisions of God himself; "since the Holy Spirit, residing in such great and worthy souls, unfolded to them the divine will." From this time, the coins and medals of the empire began to be stamped with the Standard of the Cross, bearing the monogram of Christ.

This complete revolution in the wheel of fortune elated some of the bishops beyond the bounds of moderation; and it could not have been otherwise, unless they had been more than human. In their gratitude for such complete security from persecution, and their joy at such rapid and unexpected advancement of power, they seem to have regarded Constantine as more than a mortal. But his faith in Christianity had been confirmed by external means, and it must be confessed that it was rather external in its character. Though he had pledged himself not to put to death Licinius, his sister's husband, he caused him to be executed about a year after he was defeated. The motives for this violation of his oath are variously assigned by his friends and enemies. Not far from the same time, and after he

had manifested so much interest in Christianity at the Council of Nice, he caused the young Licinius, his sister's son, to be put to death, from motives of political jealousy. Crispus, his own son, by his first wife, a young man of distinguished talent and bravery, was also suddenly executed, without public trial. Secret treason was the excuse given for this dark deed; but of that there was no proof. Some attributed it to the emperor's jealousy of his son's great popularity; others said it was domestic jealousy, the empress Fausta having accused her step-son of avowing a passion for her. Fausta herself disappeared soon after. The rumour went abroad that Helena, mother of Constantine, discovered that she had brought a false accusation against Crispus, in order to advance the interests of her own sons; and that the emperor had revenged himself by causing her to be suffocated in a hot bath. This last crime is doubted by some historians, who find traces of Fausta's existence some time after her alleged death. A veil of mystery was thrown over these transactions at the time, and the truth cannot now be discovered. It is, however, certain that they produced an effect on the public mind very unfavourable to Constantine. Of course, his own enemies, and the enemies of Christianity, were ready to utter sarcasms on the religion of a man who had put to death his brother-in-law, his nephew, his son, and his wife, while making the greatest professions of piety. The populace of Rome betrayed signs of disapprobation; and some went so far as to fasten on the gates of the palace verses in which he was compared to Nero. These indications of unpopularity are supposed to have caused his determination to remove the seat of government to Byzantium; to which he gave a Greek name signifying the City of Constantine; in English, Constantinople. In the embellishment and consecration of this new Capital, there was the same intermixture of the new and the old, which had characterized the beginning of his reign. Statues of the gods were brought from all parts of the empire. Images of Castor and Pollux surmounted the Hippodrome. The Goddess of Fortune

was placed in a shrine on one side of the Forum; and on the other was Cybele, deprived of her symbolic lions, and in the attitude of a suppliant, as if praying for the public prosperity. When the city was consecrated, the emperor, accompanied by a vast procession, rode through the principal streets in a splendid chariot, carrying a golden statue of Fortune with a cross in her hand; and it was decreed that his own statue, thus holding the golden image, should be annually brought to the foot of the throne to receive homage from the reigning emperor. In one part of the city, a statue of Apollo stood on a column of three inter-twisted serpents. Another, of colossal size, was placed on a tall column of marble and porphyry, with a globe and sceptre in its hands. The head of Constantine himself was substituted for that of the deity who had been regarded as the guardian of his youth. No new temples were erected, but the old ones remained open for worshippers. Some Christian churches were built, but he did not manifest so much zeal in the work, as at a later period of his reign. When Rome was a republic, she had dedicated temples to Faith, Modesty, and Peace. Constantine imitated the example, by dedicating one of his new churches to Sophia [Wisdom], and another to Eirene [Peace]; names with which no fault could be found by the votaries of any religion. One of the most splendid was dedicated to the Archangel Michael.

A distinguished philosopher, named Sopater, who had been a disciple of Jamblichus, and afterward head of the same school, took up his residence in Constantinople, soon after it became the Capital. Some of the Christian bishops were the intimate friends of Constantine; and one of the most learned of the Fathers, named Lactantius, had been chosen to educate Crispus, his unfortunate son. The Platonist was soon admitted to equal intimacy; and it was said he cherished hopes of retarding, if not averting, the downfall of the old worship. Constantine delighted in his conversation, and on public occasions often caused him to sit by his side. This soon excited jealousy on the part of

the Christian leaders, lest his influence should be successfully exerted over the emperor, if not decidedly in favour of the old religion, at least in favour of an eclectic impartiality between the old and the new. Constantinople depended on foreign countries for grain, and it chanced that adverse winds long detained the Alexandrian ships, on which reliance was placed for a supply. Theurgy was at that time much practised by the degenerated school of philosophers; and a murmur arose among the populace that Sopater chained the winds by magical arts. Famine threatened the city, and it was a favourable opportunity to exaggerate any report to his disadvantage. The favourite became so odious, that when the emperor entered the theatre, the people received him without their usual acclamations. Whether he believed that magic had power over the winds, or whether alarm for his own popularity induced him to sacrifice a friend, is unknown. History merely records that the unfortunate Platonist was forthwith beheaded.

The fluctuating course pursued by Constantine gave rise to doubts concerning the depth and earnestness of his convictions, of which votaries of the old worship were exceedingly ready to avail themselves. It was currently believed and reported by them that remorse for the hasty murder of his innocent son was what finally settled the question in his mind. In his affliction, they said he began to lean toward the religion of his youth; but when he consulted the priests, they told him the gods had prescribed no rites by which such a crime could be expiated. Others said he sought the same relief from Sopater; but the doctrines of Platonism offered no atonement for the guilty. But Christians, they said, assured him that the blood of Christ was sufficient to wash away all sin; and that however criminal he might have been, faith in its efficacy would secure to him an immortal crown.

Little is known concerning Helena, the mother of Constantine. Some say she influenced him in favour of Christianity, others that he was the cause of her conversion. However that might be, her zeal in the cause became very

conspicuous. Pilgrimages to holy places were favoured by the example of all the East. Attended by a devout train of men and women, she undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. An empress, who was seeking for interesting localities to endow with her wealth, could not fail to find them in abundance. Christian devotees in Jerusalem eagerly pointed out to her where Christ was born, where he performed various miracles, where he was crucified, and where he ascended. The footsteps of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles, were traced with equal precision. The empress-mother gazed on them all with undoubting reverence, and gave munificent donations to erect churches and chapels on the consecrated spots.

Constantine also made a visit to the Holy City, with Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia. Romans had built a temple to Venus on Mount Calvary, which he ordered to be immediately demolished. When the earth and stones were removed, it was said and believed, that the workmen discovered the identical tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, in which Jesus had been buried. Near by, was found not only the cross on which Christ had suffered, but also the crosses of the two thieves, and the inscription written by Pilate, in three languages. It was not the tendency of that age to inquire whether such large and heavy instruments of punishment were likely to be buried with the criminals. The True Cross, thus discovered, was consigned to the care of the Bishop of Jerusalem, who put a portion of it into a silver case, and divided the remainder into small fragments to be sold to pilgrims. The nails of the cross, the crown of thorns, and the spear that pierced the side of Jesus were likewise found. It is said that Constantine placed these holy nails round the head of his colossal Apollo, at Constantinople, so arranged as to form a glory, in imitation of the halo usually represented round the God of the Sun. Over the place where the tomb was discovered, he caused a magnificent church to be erected; at first called the Church of the Resurrection, afterwards of the Holy Sepulchre. The interior was inlaid with costly marbles. The

dome was supported by twelve pillars, surmounted with silver vases, in commemoration of the Twelve Apostles. The roof was overlaid with gold, which shed a resplendent light. A court within the church contained the tomb, over which was erected a chapel blazing with gold and gems. Near Hebron, an oak tree was pointed out as the spot where Abraham had an interview with the angels. Some polytheistic worshippers had sacred traditions connected with it, and had been accustomed to perform religious ceremonies there in honour of the Spirits that appeared to Abraham; whose name was held in reverence by several Asiatic nations. Constantine caused the place to be purified, and a church to be erected there. He also built splendid churches at Antioch and Alexandria. At Rome, he erected a superb church on the Vatican Hill, occupying the site of the circus and gardens of Nero, where early Christians had died of lingering tortures. According to current tradition, the edifice stood on the very spot where Peter suffered martyrdom. Within the enclosure of the imperial palace at Rome, called the Lateran, he built a church dedicated to the memory of the Apostle John. In his zeal to propagate the new faith, it is said he offered a white baptismal garment, and twenty pieces of gold to every convert; and that twelve thousand men, with a proportionate number of women and children, were baptized in one day at Rome. He granted an appeal from the civil courts to the bishops, whose decisions were to be in all cases binding. He frequently invited the clergy to his own table, even when they were very meanly clad. He never went a journey without taking a bishop with him; thinking it made him more secure of prospering in his undertakings. He was accustomed to say that if he should see a bishop engaged in any sinful or unbecoming action, he would cover him with his own imperial robe, rather than have others see him. He affirmed that even Grecian oracles were compelled to testify in favour of Christians; that after the advent of Christ, Apollo no longer presumed to speak through a human voice in the temple, but spoke

from a deep dark cavern, as if he had hidden himself. Being asked why he did this, he replied: "Because of the just men who are now on the earth." When Diocletian inquired who those just men were, one of the priests of Apollo, who stood by, answered: "They are Christians." Constantine declares he was one of the company, and heard it; and he calls upon God to witness it.

He passed a law to defend Christian converts from Judaism, but he found it more difficult to shield them from their own dissensions. Council after council was called to settle theological disputes, and still the strife went on. He wrote to the Bishop of Alexandria, exhorting him to pursue a peaceful and charitable course toward those who differed from him with regard to the Trinity. But he satisfied the demands of the bishops by passing very severe laws against Manicheans, Marcionites, and other Gnostic sects, whose property was confiscated. For many years before his death, he would not allow his image to be placed in any of the temples. He caused his statue to be made with a cross in his hand, inscribed with the motto: "By this he conquered." Medals and pictures representing him in a devout attitude of Christian worship were distributed throughout the empire. Other and better fruits of Christianity are also recorded of him. In times of public distress, it had been common to expose young children, to sell them into slavery, or put them to death. By advice of Lactantius, it was proclaimed that the emperor considered himself the father of all such children, and would support them at his own expense. He encouraged the sending of missionaries to distant lands. He diminished taxation, ameliorated the penal laws, and made regulations for the health and comfort of prisoners; saying it was his duty to secure a man who was accused of crime, but not to injure him. When slaves were divided among the heirs of a deceased person, he forbade the separation of husbands and wives, parents and children; a humane regulation, which had been previously neglected.

Though his adhesion to Christianity was finally unquali

fled, he did not partake of its sacraments till his last illness. No one was allowed to taste the Lord's Supper till he had passed through the purifying process of baptism; and as that was supposed to wash away all sin, perhaps Constantine thought to make sure of eternal salvation by deferring a rite so efficacious until he was past the danger of committing further sin. Whatever might have been his motive, he was not baptized until a short time before his death; which took place when he was sixty-three years old, after a reign of thirty-one years.

In the honours paid to his memory, there was the same mingling of religions which had characterized a large portion of his life. His polytheistic subjects followed the old custom of placing the emperor among the deities by solemn ceremonies. The medals issued after his apotheosis bore his name, with his title "God;" and on the reverse side was the monogram from the Labarum, forming the name of Christ. Some of the medals represented him seated in the chariot of the Sun, drawn by four horses, while a hand issued from the clouds to take him up among the demi-gods. Cotemporary Christian writers, very naturally blinded by gratitude, exaggerated his really great merits, and eulogized him without limit, and without discrimination. The eastern churches kept an annual festival in honour of his memory, and added to his name: "Equal to the Apostles."

Niebuhr, in his *History of Rome*, says: "Men judge him by too severe a standard, because they look upon him as a Christian; but I cannot regard him in that light. The religion he had in his head must have been a strange compound. The man who had on his coins, *Sol invictus*, [The Sun invincible,] who worshipped polytheistic deities, and consulted the haruspices, while at the same time he shut up temples, built churches, and interfered with the Council of Nice, certainly was not a Christian." Mosheim, in his *History of Christianity*, supposes that Constantine at first regarded Christ merely as one of the gods, who had power to confer prosperity and happiness on those who honoured

him, and to punish those who contemned and persecuted him; but that being afterward better instructed in Christianity, he became a sincere convert.

The outward benefits he conferred on the Christian religion were perhaps balanced by the rapid degeneracy they induced. It became a matter of policy to profess Christianity. All classes, princes and beggars, flocked into the church, without serious conviction, or proper instruction; and all supposed that the magical waters of baptism had washed away their sins. Eusebius reckons as one of the greatest evils of that period the indescribable hypocrisy of many who pretended to be Christians merely to advance their own interests, and who abused the confidence of the emperor by their false show of zeal.

CHRISTIAN SECTS.

Having thus rapidly traced Christianity from its obscure origin, through outward perils, I will, as briefly as possible, describe the dissensions which arose among themselves.

At the outset, Christians had no creed. In the time of Irenæus and Tertullian, formularies of faith were written, on purpose to exclude the Gnostics; and catechumens were required to give public assent to them before they were baptized. The Gnostic sects were therefore outside the church. They formed a link between Christianity and the old Egyptian, Persian, and Grecian ideas, and were one of the agencies by which many of those ideas glided into the new religion, and became permanently incorporated with it. The heterogeneous elements heaved and tossed wildly, before they could be definitely settled into a theological form. It would fill volumes to explain all the subdivisions of sects on minor points of faith or practice. Asceticism, growing out of the old Oriental idea that Matter was the origin of evil, began to manifest itself very early in various forms. There was a sect called Abelites, who abstained from matrimony, in order to avoid propagating original

sin. They adopted the children of others, and brought them up in their own principles. They had great reverence for Abel, because he died unmarried, and childless. The Aquarians used water instead of wine, at the Lord's Supper, and abstained from animal food, because they thought it wrong to stimulate or please the senses. The Apostolics were also called Renouncers, because they considered it wrong to possess any property, and therefore held all things in common. They allowed no married person to belong to their churches.

QUARTODECIMANS.—One of the earliest and most troublesome schisms in the church, after the question of circumcision was at rest, related to a mere external observance. The first Christians continued to keep the Passover as a Jewish custom. They ceased to sacrifice a lamb, because they observed the festival in commemoration of Christ, of whom the Paschal Lamb was supposed to be a type; thus Paul says: "Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed for us." Jews observed the first day of the first full moon, after the vernal equinox, on whatsoever day of the week it happened to fall; and Christians, in the Eastern part of the Roman empire, long continued to do the same. In the Western part, they formed the habit of keeping it the Sunday following the first day. They did this partly because Christ rose on Sunday, and partly because there was an increasing disposition to distinguish themselves from the Jews. Thus it happened that while some churches were mourning for the crucifixion, others were rejoicing over the resurrection. In the second century, the dispute grew very warm. The Bishop of Rome excommunicated the Eastern churches. Polycarp remonstrated with him, and alleged that the day they kept was the same he had himself observed with the Apostle John. Synods were in vain called to settle it. Those who kept the fourteenth day were called Quartodecimans, and regarded as heretics by the churches of Italy. It was considered a question grave enough for the intervention of the emperor; and Constantine sustained the Council

of Nice in deciding that it should always be kept on the Sunday following the full moon.

MONTANISTS.—In the middle of the second century, Montanus, an illiterate bishop in Phrygia, preached a stern and fervid kind of spiritualism, which attracted many followers. In most respects, his doctrines were the same as those of the Christian Church. But he differed in maintaining that every true believer in Christ, whether man or woman, received direct inspiration from the Holy Ghost; in support of which he quoted Joel's prophecy: "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." He considered Judaism as the infancy of religion, Christianity as its youth, and the more advanced state, attained by full and general reception of the Holy Ghost, was its manhood. He himself claimed to be an inspired prophet, sent by God to lead the church into a stricter life, and prepare it for the millennium, which he painted in glowing colours, and as nigh at hand. He had prophets and prophetesses in his train, whose wild and passionate preaching excited paroxysms of devotion in themselves and their hearers. This pouring out of the Spirit upon Christians of all conditions, they regarded as one of the strong proofs that the end of the world was approaching. Maximilla, the associate of Montanus in his preaching, said expressly: "After me, no other prophetess shall arise; but the end shall come." Tertullian thus describes one of these inspired women: "There is a sister among us indued with the gifts of revelation by an ecstacy of spirit, which she suffers in the church, during the time of divine service. She converses with angels, and sometimes also with the Lord. She sees and hears mysteries, knows the hearts of some, and prescribes medicines to those who need them." After the assembly was dismissed, her visions were taken down in writing; and much information concerning the invisible world was supposed to be gained from them. Montanus, when describing the prophetic power, represented the Lord as taking away the souls of men, and

giving them souls; as saying: "The man is a lyre, and I sweep over him like a plectrum. The man sleeps, I wake." To him, and to his two leading prophetesses, he said God had imparted the fulness of his Spirit; whereas Paul confessed that he only knew in part, and prophesied in part. Epiphanius charges a branch of the Montanists with making women bishops and presbyters; sustaining the custom by Paul's words: "In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female."

The morality of this sect was very rigid. They considered all recreations and pleasures of the senses sinful. They lived abstemiously, and kept prolonged fasts. Those who devoted themselves to prophecy generally left their wives and husbands; considering a life of celibacy the only way to become perfect recipients of the Holy Spirit. They regarded marriage as a spiritual union, to be continued in another life; therefore second marriages were considered unlawful. They likewise deemed that a marriage was not valid unless performed in a church, in the name of Christ. While they thus revered the union of souls, they regarded the earthly relation as a necessary evil, which ought to be conscientiously restrained within certain limits. They considered the rite of baptism so important that they even baptized the dead.

Their preachers were accustomed to make rousing appeals to sinners, denouncing upon them the vengeance of God, and making terrific pictures of eternal torment, in contrast with the most luxurious pictures of Christ's kingdom upon earth. They held human learning in great contempt, and considered the study of philosophy, or classic literature, as a participation in idolatry.

Their leaders forbade them to avoid persecution, or to hold communion with any who did. Those who fled from the storm, or purchased safety by any concession, however slight, were regarded as recreant to Christianity, and enemies of Jesus. Their preachers said: "Let it not be your wish to die on your beds, in the pains of child-birth, or in debilitating fever; but desire to die as martyrs, that he

may be glorified who suffered for you." This, combined with eloquent descriptions of the glory and happiness of martyrs, to which the soul could attain by no other process, produced among them such a rage for martyrdom, that they rushed needlessly into danger. They considered themselves the only genuine Christians, and carried on hot controversy with all others, by whom they in their turn were much disliked. Tertullian became a Montanist, and abused, in unmeasured terms, the church he had left. They were subdivided into sects; one of which was accustomed to use bread and cheese at the sacrament. They were for some time a very troublesome element in the church. They encountered a good deal of persecution, and had almost disappeared in the fourth century.

DONATISTS.—The leading characteristics of the Montanists reappeared in a sect which caused far more deadly strife than any that had yet been excited. Donatus, a Numidian bishop, agreed with the church in most matters of faith, but took the ground that no one could be a Christian who had at any time, or in any way, evaded persecution; that no ordination was valid, if performed by such a person; and no person was free from stain who had received the sacraments from such hands. All the bishops of Europe and Asia were pronounced more or less infected with this sin, and thus the true apostolic succession was broken. On this ground, they disputed the election of the Bishop of Carthage, and refused to submit to his authority. They maintained that they were the only true Christians; being the only ones who had not in some way connived at apostacy. Councils were called to decide the matter, but the Donatists treated their decisions with scorn. An imperial decree from Constantine met with the same fate. A military force was sent to compel them to submit to the laws. They were driven into exile, their property was confiscated, and their churches sold or destroyed. Persecution had its usual effect, to increase zeal and strengthen obstinacy. The Donatists defied the army, as they had the

bishops and the emperor. Now, for the first time, Christians began to shed each other's blood. The African cities became scenes of massacre and licentious outrage. The Donatists were treated with horrible cruelty, and retaliated with savage barbarity. They exulted in their sufferings, and eagerly rushed upon martyrdom. The church was bent upon subduing or exterminating them, and justified excessive cruelties by the example of Moses and Elijah, who had slain unbelievers by thousands. When Donatists took possession of churches that had been used by their opponents, they washed the pavements, scraped the walls, burnt the altars, and melted the plate; if they found any of the consecrated bread, they threw it to the dogs, with as much horror as if they had been purifying a temple of Venus. They even cast out of their burying-grounds the bodies of those whose practice had not conformed strictly to their views. All who joined them were re-baptized; if bishops or presbyters, they were re-ordained; if men or women pledged to celibacy, they were obliged to renew their vow. In vain Constantine tried to heal the schism by an edict of peace. The warfare continued during his lifetime, and for a long time after. One hundred and seventy-two bishops of Africa belonged to this stern sect. Their discipline and style of preaching resembled the Montanists. They sang fervid hymns to wild and passionate melodies, and fiery outbursts of scriptural eloquence excited their hearers to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. There were at that time swarms of devotees, or monks, called Circumcellions, who wandered about, obtaining subsistence by begging from the peasants. These joined the Donatists in large numbers, and spread consternation throughout the African provinces. At first, they took only what was necessary for their subsistence; but growing bolder, they plundered at will, and punished the slightest opposition with death. Christian priests, whom they took prisoners, were tortured with every refinement of cruelty; churches were demolished, dwellings burnt, and whole provinces desolated with murder and pillage. As monks, they were vowed to per-

petual chastity; but the doctrine of spiritual perfection produced the same results as in other ages and countries. The resistance of nature to the arbitrary constraint imposed upon her, combined with the idea that saints could not be polluted by any external actions, resulted in paroxysms of furious licentiousness. Captives taken in war were subjected to the most brutal outrages, and their army was followed by troops of women raised above earthly contamination by their state of perfected sanctity. Several of the Donatist bishops, finding remonstrances altogether fruitless, applied to the civil power for aid against these lawless allies, who refused to be governed or restrained by the church. The government resorted to various modes of treatment at different times. Constantine, having in vain tried to compel them to submit, had recourse to a system of complete toleration, and wrote to them in a strain of kind, paternal advice. His successor attempted to win them over to unity with the established church by expostulation and liberal distribution of money; to which they scornfully replied: "What has the emperor to do with the church?" The members of their party were forbidden to receive any present from the reigning powers. The corruptions resulting from the union of the church with the state became the favourite theme of their eloquence. They traced all degeneracy to the splendour and luxury of the times, and railed at bishops whose ambition or avarice led them to flatter princes. They declared that the Lord had sent them as his delegates to purify the church, and redress the wrongs of the oppressed. Their leaders were called Captains of the Saints, Sons of the Holy One. Sometimes they dropped their own names, and took religious ones; such as *Deum Habet*, God with him. Each carried a huge club, which they termed an Israelite, and their battle cry was, Praise be to God! The Christian doctrine of human equality and brotherhood, they attempted to enforce with blind and reckless violence. They released all debtors from prison, and cancelled all debts. Any creditor who refused to comply with their demands, was sure to have his pro-

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perty destroyed, and was fortunate if he escaped with his life. They gave freedom to all slaves who resorted to them, and revenged whatever cruelties they had suffered. If they met a wealthy man riding, they compelled him to walk, and placed his slave in the chariot.

All conciliatory measures having failed, force was again employed against them, but only served to kindle their zeal into a more furious blaze. Many of their bishops and clergymen were put to death, and horrible tortures were inflicted on the Circumcellions who were taken prisoners in battle. These outrages were fiercely retaliated on all of their opponents who came into their power. They rushed upon danger with savage joy, impatient for the glorious crown of martyrdom. They profaned temples by unclean acts, interrupted festivals, broke statues, demolished churches, and carried off the church plate, on purpose to get executed. If other means failed, they sometimes resorted to self-inflicted martyrdom. Having indulged awhile in feasting, and all kinds of revelry, they appointed a day, and in the presence of assembled friends, they burned themselves, or threw themselves from a steep precipice, or employed some one to kill them. They justified these proceedings by the example of Razis, as recorded in the Book of Maccabees. They never used swords, because Peter was commanded to put up his sword; therefore, they beat out the brains of their victims with a club.

In process of time, the Donatists split into sects; the small fractions still claiming to be sole depositories of religious truth, the only faithful disciples, whom Christ would find worthy to share his kingdom, at his second coming. This schism raged, more or less furiously, in Africa, for three hundred years, and ceased only with Christianity itself in those regions.

THE LOGOS.—Another schism, more universal, and which became scarcely less virulent, seemed for a time destined to rend the church into fragments. It has been already stated how the doctrine of the Logos conflicted in

many minds with preconceived ideas of the unity of God. Christians called Ebionites, who retained the original Jewish ideas, did not accept the doctrine at all; nor does it appear that they ever heard of it. The idea of The Word of God, by which creation was produced, was familiar to every reader of Genesis; and Jews were accustomed to speak of him under the name of Memra; but they never seem to have associated him with their ideas of the Messiah. Some of the Ebionite Christians thought Christ was a reappearance of Adam, who was the Son of Adam Kadman, the Primal Man; and in that sense, perhaps, they called him the Son of Man. But they generally considered him like other mortals in all respects, except superior holiness and stricter adherence to the Law of Moses. This idea of a merely natural birth appeared also among various Gentile sects. The Gnostics supposed that Jesus was a man, but so pure that some great Spirit, emanating from the highest existences, had descended and united with his soul at baptism. About a century before the time of Constantine, Artemon, at Rome, gave name to a sect who denied the divinity of Christ. Theodoret says: "Artemon taught that Christ was a mere man, born of a virgin, and excelling the prophets in virtue. He said the Apostles taught this; but those who came after them made a God of Christ, who was not God." His followers spread into Syria, and continued to propagate their doctrines till far into the third century.

Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, in the middle of the third century, maintained that the Logos bore the same relation to God, that reason did to man; that it was a divine attribute, not a person. The doctrine of the incarnation he rejected altogether. He said that the divine reason, or wisdom, operated in Christ in a more perfect manner than it ever had in any other man; so that he was the Son of God in a sense that no other medium of divine wisdom had ever been. He denied that he existed before his human birth. By his being with God before all time, he merely understood that his existence was prede-

ted in the reason, or wisdom, of God. Paul had powerful opponents and zealous friends. After a contest of a few years, he was finally obliged to yield to the decision of the Bishop of Rome, by whom he was deposed for heresy.

Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, and Photinus, Bishop of Sermium, were deposed for teaching similar doctrines in the fourth century. Athanasius says: "Their followers denied the preëxistence of Christ, his divinity, and his everlasting kingdom." Other Fathers describe them as teaching that the "Logos was in God, as his reason or wisdom;" that "he was a divine energy inhabiting him who was the son of David; not a subsisting person." Eusebius says: "They gloried in acknowledging but One God." Photinus is eulogized as a man of genius, learning, and powerful eloquence. He was persecuted and condemned solely for his doctrines. His moral character stood very high. Hilary says: "Though excommunicated, he could not be removed, on account of the affection the people had for him." Sozomon says: "Though banished, he continued to defend his opinion, and wrote books in Greek and Latin, to prove all opinions false except his own." Jerome says: "He endeavoured to revive the Ebionite heresy, and wrote many volumes, chiefly against the heathen." Basil requested that persons might be sent from Rome to condemn the heresy of Marcellus, which had infected some of the leading men in his own diocese, and was gaining many proselytes in Asia Minor. The Fathers record that heretics boasted the number of books written by these men. But none of them have come down to our times; being diligently destroyed, according to the usual practice. There was also a sect founded by one Theodotus, a leather-dresser. They believed that Christ had grown up from the beginning under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit; but they complained that the distance between him and God had not been sufficiently marked by the church; that he was a man, on whom God had bestowed his wisdom in larger measure than on any other

messenger he had sent, and therefore he was preëminently called the Son of God.

Against those who maintained Christ was merely a holy man, their opponents cited passages to prove that Peter, Paul, and John, acknowledged him as God, and that he himself declared he was one with the Father. They sustained the extreme antiquity of the doctrine by reference to the oldest church teachers and the most ancient hymns. Pliny's letter is also evidence that the Christians in Bithynia worshipped Christ as God, in the time of Trajan. Some went so far as to assert that Christ was the one undivided, Supreme God; that he was called the Son merely with reference to his manifestation in a human body; that Jehovah was God invisible, and Christ was the same God visible. In proof of which they quoted the words of Jesus: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." This doctrine was as shocking to many pious minds, as the total denial of his divinity; because it involved the inference that God himself was buffeted, scourged, and crucified. In controversy with these opposite modes of preserving the unity of God, the doctrine of the Trinity gradually grew up and unfolded itself.

SABELLIANS.—Sabellius, a Christian teacher at Ptolemais, in the year two hundred fifty, was a zealous advocate for the unity of God; but he differed from his predecessors in admitting the Holy Ghost into his theory. He said, Father, Son, and Spirit, were not persons, but merely different manifestations of the Godhead: a three-fold relation of God to the world. He compared the Father to the substance of the sun; Christ to its illuminating power; and the Spirit to the warmth of life imparted to believers. His followers laid great stress on Christ's saying: "I and my Father are one." This view of the subject attracted many minds, and excited great opposition. Athanasius complains that in some places Sabellians prevailed so much, "the Son of God was hardly preached in the churches." Epiphanius says that "Sabellians, in their zeal for the unity

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of God, would ask plain simple men, 'Well, my friends, have we one God, or three Gods?' And when a pious person, not sufficiently on his guard, hears this, he is alarmed, and, by assenting to their error, denies the Son and the Holy Spirit."

In their eagerness to refute Sabellius, and at the same time preserve the unity of God, some took the ground that there was an essential difference between the Father and the Son; that the Son was inferior in power, and less in glory. This was substantially the same doctrine taught by Origen, and other early Fathers of the church.

ARIANS.—Arius, a presbyter in the church at Alexandria, about the year three hundred and eighteen, striving to refute Sabellius, maintained the distinct personality of the Son, and the Holy Spirit; but wishing to preserve the unity of Deity, he maintained that the Father alone was self-existent; that there had been a time, inconceivably remote, when he dwelt alone, and undeveloped. That by an effort of his will, he created his only Son, out of nothing, ages before the world was made. He was the Logos, the "express image of God," and all other beings were immeasurably beneath him; but he was inferior to the Father, and was employed by Him in the creation of the Universe. He said the Holy Spirit was the first Being created by the Logos, and was as subordinate to him as the Son was to the Father. The term Logos had been originally applied to the Word, or Wisdom of God, and was of course a portion of God. In the time of Arius, it had become generally applied to Christ; and he, adopting it as he found it, represented the Logos as a distinct created being. Tertulian had declared, half a century before, that there was a time when God could not be called Father, because there was a time "when the Son was not." But Arius lived at a period when the church was coming into established power; when learned, acute, and energetic men were labouring with all their ability to lay firmly and securely a corner-stone of doctrine that would settle forever the

perplexing question, how a being who ate and drank, was tempted and troubled, suffered and died, like mortals, could be a man, and be at the same time God. The statement of Arius brought all the elements of controversy into intense activity. He very soon numbered two bishops, seven presbyters, and twelve deacons, among his followers, and their doctrines spread rapidly throughout Egypt and Syria. In their progress, they gave rise to curious questions whether the Son of God was begotten, or made; whether he was of the same substance with the Father, as Gnostics, and other believers in emanations, had always said, or whether he was of a dissimilar substance. The clergy were greatly annoyed by these new impediments to the unity of the church; and they were the more vexed with Arius, because in controversy with the Gnostics they had very particularly guarded against *separation* of the Godhead; all the Gnostics being ready to admit that Christ was a powerful and glorious Being, but subordinate to God. Those who wished to avoid participation in the quarrel found it exceedingly difficult to pursue a neutral course. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, says: "If I preach God according to the Law, the Prophets, and the Apostles, Sabellius is upon me, ready to devour me whole. If, preaching against Sabellius, I acknowledge that the Son of God is truly God, the new heresy waits for me, and tells me that I preach two Gods." Most of the clergy were bitter in their animosity. Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, promulgated an anathema against "the impious Arius, the forerunner of Antichrist, who had dared to utter blasphemies against the Divine Redeemer."

After a struggle of six years, the famous Council of Nice was called, in three hundred twenty-five, to settle the question. The public establishment of post-horses was placed at the disposal of the clergy. Three hundred and eighteen bishops assembled, besides a large company of presbyters and deacons; and great was their exultation when the emperor Constantine signified his intention to be present and take part in the discussion. In the course of the argu-

ment, some of the members, striving to prove that the Son was not a separate Being from the Father, applied to him the Greek word *Homoousios*, meaning of the same substance. This proved a battle-cry. The controversy it excited seemed interminable. Discussions concerning the substance of God, and whether the Son was begotten or made, shocked some pious minds, who feared they might tend to produce very material views of Deity. Every wind of doctrine was astir. The Council was in session two months. At last it was decided that Christ was "the only Son of God; begotten, not made; consubstantial with the Father; through whom everything has been made in heaven and on earth; that he was God of God, light of light, very God of very God;" that there was a substantial, indissoluble union between the perfect God and a perfect man; that this mode of existence could not be explained by human language, or illustrated by human ideas; it was to be believed, not understood.

The opponents of Arius were completely triumphant. His confession of faith was torn to pieces in his presence; his writings were condemned, and an imperial edict was issued commanding every one, on pain of death, to deliver them up to be burned. He was solemnly anathematized by the Council, banished by the emperor, and especially forbidden to enter Alexandria. The verdict was signed by nearly all the bishops. Three, who refused at first, were intimidated by Constantine. Two who persevered in refusal, were condemned with him, and followed him into exile. Eusebius of Cæsarea yielded reluctantly, and finally sent the creed to his diocese with a careful explanation of the word *Homoousios*, to guard against material ideas of God. This was the first warfare in the church strictly on points of faith; and from this time may be dated the practice of requiring the unquestioning assent of every Christian to articles of belief established by votes of the clergy.

But notwithstanding Arianism was discountenanced by the emperor, and formally condemned by such a powerful

Council, it still continued to spread. Synod after synod was in vain called to suppress it. The emperor's sister, Constantia, was an Arian, and exerted her influence to convince him that Arius was a good man, and ought to be recalled from banishment; and in this she was aided by his friend, Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia. Arius also sought to conciliate him by writing another confession of faith. It was principally composed of texts of Scripture; and every one engaged in polemical controversy soon learns that the same words of Scripture may be used by several individuals, to each one of whom they convey a different significance. The string of texts was considered by Constantine a satisfactory acceptance of the creed established by the Council of Nice. Arius was recalled to Constantinople, where a Council had been held in which his party predominated. Alexander, Bishop of that city, refused to allow him to commune with his church. Constantine commanded him to administer the Eucharist to Arius on the following Sunday. The bishop manifested a strong inclination to disobey the imperial mandate. The Arians threatened to force their way into the church. The Homoousians, no longer sustained by the civil power, in which they had lately exulted, prayed to God for the scattering of their enemies. While the bishop was thus kneeling in prayer before the altar, Arius was triumphantly escorted through the principal streets of the city toward the church. On his way, being suddenly seized with pain, he was obliged to leave the procession for a few moments. His friends, after awaiting his return for a time, sought for him, and found him dead. His enemies ascribed it to the vengeance of God, for his "blasphemous heresies;" while his friends whispered of poison. From some of the circumstances, it appears not unlikely to have been a deadly attack of cholera. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, the able leader of the Homoousian party, compared his disease to that of Judas, whose treacherous example he accused him of having imitated, in his readiness to degrade Christ. He was accustomed, ever after, to bring forward the sudden

death of Arius as a sufficient refutation of his heretical doctrines; an argument likely to have great weight, when all such visitations were regarded as direct punishments from Heaven. The Bishop of Constantinople, relieved from the presence of his popular rival, set apart a day for thanksgiving in the churches; but it professed to be for escape from external violence, not for the death of an enemy.

The mind of Constantine, though habitually credulous, was not so affected by this event as to turn again in favour of the Homocousians. He became displeased with Athanasius, whom he accused of arrogant behaviour. He sent him into banishment, from which he refused to recall him, till he was on his death-bed; and he then manifested his own predilections by receiving baptism from the hands of his friend Eusebius, the Arian Bishop of Nicomedia.

Arius seems to have been inadvertently drawn into this warfare by his zeal to establish the personality of the Logos, in opposition to the theory of Sabellius. His enemies have recorded that he was a man of learning, and of blameless morals, graceful in person, fluent in conversation, subtle in argument, and eloquent as a public speaker; but they add that ambition and craftiness were concealed under his quiet and simple manners. Even if no more than the favourable portion of the statement were correct, he might well be considered a formidable antagonist.

For forty years after his death, Arianism and Athanasianism were alternately patronized by the government. Arianism received the sanction of several numerous councils, and during two reigns it was the religion of the imperial court. The scales of destiny seemed to fluctuate in deciding whether or not it should be the established creed of the Christian world. Which ever party was in power, the strife went on. Both aimed at supremacy; and the extensive power and wealth now employed in the control of the Christian church was a prize too important to be divided or risked by mutual toleration. Sometimes, differ-

ent portions of the empire were divided between the factions. While Athanasius ruled supreme in Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople were under the sway of Arian bishops. Rival councils were held, one denouncing what the other had decreed. Every election of bishops occasioned popular tumults, which the emperor was often obliged to quell by military force. Athanasius was sometimes hiding himself in deserts and tombs, sometimes escorted through the illuminated streets of Alexandria in triumphal procession.

That the leaders of the two theological parties should have been strongly interested in such abstract questions is easily accounted for, whether we believe they were entirely actuated by a sincere conviction of their importance to the spiritual welfare of the church, or whether we suppose them to have been influenced, more or less unconsciously, by ambition to win a game where the patronage of emperors was the prize. But it seems marvellous that questions so purely metaphysical, so entirely above the reach of human reason, should have proved so exciting to the populace. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, describing the state of Constantinople, says: "Every corner and nook of the city is full of men who discuss incomprehensible subjects; the streets, the markets, the people who sell old clothes, those who sit at the tables of the money-changers. If you ask a man who deals in provisions, how much you are to pay for his articles, he replies by dogmatizing on generated and ungenerated being. If you inquire the price of a loaf of bread, you are answered that the Son is subordinate to the Father. If you ask whether the bath is ready, you are told that the Son of God was created out of nothing."

Everything, great or small, was pressed into the service of this polemical war. There were old Greek tunes much in vogue with the populace. Sailors, millers, and almost every class of artisans, had some of these airs, which they habitually sung in the streets, with words appropriate to their various trades. When Christianity began to prevail, some of these tunes were naturally used as vehicles of the

new form of religious sentiment. Arius composed hymns adapted to them, which became very popular. Half a century later, Chrysostom found the streets of Constantinople still resounding with his praises of the self-existent Father and the created Son. The heretical sounds were so offensive to his ears, that he trained a band of choristers to attract the populace by singing hymns to the co-equal dignity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Adherents of the old worship of course exulted in these dissensions, which betrayed so much uncertainty of faith, and were carried on in a manner little calculated to sustain the claim of a superior moral standard among Christians. These incessant disputes between sects, often about mere hair-splitting distinctions, and the mutual disposition to blacken each other's characters, became such a laughing-stock with the unbelieving portion of the populace, that comic representations of them were given in the theatres of Alexandria, Constantinople, and other cities.

But so many tragic scenes were connected with this prolonged dissension, that one has no heart to smile at such a melancholy waste of intellect and feeling. Constantinople was the stronghold of Arianism. When the Arians were in power, they tolerated all the smaller sects, but maintained unalterable animosity against the Homoousians, whose religious meetings were interdicted. Gregory of Nazianzen, being invited to that city, held meetings at the house of one of his kinsmen. The Arians were provoked by this intrusion on their premises. After much skirmishing of words had mutually passed, each party accusing the other of preaching a plurality of Gods, a crowd of Arians, joined by such portions of the populace as are always ready to mingle in some affray, broke into the meeting and dispersed it by their violence. According to the description of the scene given by their opponents, there issued from the church of Sophia [Wisdom], then an Arian cathedral, a mob of "common beggars, who had forfeited their claim to pity; of monks, who had the appearance of goats, or satyrs; and of women more terrible than so many Jeze-

bels." Much damage was done with sticks and stones, and one man was killed.

An Arian bishop was sent to take the place of Athanasius, in Alexandria. The people opposed him with violence. Military force sustained his claims, and the streets became a scene of tumult and bloodshed. The adherents of Athanasius, compelled by government to submit, avoided any connection with the bishop thus imposed upon them. Vexed by their obstinacy, he sought to compel them to receive the sacrament from his hands. To effect this purpose, he sent many into banishment, and caused some, among whom women were included, to be scourged with rods, or beaten with clubs.

Paul, an adherent of the Athanasian party, claimed to be rightfully elected Bishop of Constantinople. The Arians, who constituted a majority, denied his claims, and supported Macedonius. The dispute spread till the whole city was in an uproar. The Arian emperor Constantius sent troops to expel Paul. The Homocousian portion of the populace rose against them, and fought so savagely, that their commander took refuge in a house. The mob immediately set it on fire. They afterward murdered him, and dragged his mangled body by the heels through the streets. After heaping all manner of insults upon the corpse, they threw it into the sea. When Macedonius, the Arian bishop, came guarded by soldiers, Arians and Athanasians rushed pell-mell to see which could first obtain possession of the cathedral. Three thousand one hundred and fifty persons were killed. Streams of blood overflowed the porticoes and courts of the church, and Macedonius was compelled to pass over heaps of bodies to ascend the episcopal chair. Paul, the deposed bishop, was carried in chains to a wild town in the deserts of Mount Taurus, where he is supposed to have died. The Homocousians sought to avoid all relations with the detested bishop, as they had done in Alexandria. But children were seized and baptized. The virgins of the church were burned with hot iron, or cruelly pressed between boards, to compel them to partake of the

sacrament from the hands of an Arian bishop. Other reluctant victims had their mouths forced open with a wooden machine.

Arian bishops, assembled at Sardica, were accused of burning churches, of imprisoning Athanasian bishops, making them suffer with cold and hunger, and wounding them with swords. They published a protest against these charges, in which they, in their turn, accused Athanasius of pillaging Arian churches; slaying the people, even bishops; compelling them, by various modes of torture, to partake of "his sacrilegious communion;" of "raging in a tyrannical manner during the holy season of Easter," and inciting the magistrates to scourge and imprison all who kept it on the day of the Jewish Passover.

It is painful to dwell on these scenes of outrage, so often repeated and so long continued. Behind them seems to rise the mild, benevolent countenance of Jesus, his eyes suffused with tears. And all this was done to settle a question concerning the substance of God! A question forever placed beyond the comprehension of finite minds. If the struggle had been for toleration, the principle of freedom involved would have done much to ennoble the contest, though not to excuse the excesses. But both parties insisted on supremacy, and disdained to accept of anything short of that. Both were zealous, obstinate, intolerant, and violent. We have a more full record of Arian outrages; for they were eventually the conquered party, their writings were generally destroyed, and their story is mainly told by theological enemies. Many good men, on both sides, mourned over scenes so humiliating and injurious to the Christian name. There were various attempts to obtain a truce; and concessions would perhaps have been made and received, had not the unfortunate word *Homoousios* stood in the way. The inflexible Athanasius would not listen to changing a single letter of the Nicene Creed. If one grain of sand were let into the wall, he foresaw that a stream would pour in and upset the embankment. To preserve the unity and authority of the established church

was the ruling object of his life; and he pursued it with a remarkable degree of ability, courage, and perseverance.

The Arians were more pliable. Before the year three hundred and sixty-six, they had published sixteen professions of faith; but none of them satisfied the demands of the Athanasian party. Various shadings of opinion, concerning the degree of resemblance between the Son and the Father, crept in among them; partly originating in a desire to find some ground to meet upon for cessation of hostilities. At last, there arose a party called Anomæans, from Greek words meaning no similarity. They not only denied that the Son was of the same substance as the Father, but declared that there was no similarity between them; that Christ was merely the most perfect of creatures, whose mission it was to conduct other creatures to God. The opponents of Arians cried out exultingly that such a result was the natural consequence of the principle they had established at the outset. Arians themselves were shocked, as sects always are, when any of their members venture to go a little further than themselves have gone. They publicly disclaimed the Anomæans altogether; but they continued to be reproached none the less for the doctrines taught by them. Sects multiplied, and different branches of Arians vilified each other as heartily as they had ever denounced the Homoousians.

THE HOLY GHOST.—At the Council of Nice, the doctrine concerning the Third Person of the Trinity was expressed in very vague and general terms; for it had not as yet taken shape in the minds of men. The Montanists gave him prominence by the continued inspirations they professed to receive directly from the Holy Spirit; and the Arian controversy whether the Son was generated by the Father, and consequently of the same substance with him, naturally gave rise to similar queries concerning the Holy Ghost. Arius regarded him as the first being created by the Son, and as far removed from him in dignity and power, as the Son was from the Father. Afterward, many

of the Semi-Arians supposed him to be a sort of Archangel, created by the Son, as an agent for carrying into effect the divine purposes. Some sects regarded him merely as "the sanctifying energy of the Father and the Son;" but he was generally regarded as a personal Being. Gregory of Nazianzen, who wrote near the end of the fourth century, says: "Some of our theologians consider the Holy Spirit to be a certain mode of the Divine agency; others a creature of God; others God himself. Others say they do not know which of the opinions they ought to adopt, out of reverence to the Holy Scriptures, which have not clearly explained this point." Macedonius, a Semi-Arian Bishop, denied that the Holy Ghost was any portion of God. He averred that he was a creature; and that the Scriptures contained no sufficient evidence of his divinity. He sustained himself on Paul's assertion: "There is one God, the Father, of whom are all things; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things." The Athanasians denounced him and his followers, as "impugners of the Spirit." The Macedonians maintained their ground, and the sect increased. The controversy waxed warmer and warmer, and the church saw in it another warning to establish rigid formulas, and allow reason no room to move in the close fetters of ecclesiastical authority. Before the Council of Nice, the Doxology, "Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," had not been introduced into the churches; but in some places, it had been customary to ascribe "Glory to the Father, *through* the Son, and *in* the Holy Spirit." Indeed, up to this period, ideas concerning the Third Person of the Christian Trinity seem to have been as indefinite as those of the New Platonists concerning the third principle of *their* Trinity, which they called The Soul of the World, and defined to be the animating and pervading principle of all things. A Council of Bishops was called at Constantinople, in three hundred and eighty-one, to define more closely the doctrine of the Trinity. To the Creed of Nice they added: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father; who, with the Father and the Son to-

gether, is worshipped and glorified." During the warmth of this controversy with Macedonius, Flavianus of Antioch shouted out, in the midst of the church service: "Glory to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost!" The celebrated Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea, likewise commenced the practice of singing, "Glory to the Holy Spirit!" in his churches; but he complains that he was much blamed for it. He says of his opponents: "They would sooner cut out their tongues, than say, Glory to the Holy Spirit. This is the cause of the most violent and irreconcilable war with us. They say glory is to be given to God, *in* the Holy Spirit; not *to* the Holy Spirit." He adds that it was the subject of universal discussion, "even by women and eunuchs."

After the Council at Constantinople had decided what ought to be believed, it was deemed as heretical to doubt the divinity of the Holy Ghost, as it was that of the Son. Chrysostom says: "He who halts with regard to the Spirit, cannot walk upright with respect to the Son." Gregory of Nazianzen says: "Whoever maintains that any of the Three Persons is inferior to the others, overturns the whole Trinity." Basil the Great says: "To deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit is the sin against the Holy Ghost." The Macedonians, though generally denounced, were admitted to be of exemplary character. Gregory of Nazianzen says: "We admire their lives, though we do not approve their faith."

APOLLINARIANS.—Apollinaris, ordained Bishop of Laodicea, in three hundred and sixty-two, was highly esteemed for his virtues as a man, and his acquisitions as a scholar. He entered zealously into the controversy against the Arians, and sought to explain the Trinity by comparing it with the three-fold nature of man; viz: his rational soul, his sensuous soul, and his body. Origen had taught that Jesus was a perfect man; and that the Logos of God united himself to his rational soul, and thus imbued him with supernatural power. Apollinaris thought such a

union implied two persons in Christ; as indeed it was generally objected to, as making four persons in the Trinity. He therefore varied the doctrine by teaching that the Logos constituted the rational soul of Christ; that God himself was united to the sensitive soul and the material body of a man. The superior soul of Christ was the Logos, the fulness of the Godhead; his inferior soul was employed in the meaner functions of mortal life. He taught that Mary was to be revered as the spiritual mother of Christ, but he did not believe that his body was derived from her. He supposed it descended from heaven, and was consequently incapable of passion, change, or decay. His plan of redemption was also peculiar. He said the sensuous soul was always striving against the rational soul; and the *human* rational soul was too weak to subject to its own power this inferior resisting soul. To redeem mankind from sin, it was therefore necessary that an immutable Divine Spirit should enter into the sensuous soul, and take the place of the human rational soul. When the Logos ruled over the lower soul, and brought it into complete subjection to himself, harmony was restored between the higher and lower principles of man's nature, and thus the original destiny of human nature was realized. He maintained that worship was due to the sensuous soul thus united to the Logos in one person; and was accustomed to use such expressions as that "God was born," or "God died."

These doctrines were condemned by the same Council that condemned the Macedonians. Apollinaris, however, formed a congregation of his adherents at Antioch, and appointed a bishop. The sect spread into neighbouring countries, and a society of them existed in Constantinople; but they were never numerous.

PELAGIANS.—Pelagius is said by some to have been an English monk. He resided at Rome in the beginning of the fifth century, when the doctrine had begun to prevail extensively that God had predestined a certain number of

human souls to be saved, and a certain number to be damned. He rejected this theory, as alike disparaging to the mercy and the justice of God. He also denied that human souls were implicated in the sin of Adam, and consequently did not admit the efficacy of baptism. He said the will of man was free, and his nature capable of attaining to all the Christian virtues, if he had an earnest purpose to do so; for Divine assistance always came to the aid of human endeavours after holiness. He sought upon all occasions to demonstrate the inefficacy of faith, unless accompanied by works. He wanted to banish mysticism, and to make religion an indwelling principle, for the practical improvement of character. In his time, both clergy and laity had become a good deal corrupted, and he exerted all his influence to raise the standard of morals among them.

Pelagius was a man of great learning, and his theological opponents bear testimony to his unspotted character. Even Augustine, whose doctrines he most diametrically opposed, admits that in conduct he was "eminently a Christian." His opinions excited a lively controversy, in which Jerome was peculiarly violent. He never attempted to form a sect, but his writings influenced many minds. They were pronounced heretical by several synods, anathematized by the Bishop of Rome, and formally condemned by the Council at Ephesus.

NESTORIANS.—After the Arian controversy gave rise to discussions concerning the substance of Christ, the name of Mary became more prominent than it had previously been; and among the emphatic modes of asserting his divinity, it became common to style her the "Mother of God." But this phrase was not pleasing to all ears. Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in four hundred twenty-eight, was highly esteemed for the austerity of his morals, and celebrated for the fervour of his preaching. One of his presbyters said, in the course of a sermon: "Let no man call Mary the mother of God; for she was human, and

God cannot be born of a mortal." This remark offended some of his hearers, and excited much discussion. When the presbyter was charged with being a heretic, Nestorius defended him, and expressed his own disapprobation of the phrase; alleging that it was unsanctioned by the Apostles, and well calculated to remind people of the genealogies of some of the Roman gods. In the course of his objections, he made the blunt statement that "a child of two months old could not be God." He began with merely disapproving of the phrase then in use, because it seemed to him irreverent toward Deity; but having roused opposition, he found himself compelled to define his position distinctly. Being a devout believer in the divinity of Christ, yet shocked at the idea that God could be born of a woman, he sought to obviate the difficulties that arose in his mind, by supposing that two distinct natures existed in Christ, the one divine, the other human; that they were not united by nature, but by his will. He admitted a spiritual union between the Logos and the mortal man, but by no means a personal union. He said Mary was to be revered, because she had prepared a temple for the Logos to dwell in. This temple was the humanity, which became exalted to divine dignity by unity with the Logos, and formed one Christ; but she was not the mother of the Logos. Thus an angel might be united to a human being at the moment of conception, but the mother of the body was not the mother of the angel.

This theory excited violent animosity. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, zealously maintained that the divine and human natures in Christ were indivisible from the moment of conception; consequently, Mary did give birth to God, and ought to be revered as the Mother of God. He summoned a synod to anathematize Nestorius. Still more violently was he assailed by Rheginus, Bishop of Constantia, who preached against him as a heretic worse than Cain and the Sodomites. He said the earth ought to open and swallow him up; fire ought to descend from heaven and consume him; the God-Logos, whom he had dared to sever,

who had come forth from the flesh of Mary, the Mother of God, would condemn him to an eternity of torment, when he came to judge the wicked. He concluded by saying: "Let us worship the God-Logos, who has condescended to walk among us in the flesh without separating himself from the essence of the Father." A general Council was summoned at Ephesus, in four hundred thirty-one, which decided the question thus: "As in God, the Father, Son, and Spirit are three persons, but one God; so in Christ, the Godhead is one person, and the manhood is another person; and yet they are not two persons, but one person." Nestorius and his adherents were treated with great intolerance and harshness throughout the whole of the proceedings. He was deposed and condemned; and Cyril of Alexandria caused the verdict to be exultingly proclaimed by heralds throughout the city. Nestorius retired to a monastery in Syria. But his enemies, the bishops, fearing his influence on the Syrian churches, obtained an edict of exile from the emperor. He was dragged about by soldiers from one place of banishment to another, till, enfeebled by age and accumulated misfortunes, he died in the deserts of Thebais. The manner of his death is unknown. Persecution followed him beyond the grave. A church historian of the period recorded that "his tongue was gnawed away by worms, and that he went to another world to be gnawed eternally by the worm that dieth not." He was compared to Simon Magus, Porphyry, and Arius. The bishops demanded that all his writings should be burned. An edict was proclaimed to that effect; and any person who ventured to preserve a copy was rendered liable to severe penalties. His followers were forbidden to hold meetings for worship, and were henceforth to be called Simonians, in allusion to Simon Magus. They spread into distant countries, formed large congregations, appointed bishops of their own, and established an independent church.

Every new heresy that was broached produced an opposite new heresy, in the effort to counteract it. In opposi-

tion to Nestorius, Eutyches maintained that Christ had but one nature; that even his body was of a divine, incorruptible substance, which existed without being created, and was incapable of passion, pain, or change. He was reproached with believing in a phantom; and in return, he ridiculed his opponents for ascribing the necessities of human nature, even nutrition and digestion, to the Godhead. A Council was called at Chalcedon, by which Eutyches was condemned and excommunicated. He had numerous followers, who formed a sect called Monophysites, from Greek words meaning one nature. They maintained that the divine and human natures were "united in Christ in one *nature*, without change, mixture, or confusion." The church asserted that the two natures were "united in one *person*, without change, mixture, or confusion;" and this was established as orthodox doctrine by the Council held at Chalcedon. It requires an intellectual microscope to discover a difference between the statements; but theologians have a microscopic vision. The question whether Christ was *of* two natures, or *from* two natures, disturbed the peace of the churches for a long time; giving rise to fierce altercations, sometimes resulting in bloodshed. When it was announced in assembled council that the creed of the church was settled unalterably, it was received with shouts: "On this depends the salvation of the world!"

CHILIASTS.—During all these centuries of conflict concerning the nature of Christ's divinity, the believers in an earthly millennium, called Chiliasts, were also a disturbing element. Montanists, Donatists, and members of various sects, preached the doctrine with great zeal. Nepos, a bishop in Egypt, wrote a book against those who spiritually interpreted the predictions on that subject in the Apocalypse. His book became a prodigious favourite both with clergy and laity in that region, and they were ready to denounce as heretics all who refused to embrace its doctrines. It is refreshing to record some instances where denunciations were met in a spirit of Christian love. Diony-

sius, Bishop of Alexandria, visited the discontented district, in two hundred fifty-five, called the clergy together, permitted all laymen to be present, and for three days listened to all their objections with patience, and answered them with gentleness. He said to them: "On many accounts I loved Nepos. On account of his faith, his untiring diligence, his familiar acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and the great number of church hymns composed by him, which to this day are the delight of many of the brethren. And the more do I venerate the man because he has already entered into his rest. But dear to me, above all other things, is the truth. We must love him and agree with him wherever he has expressed truth; but we ought to examine and correct his writings where he seems to be in the wrong." The result produced by this course was very different from the usual experience of councils. The clergy thanked him for his paternal instructions, and his principal opponent acknowledged himself convinced. But Chiliasm long continued to make proselytes in various places. In the fourth and fifth centuries, there were so many prophecies of the near approach of the millennium, and the speedy destruction of the world by fire was preached so zealously, that many people were terrified into bestowing their whole estates upon the church. This happened so often, to the detriment of rightful heirs, that the emperors were obliged to prohibit it by law.

It would have been well for the church if more bishops had been guided by the moderate spirit which influenced Dionysius; for nothing did so much injury to Christianity, as the numerous sectarian contests, carried on with a mutual disposition to vilify each other's characters, and a willingness to seize almost any weapon that was likely to demolish an opponent. The Arians accused Athanasius of murder, and brought a dead man's hand into court to sustain the charge; but the appearance of the man said to have been murdered, and the exhibition of his two hands, threw them into confusion. A woman of infamous character was employed to accuse him of licentiousness; but when the

case was brought for examination, she pointed out the wrong man, and thus betrayed herself. Lucifer of Cagliari was a bitter opponent of the Arians; but having started a heresy of his own, he became equally bitter against the church claiming to be orthodox; which he denounced as "the brothel-house and synagogue of Antichrist and Satan." Is it strange that the Romans and the Jews could not easily perceive the divinity of doctrines which bore such fruits as these?

COURSE OF THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT, AFTER CONSTANTINE.

Constantius pursued a less tolerant course toward the old religion, than his father Constantine had done. He destroyed many celebrated temples, and plundered others; giving the rich spoils to Christian churches, or to favourite courtiers. Some of these men, who were suddenly made rich by imperial bounty, gave themselves up to extravagance and dissipation, and brought upon themselves diseases and disasters, which adherents of the old worship were apt to quote as punishment from the gods, for the desecration of their temples. On the other hand, Christian preachers stimulated the emperor to the work of destruction, by reminding him that Jehovah commanded the utter extermination of idolatry, and the death of idolaters. But policy restrained him within more prudent limits. He ordained that certain temples associated with popular games and national festivals should be preserved uninjured; and when he resided in Rome he did not venture to take any measures against the old worship in that city, which continued to be celebrated with all its ancient splendour.

In the controversy then raging among Christians, he, and his brother Constans, who ruled the Western part of the empire, took different sides. Constantius was the patron of Arians, and Constans was the friend of Athanasius. The jealousy between Rome, the old capital of the empire,

and Constantinople the new capital, was continually on the increase, and the different characteristics of the two places were perpetually manifested in the opposite sides they took in ecclesiastical disputes. Accusations were heaped up against the able and influential Athanasius. Councils in the West acquitted him; Councils in the East condemned him. Each assumed to be the genuine representatives of Christendom, and anathematized the other. Soon there was civil war between the imperial brothers; Constans was killed, and Constantius reigned supreme. When a Council was called at Milan to investigate charges brought against Athanasius, he copied the example of his father, and met with the bishops to take part in their discussions. But the pampered church had grown strong since the day it hailed the presence of Constantine with so much exultation. In vain the emperor professed to have had a vision from heaven, which commissioned him to restore peace to the distracted church. A scheme of doctrine which he laid before them, in obedience to that command, was rejected by the Western bishops, as tinged with Arianism. They went still further, and maintained that it was wrong for a layman to interfere with ecclesiastical concerns. They demanded a free Council, in which the emperor should not be present, either in person, or by proxy. In fact, they declared the church independent of the State, in all ecclesiastical matters. They refused to condemn Athanasius, or commune with Arians. Moreover, when Constantius concealed himself behind a curtain to listen to some of their debates, he heard himself denounced as a heretic and Anti-Christ. Accustomed to flattery and servility, his rage knew no bounds. He proclaimed himself the champion of the Arians, who, having their turn in power, were not slow to retaliate the wrongs they had suffered under proscription. Athanasian bishops were scourged, mutilated, and tortured in various ways to compel them to conform. Troops of banished prelates were all the time passing through the deserts, making the solitude resound with hymns expressive of their faith and courage. From those

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deserts came forth writings, denouncing the emperor as a tyrant in civil affairs, and Anti-Christ in the churches; whose object it was to give over to the Devil the world for which Christ had suffered and died. There was a stubborn resistance to the imperial edicts, which exasperated the magistrates, and heated still hotter the furnace of persecution. In the midst of this turmoil of the churches, the son of Constantine slept with his father, and his cousin Julian reigned in his stead. Gregory, the Arian Bishop of Alexandria, delivered a funeral oration, in which he said a choir of angels hovered over Mount Taurus and chanted a hymn in praise of the departed.

JULIAN.—In the will of Constantine the Great, his brother was mentioned among the heirs of the empire. He and his family were soon after slaughtered, and Constantius was suspected of having connived at the deed, from motives of political jealousy. Two little boys, Gallus and Julian, were saved from the massacre, by the timely interference of a Christian bishop. Their education was intrusted to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, who appointed Mardonius as their teacher. This man was of high moral character, and well versed in all the learning and accomplishments of his time. He inculcated stoical simplicity, abstemiousness, modesty, and contempt for frivolous pleasures, while he stimulated intellect, and kindled imagination, with the philosophy, poetry, and music of glorious old Athens. Julian always held the memory of this teacher in affectionate reverence; and at this early period of his life he probably imbibed that passionate predilection for Grecian literature and philosophy, which ever after characterized him.

This course of education was pursued for eight or nine years. But when Julian was near fifteen years old, a change took place, probably from motives of political precaution; for Constantius had no children, and a party might be formed to raise these young princes to the throne. They were accordingly conveyed to a fortress in Asia

Minor, and placed entirely under the supervision of Christian priests, who prescribed implicit obedience, midnight watchings, frequent fasts, long prayers, alms to the poor, gifts to the clergy, and offerings at the tombs of martyrs. It is said they were ordained public readers in the church, with a view to prepare them for the priesthood, as the best means of diverting their thoughts from the possibility of succession to the throne. Gallus was exceedingly obedient to the clergy, and received their instructions with unquestioning faith. But Julian, whom nature had endowed with restless activity of mind, felt the constraint to which he was subjected, and longed for the literary pursuits to which he had become so much attached under the tuition of the accomplished Mardonius. What were his real views with regard to Christianity, at that period, cannot be known. If he felt some instinctive aversion to the religion of those cousins for whose security his father and relatives had been murdered, and himself guarded like a prisoner; and if the generous sympathies of youth were shocked by the fierce recriminations and bloody contests of Athanasians and Arians, there would certainly be nothing unnatural or surprising in the fact. There were some indications that such was the case. Unlike his brother, he manifested little docility in receiving things upon the authority of bishops, and sometimes resolutely disputed their doctrines. When religious themes were given to them for discussion, Gallus defended Christianity, and Julian chose to advocate Grecian philosophy; giving as an excuse that he could better exercise his ingenuity by arguing on the weaker side. Even when the brothers were induced to undertake the pious labour of erecting a chapel over the tomb of the martyr Mammias, the work went on rapidly under the hands of Gallus, but the stones Julian laid were constantly overthrown, as if by some invisible agency. Gregory of Nazianzen says he had this fact from eye-witnesses; and he seems to regard it as a prophetic miracle. Significant of the future it certainly was, since it indicated the state of the young workman's mind.

The empress Eusebia, a kind-hearted, intelligent woman, being herself childless, exerted her influence in favour of the young princes, who had so long been excluded from the society and advantages appropriate to their rank. Gallus received the title of Cæsar, and was appointed to command some provinces in the East. Julian, when he was about twenty years old, was allowed to reside in Constantinople, and afterward in Nicomedia, where he encountered many poets and philosophers attached to the old order of things. They were at that time a depressed minority, banished from their temples, and retired from their schools. Julian was attracted toward them by the associations of his early education, and by the natural sympathy of youth with a class of men proscribed by the majority, and secretly performing those religious rites which their forefathers had celebrated with such solemn and stately pageantry. Libanius the orator, an eloquent advocate of the old religion, was at that time attracting much attention by his lectures. Julian was forbidden to hear him, and of course availed himself, with redoubled eagerness, of every stolen chance to read his writings. The philosophers with whom he formed acquaintance are accused of managing very artfully to obtain influence over his eager mind and impressible imagination. They told of the magical skill acquired by Maximus, one of the last of the New Platonists. They related how he had led them into a temple of Hecate, and when he had burned incense and repeated a hymn, the statue of the goddess smiled. Seeing them astonished by this phenomenon, Maximus told them they should see greater wonders. He uttered some words, and instantly all the lamps lighted up, as if by invisible agency. The philosophers, who described the scene, spoke lightly of magical skill, in comparison with the inward purification of the soul. But the ardent imagination of Julian was kindled, and he started off to Ephesus, to obtain an interview with Maximus, whose venerable appearance, persuasive tones, and fluent conversation, gained his heart at once. With him he drank copious draughts of Platonism, and studied

into the allegorical meaning of what poets had said concerning the gods. He also became versed in astrology, and confirmed his faith in the power of the stars. He learned to consult auguries, to evoke Spirits, and to distinguish the signs of their presence. Some of the Christian Fathers relate that Maximus took him into a deep cavern at midnight, where he heard awful sounds, and saw lurid spectres; that Julian, in his terror, involuntarily crossed himself; whereupon the sounds instantly ceased and the Spirits vanished. They add that Maximus adroitly turned aside the effect of the miracle, by saying the gods disliked the presence of such a profane worshipper.

Gallus, having heard something of his brother's pursuits, sent an Arian bishop to counteract the influence of philosophers and magicians. Julian, conscious of being closely watched, dissembled to such a degree, that his enemies accuse him of having been far more zealous in outward conformity to Christianity, than he had ever been. His aversion to the religion professed by his imperial cousin was doubtless increased by a misfortune which befel him at this period. His brother Gallus was accused of treasonable designs, and thrown into prison, where he was soon after beheaded. It is said the young man had governed in a haughty and cruel manner; but whether he deserved his fate or not, Julian was fondly attached to him, and seeing him cut off thus suddenly, without public examination into his conduct, he felt that Constantius was the murderer of his brother, as he had always believed him to be of his father. He himself also was continually harassed by the consciousness of being watched. The popularity he gained by his quick talent, his varied information, his fluent utterance, and courteous deportment, was displeasing to the emperor. He caused him to be arrested, and for seven months he remained in prison, daily expecting to meet his brother's fate. But the kindly counsels of the empress saved his life. He was allowed to retire to Athens, where his wounded spirit again found solace in companionship with scholars, and the calm pursuits of literature and phi-

losophy. The High Priest became his intimate friend, and he was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, which had such a powerful effect on his mind, that he became a confirmed and enthusiastic votary of the old worship.

Surrounded by influences so congenial, it was with unfeigned regret he found himself compelled to change his sphere of action. But Constantius, influenced by the empress, conferred on him the title of Cæsar, summoned him to command the army in Gaul, and gave him his sister in marriage. A young man who had lived so much apart from courts and camps, and devoted himself to philosophy, seemed likely to gain but few laurels as a warrior. But it was Julian's nature to enter with all his soul into whatsoever he undertook; and the emperor's jealousy was soon alarmed by the fame of his military exploits. The ardent attachment of the army placed him in a dangerous position, from which he could neither advance or retreat with safety. Constantius marched to attack him, but died on the way, and named him his successor.

While Julian commanded the army, fear of his imperial cousin induced him to attend the Christian festivals, while he secretly performed the old rites with a few of his attendants. But when he became emperor, his first act was to proclaim himself a worshipper of the gods, and his first employment of the treasury was to rebuild and embellish the temples. Enormous sums were expended to purchase hecatombs of cattle, and to import rare birds, to be offered in sacrifice. He was zealous in his attendance on the numerous religious ceremonies, and often performed in person the most menial offices of the temples; blowing the fire, bringing the wood, and examining the entrails of victims with his own imperial hands. The oracles were again consulted with solemn ceremonies. The old festivals were restored with great magnificence; and being vain of his eloquence, he delighted in making florid orations to the people on such occasions. Prayers were offered in the temples three times a day, and bands of choristers trained to chant hymns to the gods. He ordered that reverential

silence should be observed in all places of worship. The people were forbidden to receive him with acclamations when he entered a temple, and all persons in authority were required to leave their guards at the door. He received a baptism of blood, called the Taurobolia, the observance of which was supposed to be conducive to the welfare of the state. On this occasion, an ox was sacrificed to the gods, and the sacred blood, passing through a perforated floor, flowed copiously over the person standing beneath to receive it.

The Sun was his tutelary deity, and he believed there was some mysterious affinity between his own soul and the Spirit of that luminary. When a boy he was always singularly attracted by the sunlight, and he regarded it as an unconscious longing after the God to whom he was related. The private chapel in his palace was consecrated to the Sun; but his gardens were filled with altars and statues of all the gods. Many times in the day he might be seen there, employed in acts of worship. Morning and evening, he offered sacrifices and prayers to the Sun, and he rose in the night to worship the Spirits presiding over moon and stars.

There is every indication that these things were done from a sincere conviction of their importance. He always resented any irreverence towards the gods far more than disrespect toward himself. He was accustomed to say "that if he could make every individual richer than Midas, and every city greater than Babylon, he should not consider himself a benefactor to mankind, unless he could reclaim his subjects from their impious revolt against the gods."

His doctrines were the same as those taught by the New Platonists. The poetic stories concerning the gods he regarded as fables, but he supposed they contained a spiritual treasury, which philosophers could unlock by the key of allegorical interpretation. He believed that Spirits of the Stars, and others, employed as messengers between God and man, sometimes inhabited temples on this earth, and even animated their statues, when invoked with suitable prayers and ceremonies. He affirmed that he lived in con-

stant companionship with those Spirits. He said they often waked him by their touch, and he could easily distinguish them by their voices, as well as by their forms. He spoke reverently of the immortality of the soul, concerning which he adopted the Platonic theory; but he alluded to it with timidity, very unlike the triumphant certainty of Christian martyrs. He says: "I am not one of those who disbelieve the immortality of the soul; but that is a secret, which man can only conjecture; the gods alone can know."

He attributed the rapid spread of Christianity to the charity toward the poor, manifested by its adherents; to their burial of the dead; their kindness to strangers; and the general sobriety of their clergy. He strongly urged this example upon the priests of his own religion. He took unwearied pains to seek out men eminent for virtue to fill the office of High Priest, and superintend the inferior priesthood. He gave them orders that in all the towns men most conspicuous for reverence toward the gods, and justice toward their fellow beings, should be selected for priests, without any reference to rank or fortune. They were enjoined not to frequent theatres or taverns; not to appear at public festivals, where women were mixed with the crowd; to associate only with those of virtuous and discreet behaviour; to avoid all reading calculated to inflame the passions; and to abjure the writings of Epicureans, Pyrrhonists, and all other schools of philosophy calculated to produce scepticism on religious subjects. Priests who were guilty of any unworthy conduct, or who "allowed their wives, sons, or servants, to unite with the Galileans" were to be immediately deposed.

He levied a tax in every province for the maintenance of the poor. He distributed large supplies of grain among the priests, and what was left from their own support was to be devoted to charitable purposes. He ordered hospitals to be erected for the sick, and asylums for strangers of all religions, where whosoever needed might find relief; and he so far profited by the ideas he had derived from Christian teachers, that he formed a plan for the general instruc-

tion of the people, by means of preachers and schools. In a letter to the High Priest of Galatia, he writes: "That which hinders our Grecian worship from making as much progress as we could wish is the manners of those who profess it. The success so far certainly surpasses our hopes; but we must not stop on our good way. How has this new atheism established itself? It has been by hospitality; by care of the sepulchres, and by all the appearances of an honest and pious life. Order thy priests to keep away from shows, not to get intoxicated in the public places, and to abstain from all infamous trades and professions. Build hospitals. Is it not disgraceful to us to leave our poor without resources, while we cannot see a single mendicant Jew, and while the Galileans collect our poor with their own?"

Julian's aversion to Christianity was manifested in all manner of ways. Though aiming to establish a character for philosophic candour, he could not refrain from an unseemly tone of biting irony, whenever he alluded to them. He excluded Christians from all high offices of the state or army, saying their religion forbade them to bear the sword, either for justice or war. He passed an edict that they should be always called Galileans; and described them as a set of fanatics contemptible to gods and men, by whose obstinate impiety the empire had been well nigh reduced to the brink of destruction. He wrote a book against Christianity, in which he ridicules the Festivals of Martyrs and the reverence for their relics, as "the worship of dead men's bones." He considered the Sun as the glorious representative of the Platonic Logos, and he expressed surprise that Christians should "prefer an invisible to a visible Logos." He continually reproached them for "making a dead man of Palestine their God." He says: "None of the Apostles call Christ God; and he himself does not say it plainly." He ridicules the great efficacy which Christians ascribed to baptism. He says: "It cannot remove leprosy, gout, warts, or any other greater or lesser bodily defects; but lo! it is able to wash away all

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the sins of the soul !” He dwelt with stinging sarcasm on the bitter animosity which different sects manifested toward each other, and the relentless persecution they practised.

For some centuries, there had been gradually increasing attention to education in the Roman Empire. In all the principal towns, professors were appointed to teach grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. In many places, learned Christians filled these offices; but Julian forbade them to teach Greek literature without express sanction from the magistrates. He assigned as a reason, that Hesiod, Homer, and all the old historians and orators, had dedicated themselves to the worship of the gods; and that it must be either shameful hypocrisy, or unprincipled avarice, which induced Christians to teach what they did not believe, merely for the sake of making money. He taunted them with the contempt they were so fond of expressing for human learning, and added, in his usual tone of irony: “Let them be content with explaining Matthew and Luke in the Galilean churches.” Some of the Christians, being thus excluded from the prevailing literature, composed poems in imitation of Homer and Pindar, in which they commemorated the deeds of patriarchs and apostles; and these they taught in their schools.

The monogram of Christ was removed from the Labarum, and representations of the gods were again placed on the military standards. A splendid temple was built for the statue of the Goddess of Fortune, and the Cross, which Constantine had placed in her hand, was taken away. His law exempting the Christian clergy from taxation and other civil burdens, was annulled. The ample revenues, which he had granted from the imperial treasury, for their support, and for ecclesiastical charity, were transferred to the old order of priests. Bishops were peculiarly objects of dislike and jealousy; their influence over the people being a formidable obstruction in the way of restoring the old worship.

But with all these symptoms of animosity, Julian prescribed to himself a system of toleration, and made an effort

to practise it. He ordered the governors of provinces to prefer pious men of the old religion, in the distribution of honours, emoluments, or privileges; but never to put Christians to death on account of religion, or allow any injury to be done to them. On one of these occasions, he writes thus: "I hear they do not coerce them. They might be treated like children, who are forced to do their duty; but it shall not be thus. They shall be permitted to infect themselves with this leprosy. A forced worship does not satisfy our gods. They wish to be adored with the heart." Again he writes: "Leave them to punish themselves; poor, blind, and misguided beings, who abandon the most glorious privilege of mankind, the adoration of the immortal gods, to worship mouldering remains, and bones of the dead."

As Constantine had spared neither money nor influence, to induce people to be baptized, so Julian spared neither expense nor favours to tempt them to sacrifice to the gods; both of them inquired no further, if they could but obtain the outward act. Sometimes he paid his soldiers for sacrificing; sometimes he resorted to artifice. When troops passed in review before him, he caused standards, bearing images of the gods, to be placed so near his own person, that they could not pay the customary homage to the emperor, without bowing before the images. Some were caught by this stratagem; others, who were determined to avoid even the appearance of worshipping the gods, passed without making the usual salute; and so were imprisoned and put to death for disrespect toward their prince. Upon one occasion, when he was to distribute donations to the army, he surrounded his throne with statues and consecrated emblems, and ordered a pile of gold coins to be placed on one side, and a heap of frankincense on the other. Whoever passed to receive the money was required to place a portion of the incense in a fire burning on the altar. Many Christian soldiers did this; some of them thoughtlessly, supposing they had merely paid the prescribed homage to the emperor. Afterward, when some

of them were at dinner, and made the customary sign of the cross over their cups, before they drank, they were asked how they could do that, when they had publicly abjured Christ. When this was explained to them, they rushed into the market-place, proclaiming: "We are Christians! We are Christians! If our hands are guilty, our hearts are innocent." They surrounded the palace, threw down the coins, and cried out: "The emperor has deceived us. Give the gold to others, who will have no cause to repent of it. As for us, we value Christ above all things." For this breach of discipline, they were led to execution, and manifested the utmost eagerness for martyrdom. But a messenger from the emperor put a stop to the bloody scene, and they were merely punished with banishment.

When Julian commanded the reconstruction of demolished temples, he did not pay for it from the imperial treasury, or indemnify those who had legally come into possession of the land, or buildings erected thereon, as Constantine had done with regard to the churches. He gave orders that Christians accused of pillaging the temples, or of assisting to destroy them, should be compelled to pay for rebuilding them. Nearly all the work of destruction and plunder had been done by permission of his cousin Constantius, whom he seems to have regarded with so much aversion; and perhaps that circumstance blinded his usual clear sight of justice. The oppressive edict fell very heavily on the Christians, and many innocent people were the victims of false accusations. It required immense sums to make the required restitution in all parts of the empire; for during the forty years that Christianity had basked in the sunshine of imperial favour, the old religion had suffered much at their hands. Zealots had urged upon the sons of Constantine the great merit of imitating God's chosen people the Israelites, in their zeal to exterminate idolatry. They said: "O ye most religious emperors, destroy without fear the ornaments of the temples. Coin the idols into money, or melt them into useful metal. Confiscate all their endowments for the advantage of the govern-

ment. By your recent victories God signifies his sanction to your hostility against the temples." Where such a spirit existed, fanaticism would of course make wild work in some places, without waiting for legal authority. Indignation had lain smouldering in the hearts of the old worshippers, and now that they had a return of power, they were generally disposed to force restitution, without much consideration whether the penalty fell on the guilty or the innocent. Disputes everywhere arose concerning the execution of the edict. The passions of men were excited to a terrible degree; and in some places, the most horrible atrocities were committed against the Christians. The Fathers tell of murdered bodies dragged through the streets, pierced by the spits of cooks, and the distaffs of enraged women, and at last thrown to the dogs. Marcus, Bishop of Arethusa, was accused of having aided in the destruction of a temple, and required to make compensation. He was poor, and could not have done it, if he would. But in order to compel him to raise the money, they scourged the aged prelate, tore his beard, anointed his body with honey, and hung it up in the sunshine, a prey to tormenting insects. Even in that situation, he gloried in the destruction of idols, and insulted his persecutors. He was rescued from their hands, and was afterward almost worshipped as one of the holy Confessors. The emperor was reminded by his friends that the multiplication of such examples of constancy would be very bad policy. It is true, he did not order such barbarities, nor did he ever give them his sanction; but he did not show his characteristic energy in preventing, or punishing them. His subjects presumed on his well-known antipathy to "the Galileans;" and they did it with impunity.

Christians, on their part, had been too long accustomed to power, to bear their reverses with the patience and humility worthy of the religion they professed. Mobs overthrew the altar of Cybele at Pessinus, and at Cæsarea they destroyed a Temple of Fortune; the only one left to the polytheistic worshippers in that place. Magistrates

punished the leaders, but those who suffered were almost adored as martyrs. The Governor of Phrygia, having opened temples for the observance of the old worship, a mob of Christians went in the night and shattered the statues to fragments. Fruitless search was made for the offenders, and there was such an angry state of feeling, that a general and bloody persecution seemed inevitable. In view of this, the authors of the mischief came forward and acknowledged what they had done. The judge offered to pardon them if they would sacrifice to the gods; but they replied they would rather endure anything he could inflict, than pollute themselves by such a deed. After being tortured in various ways, they were burned to death on grid-irons, defying their tormentors to the last. The emperor himself did not escape annoyances from Christian zeal. One day, when he was offering sacrifice in the temple, the Arian Bishop of Chalcedon, who was old and blind, remonstrated with him for his wickedness. "Peace, blind old man!" replied Julian. "Thy Galilean God will not restore thy eyesight." "I thank God for my blindness," rejoined the bishop; "since it spares me the pain of beholding an apostate like thee." The emperor proceeded to sacrifice, without making any reply.

As if disposed in all things to dislike whatever Constantius had favoured, Julian recalled all those who had been exiled for heretical opinions, and humbled the Arians, whose intolerant use of power he had witnessed during the years that he conformed to Christianity. Receiving complaints from Edessa, that some disorders had arisen in consequence of insults and oppressions exercised by the Arians toward their theological opponents, without waiting to investigate the truth of the charge, he gave immediate orders to confiscate all the church property of the Arians. The lands were added to the imperial domain, and their money distributed among the soldiers. The edict was accompanied with threats of fire and sword, if the disorders continued. In his usual mocking tone, he wrote: "Such has been my clemency toward the Galileans, that I have left them at

liberty to renounce the gods, and to live in impiety. But those whom they call Arians, being carried into culpable excesses, I resolved to assist them in accomplishing an admirable precept of their law. I have confiscated the riches with which they gorged themselves during the preceding reign, and have rendered them poor, and thus worthy to enter that kingdom of heaven which they expect."

Alexandria, always full of commotions, became a scene of tumult during the reign of Julian. A man named George, originally a contractor of bacon for the army, monopolized trade in all profitable articles, and became very wealthy. He was endowed by nature with considerable ability, but rendered himself odious with all classes of citizens by his extortionate and tyrannical proceedings. This man was professedly a Christian; probably belonging to that numerous class who are always ready to adopt any creed that is patronized by government. In the reign of Constantius, he was Arian Bishop of Alexandria, and caused the whole people to groan under his heavy taxation. Adherents of the old worship had been flattered with promises of toleration; but as soon as he was in power, he interdicted their festivals, pillaged the rich ornaments of their temples, and invented various pretexts for levying fines, and confiscating their property. They were compelled to submit to these aggressions during the reign of Constantius, but when Julian came to the throne the long suppressed rage burst forth. A furious mob surrounded the episcopal palace, murdered the bishop and two of his officers, dragged their bodies through the streets, tore them in pieces, and threw them into the sea, to prevent their bones from being honoured as the relics of martyrs. The emperor addressed a letter to the people, admitting that their indignation was just, but rebuking them severely for taking the law into their own violent hands, and for tearing men to pieces, like dogs, and then daring to lift their blood-stained hands to the gods.

In consequence of Julian's edict recalling heretics banished in the preceding reign, Athanasius had returned to

Alexandria. A majority of the numerous Christians in that city were devotedly attached to him; and in the midst of these tumults his strong character took the ascendancy which belonged to it by nature. The emperor was indignant to hear that he had presumed so far as to resume his episcopal dignity, and that he had converted some ladies of high rank. He wrote to the governor to banish forthwith that "most wicked Athanasius, by whose influence the gods are brought into contempt." He says: "Nothing will give me greater joy than to hear the godless wretch is banished from every district of Egypt, who, during my reign, has dared to baptize noble Grecian women." The people petitioned in great numbers, but in vain; and Athanasius again went into exile. In his letters to the governor, Julian assigned political motives, saying: "It is a dangerous thing for so cunning and restless a man to be at the head of the people." He reproached the Alexandrians for "neglecting to worship the God of the Sun, whose benign influence they all experienced, and devoting themselves to Jesus, the God-Logos, whom neither they nor their fathers had seen." He says: "The prelate of the Galileans ought to love me. I have treated them better than my predecessor. Under his reign, those whom they called heretics were hunted and massacred. Whole villages were sacked and destroyed. I have recalled them, and restored their property. But I put limits to their ambition; that is my crime."

He summoned a meeting of various Christian sects, and attempted to preside over their discussions. Whether he did this in a spirit of mockery, or with a proud philosophic certainty of vanquishing them by his arguments, it is not easy to decide. Whatever his motives might have been, the disputes between Athanasians, Arians, Apollinarians, Anomæans, and of Donatists with them all, became so clamorous, that he could not make himself heard; and he dismissed them with the remark: "No wild beasts are so savage and intractable as Christian sectaries."

The magnificent and richly endowed Temple of Apollo,

in the Groves of Daphne, near Antioch, has been described in the chapter on Greece. The worship at this temple, once so exceedingly popular, gradually declined. Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, had died in prison, during the Decian persecution. Gallus, the brother of Julian, who ruled the Eastern provinces about a hundred years after, found a portion of the Groves of Daphne converted into a Christian burial-place. He caused the bones of the martyred bishop to be removed thither, and a superb church was erected over his tomb. The ancient nations universally considered the presence of a dead body pollution to any consecrated place. The priests of Apollo quitted the precincts in dismay; and the old worshippers feared to enter there, to consult the far-famed oracle. The Christian Fathers said Apollo was abashed by the presence of a holy martyr; that he felt himself vanquished, and his oracle dared not break silence. The temple, thus deserted, fell into decay. Julian had the same predilection for Apollo that had been manifested by his uncle Constantine. In the general restoration of temples, this far-famed edifice received early attention. Julian resolved to visit it in person, on the occasion of the ancient Festival of Apollo. On the road, he offered prayers and sacrifices at every temple and altar; often ascending steep and rugged mountains, in the midst of drenching rain, if there was a temple at the top. As he approached Antioch, his imagination was full of long processions of priests, pouring libations from golden goblets, boys in white robes waving incense, bullocks crowned with garlands, and graceful dancers moving to music's most harmonious measures. Great was his disappointment to find the beautiful Groves of Daphne full of tombs, the temple silent, and only one pale, sad old priest, who had but a single swan to sacrifice to Apollo. Upon inquiry, he found that only a few of the old people in Antioch remembered the ancient ceremonies. Julian says: "Not one brought oil for the lamp; not one brought incense, libation, or sacrifice." He severely rebuked those who held large estates attached to the temple, yet neglected its service, while they

allowed their wives to lavish money on the "Galilean" bishops. He ordered the Christian church to be demolished, and the temple restored to its former splendour. As a necessary preliminary, all the dead bodies were removed to Antioch, five miles distant, and the consecrated grounds were purified according to the ancient Grecian rites. The Christians sent a chariot to receive the remains of Babylas; and an immense procession came out from the city to escort it to the burial-place. They met it with thundering acclamations, and followed it chanting alternate strains, in which they continually repeated: "Confounded be all they that worship graven images, and delight in vain idols." Julian, exasperated by this intentional insult, ordered punishment to be inflicted on some of the leaders. Sallust, the Prætorian Prefect, being characterized by moderation, subjected only one young man to torture. But he so exulted in his sufferings, and continued to shout so obstinately, "Confounded be all they who delight in vain idols," that Sallust reminded the emperor how much the Christian cause gained by such examples of constancy, and how much their own would lose by cruelty. His caution was accepted, and no further notice taken of the offence.

The restoration of the temple proceeded rapidly; and a beautiful new peristyle already surrounded it, when, at midnight, Julian received tidings that the building was on fire. The roof, the costly ornaments of the interior, and the colossal statue of Apollo, were all consumed. Christians said God had struck the impious place with lightning, at the intercession of the martyred Babylas; but the emperor and his friends believed it to be the work of incendiaries. Many supposed the fire had taken accidentally, from torches placed within the temple by a zealous worshipper in Julian's train. He was so strongly persuaded to the contrary, that he ordered the cathedral at Antioch to be closed, and its wealth confiscated.

After Julian left Antioch, the magistrate who was intrusted with the examination of the affair, adopted modes of persecution unsanctioned by the emperor. Several of

the Christian clergy were tortured, and one beheaded. Many acts of injustice were done; and in some cases the oppression fell on individuals who had been distinguished for moderation and gentleness when they had the power in their own hands. Libanius, the orator, a zealous advocate of the old worship, had written to the magistrate, to "make those weep who had long made merry with the better cause." But he protested strongly against the injustice he witnessed, and boldly shielded its victims. A poor and truly religious man, named Orion, was called upon to pay large sums of money, or submit to torture. Libanius sheltered him in his own house, and persisted in refusing to give him up. He wrote to the magistrate: "This man is not one of those who can easily change with the times. But when he was in authority, during the preceding reign, he oppressed no one, and was never arrogant. He did not imitate those who made a bad use of their power; on the contrary, he always blamed them. He never made war against our worship, or persecuted our priests; and he saved many from misery by the mild administration of his office. This made the man dear to me; for while he revered his own religion, he never annoyed those who swore by the name of Jupiter. I now see this man full of distress, his family broken up, and his furniture plundered. I know all this is not according to the will of the emperor. He has said: 'If any man has property belonging to the temples, require him to give it up; but if he has not, do not allow him to be either abused or insulted.' It is manifest these men are coveting the goods of others, while they pretend to be desirous of serving the gods." As soon as the emperor received information of the injustice practised, he expressed strong disapprobation, and forbade its continuance. For another Christian, Libanius intreated that his elegant house might be spared, because it made the city beautiful, and because "he did not, with arrogance and impiety, plunder the temple," on whose site it was erected; but paid for it, according to the law then established. For another, who was called upon to rebuild a demolished tem-

ple, he petitioned that he might be permitted to pay half the sum at once, and raise the remainder at some future time.

Romans generally regarded Jews as less impious than Christians, because they had an ancient and established religion, from which they had never seceded. In addition to this universal feeling, Julian had various inducements to favour them. Being on the eve of an expensive war, it was policy to secure the good will of a numerous and wealthy class of citizens; and even without this motive, he would have been attracted toward them by the fact that Christians disliked them, and that his cousin Constantius had oppressed and plundered them, under various pretences. "The Jews differ from us only in the exclusive worship of one God," said he. "Everything else they have in common with us; temples, sacred groves, altars, lustrations, and a variety of other observances, wherein we differ but little, or not at all." Soon after his accession, he addressed a friendly epistle to the Jews scattered throughout his empire. He admitted that Jehovah was a true God, though not the only one; pitied their misfortunes, condemned those who had oppressed them, and styled himself their protector. Concerning the difference of religious belief between them, he argued thus: "If the God proclaimed by Moses is the universal framer of the universe, presiding immediately over the world, then *we* have the more correct idea of Him, who regard him as Lord of the *whole* universe, and the inferior gods as presiding over individual nations; standing in relation to Him, as governors of provinces under a king; nor do we represent Him as a rival of the gods, who are under Him. But if Moses worshipped one of the subordinate deities, and ascribed to him the creation and government of all things, then it is better to follow *us*, and to acknowledge the Universal God, who is indeed Lord over all, without failing to recognize that other Being also, who should be worshipped as the governor of a province, not as the Creator of all." He proposed to rebuild their temple on Mount Moriah, more magnificently than Con-

stantine had built the Christian church on Calvary. He asked them to pray to their God for him; and added: "I will pray with you in the temple we are going to reconstruct." The Jews, accustomed to pillage and persecution under the preceding emperors, received this unexpected proposal with triumphant joy. They flocked from all quarters to their Holy Mountain, where the voice of Psalm and Hallelujah had been hushed for so many centuries. Women poured their jewels into the treasury, misers unlocked their hoards, and every little child was eager to contribute his mite toward rebuilding that temple whose recounted glories had so dazzled his infant imagination. Men and women of the highest rank laboured at removing the ruins with their own hands. Stones were dug out with pickaxes and shovels of solid silver, and women removed rubbish in silver baskets, or mantles of the richest silk. The aged, the lame, and the blind, competed with the strong for some share in the sacred work. All the implements employed were to be kept ever after as consecrated memorials, and transmitted to posterity. A large quantity of materials was collected, and the excavation had already proceeded to a considerable depth, when the workmen were suddenly interrupted by volumes of flame bursting from the centre of the hill, accompanied by tremendous explosions. The scorched and blasted labourers fled in terror. The Jews were discomfited and alarmed by such an evil omen; but it is likely that the undertaking would have been resumed, had not Julian gone to the war in Persia, from which he never returned. The account is given by the Pagan historian, Ammianus. It was much amplified by subsequent writers. They said a violent earthquake shook the mountain; that a horse and his rider were seen enveloped in the flames; that the fire was so fierce, it consumed even the iron tools; that blazing crosses settled on the garments of the workmen; and when they sought shelter in a neighbouring church, the doors were fast closed against them, by supernatural force.

The prophecy that the temple would never be restored,

and that another would descend from heaven with the New Jerusalem, when Christ came to establish his kingdom on earth, had been perpetually reiterated by Christians. Consequently, they exulted over the frustrated attempt to disprove this prediction, and saw in it the miraculous intervention of offended Deity. In fact, it has been generally so regarded unto the present time. But M. Guizot and Dr. Milman, suggest that these explosions may be accounted for, "on the principle of fire-damps in mines." They state that there were vast excavations under Jerusalem, which could be entered from the temple. They are supposed to have been made in the time of Solomon, for the purpose of concealing treasures and provisions, in time of siege; and also as a means of escape, in case of extreme emergencies. During three centuries of desolation, the outlet had probably become choked up, and the cavern filled with inflammable gas, which exploded with a great noise, when workmen approached the aperture with torches. Josephus relates a similar incident, as having occurred when Herod sent men to explore the sepulchre of David, in hopes of finding hidden treasures. In Julian's time, all classes of men were prone to assign supernatural, rather than scientific causes for all phenomena; and doubtless this tendency of mind discouraged the Jews, while it animated the Christians.

While Julian was so diligent in restoring religious ceremonies, he had by no means forgotten his friends the philosophers. As soon as he assumed the imperial purple, he wrote to Maximus, urging his immediate attendance at court. This was followed by invitations to others, whom he considered eminent for wisdom or virtue. The roads to the capital were now thronged with philosophers, travelling at the public expense, as bishops had done in the days of Constantine. Julian spared no pains to do them honour, and they are most lavishly eulogized in his writings. Maximus, whose magical skill had so much astonished his youth, was his chosen friend and counsellor. Imperial favour had the same effect on him that it had on some

bishops, in the days of Constantine and Constantius. He became luxurious, ambitious, and arrogant. The same was true of many of the philosophers, on whom he lavished wealth and honours. The belief in magic was universal. The most enlightened Christians of that time believed in it as firmly as others; only they imputed its marvels to agency of the Devil. Most of the philosophers at that period sought to gain power over the credulous by arts deemed magical; but some of them disapproved of it. Eusebius, an able and eloquent man, a fervent admirer of Plotinus, was among the intimate friends of Julian. He believed in the wonders performed by Maximus, but discountenanced the pursuit of such knowledge; saying he deemed it far wiser to seek after the true essence of things, the ideas perceptible to enlightened reason, than to practise illusions on the senses by means of magic. Priscus, another philosophic friend and adviser of the emperor, bore prosperity with great moderation. Serious in character, and austere in morals, he despised those who embraced philosophy because it was the fashion. He continued to live very simply, and would never consent to become a courtier. Chrysanthus was another of the New Platonists distinguished for uprightness, purity, moderation, and dignity of manner. The emperor sent repeated invitations, and even wrote with his own hand, urging him and his wife Melita to come to court; but they constantly refused. Finding it useless, he appointed him High Priest of Lydia, conjointly with his wife, and invested them with full authority to erect temples, restore ancient ceremonials, and nominate priests. They performed the duties of their station with so much justice, kindness, and discretion, that the greatest enemies of their religion were constrained to respect their virtues.

Julian himself did not agree with those of his philosophers who discountenanced magic. He was a great believer in prophecies, divination, and miracles by aid of theurgy. Soothsayers and magicians flocked to him from all quarters. Many of them had been imprisoned during preceding reigns,

for impositions on the people, meddling with political affairs, and connecting cruel practices with their midnight incantations. But Julian was prone to regard them with a degree of favour, which the wisest of his friends and subjects observed with regret. Chrysostom, who could not be expected to judge very impartially of Julian and his friends, and who probably classed all the philosophers with magicians, says: "Men who had grown old in prison, and in the mines, and who maintained their wretched existence by the most disgraceful trades, were suddenly advanced to places of dignity, and invested with the priesthood, and sacrificial functions."

Many were, of course, gained over by the same selfish motives which induced multitudes to be baptized in the time of Constantine and Constantius. The Fathers speak with indignation of such men, "who changed their religion as easily as their garments; who abandoned the churches, and ran to the altars; enticed to apostacy by the bait of honourable offices; pointed at by the finger of scorn, as those who had betrayed Christ for a few pieces of silver." It was, in fact, a period when men could easily lose their way, between the two extremes of scepticism and fanaticism, which always mark the dissolution of old forms. Scepticism had for a long time been at work diminishing the authority of the ancient religion. The increasing manifestation of it produced an extreme reaction of fanaticism in some, who, with terrified desperation, and redoubled zeal, sought to sustain the faith of their fathers; while those whose activity of intellect was chastened by reverence, resorted to allegorical interpretation as the only method of conciliation between the atheism and the superstition of their time. Julian undertook a hopeless task in attempting to restore the old worship. Such life as was in it in the olden time had departed; and it is always a vain effort to build temples with ashes. Himself, and others who were sincere in their reverence for it, merely wished to preserve it as a time-honoured respectability. Notwithstanding the magnificence of his temples, and the splendour of his festivals,

he could not excite the people to much zeal in sacrificing; while those whom he paid for honouring the gods, often ate and drank at the banquets in a manner so excessive as to disgrace their cause.

But notwithstanding the many and powerful enemies which Julian made in his attempt to subvert Christianity, it could not be denied that he had great ability and many virtues, which, at an earlier period of history, would have placed him among the brightest and best of the emperors. He was brave by temperament, merciful in disposition, and affable in manners. He set an example of serious and almost austere virtue. He disliked amusements, and when compelled by custom to enter the theatre annually, he staid the shortest possible time necessary to fulfil his public functions. His mode of life was extremely temperate and simple. He dismissed the thousand barbers and servants of the bath, whom he found at the imperial palace, and retained but one personal attendant. A crowd of spies and informers were likewise sent away. By these and other retrenchments, he was enabled to remit to the people one-fifth part of all their taxes. He made great improvements in the courts of justice, and, with few exceptions, governed humanely. Excessive vanity may be forgiven in so young a man, endowed with showy talents and imperial power. His aversion to Christianity doubtless grew in part from personal animosity to his Christian cousin, who had murdered his family, and kept his youth under such jealous constraint. We ought, moreover, to remember that the multitudes swept into the baptismal pool by imperial influence, decidedly tended to lower the general character of Christianity. As Julian found it, it was a warfare of abstruse doctrines, a perpetual struggle for ecclesiastical power, a mass of external forms, borrowed from various quarters, encrusting the living, loving heart of Christ's religion. He verily believed that the rapid degeneracy of the Roman empire was owing to neglect of the ancient gods; therefore his zeal to renovate the old worship was in fact a religious phase of patriotism. The determined opposition

he met with increased his hostility to the new faith. His laws grew more stringent in the latter part of his reign. The holy water used at the temples, called lustral water, he caused to be sprinkled on all the provisions in the market, and in all the public fountains; and Christians, who refused to partake of food or drink, which had thus become infected with idolatry, were led to execution. Had he lived many years, he might possibly have become a relentless persecutor; but he did not survive to prolong the struggle.

In the year three hundred and sixty-five he became involved in a war with Persia, which cost him his life, after an active and brilliant reign of one year and eight months. The story has been many times repeated that when mortally wounded by an arrow, he threw a handful of his blood toward heaven, exclaiming bitterly: "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" But this improbable statement is now admitted to rest on insufficient authority. It had been predicted to him that he would die in battle, and he met his fate with philosophic composure. To the weeping friends, who crowded into his tent, he spoke with a firm and gentle voice, telling them what he wished to have done with his private fortune, trying to soothe their immoderate grief, begging them not to disgrace by unmanly tears the departure of a prince who would so soon ascend to heaven, and be united with the stars. He said: "I have learned from philosophy how much the soul is more excellent than the body, and that the separation of the nobler substance should be a source of joy, rather than affliction. I have also learned that the gods often bestow an early death, as the best reward of piety; and I accept, as a favour from them, the mortal stroke that secures me from the danger of disgracing a character which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude." Calmly discoursing with his friends Maximus and Priscus, concerning the immortality of the soul, his spirit passed away. The account of his death is given by the Roman historian Ammianus, who was present at the scene. Adherents of the old worship

mourned over him as their last hope; and eulogized him in terms almost as unmeasured as the bishops had done Constantine. Theodoret, the Christian historian, says that when the news was received at Antioch, the Christians had festal dances in the churches, and at the cemeteries of martyrs, and that they celebrated the triumph of the cross at the theatre.

JOVIAN.—Jovian, who was proclaimed emperor, immediately announced himself a Christian; but declared that people were free to follow the old religion; that he should punish nothing but magic. It was unknown what sect he would favour, and all were eager to make a favourable impression on him. The theological warfare, which had been hushed for awhile, by a sense of common danger, was renewed. The highways were crowded with Athanasian, Arian, Semi-Arian, and Anomæan bishops, trying to outstrip each other. The new prince was almost stunned by their arguments and mutual invectives. He recommended charity toward each other, and proclaimed universal toleration to all forms of worship. Something concerning principles of freedom had been slowly learned in this conflict of centuries. Themistius, who adhered to the ancient rites of his country, in an address to the new sovereign warmly praised his liberality. He says: "You are aware that the monarch cannot force everything from his subjects; that there are things superior to all constraint, all threatening, all law. This is the case with virtue in general; but it is especially true concerning piety toward God. You have wisely considered that nothing but hypocrisy is produced, unless the unconstrained and absolutely free will of man is left to move first. Deity has implanted religious sentiments in all human beings; but his law remains forever unchangeable, that each man's soul is free in reference to his own peculiar mode of worship."

Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzen, manifested a similar spirit, though he claims it as a peculiarity of Christianity; forgetting that all men had learned somewhat, during this

protracted struggle. He exhorted his people not to retaliate the injuries they had received during Julian's reign. He said: "Let us show what a difference there is between what these men learn from their gods, and the lessons which Christ teaches us. Let us promote the spread of the Gospel by long suffering, and subdue oppressors by gentleness." Of course, a worthless crowd of proselytes, ready to jump on either side, again came over to the religion of the emperor.

VALENTINIAN.—Jovian had a brief reign, and was succeeded by Valentinian, a semi-barbarian in character; ignorant, severe, and gross in debauchery. He is said to have withdrawn from Julian's army, rather than seem to worship the gods by saluting the standards. He was an Athanasian, but followed Jovian's system of toleration. Some of the estates lavishly bestowed by Julian, for the benefit of the old worship, were taken back into the imperial domain. But the priesthood remained undisturbed, and a military guard, in which Christians were not required to serve, was appointed to protect the temples from depredation or insult. Religious festivals prolonged into midnight, were prohibited, because the concourse of all sorts of people, brought together under the veil of darkness, had led to gross immoralities. Protextatus, Governor of Achaia, a man universally respected for his learning and excellent character, was a devout worshipper of the old deities. He petitioned the emperor to except the Eleusinian Mysteries; representing that the life of Grecians would be dreary and comfortless without the inestimable blessing of that sacred institution. Those Mysteries, ancient and venerable, had always been observed with the greatest solemnity and decorum; and his request was immediately granted. The old rites of divination at the temples were allowed, provided the Augurs were not consulted for any treasonable or bad purpose. But severe inquisition was made into the practice of magic, in consequence of complaints from one of the subordinate magistrates of Rome, who averred that

attempts had been made, by three obscure persons, to destroy himself and wife by magical arts. These, being put to cruel torture, made confessions, which implicated many people, of all ranks, as seeking the aid of magic for licentious purposes, for poisoning, and all manner of crimes. From time immemorial, it had been supposed that Spirits of the stars, the waters, the earth, and regions under the earth, would impart their power to men and women, if sought with mysterious ceremonies, solemn incantations, potent herbs, and bloody sacrifices. These things, after having been practised for centuries, not only with impunity, but generally with honour and profit, had been gradually growing into disrepute; not because the power of magic was doubted by any class of men, but because it had become a trade with increasing numbers of low, base itinerants, willing to use it for the worst of purposes. But still many men of rank and education continued to seek its aid in emergencies, regarding it as a true science, though perverted and misused by the wicked. Therefore, when it came to be treated as a crime, punishable with death, it seemed to throw a pall over the whole empire; especially, as it furnished a ready means of gratifying personal hatred and revenge. Valentinian authorized the Præfect of Rome to extort evidence by the most cruel tortures. Spies and informers were everywhere on the alert. There was an extreme reluctance to acquit any one who was accused. A species of insanity seemed to prevail on the subject. The most improbable charges were proved against individuals of the highest character. Senators, matrons, and philosophers were dragged to prison in chains, scourged, racked, and put to death in the most ignominious manner. The emperor kept two fierce bears chained near his bed-chamber, to tear criminals in pieces for his amusement. One of these animals was afterward turned loose into the forest, as a reward for his services to the state.

In the Eastern part of the empire, governed by the emperor's brother, Valens, the persecution raged still more terribly; his fears having been excited by a rumour that

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magical arts had been employed to spell out, by a circle of letters, the name of him who would succeed him on the throne. Suspicions that a treasonable plot was therewith connected made him extremely anxious to ascertain what name the circle had indicated. Several philosophers, some of them Julian's personal friends, were implicated in the transaction; being suspected of wishing to restore his order of things. One of them was horribly tortured to induce him to give evidence against a suspected magistrate; but no agony could induce him to say otherwise than that the man was innocent. Another, very young, but of austere philosophy, acknowledged that he knew the secret of the name, but declared that no power should compel him to divulge it. He was burned alive, and met his fate with stoical calmness. Maximus made a similar confession, but declared it unworthy of a philosopher to divulge a secret intrusted to him. He was executed, and many others with him. The excellent Priscus was accused and imprisoned for a short time, but had the rare good fortune to be dismissed as blameless. He retired into Greece, where he lived solitary in the temples, till he was eighty years old. Eunapius cites him as "a rare example of longevity, at a time when so many distinguished men killed themselves in despair, or had their throats cut by barbarians." A Roman youth suffered death merely for copying an old book of magical incantations. So strict was the search for such books, that many men of learning burned their entire libraries, fearing lest some sentence they contained might be construed into magic. Few Christians suffered from this persecution; for believing that magical skill was derived from Evil Spirits, they were rarely tempted to consult it.

Valens had been baptized by an Arian bishop, and always retained his predilection for that sect. Patronized by the government, it maintained the ascendancy it always had in the East. In almost every city, there were two rival bishops, each claiming to be legitimate authority, and regarding the other with watchful animosity. Valens, a

weak-minded man, often lent himself as an instrument of episcopal jealousy. Being at Edessa, he commanded the Governor to break up all assemblies of the Athanasians. The Governor was an Arian, but he pitied the people, and gave them private information of the orders he had received; hoping they would refrain from meeting. But the next morning, they flocked together in greater numbers than ever. Seeing a woman hurrying along, leading a little child, he inquired: "Whither goest thou in so much haste? Knowest thou not that the Governor has orders to kill all he finds in the church?" She replied: "I know it very well. Therefore, I make so much haste, lest I should arrive too late to secure the crown of martyrdom." Being asked why she was dragging her little son along with her, she answered: "That he also may have his share of the reward." Grieved to see people thus led like sheep to the slaughter, the Governor went back to the palace, and succeeded in dissuading the emperor from his bloody design.

It had become very fashionable for the wealthy to seek salvation for their souls by leaving large estates to the church. In this way, the ecclesiastical revenues had become immense; though scarcely half a century had elapsed since Constantine passed the law empowering his subjects to make such bequests. Devout women, especially, were easily induced to build churches, or leave their wealth for charitable purposes, at the disposal of the clergy. The evil became so great, that Valentinian forbade ecclesiastics to frequent the houses of widows, or receive testamentary donations; confining them to their own natural and legal rights of inheritance.

THEODOSIUS.—In three hundred and seventy-eight, Gratian became emperor of the Western part of the empire. He was a very young man, entirely under the influence of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. The East was ruled by Theodosius the Great, an hereditary Christian, educated in the Athanasian creed. He soon announced his determination to exterminate the old worship, root and branch

Human sacrifices had never been a custom with the Romans, and they uniformly forbade them in the nations they conquered. But in some provinces, the barbarous rite was practised, though very rarely, and usually in obedience to the command of some oracle. Theodosius abolished it, under penalty of death. Magical arts, and the inspection of the entrails of victims, for purposes of divination, were forbidden under the same penalty. All property belonging to the temples was confiscated, for benefit of the army, and the churches; the priesthood were deprived of all their privileges; sacrifices were forbidden, either within or without the temples; and any magistrate who entered a temple was fined fifteen pounds of gold. Hitherto, all the Christian emperors had followed the old custom of assuming the office and title of Pontifex Maximus, and of acting on state occasions as High Priest of the worship they had deserted. But when the Senate of Rome sent a solemn deputation to Gratian, to perform the usual ceremony of inauguration, he rejected the intended honour with contempt. The Goddess of Fortune, with whose worship the welfare and glory of Rome was supposed to have been intimately connected for ages, was ordered to be taken from her pedestal, and her altar destroyed. Sorrow and unfeigned alarm took possession of all the people, who retained any reverence for the old order of things. Deputations were sent to remonstrate earnestly with the youthful emperor, imploring him to be cautious how he thus endangered the safety of the state; but the Christians sent in a counter petition, through Damasus, their bishop, and his influence prevailed.

Monks, who had become numerous at this period, were everywhere the fiercest and most reckless enemies of the old worship. Soon after the accession of Theodosius, they began to traverse the rural districts, overturning the altars, demolishing temples, and plundering their rich treasures, wherever they found them unprotected. This desecration was regarded by many of the country people not only with deep grief, but with absolute terror. Their simple faith,

rooted in the soil of centuries, had not been shaken by so many rude storms of political revolution, or slowly undermined by self-interest, as had been the case in cities. The peasant woman, when she laid her fragrant offering of blossoms on the altar, felt sure that the kind Goddess of Flowers would sprinkle her garden with dew, and fill it with honey for the bees. The farmer had undoubting faith that the altar, or image of a deity, among his grape-vines, or his wheat, was a security against drought and blight, and destructive insects. When they saw squalid-looking men, with matted hair, and dirty dresses, going about insulting the beneficent Spirits, who they verily believed had protected them and their forefathers for ages, they expected storm, pestilence, and famine, as the inevitable consequence; and their sorrow, fear, and indignation knew no bounds. In many places, the rustic population rose in defence of their sacred buildings and images, and succeeded in driving off the invaders, some of whom they put to death.

Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, was peculiarly zealous in finding accusations against adherents of the old worship in that city. A temple of Osiris had been granted by the emperor to the Christians, who proceeded to build a church on the ground. While digging the foundation, they found various symbols used in the worship of the god; and among them was the emblem of the generative principle, connected with many religious ceremonies in Hindostan, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. This ancient symbol was associated in their minds with reverence and gratitude to a beneficent Deity, for the mysterious reproduction of life, in all departments of the universe; but to Christians, it suggested nothing but indecency. The Bishop so far forgot the dignity becoming his office, that he exposed these symbols in the market-place, where they were examined by the crowd with jokes and scornful laughter. Those who revered the old Egyptian worship were exasperated beyond measure. They rushed upon the jesters, and a conflict ensued, in which the streets flowed with blood. The Christians who were slain, received the honours of

martyrdom, and the zeal of survivors was redoubled. Conscious of power, they were not sparing of threats or accusations. Hostility between the factions daily increased. It was rumoured that beautiful women of high rank were decoyed into the Temple of Serapis, under the pretence of being chosen favourites of the god, who was in fact represented by his priests. These stories, doubtless more or less true concerning all powerful priesthoods, since the world began, were diligently circulated, and pointed popular hostility toward the Temple of Serapis. Surrounded by walls and outer courts, the building was strong as a citadel. The worshippers of Serapis, expecting an attack, collected there in great numbers, and from time to time sallied forth to seize Christians, whom they forced to offer sacrifice on their altar, or slew them and threw their bodies into a deep trench filled with the offals of victims. Magistrates came with troops, and threatened them with vengeance of the law; but they were beaten back, and obliged to wait for orders from the emperor. Olympus, a philosopher, had endeavoured to cheer his associates in those dark days, and prepare their minds for the destruction of external objects of worship, which he foresaw must come. He reminded them that "the statues of the gods were but perishable material images; that the Immortal Spirits who once dwelt within them had withdrawn to the stars." Wrought up by the excitement of present danger, he strove to stimulate his friends to obstinate resistance; saying: "Let us make a glorious sacrifice of our enemies, and then immolate ourselves, and perish with our gods." But at midnight, when the gates were fastened, and all was still, one clear, strong voice sang, "Hallelujah!" and the tones resounded through the silent temple. Regarding it either as an alarming omen, or as an indication that Christians had secret means of ingress to their fortress, his courage failed. He stole out of the temple, and embarked for Italy. An imperial edict soon arrived authorizing the destruction of the world-renowned Temple of Serapis. It was received with tumultuous shouts of joy by the Chris-

tian populace, while philosophers and priests fled to secret places. The Archbishop Theophilus, with an army of soldiers and monks, hastened with all zeal to the work of devastation. The far-famed Alexandrian Library had been partially destroyed by fire during the invasion of the city by Julius Cæsar, but the loss had been in a measure repaired by an extensive library, which Mark Anthony presented to Cleopatra. Three hundred thousand volumes were preserved in rooms within the inclosure of the Temple of Serapis. The monks from the desert who were led on to this attack by the archbishop, were generally ignorant men, with a strong contempt for human learning. They would therefore be likely to have little respect for this great storehouse of the genius and learning of ages. But they were avaricious of plunder; and as rare manuscripts were then valued as diamonds are now, it is not unlikely that many of them were preserved and sold. What proportion of them was destroyed is unknown. They were all pillaged, and it is supposed that many were burned. Orosius, a Christian historian, who visited the Library rooms, twenty-five years after, says: "I saw the empty book-cases, which were broken open; and men of these times relate that they were plundered by our people." [That is, by Christians.]

When the crowd entered the sanctuary of the temple, the colossal statue was so impressive in its majesty, and Christians were so thoroughly imbued with the idea that Evil Spirits lurked about the temples and statues, in which they had been accustomed to be worshipped, that for a moment their purpose was arrested. The archbishop seeing them thus irresolute, ordered a soldier to strike the image. He struck it first on the knee, and then climbing up chopped off the head. A large colony of rats ran out, and converted the fears of the multitude into boisterous mirth. The huge limbs of Serapis were dragged through the streets with shouts and mockery, and finally burnt in the amphitheatre. To demolish the massive architecture of the temple was the work of time. An army of monks from the desert encamped among the ruins, and a Christian

church soon rose on the foundations of the ancient sanctuary.

Serapis presided over the inundations of the Nile, on which the fertility of Egypt depended; of course, many fears were entertained lest the land would be punished for the indignity offered to the god. When the time came for the annual overflow, the people watched with anxiety; and when they saw the waters remain for several days at their usual level, the alarm began to spread, and there was a loud demand that the customary sacrifices should be offered. The inflexible emperor answered that Egypt must go dry, if the inundation depended on the practice of idolatrous rites. Doubtless this answer would have excited insurrection, had not the Nile begun to swell before it arrived. The overflow was even more abundant than usual, and the fickle populace joined with the Christians in mocking the dethroned Serapis.

Christian writers were eloquent in their exultation over the downfall of idolatry; and writers on the other side were proportionably bitter in their expressions of hatred and contempt for the monks. Eunapius describes the scene thus: "Men, who had never heard war spoken of, bravely attacked the Serapeum with stones, demolished it, and scattered the offerings, which the veneration of ages had accumulated there. Having courageously given battle to statues, they made a military convention that all they had stolen was a fair prize. But as they could not carry away the land, however much they might wish it, those heroic conquerors retired, and were replaced in the occupation of the sacred soil by monks; that is to say, by beings having the appearance of men, living like the vilest animals, and giving themselves up in public to the most disgusting actions that can be imagined; for it was for them an act of piety to profane this sacred place, in all manner of ways. These monks encamped among the ruins of the Serapeum, and slaves and criminals were seen receiving worship there, instead of the gods of intellect. In exchange for the heads of our divinities, they showed the dirty skulls of miserable

convicts, and knelt before them, and adored them. Infidel slaves, torn by the whip and furrowed with marks of their crimes, they call martyrs, deacons, and leaders in prayer! Such are the new gods of this earth! Whoever wears a black robe has despotic power. Philosophy, and piety to the gods, are compelled to retire into secret places, to dwell in contented poverty and dignified meanness of appearance."

The work of destruction went on far and wide. Theophilus soon after marched at the head of his party, and demolished the temple and statue of Canopus, god of humidity. Martin, Bishop of Tours, undertook the task of extirpating idolatry in Gaul. He marched all over the country with a band of monks, destroying altars and temples, and building churches in their place. He asserts positively that during these predatory excursions, Jupiter, or Mercury, or Minerva, often appeared to him, and did their utmost to turn him from his work. Marcellus of Apamea pursued the same course in Syria. A massive temple of Jupiter, standing on a lofty eminence, long resisted their attacks, but it was finally undermined and overthrown. A band of rustics, who were watching the progress of the work, waylaid Marcellus, when he was at a distance from his companions, and burned him alive. He was placed among the martyrs, and the synod of his province refrained from taking any means to punish a death, which they deemed so happy for himself, and so glorious for his family. In almost every province of the Roman world, a large portion of the temples were destroyed. Where monks were not numerous, some were left to the slow decay of time. Others, whose construction could be easily altered for the purpose, were converted into churches. The Temple of the Celestial Venus at Carthage, whose beautiful groves formed a circumference of two miles; a temple at Damascus; and another at Heliopolis, were enclosed and consecrated to the use of the Christians.

Some of the more prudent bishops tried to check the insatiable zeal of their people for destroying altars and

images, which were left on estates to protect the fields; an idea cherished by many of the landholders, as well as the labourers. Augustine says: "Many have those abominations upon their estates. Shall we go about to destroy them? No. Let us make it our first business to extirpate the idols in their hearts. Then, they will either invite us to so good a work, or they will anticipate us in it. At present, we must pray for them, not exasperate them."

Petitions came from all quarters, begging that places of worship might be spared. Libanius, the orator, who remained faithful to the old religion, pleaded for the preservation of the temples, in an oration addressed to the emperor. He entreated that they might be saved from destruction, if not for religious purposes, at least as beautiful ornaments to the cities, and sources of revenue, if applied to other purposes. More sadly and earnestly pleaded the eloquent Symmachus, an upright and fearless magistrate, who was fully persuaded that the welfare of his country depended on the worship of the ancient deities. In a petition which he wrote to be offered by the senate, alluding to a severe famine the preceding year, as proof that the gods were offended, he asks: "Were our fathers ever compelled to suffer anything like this, when the ministers of religion had a public maintenance?" He represents Rome herself as expostulating thus: "Most excellent princes, fathers of your country, respect my years, and still permit me to practise the worship of my ancestors in which I have grown old. This religion subdued the world to my dominion. Grant me but the privilege of living according to my ancient usage. I ask only for peace to the gods of Rome; the tutelary deities of your country. Heaven is above all. We cannot all follow the same path. There are many ways to arrive at the great secret. We presume not to contend. We are humble supplicants."

Ambrose, the able Bishop of Milan, resisted the slightest approach to a compromise. In his answer to Symmachus, he says: "The emperor, who should be guilty of such concessions, would soon learn that the bishops would neither

connive at, nor endure his sin. If he entered a church, he would find no priest, or one who would defy his authority. The church would indignantly reject the gifts of him who shared them with Gentile temples. The altar disdains the offerings of him who has made oblations to images. It is written, 'Man cannot serve two masters.' "

Rome remained the last stronghold of the old worship. The city contained three hundred temples, and innumerable altars and statues, which stood long after all was falling in other parts of the empire. The magnificence of the edifices, the pomp of festivals, were there, more than elsewhere, connected with all great and interesting epochs of their history. Romans clung to these reminiscences of past glory, with the tenacious grasp of men in a death-struggle. The emperors had not yet ventured to proclaim such severe edicts there. The laws passed by Theodosius in the East were not in force in Rome. The temples were still open, and a portion of the public revenue was appropriated to worship.

A favourable moment was seized for insurrection, and Eugenius, a votary of the gods, was placed on the throne. The temples were re-opened throughout Italy, the smoke of sacrifices ascended, the altar of Victory was restored to its place, and pictures of the gods again floated on the banners. Ambrose fled from Milan, for the victorious soldiers threatened to stable horses in the churches, and compel the clergy to serve in the army.

The tidings of this rebellion made Theodosius pass still more stringent laws in the East. All divination or magic was punishable with death, whatever might be its object. Whoever offered any sacrifice, or connived at its being offered, even in a private house, was fined twenty-five pounds of gold; nearly five thousand dollars of our money. Any house in which incense was burned was confiscated to the imperial treasury. Whoever made an altar of turf on his own grounds, or hung a garland on a tree, forfeited his estate thereby. Theodosius marched against Eugenius, who was slain. Rome gave up the struggle in despair.

Many of the noble families went over to the religion of the conqueror. The senate debated the claims of Jupiter and Christ. The Christian poet, Prudentius, says Jupiter was out-voted by a large majority. But Zozimus, the Greek, who belonged to the other party, has recorded, in his History of the Roman Empire, that the senate adhered firmly, though respectfully, to their ancient deities. The household gods were not interfered with; the temples remained standing, and no one was forbidden to worship within them, provided they did it without sacrificing. The civil rights of the conservatives were respected. The schools, the army, and the senate, were filled with believers in the old gods. Platonists freely wrote sarcastic strictures on the proceedings of Christians. There was a personal friendship between Theodosius and Libanius the orator, and he was never required to conceal his opinions. Thus far, the emperor made politic concessions to a party still powerful in that part of his empire; but he refused to allow any funds from the public revenue for support of the ancient worship. The order of Vestal Virgins was abolished, the sacred fire extinguished, and oracles hushed by imperial command. Priests and priestesses, deprived of their maintenance, were scattered. Some priesthoods were still handed down in regular descent, and some rites and festivals continued to be observed, either without sacrifice or with sacrifice by stealth. Many conformed outwardly to the paramount religion, who were not inwardly convinced. External signs of the old worship disappeared from cities. But in country places, the rustic population long continued to assemble in the shadow of groves, and keep their old festivals, with sacrifices of sheep and oxen, under the appearance of a mere social banquet. They even contrived to sing hymns in honour of the gods, in such a manner as to evade the laws. Landholders connived at such practices, influenced by the old belief that the fertility of the fields depended on them. A poet who wrote after the time of Theodosius describes the Cross as the emblem of a god worshipped only in cities. In consequence of this long lingering of the old

faith in rural districts, it came to be called the Pagan religion; from the Latin word *Paganus*, signifying a villager, or peasant.

But there were also men of education, who retained a strong predilection for the old ideas, which they had spiritualized by an infusion of Platonism. The simple phraseology of Scripture was not acceptable to these men, who had formed a taste for highly rhetorical embellishments; and they judged religion not so much by a standard of faith, as by respectable morality. When imperial edicts manufactured Christians by thousands, there were of course great numbers whose lives did little credit to the religion they professed. When attempts were made to convert Platonists, they often replied: "Why would you persuade me to embrace this new religion? I have been cheated by Christians, but I never defrauded any man. A Christian has broken his oath to me, but I never violated my simple word to any man."

All the Christian sects, that differed from the emperor in opinion, were more severely proscribed than the polytheistic worshippers had been. Constantine had summoned a Council at Nice, to settle the equal dignity of the Son and the Father. Theodosius summoned one hundred and fifty bishops to assemble at Constantinople, to settle the equal dignity of the Son and the Holy Ghost. This was followed by severe edicts against all who did not subscribe to the decision of that council. Their religious meetings were forbidden, in public or private, city or country, and every building or ground used for such purpose was forfeited to the imperial treasury. Very early in his reign, he published the following edict: "It is our pleasure that all the nations governed by our clemency and moderation should steadfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by Saint Peter to the Romans, faithfully preserved by tradition, and now professed by the Pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the Apostles, and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe the sole Deity of the Father, the Son,

and the Holy Ghost; under an equal majesty, and a holy Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians; and as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of heretics, and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable name of churches. Besides the condemnation of Divine Justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties, which our authority, guided by Heavenly Wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them."

On the accession of Theodosius, it is said that Arians possessed all the churches in the East, except in Jerusalem. But after the publication of this edict, the Arian prelate at Constantinople was ordered to subscribe the Nicene Creed, or relinquish his episcopal palace, the cathedral of Santa Sophia, and all the churches in his diocese, to orthodox believers. He preferred banishment, and went into exile. A large majority of the inhabitants of Constantinople were Arians; but they were obliged to give up their hundred churches to a sect not numerous enough to fill them. Gregory of Nazianzen was appointed bishop, but he entered the enraged city guarded by the emperor and a strong military force, and it was necessary to garrison the cathedral with imperial troops. He confesses that it seemed to him like a city taken by storm. The sky was cloudy when they started, but just as the procession began to enter the cathedral, the sun burst forth and made the swords and armour of the soldiers glitter in its rays. This was hailed with acclamations, as an auspicious omen. The next week, Theodosius expelled all the clergy throughout his dominions, who refused to sign the established creed. In the course of fifteen years, he published fifteen decrees against heretical sects. His severest penalties were directed against those who rejected the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity. No such person was allowed to hold any honourable or lucrative employment. Arians were forbidden to build any churches, in city or country, under penalty of the confiscation of their funds. Apollinarians were for-

bidden to have any clergy, or hold any meetings, or to reside in cities. Anomæans were not allowed to dispose of their own estates by will, or to receive any property by testamentary gift. The same was enacted concerning those who turned back from Christianity to Paganism. Manicheans were punishable with death, and prohibited from making wills. The Quartodecimans, who continued to keep Easter on the day of the Jewish Passover, instead of the day prescribed by the church at Rome, were also punishable with death. Confiscation and exile were denounced against all who preached the doctrines, or practised the rites of any of the "accursed sects." Some went so far as to maintain that not only all heretics, but all who held any intercourse with them, must not only make a public acknowledgment of their error, but must be re-baptized before they could be allowed to partake of the communion.

Theodosius appointed an Inquisitor of the Faith, to inquire into opinions; an office hitherto unknown. Christians had often killed each other in turmoils, and the government had put men to death for sectarian riots and depredations; but in this reign, blood was for the first time shed, by authority of Christian law, merely and avowedly on account of theological opinions. Priscillian, a man of rank in Spain, and a bishop, entertained many of the Gnostic views in connection with Christianity. He believed that the souls of men were portions of the Deity, imprisoned in material bodies, as a punishment. Consequently he denied the resurrection of the body, and was shocked at the idea that the Son of God could be born of a woman. He received all the books of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, even the apocryphal ones; giving them a spiritual interpretation, which sustained his doctrines. He was the founder of a numerous sect, famous for austere morals, and mortification of the senses. They abstained from marriage, never tasted animal food, fasted often, watched and prayed almost continually. Their mode of worship was exceedingly simple and spiritual. They rejected baptism, the Lord's Supper, and all external

ordinances. They would not call their teachers bishops or priests, but named them Secretaries, or Companions in Travel. Priscillian was twice banished, and finally put to death, in three hundred eighty four, by order of Maximus, colleague of Theodosius. Several of his adherents, among whom were some noble women, were tortured and executed.

The private character of Theodosius was very exemplary, but his temper was imperious and violent. He was a strict observer of all ceremonies prescribed by the church; but the prevailing idea of the efficacy of baptism to wash away all sin led him to delay that rite until a dangerous illness, during the first year of his reign, induced him to hasten the ceremony.

The power which the church obtained over this despotic soldier was exemplified in a very remarkable manner on one occasion. In Thessalonica the populace had some dispute about a favourite charioteer in the circus. A riot ensued, and some of the imperial officers were killed in their efforts to quell it. Theodosius received the tidings when he was at Milan. His fiery temper kindled at once, and he vowed vengeance on the whole city; for he permitted no violence to be done, except in obedience to his own commands. In vain the clergy exhorted him to moderate his wrath. An army of barbarians was sent to Thessalonica. Public games were given by the emperor in the circus, and all the inhabitants invited. When the building was entirely filled, the soldiers received a signal for indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children. From seven to fourteen thousand were slain. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who was then ill in the country, wrote to the emperor: "Sin can be removed only by tears and repentance. No angel or archangel can forgive sin; and the Lord himself forgives only those who come to him with repentance. I dare not distribute the holy elements, if you intend to be present and receive them. Where the blood of so many innocent persons has been shed, shall I venture to do that which I should not presume to do, if but one innocent individual had been killed?" He ex-

horted him to repent, and promised to pray for him, but would not change his determination to exclude him from communion. When the imperial culprit went to the church, to offer his devotions as usual, the bishop met him at the threshold, and said, "Stand back, thou man of blood!" Theodosius humbly pleaded that King David also sinned, yet God accepted him. Ambrose replied: "As you have imitated him in sin, copy him also in repentance." The emperor confessed his guilt, and promised to submit to any penance imposed upon him. He was ordered not to appear in church again for eight months, and to go through a certain form of prayers and religious exercises every day at home. Meantime, the Christmas festival occurred, and when all the world were thronging to the churches, Theodosius sent a message, imploring to be admitted; urging that he had every day obeyed to the letter all that had been enjoined upon him. Ambrose replied: "The emperor has power to kill me, but he must pass over my body, before he can enter the sanctuary of the Lord." When the eight months had expired, the episcopal interdict was removed, on two conditions. The emperor was required to publish an edict, forbidding any execution to take place throughout the empire, until thirty days after the culprit had been convicted by due process of law. In the next place, as his sin had been public, it was required that his penance should be public also. Accordingly, he took off his royal robes, and insignia of office, covered himself with sackcloth, prostrated himself on the pavement of the church, in view of the whole congregation, beat his breast, tore his hair, threw ashes on his head, and with tears implored forgiveness of his great sin; repeating the words of King David, "My soul cleaveth to the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word." Having thus publicly humbled himself, he was again allowed to frequent the church, but he confessed to Ambrose that not a day of his life passed without his feeling a pang for that cruel transaction.

Theodosius lived but few months after his triumph over

Eugenius in Rome. But so active and energetic had been his measures for the downfall of idolatry, that the religion thenceforth called Pagan, lingered in the empire only as a pale disembodied ghost. What the inflexible will of Athanasius had begun, was so effectually aided by his strong arm, and the powerful character of Ambrose, that the church which he decreed should be Universal, and therefore named it Catholic, ruled all Europe for a thousand years, and the creed thus established is still received as an inheritance by a large majority of Christendom.

THE LATER CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

I will now revert to a few of the most prominent characters in the Christian church, while the events I have related in its external history were in progress.

LACTANTIUS.—Lactantius, who is supposed to have died about the year three hundred and thirty, was a philosopher and rhetorician, who became so famous, that Diocletian invited him to settle near the imperial court at Nicomedia, and practise his art. There he became a convert to Christianity. When quite an old man, he was summoned to Gaul, to superintend the education of Crispus, the unfortunate son of Constantine. He wrote many books on religious subjects, some of which are still extant. From the elegance of his style, he has been called the Christian Cicero.

ATHANASIUS.—It is said that Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, on the occasion of a festival in honour of one of his martyred predecessors, observed a troop of boys at their play, imitating the rites of the church. One of them enacted the part of bishop, and performed all the usual ceremonies of baptism. Regarding this as a forerunner of what the child was to be, he caused him to be educated with express reference to an ecclesiastical profession. This boy was the celebrated Athanasius, who soon became dis-

tinguished at school for the quickness of his intellect. In his youth, he was the private secretary of his patron. Being drawn toward monastic life, he went into the desert, and spent some time with the famous hermit, Anthony. When he returned, he was appointed archdeacon, and at the Council of Nice gained great reputation by the ability he displayed in the Arian controversy. Six months after, he succeeded his friend as Bishop of Alexandria. He is said to have been little cultivated in general literature, but deeply versed in biblical learning. To him, more than to any other person, the Christian world owes what was afterward generally received as orthodox doctrine concerning the Trinity; therefore he is often called "the father of theology." He lived at a stormy period, and was a spirit well calculated to ride on the storm. He was banished from his bishopric, recalled in triumph, banished and recalled, again and again; attacked with the utmost rancour of theological hatred; protected and defended with the utmost warmth of theological zeal; accused of many misdemeanours and crimes, and always satisfactorily vindicated; unyielding in his opinions, hot in controversy, but never convicted of dishonesty toward his opponents. He sustained all reverses with fortitude, and could neither be driven or tempted to swerve from the course which his own mind had established as the right one. When Constantine deposed him on account of charges brought against him, he appeared in the midst of a long train of ecclesiastics, as the emperor was riding through the streets, and demanded a hearing. Constantine tried to pass in silence; but the bold prelate exclaimed: "God will judge between you and me, since you thus take part with my slanderers. I only demand that they should be summoned, and my cause heard in the imperial presence." The emperor acknowledged the justice of his request, and summoned his accusers. Being informed that Athanasius boasted he could force him to his wishes, by cutting off the supplies of corn from Alexandria to Constantinople, he formed a strong dislike of him, banished him to the distant city of

Treves, and was ever after accustomed to designate him as "proud, turbulent, obstinate, and intractable." Wherever he resided, the clergy were devoted to him, and so were a majority of the people. His commanding character and inflexible will had immense power over the minds of men. When Constantius, from motives of policy, recalled him to Alexandria, bishops flocked from all parts to welcome him, the city was illuminated, incense waved before him in the streets, alms distributed liberally to the poor, and prayers of thanksgiving offered in all the houses of his numerous friends. When Constantius again deposed him, on account of fresh charges against him, it was deemed necessary to send a force of five thousand men, to carry the order into effect. He was performing service in the church at midnight, preparatory to the communion, when the soldiers burst in. Amid the trampling of horses, and the clashing of steel, he exhorted the people to continue their worship; and the choristers chanted "O give thanks unto the Lord," while the people responded, "For his mercy endureth forever." The clergy around him finally hurried him out of a private door, and compelled him to escape. He retired into the desert, where he outdid all the hermits in fasting and watching, penances and prayers. In vain his enemies hunted for his life. All the monks of the desert were his faithful adherents, and it was impossible to trace him. During several months, he was concealed in his father's tomb. Twenty years of his life were passed in banishment; but he finally died in peaceful possession of his bishopric, and left a high reputation for piety, benevolence, and unblemished virtue. He had the advantage of belonging to the victorious party, and nearly all that we know of him is recorded by his friends and admirers.

BASIL.—Basil, called the Great, was born of a noble Christian family in Cappadocia, in the year three hundred and twenty-nine. During the persecution under Diocletian, his grandfather retired to a mountain forest, in Pon-

tus. His grandmother was a very devout woman, who had often listened to the preaching of Gregory Thaumaturgus; and her character and precepts had a powerful influence on her descendants. His father was an eminent lawyer, and he was educated for the same profession. Having received all the instruction Cæsarea afforded, he went to Constantinople, where he studied rhetoric with the celebrated Libanius. He afterward went to Athens, where at that time many young men of talent congregated; among whom was Julian, afterward emperor. He returned to Cæsarea, where he became distinguished for eloquence as an advocate. But the religious impressions received in childhood, and the persuasions of his pious sister Macrina, induced him to quit the career of brilliant success which was opening before him. He became interested in monastic life, and practised such severe austerities, that he reduced his body almost to a skeleton. He retired to a neighbouring mountain, where he built a monastery intended as a general asylum for orphans. There he spent twelve years, with a large company of devotees, who lived very austere, and divided their time between useful labour, study of the Scriptures, and prayer.

Basil took part in the controversy against Macedonius, concerning the equal dignity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, with almost as much zeal as Athanasius contended with Arians for the equal dignity of the Father and the Son; but he manifested more charity toward opponents, than was common with theological partisans. During a severe famine in Cappadocia he devoted the whole of his fortune to the relief of the sufferers. This increased the popularity he had already acquired by his piety, learning, and comparative mildness in controversy. At the age of forty-one, he was chosen Archbishop of Cæsarea; but he always wore his monastic dress, and retained his ascetic habits. His administration was distinguished by energy, vigilance, strictness in church discipline, and careful examination of candidates for the priesthood; but especially for benevolence to the poor, for whom he caused asylums to

be built in several cities. He was much celebrated for pulpit eloquence, and his prayers were believed to have miraculous power. There was a tradition concerning him, universally believed, that the Holy Spirit, in the form of a white dove, was frequently seen perched on his shoulders, inspiring him while he preached.

When the emperor Valens was travelling through his diocese, he sent a messenger to him, requiring that he should perform the rites of the church in the Arian mode, and admit Arians to the communion. Basil refused to comply, and when reminded that the emperor had power to confiscate all his property, to banish him, and even to put him to death, he calmly replied: "He who owns nothing can lose nothing. All the possessions the emperor can take from me are my cloak, and a few books. Banishment can be no exile to me, since the whole earth is the Lord's. As for torture, my feeble body would yield to the first blows; and death would only bring me nearer to the Lord, for whom my soul longs." The messenger, astonished by his quiet firmness, told the emperor that threats and blandishments were alike useless with that man; and he recommended violent measures. But Valens, aware of his great popularity, and commanding influence, deemed it impolitic to proceed against him. Fearing that his refusal to admit Arians might occasion some tumult, he resolved to appear at church himself, but to manifest his disapprobation by declining to partake of the communion. To his great surprise, Basil proceeded with the usual services of the day, without taking any notice of the imperial presence. No one offered him the communion, yet he found it impossible to be angry. The dignified appearance of the archbishop, his uncommon eloquence, and the general solemnity of the service, impressed him so deeply, that he went up to the altar and presented a gift. The attendant clergy looked at the archbishop, as if uncertain whether the offering of a heretic might be accepted. Basil, seeing that the emperor was much agitated, condescended to advance and receive his oblation. An interview afterward took place between

them. Valens remained unconvinced on doctrinal points, but he forbore to interfere with Basil's regulations, and gave him a liberal donation for the poor of his diocese.

Basil died at fifty years old, his health being ruined by the severe asceticism he had practised. When the people heard he was dying, they flocked round the house, sobbing aloud, and praying earnestly to God to spare their good bishop. Gregory of Nazianzen says there was none of them who would not have willingly given up a portion of life, if they could have prolonged his. The funeral was solemnized with every possible testimonial of love and reverence. It was attended by a vast concourse of Christians, as well as Jews and Pagans; for all good men honoured his memory. Many were pressed to death in the crowd, and followed him to the unseen world. He left many writings of a controversial and religious character; Commentaries on the Scriptures, Treatises on Baptism, Virginity, Monastic Rules, and Christian Morals.

GREGORY.—Gregory was born at Nazianzen, in the same year as Basil the Great. His father belonged to one of the Gnostic sects, but was drawn over to the orthodox faith, by the prayers and tears and gentle example of his pious wife, Nonna, and was subsequently ordained Bishop of Nazianzen. They were childless for many years, and their affectionate souls longed for offspring. When at last a son was given to them, they carried him to the altar of the church, soon after his birth, placed a volume of the Gospels in his little hands, and dedicated him to the service of the Lord. The child was accustomed to hear this spoken of, and early learned to compare himself with the infant Samuel, whose infancy was consecrated to the service of the temple, where God called him in dreams. The devotional habits and religious teaching of his parents continually strengthened his serious tendencies. While he was yet a boy, he had a dream, which led him to resolve on a life of celibacy and holiness. In his sleep, he beheld two celestial virgins, in white robes, with faces that shone

like stars. They took him in their arms and kissed him. Surprised at their wondrous beauty, he asked them whence they came. One of them replied: "I am Charity, and this is my sister Temperance. We come to thee from Paradise, where we stand continually before the throne of Christ, and enjoy ineffable delights. Come to us, my son, and dwell with us for ever."

His father caused him to be educated at the best schools in the empire. For that purpose he was sent to Alexandria, Constantinople, and Athens, where he pursued his studies in company with Basil the Great. From his observation of the young prince Julian, who was at the same school, he predicted that he would depart from his outward conformity to Christianity. Gregory was baptized in his thirtieth year, and retired to monastic solitude with Basil, for whom he had formed a very intimate and tender friendship. They divided their time between manual labour and study of the Sacred Scriptures, and the writings of the early Fathers. Their favourite author was Origen, for whose character and writings they cherished profound veneration. Like his friend Basil, he injured his health by the austerities he practised. He lived on bread and salt, drank water only, and slept but little. He confesses that a life of celibacy was utterly repugnant to his nature; but he deemed a departure from it incompatible with any great attainments in holiness. He wished to withdraw his mind altogether from worldly affairs, but a desire to assist the declining years of his parents compelled him to pay some attention to financial regulations. When Basil became Archbishop of Cæsarea, he appointed him Bishop of Sasina, a small marshy town, where many roads met, and where there was a continual strife between travellers and custom-house officers. It was a post ill suited to a man of his quiet, contemplative habits, and he complained of his friend for placing him in such an uncongenial situation. He soon withdrew again to monastic seclusion, and manifested extreme reluctance to accept of any ecclesiastical office, from a feeling that he was not pure enough to serve

God at the altar. But his timid conscience being alarmed by representations that he was fleeing from duty, he consented to be ordained presbyter, and assisted his father in the discharge of his clerical functions. After the death of the old man, he was chosen bishop of his native place, and was much admired and respected for his eloquence and excellent character. But his love of contemplation and repose again led him to retire from the world and live among the monks. He emerged from his solitude occasionally to build up the Athanasian cause. There being no church belonging to that party in Constantinople, he preached in the house of one of his kinsmen. His earnest eloquence attracted crowds. The Arians, provoked by his success, broke into the house, pelted him with stones, and dispersed the meeting. When Theodosius came to the throne, he summoned him to preside over the churches at Constantinople, in place of the deposed Arian bishop. It has been already stated that he was placed in the episcopal chair by a formidable array of military force; an immense majority of the inhabitants being Arians. Fortunately, he was less inclined to polemical controversy than most teachers of that period. He preached against the prevailing tendency to speculation, and combatted the idea fast gaining ground that soundness in doctrine was of more consequence than the practical performance of religious duties. He said knowledge of divine things was not an end to be attained in this present life; it was to be used merely as a means of becoming holy, in order to be capable of full reception of the truth in the world to come. He bore dislike with humility, and sometimes disarmed his most bitter opponents by meekness. Yet even he approved of the severe edicts of Theodosius against heretics.

The dissatisfaction excited by his appointment, and questions which arose concerning its validity, induced him to ask liberty to resign his responsible and onerous office, to men who cared more for earthly honours and advantages. He delivered a farewell discourse before an assembly of the clergy, in which "he dealt out many a hard

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truth against the worldly-minded bishops." Worn down with perpetual feuds in the churches, he retired to the quiet of private life, amid the brooks and trees of his native town. He was then old and bald, his frame enfeebled, and his face furrowed by inward and outward struggles, and by the severe austerities he practised. But still the conflict with nature continued. The presence of women troubled him, and alarmed his conscience. He allowed no repose to his aged body. He slept on a hard mat, with a sackcloth covering. He wore one thin tunic, went barefoot, and allowed himself no fire. He fasted and prayed, and devoted himself to the composition of poetry in Greek, which, from its difficulty, he considered a penance. In these devotional poems, the praises of virginity are rung through all manner of changes, and Christ is represented as giving it the highest place of honour at his right hand. This sensitive and religious soul lingered in the body ninety years. His writings give a melancholy picture of the clerical temper of his times; especially as manifested in councils.

JEROME.—Jerome was born in Dalmatia, now a southern province of Austria. The precise date of his birth is unknown, but it was not far from three hundred and forty. His parents, who were in prosperous worldly circumstances, sent him to Rome to complete his education, where he pursued with avidity the study of Greek and Latin literature and philosophy. The great capital abounded with temptations, and according to his own account, he fell into some habits of dissipation, from which, however, he soon emerged. The tombs of the martyrs, and the catacombs where Christians were accustomed to meet for worship, in their days of obscurity and peril, made a deep impression on his mind. He became devout, and was baptized. After he left Rome, he travelled on the borders of the Rhine, where he became acquainted with many Christian preachers, and transcribed some commentaries on the Hebrew Scriptures, and other polemical works. He

visited several countries of Western Asia, and at Antioch studied with the learned Appollinaris. In that city, when about thirty-four years of age, he had a very dangerous illness, from which he recovered in a state of religious enthusiasm, which strongly inclined him to become a hermit. He retired to the Desert of Chalcis, between Antioch and the river Euphrates. There he passed four years in solitude, supporting himself by the labour of his own hands, reading, and meditating upon religious books, fasting, watching, and in various ways tormenting himself, to atone for youthful sins. In this state of mind, his conscience reproached him for the time he had bestowed on Pagan literature; in which, however, he still delighted. He says: "To subdue the flesh, I became scholar to a monk, who had been a Jew, to learn of him the Hebrew language. I, who had so diligently studied the copious flowing eloquence of Cicero, and the smoothness of Pliny, had now to inure myself to the hissing and broken-winded words of the Hebrew." If at times he yielded to the temptation of reading Cicero, he endeavoured to atone for it by rigid fasts. If Plato enticed him, he deprived himself of sleep, as a penance. He says: "When I called home my thoughts, and returned to the Hebrew Prophets, their style appeared to me rude and negligent. Blind that I was, I ventured to accuse the light!" During this conflict between conscience and his mental predilections, he states that he had a vision of Christ coming to judgment. An awful voice demanded, "Who art thou?" With trembling accents, Jerome replied: "I am a Christian." "It is false," rejoined the voice. "Thou art a Ciceronian, and no Christian. Where the treasure is there will the heart be also." He was then severely scourged by the attendant angels; and while suffering under their blows, he made a solemn vow never again to read a Pagan book. He was the first of the Fathers, after Origen, who considered it worth while to undertake the great labour of understanding Hebrew.

Monastic asceticism became the ruling passion of Je-

rome's life. Two of his friends, who went into the same desert, died of the tortures they inflicted on themselves, and he also was often on the brink of the grave. Theological disputations in the church at last drew him forth from his retreat. He went to Antioch, and consented to be ordained presbyter, with the express stipulation that he should not be required to perform regularly the duties of his office. He soon after visited Constantinople, where he formed an intimacy with Gregory of Nazianzen, and occupied himself with various translations in the service of the church. Thence he went to Rome, where his learning and zeal commended him to Damasus the archbishop, who employed him in many important affairs. At his urgent intreaty, he undertook a laborious revision and comparison of various manuscripts of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the Christian Gospels, which in the course of much copying, had fallen into a good deal of confusion. At the same time he devoted himself to preaching zealously in favour of a life of celibacy and contemplation. He became a kind of confessor and guide to noble Roman ladies, directed their religious studies, and supervised their conduct. Many rich widows gave all their wealth to the church, and some deserted young families to devote themselves to a life of celibacy and religious contemplation. Such influence over the wealthy and noble naturally excited the indignation of relatives, disappointed in their expectations of legacies, and of young patricians deprived of advantageous marriages with rich maidens. The boldness and severity of his preaching against the indolence and luxury of the clergy in Rome, likewise created many ecclesiastical enemies. He was the object of secret insinuations and open invectives, and was frequently insulted when he appeared in the street. For a good while, he firmly withstood the opposition by which he was surrounded; but after the death of his powerful patron Damasus, he deemed it prudent to withdraw from Rome to Antioch. There he was soon after joined by some of the most zealous of his Roman converts to celibacy, both men and women. With

them he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and took up his residence in a monastery at Bethlehem. From this retreat he fulminated anathemas against various heretical sects. He prided himself on orthodox adherence to the established church, and his style of defending it was acrimonious in the extreme. His virulent attacks on the Pelagians so exasperated them, that they surrounded his monastery with an armed force, and he was obliged to hide himself two years. Soon after his return, his health declined under the continual pressure of toil and excitement. He died at his monastery, in the year four hundred and twenty. He has always been venerated by ecclesiastics as one of the greatest lights of the ancient church.

AMBROSE.—Ambrose was son of the Governor of Gaul. He was sent to Rome in his boyhood, to receive the best education the city afforded. He began his career as a lawyer at Milan, where he soon acquired a brilliant reputation for forensic eloquence. He was afterward invested with consular power over the provinces of which Milan was the capital. When the Arian Bishop died, in three hundred and seventy-four, a violent dispute arose between Athanasians and Arians concerning the election of his successor. Ambrose, as magistrate, deemed it necessary to be present to prevent tumultuous proceedings. He addressed them in a speech intended to allay the excitement. In the midst of his remarks, a little child called out: "Ambrose, bishop!" Whether the child thought that every man who talked to a church full of people was a bishop, and felt a wayward impulse to proclaim that idea, or whether some one instructed him what to say, is uncertain; but the exclamation was hailed as an oracle from heaven, and Ambrose was chosen bishop by acclamation of the people, in which bishops of both parties joined. He tried to avoid the honour thus conferred upon him; pleading that, though a Christian, he had never been baptized. Finding this did not avail, he escaped from Milan; but after travelling all night, he found, to his

great surprise, that he had been going round in a circuit, and with the morning light had arrived at the city gates again. At last, he was obliged to yield to the express commands of the emperor, and was accordingly baptized and ordained bishop, at thirty-four years of age. He began by distributing all his property to the church and the poor, and devoting himself to theological studies. He espoused the orthodox side, and maintained it with rather a high hand. When Justina, mother of the young prince Valentinian, appointed an Arian bishop at Sirmium, he appointed an Athanasian bishop in his stead. When she demanded, in the name of the young emperor, at least one of the churches in Milan for Arian worship, he refused; probably fearing that if one were granted, the demands would be increased. When it was urged that the emperor had power to determine all matters within the empire, and consequently the churches belonged to him, Ambrose replied: "A bishop can not alienate that which is dedicated to God." Justina attempted to take forcible possession of one of the churches; but the populace were in such an excited state, that the soldiers hesitated to make an onset. Ambrose was commanded to leave the city; but he refused to obey. He preached a sermon in which he said sneeringly: "The emperor demands a church. What has he to do with the church of the heretics?" He even ventured to compare the empress-mother with Jezebel. The people, impressed by his boldness, magnetized by his eloquence, and charmed with his noble and affable manners, were ready to sustain him in everything. They kept continual watch in the church day and night, to prevent the Arians from getting possession of it. To sustain their spirits, Ambrose introduced a custom long practised in the Eastern churches, of choirs answering each other in responsive verses. This inspiring addition to the worship excited great enthusiasm. The form of music he then introduced is still used in the churches of Milan, under the name of Ambrosian Chants, characterized by majestic simplicity and fulness of harmony.

Ambrose raised the sacerdotal character to a degree of dignity and importance previously unknown. His power over the violent and despotic Theodosius has been already mentioned. When the young emperor Valentinian was urged to have an interview with him, during the contest for the possession of one of the churches, he said to the officers who recommended it: "If I were to follow your advice, his eloquence would induce you to lay me bound hand and foot before his throne." He was the adviser and guide of several sovereigns, though he never sought to gain their favour, or avoid their displeasure. Difficult negotiations were entrusted to him, and during the frequent revolutions and disturbances which occurred, the vanquished and oppressed always found in him a powerful protector. His administration was marked by increasing grandeur in the forms of public worship, and by zealous efforts in favour of celibacy in both sexes. He wrote three books in praise of virginity, which he dedicated to his sister.

When he was fifty-seven years old, he had a violent attack of illness, during which Christ appeared to him in person, and addressed him with consoling words. The Bishop of Vercelli, who attended upon him, having gone to sleep, was waked by an angel, who said: "Arise quickly! for he is about to depart." He hastened to the bed, where he found Ambrose kneeling at prayer, and had but just time to administer the sacrament before he expired. Some who were present affirmed that they saw his soul ascend to heaven, borne in the arms of angels.

CHRYSOSTOM.—John Chrysostom was the son of a General in the Roman army, who died soon after his birth, in the year three hundred and forty-four. His young mother, Anthusa, who was a very devout Christian, withdrew from society, and devoted herself entirely to the memory of her husband, and the education of her son. In boyhood, he was remarkable for a serious earnestness of mind, and love of solitude. He studied eloquence with the famous orator Libanius, who said he should like to see him his successor

in the school, if the Christians had not stolen him. At the age of twenty, he was already a celebrated pleader at the bar. But the corrupt practices then prevalent disgusted him, and the religious impressions of childhood deepened more and more, until his fame as a lawyer became hateful to him, and he resolved to be a hermit. His mother tried hard to dissuade him, saying: "Make me not a second time a widow, I intreat thee. Awaken not again my slumbering sorrows. Wait at least for my death. Perhaps I shall depart before long. When thou hast laid me in the earth, and united my bones with those of thy father, then travel wherever thou wilt; even beyond the sea. But as long as I live, endure to dwell in my house, and offend not God by afflicting thy mother, who, whatever may be her faults, is at least guiltless toward thee." Her tears so touched his heart, that he was turned aside from his purpose. During her life-time, he lived in private apartments of her house, where her watchful love supplied him with everything, that his mind might not be distracted from religious pursuits. He studied the Scriptures and the Fathers diligently, prepared himself for the ministry, and became a reader in the church. Before he was thirty years old, his mother being dead, he joined a company of monks, who dwelt on the mountains in the vicinity of Antioch. He was greatly charmed with their mode of life, and remained with them four years. In search of more complete seclusion, he retired to a solitary cave, where he committed all the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures to memory. For two years, he did not lie down. Wakefulness and other forms of severe penance, brought on a dangerous illness, which compelled him to return to Antioch. After his recovery, he was ordained presbyter, and at the moment of consecration it is said a white dove descended on his head, which was regarded as a sign of divine inspiration. His eloquent preaching converted many Jews, Pagans, and heretics. He became so celebrated, that in three hundred ninety-seven, he was elected Archbishop of Constantinople. But such was his popularity at Antioch, that the emperor

Arcadius, son of Theodosius, caused him to be secretly conveyed away, before the citizens had time to interfere. He gave orders that all the ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries should go out six miles to meet him, and escort him into the city. His predecessor had maintained a system of luxurious hospitality at the episcopal palace; but John Chrysostom preferred a plain style of living, that he might be enabled to found hospitals, and relieve the indigent. He was so liberal in his charities, that he was proverbially called John the Alms-giver. He devoted much of his time to personal attendance on the poor and suffering. He sent missionaries to the Goths and the Scythians, to Persia and Palestine. In him the oppressed always found a protector, the sinner a sympathizing friend. He was accustomed to say: "With the Devil alone we have nothing in common; with every man we have much that is in common." He was bold, and even reckless, in rebuking hypocrisy and injustice, especially in high places. If there was controversy between the powerful and the lowly, his generous sympathies were always on the poor man's side. He required very strict morality in his clergy, and deposed several bishops for misconduct. He had a strong conviction that men have free choice to become good or evil, to believe or disbelieve; that the grace of God is always bestowed in proportion as men wish to receive it. Therefore, though ready to accept repentance, he was not prone to palliate wrong. Hence, his preaching was of a very practical, searching character, and his denunciation of sin and sinners was sometimes very severe. In one of his sermons, he asked the people of Constantinople: "How many think you will be saved in this city? What I am going to say will terrify you; but yet I must speak it. Of so many thousands, there will hardly be one hundred saved; and I doubt even of those." He was always so much in earnest in what he said, and his style of eloquence was so lively and dramatic, that people deserted the theatres to hear him thunder from the pulpit of Santa Sophia. It had become very much the custom to applaud preachers, as

well as orators, and the vanity of many was gratified by such demonstrations; but when he was interrupted by acclamations, he was accustomed to say, with serious indignation: "The place you sit in is no theatre; nor are you gazing upon actors." He showed neither fear nor favour in his rebukes. In his peculiarly bold, straight-forward manner, he bore public testimony against the extravagance of the empress Eudoxia, the profligacy of her court, and the ambition of ecclesiastics. This made him very popular among the people, but rendered him odious to the empress and her courtiers, whose rapacious avarice was often defeated by his zealous efforts to protect the property of widows and orphans. The worldly-minded among the clergy disliked his strict regulations, his simple mode of living, and his scorching rebukes to those who sought preferment in the church for the sake of honour or gain. From these causes there grew up a party extremely hostile to this truly noble and religious man; and they waited only for some occasion that would serve as a pretext to injure him. Certain monks, who had been excommunicated by Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, on account of their attachment to the tenets of Origen, fled to Constantinople. Chrysostom, always ready to help the destitute, supplied the strangers with a comfortable abode, and wrote to Theophilus beseeching him to pardon them. Instead of complying with his humane request, the haughty prelate sent messengers to Constantinople to accuse them. The monks begged the protection of the empress, who placed great reliance on the blessings and prayers of such devotees. A tangled controversy grew out of it, in which Chrysostom was involved. Theophilus, whose character was in every respect opposite, became his bitter enemy. By various artifices, he contrived to have a synod summoned at Chalcedon, to try Chrysostom. Because he took part with the excommunicated monks, they accused him of favouring the tenets of Origen, of acting contrary to ecclesiastical rules in receiving those whom a brother bishop had excommunicated, of being passionate in his

expressions, and meanly inhospitable in his style of living. What they called passionate expressions doubtless originated in the exceeding sincerity of the man. On all great occasions, he was calm and self-possessed, and he bore personal injuries with the utmost patience; but when he witnessed oppression or hypocrisy, his nature was such that he could not refrain from an honest outburst of vehement indignation. Being summoned to appear before the synod, he professed his readiness to have his conduct examined by them, or by any other assembly in the world; but he required that four of his personal enemies should be excluded from the number of his judges. This reasonable request was not granted; his non-appearance was construed into a confession of guilt, and he was formally deposed. Chrysostom at first resolved to remain with the flock whom he believed God had intrusted to his care; and they, on their part, surrounded his house and the church, to prevent his being carried away. Meanwhile, he addressed to them one of his impassioned discourses, which wrought up their zealous affection to the highest pitch. Finding there was danger of bloodshed in his cause, he stole privately away, gave himself up, and was conveyed into exile. His people received the tidings with a loud outburst of passionate lamentation. They wept bitterly; saying: "It is better that the sun should not shine, than that John Chrysostom should not preach to us." A few days after his departure, a violent shock of earthquake was felt at Constantinople; a circumstance then universally regarded as a token of God's displeasure. When the empress felt her bed rock under her, she started up with intense terror, and falling at the feet of the emperor besought him to avert the wrath of Heaven by recalling John Chrysostom. The startling event had been construed in the same way by the populace; and early the next morning they surrounded the palace, clamouring for the return of their good bishop. Accordingly, messengers were sent to bring him. The whole population, men, women, and children, went out miles to meet him, and escorted him

home with waving torches and hymns of thanksgiving.

About two months after, a magnificent silver statue of the empress was erected in front of the palace, accompanied with festivities resembling the old Pagan ceremonies. The cathedral of Santa Sophia being near by, the meeting for worship was disturbed by the noise; and Chrysostom in his sermon inveighed against such heathenish practices. The empress, being informed of it, became exasperated, and again leagued with his enemies. In consequence of which, he began a discourse by saying: "Again is Herodias angry; again she demands the head of John." Thenceforth, she became his irreconcilable enemy. Being zealously assisted by the machinations of hostile bishops, and having unlimited influence over her husband, the emperor Arcadius, Chrysostom was again sentenced to banishment. Soldiers were sent to seize him, and found him in the cathedral, celebrating the solemnities of Good Friday. They forced their way up to the altar, but the people were determined to protect their bishop. Many of them were wounded, others trodden under foot. The baptismal font was stained with blood; the bread and wine of the eucharist were spilled on the ground, and the church vessels seized as plunder. Chrysostom, foreseeing the danger of popular insurrection, exonerated the emperor, and attributed the proceedings against him to the influence of hostile bishops. In the tumult, he found means to escape from his friends, surrendered himself to the officers, and was carried away in the night. At the moment of his departure, the church took fire and was burnt down. Some accused him of having kindled it, others suspected his adherents. The city continued in an uproar several days. Wherever the partisans of Chrysostom assembled, they were dispersed by soldiers. He was conveyed to Cucusus, a small desolate town, in a mountainous and savage district of Armenia, infested with robbers. There he had much to suffer from external causes, but his faith and courage never forsook him. He wrote letters full of consolation to his friends at Constantinople, and continued to

administer paternal advice to his beloved flock, who under his guidance continued to support zealously his missions in foreign lands. He was also the means of extensive good in the district where he was placed. He bore his wrongs with such cheerful resignation, and was so unwearied in his efforts to benefit others, that he was even more admired in adversity, than he had ever been in prosperity. Many churches expressed sympathy for him, and Innocent, Bishop of Rome, declared strongly in his favour. His enemies began to fear that he would again be brought back to Constantinople in triumph. To prevent it, they resolved to place him where he could not communicate with his friends. He was accordingly conveyed, in the year four hundred and seven, to Pityus, in a barbarian district, at the extreme verge of the Roman empire. The officers who had charge of him compelled him to perform the journey on foot, with his head uncovered, under a burning sun. His body, enfeebled by previous suffering, sunk under these hardships. They carried him to a chapel on the road, where he put on white garments, and received the communion. Immediately after, he uttered a brief prayer, which he had always been accustomed to repeat in seasons of trial: "Blessed be the Lord for all things." And with those words on his lips, he expired at sixty-three years of age.

His memory was cherished with a degree of reverence and love seldom bestowed on mortals; and few have ever deserved it as he did. For a long time, there existed a party at Constantinople called Johannites. They would never acknowledge the justice of the decree by which their beloved pastor was deposed. They refused to receive the communion at the hands of his successor, but held private meetings, where the rites were performed by clergymen who were friends to Chrysostom. Bishops and clergymen in other places protested against the injustice that had been done him. To prevent a wide-spread schism, his name was introduced into the public prayers of the church, and a general amnesty granted to all his adherents. Thirty

one year after his death, the Patriarch of Constantinople persuaded the emperor, Theodosius Second, to have his remains brought back and placed in the royal sepulchre. The emperor himself went as far as Chalcedon, to meet the procession, and bending over the coffin, implored Chrysostom in heaven to forgive the wrongs he had received from his royal parents, Arcadius and Eudoxia. The surviving Johannites, appeased by these public honours to the memory of their good bishop, at last consented to be again united with the ruling church.

The surname of Chrysostom, signifying the Mouth of Gold, was early conferred on this celebrated Father of the church, on account of his rare eloquence. His writings are very voluminous. In his commentaries, he rejected the allegorical mode of interpretation, then so prevalent, and investigated the meaning of texts grammatically.

AUGUSTINE.—Augustine was born in the year three hundred and fifty-four, of Roman parents, in Numidia, Africa. His mother, Monica, was a devout Christian at the time of his birth. Many years afterward, her husband, who was a passionate, arbitrary man, was converted, mainly by the uniform gentleness and meekness of her deportment. She tried to train her son very carefully; but he being naturally ardent and impetuous, did not easily submit to restraint. His parents sent him to Carthage to complete his education; but he disappointed their expectations, by want of application. His mind was quick, inquisitive, and acute; but he liked a rambling mode of reading, and was impatient of hard study. The intensity of his temperament also led him into irregularities, which became more and more attractive by indulgence. His father having economized closely to give him a liberal education, was so ambitious to have him become an eloquent lawyer, that dangers to morality were a subordinate consideration. His godly mother wept and prayed, and gave him good advice; but even she was unwilling to entertain the idea of an early marriage; "for she feared

lest a wife should prove a clog and hindrance to his hopes."

"At Carthage," he says, "there sang all round me in my ears a cauldron of unholy loves." "Among such as these, in that unsettled age of mine, I learned books of eloquence, wherein I desired to be eminent, out of a damnable and vain-glorious end, a joy in human vanity." Before he was nineteen years old, Cicero's Hortensius, containing exhortations to philosophy, came into his hand, and excited in him a strong desire to control his impulses. He says: "This book altered my affections, and turned my prayers to thee, O Lord; and made me have other purposes and desires. Every vain hope at once became worthless to me. I longed with an incredibly burning desire for an immortality of wisdom, and began to arise that I might return to thee. How did I burn then, O my God, how did I burn to remount from earthly things to thee! For with thee is wisdom. But the love of wisdom is in Greek called philosophy, with which that book inflamed me. And as Apostolic Scripture was then unknown to me, I was delighted with that exhortation; but only so far that I was thereby strongly roused and kindled, and inflamed to love, and seek, and obtain, and hold, and embrace, not this or that sect, but wisdom itself, wherever it could be found. Thus enkindled, this alone checked me, that the name of Christ was not in the book. For, according to thy mercy, O Lord, my tender heart devoutly drank in this name with my mother's milk, and deeply treasured it; and whatsoever was without that name, though never so learned, polished, or true, took not entire hold of me. I resolved then to bend my mind to the Holy Scriptures, that I might see what they were. But not as I now speak, did I feel when I turned to those Scriptures. They seemed to me unworthy to be compared with the stateliness of Cicero; for my swelling pride shrunk from their lowliness, nor could my sharp wit pierce the interior thereof. I disdained to be a little one, and, swollen with pride, took myself to be a great one."

In this craving, unsettled state of mind, he became ac-

quainted with the Gnostic sect, called Manicheans. They alleged that Christians were terrified by various superstitions, while *they* appealed to reason only, and "required no one to believe, until the truth had been sifted and cleared." Allured by this promise, he was attracted to their meetings, which he zealously attended during nine years; his longing for truth was never satisfied, but he was always hoping "that something of great account, would be laid open." His father was dead, but his mother mourned bitterly over his heresy. He says: "My mother, thy faithful one, wept to thee for me, more than mothers weep for the bodily death of their children; and thou didst not despise her tears, O Lord, when streaming down they watered the ground under her eyes in every place where she prayed." He records a dream, which was a source of great comfort to her. In her sleep, she seemed to be standing on a wooden rule, and a radiant youth came cheerfully toward her, and inquired why she wept so much. She replied: "Because I bewail my son's perdition." The shining messenger smiled and answered: "Content thyself. Look! dost thou not see that where thou art, there he is also?" And when she looked, she saw Augustine standing by her, on the same rule. In telling this story, he adds: "Whence was this, O thou Omnipotent Good, but that thine ears were turned toward her heart?"

In her anxiety for him, she went to a learned bishop, and besought him to argue with her son, and bring him into the Catholic church. But he replied: "You tell me that the young man is puffed up with the novelty of that heresy, and perplexes unskilful persons with captious questions. Let him alone for a while. Only pray to God for him, and he will himself, by reading, find how great is the impiety of that error." When she continued to weep, and importune him still further, he became a little impatient, and said: "Go thy ways; and God bless thee! It is not possible that the son of so many tears can perish." These words she considered oracular, and received them "as

if they had sounded from heaven." Both of them placed great reliance on dreams and visions. His mother sought to negotiate a marriage for him, and following her advice, he wooed and was promised to a girl, who was so young, that it was agreed to delay the wedding two years. His mother prayed earnestly to God to have some vision concerning this project. But she dreamed "only vain, fantastic things," such as were brought together by her own mind, occupied on the subject. Augustine says: "These she told me of, but slighted them. For she said she could discern between the revelations of God, and the dreams of her own soul, by a certain feeling, which she could not express in words."

For some time, he taught rhetoric in Carthage, as a means of living. But, hoping for better arranged classes, he stole away from his loving mother, who would fain have detained him near her, and went to Rome. There he was visited by severe illness, to which he afterwards looked back with horror, at the thought of dying unbaptized. He says: "I was going down to hell, carrying all the sins I had committed against thee, O Lord, against myself and others, many and grievous, over and above that bond of original sin, whereby we all die in Adam. For thou hadst not then forgiven me in Christ any of these things; nor had he abolished for me, by his cross, the enmity I had incurred with thee by my sins. Had I parted hence then, whither had I gone but into fire and torments?" After his recovery, he still continued to attend the Manichean meetings, and became one of their Elect. But a teacher of rhetoric being wanted in Milan, he went thither. He says: "I came to Ambrose the bishop, known to the whole world as among the best of men, thy devout servant, O Lord; whose eloquent discourse did then plentifully dispense unto thy people the flour of thy wheat, the gladness of thy oil, and the sober inebriation of thy wine. That man of God received me as a father. Thenceforth, I began to love him; not indeed at first as a teacher of truth, but as a person kind toward myself. I listened

diligently to his preaching, trying his eloquence, whether it answered the fame thereof. But though I took no pains to learn *what* he spake, but only to hear *how* he spake, yet together with the words there entered into my mind thoughts which I could not refuse. While I opened my heart to admit how *eloquently* he spake, it also entered how *truly* he spake; but this was by degrees."

He gradually rejected the Manichean theories, but could not as yet receive the doctrines of the church. Some writings of the New Platonists came in his way, and made a strong impression on him. He says: "I therein read, not indeed in the very words, but to the very same purpose, that in the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God, by whom all things were made." Elsewhere, he says he found God the Father and the Son in the theories of Platonists, but nothing concerning the Holy Spirit; confessing that he did not understand what they meant by their Third Principle, which they called The Soul of the World. His inquisitive mind, searching everywhere for truth, led him to seek the acquaintance of an aged Christian, named Simplician, who he thought was "likely to have acquired much experience in the ways of the Lord." When he told Simplician of the Platonic books, which had interested him so deeply, the pious old man congratulated him, that such books had fallen into his hands, instead of the writings of other philosophers; acknowledging that "the Platonists, in many ways, prepared the mind for a belief in God and his Logos." He then told him that the man who translated those books from the Greek was a friend of his, named Victorinus, who, after having been many years a celebrated Platonic teacher at Rome, became a Christian in his old age. Augustine gives the following account: "Victorinus was a learned man, skilled in liberal sciences, who had read and weighed many works of the philosophers. He was the instructor of many noble senators, who placed his statue in the Forum, as a public testimony to his excellent discharge of his office. In his old age, he studied the

Scriptures diligently, and was wont to say to Simplician, 'I am already a Christian.' But his friend always replied, 'That I will not believe, till I see you in the church of Christ;' to which the philosopher would answer, jestingly, 'Do walls then make a Christian?' At last, he said, 'Let us go to the church, I wish to be made a Christian.' The dignitaries of Rome gnashed their teeth." It was customary to make profession of faith from an elevated place in the church, in sight and hearing of all the congregation. The presbyter inquired whether he would like to make his in a more private manner. He replied: "I have taught rhetoric and philosophy publicly; how much more ought I to acknowledge Christianity publicly." All the people knew him; and as he walked into the church, "there ran a low murmur through all the mouths of the rejoicing multitude: 'Victorinus! Victorinus!' Sudden was the burst of rapture when they saw him; suddenly they were hushed, that they might hear him. He pronounced the true faith with an excellent boldness, and all wished to draw him into their very heart." When the emperor Julian forbade Christians to teach from the classics, this aged man gave up the school, of which he had so long been the ornament.

The account of his conversion excited Augustine to emulation. He began to study the writings of the Apostle Paul, and they had a powerful effect on him. A young Christian from Carthage told him wonderful stories of Anthony and other holy monks, in the deserts of Egypt; and he had a longing to become as sanctified as they were. But his affectionate and ardent nature resisted the suggestion. He could not easily relinquish the idea of marriage. Ambrose, and nearly all the church Fathers of that period, zealously preached celibacy, as essential to holiness; and they seemed to him to be sustained by the words of Paul: "He that is unmarried, thinketh of the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord; but he that is married, careth for the things of this world, how he may please his wife." He describes himself as "soul-sick and tormented."

"My ancient mistresses still held me, and whispered softly, 'Dost thou cast us off? and from that moment, shall we be no more with thee for ever?' And I blushed exceedingly that I yet heard the muttering of those toys, and still hung in suspense."

He had at that time a very dear friend, named Alypius, who had pursued the same studies, been attracted by the same Gnostic theories, and shared his interest in the writings of Paul. To him Augustine generally poured forth all his thoughts and feelings; but one day, when the conflict was very sharp within him, he says: "Alypius, sitting close by my side, silently awaited the issue of my unwonted emotion; and that I might pour it forth wholly, I rose and retired so far, that even his presence could not be a burthen to me. I cast myself down under a fig-tree, and giving vent to my tears, I cried out: 'How long, O Lord, how long? Why not now? Why should not this very hour put an end to my uncleanness?' Thus was I speaking, and weeping in the bitter contrition of my heart, when I heard from a neighbouring house, a voice, as of a boy or girl, chanting, and oft repeating: 'Take up and read! Take up and read!' Instantly my countenance changed. I began to think intently whether children were accustomed to sing such words, in any kind of play; and I could not remember ever to have heard the like. So checking the torrent of my tears, I arose; for I interpreted it to be no other than a command from God to open the book, and read the first chapter I found. Eagerly I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I laid the volume of the Apostle Paul, when I rose thence. I seized, and in silence read the first section on which my eyes fell: 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh.' Instantly a serene light was infused into my soul, and all the darkness of doubt vanished away. With a calm countenance I made it known to Alypius. He looked, and saw that the following words were: 'Him

that is weak in the faith, receive.' This he applied to himself. We went to my mother, and told her in order how it had all taken place. She leaped for joy, and triumphed, and blessed God, who had given her more than she had begged of Him by her pitiful and most sorrowful groanings. For thou, O Lord, hadst converted me unto thyself, so that I sought neither wife, nor any hope in this world; standing on that rule of faith, where thou hadst shown me unto her in a vision, so many years before."

Augustine had lived fifteen years with a woman to whom he was strongly attached, and she had given birth to a son, whom he had named Adeodatus. When arrangements were made for his marriage, he had parted from this woman with mutual tears, and she took a vow of perpetual celibacy. The boy was left with him to be educated, and seems always to have been an object of the tenderest affection. When Augustine took the resolution to become a monk, he left his occupation as a teacher of rhetoric, and retired into the country with his friend Alypius, his son, and his mother. There they devoted themselves to prayer and study of the Scriptures, preparatory to baptism. When he was dangerously ill in boyhood, he had greatly desired to be baptized, and his mother had tried to accomplish it, but had been disappointed. Now it was a matter of rejoicing with them both that the rite, which would cleanse him from all his sins, had been so long delayed. Alypius and Adeodatus were to be baptized with him, and they spent their time together in reading and prayer. He calls his friend: "A most valiant tamer of the body; so as with unwonted venture, to wear the frozen ground of Italy with his bare feet." Of his son he says: "In age he is the youngest of us all; but his talents, if affection deceives me not, promise something great. He is truly chaste, waits on God, and keeps himself to Him only." His mother was a happy woman in those days. He says: "Of all of us did she so take care, as though she had been mother of us all; so served us, as though she had been child to us all." The liveliness of their faith is indicated

by the following incident, which he recorded years afterward: "When shall I recall all that passed in those holy days? Thou didst then afflict me with pain in my teeth; and when it had come to such a height that I could not speak, it entered my heart to desire all my friends present to pray for me to thee, God of all manner of health. I wrote this on wax, and gave it to them to read. So soon as with humble devotion we had bowed our knees, the pain went away. How went it away? I was affrighted, O Lord, my God; for from infancy, I had never experienced the like."

It was decided that the baptism should be administered by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan; and thither they all went, accompanied by the godly mother. They arrived at an exciting time, when the empress had demanded a church for the Arians, and when the people watched in the cathedral, night and day, cheered by the newly introduced Ambrosian Chants. To Augustine, in his tender and devout frame of mind, the effect was overpowering. He exclaims: "How did I weep, touched to the quick by the voices of thy sweetly-attuned church!" He was then thirty-three years old, and had acquired reputation for talent. The ceremony was made as impressive as possible. On that occasion the hymn called *Te Deum* was arranged for the church service: Ambrose and Augustine repeating the verses alternately, as they proceeded to the altar. Soon after this solemn scene, Augustine sold his estate, and gave most of the proceeds to the poor; reserving only a very moderate income for himself and his good mother. On their way home, she was seized with a fever, and all knew that her end was approaching. She was calm and cheerful, and full of love toward her child, whom she praised that in all his life he had never spoken to her a harsh or unkind word. She said: "All my hopes in this world are now accomplished. I see thee the servant of God, despising all earthly happiness. Why should I wish to linger any longer here?" Augustine says: "When she breathed her last, the boy Adcodatus burst out into a

loud lament; then, being checked by us all, he held his peace. I closed her eyes; and there flowed withal a mighty sorrow into my heart, which was overflowing into tears. But the childish feeling in me, which through my heart's youthful voice was finding vent in weeping, was checked and silenced. We thought it not fitting to solemnize that funeral with tearful lament and groanings; for she was not altogether dead; of that we were certain, on the grounds of her good conversation, and her faith unfeigned. What then did so grievously pain me within? It was the sudden wrench of that most sweet and dear custom of living together; that life rent asunder, as it were, which of hers and mine together had been made but one."

Not long after, he was called to part with his beloved son. He says of him: "Excellently hadst thou made him, O Lord, my God, Creator of all! He was not quite fifteen, yet in intellect he surpassed many grave and learned men. His talent struck awe into me. Him we joined with us, our cotemporary in grace, to be brought up in thy discipline; and we were baptized, and uneasiness concerning our past lives vanished from us. Soon didst thou take his life from the earth. I remember him without anxiety; fearing nothing for his childhood, or youth, or his whole self."

Not long after his baptism, Augustine was ordained Bishop of Hippo, a small town near Carthage. His administration was characterized by strict morality, hospitality, and benevolence to the poor. He often boldly remonstrated with the rich in behalf of their labourers and tenants. He would never receive any bequest to the church, if it injured the relatives of the donor; and he never used any means to urge a reluctant giver. A citizen of Hippo, who willed his estate to the church, afterward sought to buy back the papers with a sum of money. Augustine sent back both the papers and the money, saying the church accepted only such offerings as were cheerfully given. Several situations of higher rank and

greater income were offered to him, as a tribute to his intellectual ability, and upright character; but he preferred to remain with the flock first intrusted to his care. When Hippo was besieged by the Vandals, thirty-five years after, he refused to leave his people in the midst of their dangers and afflictions. He died there during the siege, in his seventy-sixth year.

He judged severely all non-conformity to the established church, and was constantly engaged in zealous controversy. Augustine though a more cultured man than Tertullian, had the same fiery character and tendency to excess. He adopted the doctrine that all human souls sinned in Adam, and that the inherent stain was physically transmitted by birth; but he carried it out to an extreme result, which had not been previously suggested; for he declared that every infant who died without having Adam's sin washed away by the waters of baptism, must remain in hell to all eternity. His writings exercised a very powerful and lasting influence on the theology of Christianity. On account of his fervid temperament, and glowing piety, painters generally represent him with the symbol of a flaming heart.

OPINIONS AND CUSTOMS OF THE LATER FATHERS.

Some of the later Fathers retained the old idea, so much dwelt upon by Tertullian, that Angels fell in love with mortal women, and produced a family of imps. But Chrysostom, Cyril, and others, declared that instead of *angels* of God, as written in the Septuagint, it ought to have been translated: "The *sons* of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them." By sons of God, they understood descendants of Seth by Enos; a family peculiarly favoured by Heaven, because they "first began to call upon the name of the Lord." The daughters of men were understood to be the descendants of Cain. The ideas concerning Pagan deities remained much the same as those entertained by the primitive

church. Lactantius says: "Evil Spirits, being adjured by Christians in the name of God, retire from the bodies of men; and being lashed by their words, as by scourges, confess themselves to be demons. They even tell their names, acknowledging that they are the same Spirits worshipped in the temples; and this even in the presence of their own worshippers; yet casting no reproach on religion, but on their own honour. It is not in their power to lie to God, in whose name they are adjured, or to the pious by whose voice they are tortured; therefore, after many howlings, they frequently cry out that they are scourged and burned, and are going out instantly." When Vigilantius protested against the honours paid to the bones of martyrs, Jerome attacked him violently. He bade him go into the churches of the martyrs where so many miracles were daily wrought, and he would be cleansed from the Evil Spirit which possessed him, and feel himself burnt, not by the wax candles which so much offended him, but by invisible flames which would force the Demon that talked within him to confess himself the same that had personated Mercury or Bacchus, or some other of the false gods. When Martin, Bishop of Tours, was zealously employed demolishing temples, he declares that the Evil Spirits who had been worshipped in them, under such names as Jupiter and Apollo, often appeared to him, and tried to stop his operations; but they had no power when he spoke to them in the name of Christ. Chrysostom, Gregory Bishop of Nyssa, and other Fathers, speak of the miraculous expulsion of Devils as a thing of frequent occurrence. The possessed persons are described as falling on the ground, tearing their hair, groaning with an inarticulate voice, and foaming at the mouth. Their faces grew black, and their eyes distorted; for "the Devil did not desist from strangling them." It is evident that the process of curing them was sometimes slow; for they often resorted to the churches as a kind of hospital. There a class of church officers, called Exorcists, took charge of them; whose business it was to pray over them, to provide their food, to keep them

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employed in some innocent business for exercise, such as sweeping and dusting the church, to prevent the more violent agitations of Satan, lest he should be tempted by their idleness to renew his attacks upon them." When they were in a sober state, those of them who had been baptized were allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper, which was thought to be very efficacious in warding off the paroxysms.

Miraculous power was everywhere attributed to holy relics; a custom unknown to the Jews, but prevalent among Hindoos and Buddhists from very ancient times. Chrysostom was eloquent on this theme. He says: "Not only the bones of martyrs, but their urns and their tombs overflow with benedictions. Let us prostrate ourselves before their relics. Let us embrace their coffins. Since their bones possess such great power, these also may have some. Not only on the days of their festivals, but on all other days, let us fix ourselves to them, and intreat them to be our patrons." Elsewhere, he says: "We are not to suppose the bodies of martyrs are left without active force, like those of common men; since a greater power than a human soul is superadded to them; the power of the Holy Spirit, which, by working miracles in them, demonstrates the truth of the resurrection." "Gold never dispelled diseases, or warded off death; but the bones of martyrs have done both." Basil says: "All who are in distress or difficulty fly for relief to the tombs of the martyrs; and whosoever touches their relics acquires some share of their sanctity." Even the oil in the lamps, kept continually burning before their remains, was believed to possess a miraculous virtue. Jerome says many were cured of the bites of venomous animals by touching their wounds with it. Chrysostom testifies that he knew many cases where the application of it dispelled various diseases. Augustine says a virgin of the church in his own time was cured of a devil by it; and that a young man, who was dead, was restored to life by being anointed with it. When one of his presbyters was accused of a misdemeanor, and he had no evidence but the parties themselves, he sent them to

the sepulchre of Felix the martyr, to have it decided by his miraculous interposition ; as he says had been done to his knowledge in a case of theft at Milan.

Bones believed to be the remains of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy, were brought from Palestine, and deposited in the magnificent Church of the Apostles, built on the banks of the Bosphorus, by Constantine the Great. Fifty years after, the ashes of Samuel, the Hebrew Judge and Prophet, were brought from his native land in a golden urn covered with a mantle of rich silk. All along the road, it was delivered by one bishop into the hands of another, so that a procession continually escorted it. The emperor Arcadius went out from Constantinople, with a long train of illustrious clergy and senators, to receive the sacred deposit. The bones of Stephen, the first martyr, lay buried and unknown for nearly four hundred years. But Gamattel, the learned Jewish Rabbi, by whom the Apostle Paul was instructed, appeared three times, in a dream, to a presbyter at Jerusalem, and told him where to find them. When they were dug up, the earth trembled all around, and a fragrance from them floated on the air, which cured, of various diseases, seventy-three of the spectators. A church was built on Mount Zion to receive the treasure thus miraculously discovered. Some of these relics were conveyed to Hippo. Augustine relates many miracles performed by them. People were cured of gout, stone, and fistulas; the blind were restored to sight; and five persons were raised from the dead, Two of them were carried dead to the relics, and brought back alive; two were restored by garments that had touched the relics; and the fifth by oil from the lamps. Augustine concludes the enumeration with an apology for telling so few miracles, out of the great number publicly known and recorded. He says that merely the certified cures, without any of the other miracles, would fill a great number of volumes. Chrysostom says, as soon as the coffin of the martyr Babylas was placed in the chapel provided for it, the oracle of Apollo in the temple near by was struck dumb at once; so that

when the emperor Julian went to consult it, the only answer he could get from Apollo was that the dead man would not allow him to speak any longer. And when Julian commanded the bones to be carried back to Antioch, the temple and statue of Apollo were struck by lightning, and consumed at the request of Babylas.

In such a state of feeling, the possession of celebrated relics not only rendered a church attractive, but greatly increased its revenue. In Jerome's time, they were regarded as a necessary appendage to every place of worship. They became such an important article of commerce, that the graves were extensively robbed; and Theodosius the Great found it necessary to pass a law forbidding men to disturb the bones of saints. The people of Milan intreated Ambrose to procure some relics for their church; and he was very desirous to gratify them. With this thought dwelling on his mind, he went to pray in the church of the martyrs, Nabor and Felix; and as he knelt, a kind of trance, which was not exactly sleep, fell upon him. In a vision, he beheld two young men of incomparable beauty, clothed in white garments; and the Apostles Peter and Paul were with them. It was revealed to him that the two young men were martyrs, whose bodies lay near the spot where he was kneeling. He convoked his clergy, and ordered search to be made. As they approached the spot indicated, a man possessed by a devil was seized with a sudden paroxysm; the devil being conscious of the presence of holy remains. Two skeletons of gigantic size were found, with the heads separated from the necks. With them was buried a writing, which stated that they were twin brothers, named Gervasius and Protasius, who were beheaded for Christianity, in the reign of Nero. Some good man had buried their bodies in his garden, where they remained undiscovered till thus miraculously revealed to the Bishop of Milan. Three hundred years had passed since the persecution by Nero; but though they had been buried so long, there was a quantity of blood in the tomb. Ambrose ordered them to be placed under the altar in his

church. Alluding to the Lord's Supper which was laid on the altar, and called a sacrifice, he said: "Let the victims be borne in triumph to the place where Christ is the sacrifice. Upon the altar is he who suffered for all; and under the altar let them repose, who were redeemed by his suffering." Accordingly, the day after the bodies were found, they were carried in solemn procession to the church. It is recorded that many who were afflicted with diseases, or possessed by devils, crowded round the bier, and if they could but touch the drapery that covered it, they were immediately cured, and the devils which were cast out reluctantly confessed the power to which they had been compelled to submit. Augustine says: "I was then at Milan, and I knew the miracles. Not only they who were vexed with unclean Spirits were cured, (the devils confessing themselves,) but a certain man who had for many years been blind, a well-known citizen, hearing the confused joy of the people, and learning the cause, sprang forth, desiring his guide to lead him thither. When he arrived, he begged to be allowed to touch the bier with his handkerchief; which, when he had done, and put the handkerchief to his eyes, they were forthwith opened. He made a vow that for his whole life he would serve in that church. We rejoiced that he had recovered his sight, and when we went from Milan, we left him serving." Ambrose, in a sermon before a large audience, spoke thus concerning the miracle: "The Arians deny that the blind man received sight; but he does not deny that he is cured. He says, I have ceased to be blind; and he proves it by facts. He is a well-known man, formerly employed in public services, a butcher by the name of Severus. He proclaims publicly that when he touched the hem of the garment, wherewith the sacred remains of the martyr are covered, his sight was restored; and he calls those, by whose benevolence he was formerly supported, to testify to the fact." In the crowded church, Ambrose devoutly returned thanks for the wonderful vision which had been sent to inform him concerning the grave of these holy martyrs. They were reverently placed under

the altar, and the church was consecrated under the name of Gervasius and Protasius.

All these wonderful circumstances are recorded by Ambrose himself, by his secretary Paulinus, and by Augustine. The Arians, among whom were the young emperor, Valentinian Second, and his mother Justina, were sceptical concerning both the vision and the miracle. They accused Ambrose of having hired the blind man to perform a part. But the people believed that a man so signally favoured by Heaven as their bishop had been, must be divinely inspired to know the truth. This incident so much strengthened the party over which Ambrose presided, that the imperial family thought it best to desist from any further efforts to obtain toleration for Arians.

Grecians and Romans had copied the ancient and almost universal custom of invoking the spirits of departed ancestors, in cases of emergency, or when about to commence a voyage, or a journey, or any other great undertaking. This custom was transferred to the spiritual ancestors of the Christian church. Basil, while commemorating the Feast of the Forty Martyrs, thus addressed their spirits: "O ye common guardians of the human race, coöperators in our prayers, most powerful messengers, stars of the world, and flowers of churches, let us join our prayers with yours." Ephrem of Edessa says: "I intreat you, O holy martyrs, who have suffered so much for the Lord, that you would intercede for us with Him, that he may bestow his grace upon us." Jerome, speaking of the souls of martyrs, says: "They always follow the Lamb wheresoever he goes; forasmuch, therefore, as the Lamb is present everywhere, we ought to believe that they also, who are with the Lamb, are present everywhere." In the latter part of the sixth century, the custom of invoking martyrs became a formal regulation of the church.

Magnificent churches were built to martyrs, and became the general resort of the diseased and the afflicted. In the temples of Æsculapius it had been customary for those who sought aid from the god to lie prostrate in his temple,

waiting for dreams or visions to inform them how they could be cured; and Æsculapius was often supposed to appear and prescribe the suitable remedies. Those who received benefit hung up in his temple the image of a hand or foot that had been healed, accompanied by a tablet describing the cure. The same customs were transferred to the churches of the martyrs. Invalids waited there for dreams or visions, and many accounts are given concerning the visible appearance of the departed saints. Theodoret, a church historian and a Syrian bishop, in four hundred and twenty-three, says: "We frequently offer up hymns each day to the Lord in the churches of the martyrs. We pray their spirits to continue us in health; when sick, we beg them to cure us; when we undertake a journey, we beseech them to be our guides and protectors; and when we return safely, we go to their churches to return thanks to them. That those who pray to them, with faith and sincerity, obtain what they ask, is testified by the great number of offerings made to them in consequence of benefits received. Some offer the images of eyes, some of feet, some of hands, made of gold or silver, which the Lord accepts, though but of little value; measuring the gifts by the ability of the giver. These monuments proclaim the power of the dead to cure distempers; and this power demonstrates their God to be the true God."

There were some who protested against these doctrines and customs. Vigilantius of Gaul wrote against the exceeding reverence paid to martyrs and their relics, and he influenced many minds. He doubted the miracles said to be performed at their tombs, and rejected the idea of their intercession in heaven. The practice of keeping lamps burning before the shrines of martyrs he considered a copy of the custom in Pagan temples. This opposition greatly exasperated Jerome, who attacked him in his violent way, comparing him to all sorts of dragons, scorpions, and beasts of prey. He brings forward the sanction of great names as an invulnerable argument. He says: "Was the emperor Constantine sacrilegious, who transported the

relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy, to Constantinople? At whose presence the devils howl and are confounded; such devils as inhabit the wretched Vigilantius. Was the emperor Arcadius impious, who removed the bones of the holy Samuel to Thrace? Were all the bishops sacrilegious, who enshrined those precious remains in a vessel of gold, covered with silk? Were all the people sacrilegious, who went to meet it, and received it as if it were the living prophet himself? Is the Bishop of Rome impious, who offers sacrifice [the eucharist] on the altar, under which are the venerable bones of Peter and Paul? Vigilantius would call it their vile dust. Are bishops of all the cities of the world impious, who reverence relics, around which the souls of martyrs are constantly hovering, to hear the prayers of the suppliant?" "Answer me, how comes it to pass that in this vile dust and ashes of the martyrs there is so great a manifestation of signs and wonders? Thou most wretched of mortals! I see what thou art so grieved at, so afraid of. The Evil Spirit within thee, which compels thee to write thus, has often been tortured, and is now tortured, by this vile dust." But though Jerome fully believed that the souls of departed saints received the prayers of mortals, he totally denied that they were worshipped by the church. He says: "We do not adore martyrs, or angels, or cherubim, or seraphim; lest we should serve the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore. But we honour the relics of the martyrs, that our minds may be raised to Him, whose martyrs they are." Augustine likewise indignantly repelled the same charge, brought by his old friends the Manicheans. He says: "We offer sacrifice to no martyr, nor to the soul of any saint, nor to any angel. We worship God only." The practice of bringing bones and ashes from the graves, and depositing them in places of worship, was more shocking to Pagans than any other peculiarity of the Christians; for in all the ancient religions, contact with dead bodies was considered polluting, and priests purified themselves before they performed worship, if even their garments had touched a bone. Those

who became Christians conquered this feeling by their belief that the bodies of martyrs had been made sanctified temples of the Holy Ghost, and would become so again at the resurrection.

Hindoos, from very ancient times, were accustomed to make pilgrimages from far and near to their Holy City, Benares; also to the tombs of celebrated saints, who had become one with God during their lifetime in this world; and to temples where the relics of Crishna, and other incarnated gods, were deposited. Buddhists made similar pilgrimages to the Holy Mountain, where was the last footprint of Bouddha, when he ascended to the celestial world; to other Holy Mountains, consecrated by the prayers and miracles of his disciples; and to shrines containing relics of those sanctified men; of which the most celebrated was the one which possessed a tooth of Bouddha in a golden box set with gems by which many miracles were said to be performed. This custom from the East also passed into Christianity. Helena, and her son, Constantine the Great, accompanied the bishop Eusebius on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and caused churches and chapels to be erected wherever Christ and his Apostles were said to have trodden. The True Cross then dug up on Mount Calvary was preserved in a silver shrine, and attracted an immense multitude of pilgrims, to whom the Bishop of Jerusalem sold small portions of the cross set in gold and gems. These fragments obtained such celebrity for curing diseases, and protecting people from danger, that all the timber in the cathedral could not have supplied the demand. But the sacred wood was declared to have the miraculous power of perpetual growth; so that it never diminished. The empress Eudoxia, wife of Theodosius the Younger, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in great pomp, and brought back to Constantinople the right arm of Stephen the martyr, the chains of the Apostle Peter, and a portrait of the Virgin Mary, painted by Luke the Evangelist. Paula, a wealthy patrician widow in Rome, and her daughter Eustochium, were converted by the preaching of Jerome, and soon after,

with a train of devout maidens, they went to Antioch, to join him and other devotees, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. They afterward went to Egypt, to visit all the spots said to be consecrated by the footsteps of Joseph and Mary. Augustine says the whole world flocked to Bethlehem, to see the place of Christ's nativity; and that pilgrimages to Arabia were undertaken, to look at the dunghill on which Job sat. From all these places relics were brought, and became lucrative sources of revenue not only to churches, but to cities, on account of the great concourse of strangers they attracted. The relics were generally deposited under the altars, or aisles, of churches; and the fame of the miracles wrought by them brought crowds of suppliants, who might be seen at all times kneeling before the altar, or prostrate in the aisles, kissing the pavement, imploring relief from disease, or lameness, praying for children, for the welfare of distant relatives, and for all manner of temporal blessings. Those who received benefit, gave money to the church, hung commemorative tablets on the walls, or presented a picture or image of the martyr, to whom they wished to express gratitude; as Buddhists and Grecians had from time immemorial been accustomed to consecrate a statue or a painting to their temples, on similar occasions.

Jerusalem, above all other places, attracted a devout multitude. Yet in the presence of perpetual worship and miracles, the Holy City was distinguished for the grossest licentiousness, robbery, theft, poisoning, and other forms of murder. Such is the testimony of Jerome, who for several years resided in the neighbouring village of Bethlehem. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, who passed through Jerusalem on a visit to the Arabian churches, in the year three hundred eighty, was so shocked by the violence and sensuality he witnessed, that he sent abroad a letter earnestly dissuading Christians from congregating there; and especially exhorting women not to undertake a pilgrimage which would expose them to much insult and scandal, and render them liable to see and hear many obscene things.

The belief in the marvellous does not seem to have di-

minated with the lapse of centuries. Arnobius, who lived in the fourth century, tells us: "In these days, Christ sometimes appears to just and holy men; not in vain dreams, but in his pure and simple form. The mention of his name puts Evil Spirits to flight, strikes their oracles dumb, deprives their soothsayers of the power of answering, and frustrates the efforts of arrogant magicians. Not because they have an aversion to his name, as the heathen pretend, but by the efficacy of his superior power." Many miracles are recorded of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. It is said that a woman afflicted with paralysis was carried to him in her bed, and as soon as she touched his garments, she recovered her health. An obstinate heretic, who used to go and hear him merely for the sake of refuting his arguments, was converted by seeing an angel at his side, prompting the words he uttered. One day, when Ambrose went to the Governor's house, to beg mercy for a poor wretch condemned to die, he was refused admittance. He turned away, saying: "Thou thyself shalt fly to the church for refuge, and shall not be able to enter." A short time after, the Governor being pursued by enemies, did fly to the church for protection, and though the doors stood wide open, he could not find his way in, but wandered about, in strange bewilderment, till he was killed. Martin, Bishop of Tours, cotemporary with Ambrose, was the greatest of all the wonder-workers of his time. The mere touch of his garments cured the most inveterate diseases; and it is recorded that he restored three dead men to life. He obtained such extensive reputation for casting out devils, that he was appointed to the office of exorcist in the church. Epiphanius, who was Bishop of Constantia, in the latter part of the fourth century, says: "For the conviction of unbelievers, whole fountains, and even rivers, are at the present day turned into wine. At Cibra, a town of Caria, there is a fountain, which annually undergoes this change, at the very hour when, at the bidding of Christ, the attendants at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee drew wine from the water vessels, and presented it

to the president of the feast. Another fountain of the same kind exists at Gerasa in Arabia. I have myself drank from the fountain of Cibyra, and my brethren from that of Gerasa." Augustine tells of a pious old cobbler, who prayed for a new coat at the Chapel of the Twenty Martyrs. Some young fellows, who overheard him, made much fun of him. He walked away without minding their jeers, and presently he saw a large fish gasping on the shore. He took it to the market, and with the proceeds bought wool, which he intended to have woven into cloth. When the cook cut the fish open, she found a gold ring in it, which she carried to the cobbler, saying: "Here is the coat the Twenty Martyrs have given you." The same Father tells of a lad who was cured of palsy by being carried to an oratory containing some holy earth from Jerusalem. Hunneric, the Vandal General, being an Arian, forbid the Catholics to hold meetings in the provinces he conquered. Some of them having assembled after this decree, their tongues were cut out by his orders; but they still continued to speak, and praise the Lord. An account of this miracle was published two years after the event, by Victor, a bishop in Africa. He says: "If any one should doubt the truth of what I state, let him repair to Constantinople, and listen to the clear and perfect language of Restitutus, the sub-deacon, one of those glorious sufferers, who is now lodged in the palace of the emperor Zeno, and is respected by the devout empress." Ænæus, a Platonic philosopher converted to Christianity, speaks of this miracle in his work on the Immortality of the Soul. He says: "I saw the men myself. I heard them speak. I diligently inquired how such an articulate voice could be formed without any organ. I used my eyes to examine the report of my ears. I opened their mouths, and saw that the tongues had been completely torn away by the roots; an operation which physicians generally suppose to be mortal." This miracle is referred to by several later writers, and by the emperor Justinian, in one of his edicts. In after times, it was said that one of the sufferers was a

boy who had been dumb from his birth, until his tongue was cut out.

It was a custom with the Druids to borrow money, for which they gave people notes payable in another world; and these writings were buried with the dead, that they might take with them the proof of their claims. I find one similar transaction recorded of a Christian priest. Synesius, the learned Bishop of Ptolemais, early in the fifth century, had a friend, Evagrius, who resisted his efforts at conversion; requiring to have proof that the Scripture was true, which declares: "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord, who will repay him." At last, his doubts were so far overcome, that he gave the bishop three hundred pieces of gold to be distributed among the poor, and received a written bond for the money, payable after death, in the name of the Lord. He kept the writing carefully, and on his death-bed instructed his family to put it secretly within his hand when they buried him. They did so; and three nights afterwards, he appeared in a dream to Synesius, who had not been informed of the transaction, and said: "Come to my grave, and take back your note. I have received full payment, and have written a discharge." The grave being opened, the note was found, with a receipt in full endorsed upon the back of it, in the handwriting of the deceased. This note was long afterwards preserved in the church at Cyrene, as a precious relic.

The belief that miracles could also be performed by unbelievers, through the evil agency of magic, continued to prevail generally. The degree of faith on this subject, is indicated by Lactantius. Speaking of some who declared that the soul died with the body, he says: "They would not dare to affirm this in the presence of a magician; for he would refute them on the spot, by calling up the souls of the dead, rendering them visible to human eyes, and making them foretell future events."

There are, however, indications that human reason began to put some weight into the other scale; enough at

least to make the balance waver. Though Chrysostom relates so many wonders wrought by relics of martyrs, consecrated oil, and the sign of the cross, yet in other parts of his writings, he apologizes for the diminution of miracles in his day. He says: "Paul's handkerchiefs could once do greater miracles than all the Christians of our day can do, with ten thousand prayers and tears. Because no miracles are wrought now, we are not to consider it proof that none were performed then; for then they were of use, but now they are not. In the infancy of the church, extraordinary gifts of the Spirit were bestowed, even on the unworthy; because those early times stood in need of that help to facilitate the propagation of the Gospel. But now, they are not given even to the worthy, because the present strength of the Christian faith no longer needs them." "There are some who ask: 'Why are there no persons now who raise the dead, and cure diseases?' It is owing to want of faith, and virtue, and piety in these times." In another place, he speaks of miracles as proper only "to rouse the dull and sluggish; frequently liable to sinister suspicions of being mere phantasms and illusions." He adds: "It is a proof of the greater generosity of this age, to take God's word without such pledges."

Though Augustine enumerates more than seventy miracles, within two years, within his own diocese, three of which were resurrections from the dead, he also offers an explanation of the decline of miracles. He says: "They ask why are not those miracles performed now, which you declare to have been wrought formerly? I could tell them that they were then necessary, before the world believed, for the very purpose that it might believe; but he who requires a prodigy to make him a believer now, when the world believes, is himself a greater prodigy." He also makes a statement which implies a certain degree of indifference, if not incredulity on the part of the public. He says: "Though miracles are often wrought by the name of Jesus, or by his sacraments, or by the relics of martyrs, yet they do not acquire so much reputation as did those of the

Apostles. They are scarcely ever known to the whole city or place where they occur, but for the most part are known only to a very few; and if they are told abroad, they are not recommended with such authority, as to be received without difficulty and doubting, though told by true believers to true believers." Therefore, when he heard of any miracle, he caused the parties to be examined, and if facts seemed to sustain the report, an account of them was drawn up, and publicly read to the people. But he says: "Those who hear it, retain nothing of it a few days after, and seldom take the pains to repeat it to anybody else."

It was an oriental custom to wear religious symbols marked on the forehead. The devotees of different sects in Hindostan were distinguished by such marks. Allusions made by Chrysostom and Augustine imply that in their day Christians frequently had a cross impressed in some way upon their foreheads. The cross was at first merely a sign, made by motion of the hands; but after the time of Constantine, it began to be used as an image, made of wood, silver, or gold, and often adorned with precious stones. It was considered a talisman, to cure diseases and protect from all kinds of dangers; hence representations of it abounded everywhere, in public and private, as did the Cross of Hermes, among the Egyptians. Chrysostom affirms that in his own time it had sometimes been miraculously impressed upon the garments of people. He calls it "a defence against all evil, and a medicine against all sickness." He says: "This sign, both in the days of our forefathers and our own, has thrown open gates that were shut; destroyed the effects of poisonous drugs; dissolved the force of hemlock; and cured the bites of venomous beasts." "This sign of universal execration, of extremest punishment, has now become the object of universal longing and love. We see it everywhere triumphant. We find it in houses, on the roofs and the walls; in cities and in villages; on the great roads, and in the deserts; on mountains, and in valleys; on the market-place, and on

ships; on books, and on weapons; on the bodies of those possessed with Evil Spirits; on diseased animals; on wearing apparel; on vessels of gold and of silver; on beds, and in pictures; in the marriage chamber, and at banquets; in the dances of those going to pleasure; and in the associations of those that mortify their bodies," [monks.] Augustine says: "The sign of the cross on the forehead of kings is now more precious than a jewel of his diadem." He cautioned men against the mere mechanical custom, and reminded them that it was not the outward image, or the external sign described on the forehead, that was pleasing in the sight of God, but the imitation of Christ's humility in the soul.

Other religions were made tributary to the prevailing tendency to invest Christianity with supernatural interest. The simple fact that priests of Apollo considered it profanity to perform their rites in the presence of dead bodies, was construed by Chrysostom into a miracle. He said Apollo confessed it was not in his power to utter any more oracles, because the martyr Babylas had commanded him to be silent. The Fourth Eclogue of Virgil was continually quoted as a prophecy of Christ. Eusebius, the historian, who manifests great credulity in many instances, regarded as true prophecy the acrostic attributed to the Erythræan Sibyl, forming the words Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. He says: "Many people, though they admitted that the Erythræan Sybil was a prophetess, rejected this acrostic, suspecting it to have been forged by the Christians. But the truth is manifest. Our people have been so exact in computing the times, that there is no room left to imagine the verses were made after Christ, and falsely sent abroad as predictions of the Sibyl. All agree that Cicero had read this poem, which he translated into the Latin tongue, and inserted in his works." The simple fact is, Cicero alluded to certain verses, which partisans of Julius Cæsar wrote to serve a political purpose, and attributed them to the Erythræan Sybil. He ridiculed the poetry, and said the acrostic form implied labour and study, and

therefore could not have been uttered by any of the Sybils, who always prophesied in states of ecstasy.

Eusebius likewise quotes the following story from Plutarch. In the reign of Tiberius, a vessel sailing from Asia to Italy, passed by certain Islands in the Ægean Sea, in the evening. A voice was heard from the shore calling out to Thamus, one of the mariners on board, telling him when they came to the Palades, to inform the people that the great Pan was dead. The commander, who doubtless had the common tendency to be impressed by any sudden or mysterious utterance, resolved to obey the injunction, if circumstances seemed to favour it. When the vessel arrived at the designated place, it was detained by contrary winds, and the message was proclaimed. Whereupon, there came upon the breeze a sound as of many voices, howling and wailing. As Jesus was crucified in the reign of Tiberius, Eusebius believed these woful sounds came from Evil Spirits, lamenting that Pan was overthrown, and the kingdom of Satan in general subverted by the sacrifice of the Son of God. Christian writers of the third and fourth centuries likewise relate that when the Roman Senate decreed divine honours to the emperor Augustus, he consulted the Sibyl Tiburtina whether he ought to allow himself to be worshipped. After some days of meditation the Sybil summoned him, and pointing to the sky, showed him an altar in the opening clouds, and above it a beautiful woman with an infant in her arms. At the same time, he heard a voice saying: "This is the altar of the Son of the living God." In consequence of this vision, it is said Augustus erected an altar on the Capitoline Hill, inscribed to the "First Born of God."

These stories were often founded on some real occurrence, exaggerated or changed in the course of repetition; as was the case with regard to the oracle of Apollo silenced by the bones of Babylon, and the thunder-shower which refreshed the army of Marcus Aurelius. Desiderius Herauldus remarks: "The Christians of that time strained to their advantage all the actions, words, and writings of the

Pagans, which they often interpreted contrary to the true meaning." The candid examiner is obliged to confess that there is too much foundation for this assertion.

It was a common opinion among the Fathers that the Garden of Eden still existed in all its primeval beauty, though inaccessible; being on the summit of a high mountain, reaching into the third region of the air, near the moon. This extreme elevation protected it from the waters of the deluge. Augustine did not urge it as an essential point of faith, but he thought it improper to reject it, inasmuch as Irenæus, and other primitive Fathers, declared it to have been a doctrine taught by the Apostles. Some supposed that Enoch and Elijah both existed in the body in that terrestrial Paradise waiting the appointed time to appear on earth again and contend with Antichrist, preparatory to the coming of the Lord.

On some moral questions there was a diversity of opinion among the Fathers. Some thought it wrong to take interest for money. Lactantius differed from the generality of Christians in regarding all war as a violation of the commandment: "Thou shalt not kill." He was the last of the Fathers who clung to the belief that Christ would come visibly and establish a kingdom on earth. There was an increasing tendency to give predictions on that subject a spiritual interpretation. But the doctrine still retained its hold on popular belief, and was a frequent theme for prophets. Jerome speaks of a millennium of wine, and wheat, and fruitful marriages, as "a Jewish fable, which ought to be rejected;" but he adds that he foresaw how many people would be angry with him.

Ideas concerning animals in Paradise which Jews derived from the Talmud, they transmitted to the Fathers. Basil, describing the garden of Eden, says: "Then the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air were all tame and mild. They heard, and spoke so as to be understood without any difficulty. There was then nothing in the appearance of the serpent to excite horror. He did not crawl on his belly, but walked erect."

The mode of interpreting Scripture continued to be exceedingly arbitrary and undefined. Ambrose says when Jesus told his disciples, "Ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove," he meant the Devil by the word mountain. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, quotes the words: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father." He says by the two sparrows are meant sinners, who sell themselves to sin for mere trifles; thus becoming both as one; the soul thickening into a body, as it were, by means of sin. By the ninety-nine sheep that went not astray, he understood the angels; and by the one lost sheep, mankind; inasmuch, as all mankind were lost by partaking the sin of one man. The following exposition by Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia, is as singular a specimen of natural history, as it is of Biblical interpretation: "There is no bird that manifests such love for its offspring, as the pelican. The female, while setting on her nest, cherishes her young with such tenderness, that she pierces their side with her kisses, and they die of the wounds. In three days, the male bird visits the nest, and is deeply affected at finding his young ones dead. Under the impulse of his grief, he strikes his own side, and opens wounds in it; and the blood which flows thence, infused into the wounds of the young birds, restores them to life. Thus our Lord Jesus had his side pierced by a spear, and immediately there came forth blood and water; and he dropped his blood upon his young ones; that is, upon Adam and Eve, and the prophets, and all the dead; and enlightened the world, and gave them life, by his three days' burial and his resurrection. It is on this account he said, by the prophet: 'I am a pelican in the wilderness.'"

The early Fathers applied to the person of Jesus the prophecy concerning the Messiah, which declares he would have no beauty that men should desire him. Some of the later Fathers, including human beauty in their general contempt for every thing connected with the body, adhered to the same opinion. Basil took this view of the subject;

and Cyril of Alexandria alludes to Christ's "ignoble appearance, faulty beyond all the sons of men." But this idea was generally rejected after their time. Jerome says: "Assuredly that splendour and majesty of the hidden Divinity, which shone even in his human countenance, could not but attract all beholders, at first sight." "Unless he had something celestial in features and expression, the Apostles would not have immediately followed him." Chrysostom says: "The Heavenly Father poured upon him in full streams that corporeal grace which is only distilled drop by drop on mortal men." Gregory of Nyssa applies to him all the glowing pictures of the bridegroom in the Song of Solomon. Augustine declares: "He was beautiful on his mother's bosom, beautiful in the arms of his parents; beautiful upon the cross, beautiful in the sepulchre."

The opinion that Mary lived with Joseph as his wife, after the birth of Jesus, was early ranked among the heresies. It was maintained that she was always a virgin from her birth to her death; and Joseph was represented as a very old man under whose protection she was placed, for the sake of appearances. In discussions on this subject, in all its branches, there is a strange mingling of sincerely devout feeling with the most material forms of thought and expression, which will by no means bear translation to modern ears. Eusebius and Epiphanius agree with Origen and Tertullian, in supposing that Joseph was a widower when Mary married him, and that the brothers and sisters of Jesus, spoken of by Matthew and Luke, were his children by a former wife. This opinion was violently assailed by Jerome and others. They regarded it as impious to suppose he had children by a previous marriage, and maintained that he also was perpetually chaste. It was said the word brethren was merely a general term to designate relatives. It was finally decided that Mary, the wife of Cleophas, was sister of the Virgin Mary; and that it was her son who was called "James, the Lord's brother."

A book called "The Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus,"

supposed to have been written by some of the Gnostics, was in general circulation in the third century, and portions of it are quoted by the Fathers as reliable traditions. In this Gospel the Virgin is called "the holy Mary," and represented as saying: "As there is not any child like to my son, so neither is there any woman like to his mother." Another book, called the Protevangelion, or First Gospel, supposed to have a similar origin, purporting to be written "by James the Lesser, Cousin and Brother of the Lord Jesus," is frequently alluded to by the Fathers. Joseph is therein represented as an aged man with children, who objects to marrying one so young as Mary, lest he should "appear ridiculous in Israel." But the High Priest overruled his scruples, by saying to him: "Thou art the person chosen to take the Virgin of the Lord, to keep her for him."

After the Arian Controversy, when Mary began to be called the Mother of God, the ardour of expression increased toward her, until it sounds like actual adoration. Athanasius, who lived early in the fourth century, addresses her thus: "Remember us, O most holy Virgin, and for the feeble eulogiums we give thee grant us great gifts from the treasures of thy grace, thou who art full of grace! Queen, and Mother of God, intercede for us!" Ephrem of Edessa, nearly a century later, says: "We fly to thy patronage, holy Mother of God! Protect and guard us under the wings of thy mercy and kindness! Most merciful God, through the intercession of the most blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the angels, and of all the saints, show pity to thy creature!" There was a sect called Mary-anites, who believed that Mary was one of the persons of the Godhead. It is said some of them urged this opinion at the Council of Nice. The first mention of direct worship of the Virgin is by Epiphanius, who lived at the close of the fifth century. Enumerating eighty-four heresies which had sprung up, he mentions a small sect called Collyridians, which means offerers of small cakes. They emigrated from Thrace into Arabia, and seem to have brought with them the customary worship of Ceres, transferred to the Virgin

Mary, whose mother they supposed was also a virgin. Women among them, who were appointed priestesses, presided at her festival, during which small cakes, made of meal and honey, were placed in a chariot and carried through the streets, followed by a procession. They were then laid on an altar, and offered to the Virgin Mary with invocations. Epiphanius rebuked this custom. He says: "I own her body was holy, but she was no god. She continued a virgin, but she is not proposed for our adoration. She herself adored him, who having descended from heaven, from the bosom of his Father, was born of her flesh. She stands before all the saints of God, on account of the heavenly mystery accomplished in her. But we adore no saint; and as worship is not given to Angels, much less can it be allowed to the daughter of Ann. Let Mary therefore be honoured, but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost alone adored. Let no one worship Mary." The rapturous mode of expression concerning the Virgin, and the tendency to deify her, led adherents of the old religion to call her "The New Cybele, or Mother Goddess of the Christians."

In the history of sects it has already been stated what multifarious difficulties arose, and what hot controversies were excited, before the doctrine of the Trinity was satisfactorily arranged by the frequent assembling of bishops. Some of the arguments made use of, in the course of these controversies, were very peculiar, and characteristic of the times. Augustine considered the creation in six days a proof of the Trinity; because "six is twice three." Ambrose says: "Jesus appeared to be the son of a carpenter, to signify that Christ the Son was the Maker of all things." In controversy whether the generation of the Son was voluntary, or involuntary, Chrysostom speaks of eructation as a good thing, and compares it to the production of the Logos from God; but he says it was an "eructation from the heart, not from the stomach." Lactantius, to guard against the idea that any Archangel could be equal with the Son, speaks of Angels as the *breath* of God, and

of Christ as the *Word* of God. He says: "The breathings of men are dissoluble, but the breathings of God remain, and are immortal. His silent breathings from the nostrils become Angels. But his Word is a breath emitted from the mouth, with a sound; therefore there is a great difference between the Son of God and the Angels. For though he also is a Spirit, yet since he issues from the mouth of God, with a voice, like a word, for this reason he was to make use of his voice to the people; because he was to teach with authority the doctrine of God, and communicate heavenly secrets to men."

The early Fathers were frequently quoted during the Arian controversy, to prove that there was a time when the Son did not exist; but this idea was decided to be heresy. Gregory of Nyssa says: "If there had been no Son there could have been no Father; if no beam, no sun; if no image, no substance." The question arose, if Christ was co-eternal with God, and the same as God, how he came to say: "Of that hour knoweth no man; no not even the Son but only the Father." The Council at Chalcedon decided that in Christ existed two perfectly harmonized natures, the divine and the human. Therefore, some argued that as God, he knew all things; but as man, many things were hidden from him. But some of the Fathers did not admit that Christ really was ignorant on any subject. Cyril of Alexandria says: "If God affected ignorance where Adam was, and of what Cain had been doing, why should we wonder that the Son of God affected ignorance concerning the Day of Judgment. Christ also affected ignorance, when he asked how many loaves his disciples had."

Augustine says: "If all things were made by Christ, then Mary, of whom he was born, was made by him." Cassian says: "Mary produced one who was older than herself, even her own Maker; so that she was the parent of her parent."

Some curiously inquisitive minds asked, why God did not have more than one Son. This gave rise to many

remarks, seriously and honestly made, but unfit for quotation. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, says: "The doctrine of the generation of the Son is much ridiculed; because they say it implies the necessity of a wife to God."

Discussions concerning the Third Person of the Trinity were also involved in difficulties. The question arose whether the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father, or from the Son. Some said: "If the Spirit proceeded from the Father, then he and the Logos are brothers. How then can the Logos be called the only begotten Son of God!" Others objected: "But if he proceeded from the Son, then God is the Grandfather of the Holy Spirit." The speculative tendency always very busy in some of the Eastern churches, especially at Constantinople, queried whether the Holy Ghost could also himself have had a son. Athanasius says: "Both Macedonians and the orthodox agree in supposing that the Spirit could have generated, as well as the Father, but that he did not choose to do it, lest there should be a multiplicity of gods." Some minds were troubled because the Angel Gabriel had announced to Mary: "The holy thing which shall be born of thee is of the Holy Spirit." From this ground arose a sect, who said that Christ was the Son of the Holy Ghost. Ambrose decides the question thus: "The holy, undivided Trinity never does anything separately. The Father, the Son, and the Spirit created the body of Christ. The Father, because it is said, 'God sent his Son, made of a woman;' the Son, because it is said, 'Wisdom has builded her a house;' the Spirit, because Mary was with child by the Spirit." The personality of the Spirit being much questioned, Epiphanius replied, that he assumed the form of a dove, at the baptism of our Saviour on purpose to show that he had a real person.

Unbelievers in the divinity of Christ continually asked why the Prophets, the Apostles, and Christ himself, had either not spoken at all on the subject of the Trinity, or made allusions so vague, that a doctrine deemed so important was left to be settled with so much difficulty by

repeated Councils of Bishops. The Fathers replied, that the Prophets did not mention the Son of God clearly, on account of the material tendencies of the Jews, who would immediately have thought that he was generated with passion; and so they would have been guilty of profanity. Many of the Fathers say Christ was careful to conceal his divinity, because it was necessary to keep the Devil in ignorance of the fact; for if he had known him, he would not have ventured to encounter him, and so would not have been conquered by his death; and thus the great object of his mission would have failed. Lactantius says: "Our Saviour taught that there is but One God, who alone is to be worshipped; nor did he himself ever once say that he was God. He would not have been faithful to his trust, if, when he was sent to take away polytheism, and assert the unity of God, he had introduced another beside the One God. This had not been to preach the doctrine of One God, or to do the business of Him who sent him; but his own." Athanasius says: "I will venture to assert that not even the blessed disciples themselves were fully persuaded concerning his divinity, till the Holy Spirit came upon them at the day of Pentecost; for when they saw him after his resurrection, some worshipped, but others doubted, yet they were not on that account condemned." Basil of Seleucia says: "The Apostles themselves were as ignorant of his being God, as the rest of the Jews; some of whom said he was Elijah, others Jeremiah, or one of the Prophets." Theodoret, the learned Bishop of Cyrus, says that before the crucifixion all held him to be a man; "but after his resurrection and ascension, the descent of the Holy Spirit, and the various miracles performed by invoking his name, all the believers knew that he was God, and the only begotten Son of God." Chrysostom says: "It was necessary for Christ to conceal his high dignity from his disciples; because they would immediately have told everything, through excess of joy. When he was discoursing about the creation of the human race, he did not say *I* made them, but *He* that made them. He never clearly

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said that he made the world; but he signified it by the miracle of the fishes, the wine, and the loaves."

Similar reasons are given why the Apostles said so little that could be considered as evidence of the Trinity, and why even John alludes to it only in a few verses, and not very plainly. Chrysostom, speaking of the great mystery of the incarnation, says: "Mary herself, when she carried him in her womb, did not know the secret. The Devil himself did not know it. If he had not been at a loss to know whether Christ were God or not, he would not have repeated thrice, 'If thou art the Son of God.' On this account, Christ said to John, who was beginning to reveal him, 'Hold now! It is not yet time to reveal the secret of the incarnation. I must yet deceive the Devil. Keep silence now; for thus it becometh us.'" The same Father adduces the incredulity of the Jews as another reason why the Apostles dwelt chiefly on the topic of his resurrection, and were so cautious in making allusions to his divinity. He says: "The Jews had been daily taught out of their Law, 'The Lord thy God is *one* Lord, and beside him there is no *other*.' Having seen Jesus nailed to a cross, having killed and buried him themselves, and not having seen him after he had risen, if they had been told that this person was God, equal to the Father, would they not have spurned at it?" He assigns the same reason why Paul, writing twenty or thirty years after the death of Christ, is still so guarded as to say, "God who spake by the prophets," instead of saying that Christ spake by them. For the same reason, Peter, when addressing the Jews, said, "Jesus of Nazareth, a *man* approved of God among you, by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know." Theodoret says caution was also necessary toward Gentile converts; lest, being accustomed to worship many deities, they might think Christians taught more Gods than one. Therefore, it was that Paul spoke to them of God as raising Christ from the dead; not that Christ was unable to raise himself, but because he condescended to his hearers, as if they were

little children. From the same cautious motives, he says Paul made no mention of the Holy Spirit, but said to them: "There is one God; and one mediator between God and man; the man Christ Jesus." The same writer expresses the opinion, that Paul in the fifteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Corinthians, speaks of the subjection of the Son to the Father in terms more lowly than was necessary for the benefit of his hearers. When Macedonius and his followers said that the Scriptures did not teach that the Holy Ghost was one of the Trinity, Epiphanius replied that the want of express testimony on that point, was owing to the fact that the Holy Spirit himself dictated the Scriptures, and he was reluctant to dwell too much on his own share in the transactions there recorded. Chrysostom, alluding to the incarnation of the Son of God, says: "If Joseph needed the vision of an Angel, in order to believe the fact, how would the Jews have received it? On this account, the Apostles did not at first speak of it, but rather discoursed largely concerning his resurrection; for of this there were examples in former times, though not in all respects the same; but they had never heard of a person being born of a virgin. Nor did his mother dare to mention this; for observe how she says, 'Behold thy father and I have sought thee.' If it had been suspected, he would not have been thought to be a descendant of David; and if that were not admitted, many mischiefs would have arisen. On that account, the Angels mentioned it to Mary and Joseph only; and not to the shepherds, though they acquainted them with the fact of his being born." The same reason is given why Matthew and Luke traced the genealogy of Jesus up to Abraham and Adam.

All the Fathers, who wrote on this subject, agreed that it was necessary for Mary to have a nominal husband, in order to conceal the miraculous conception. Basil says: "Mary was married to Joseph, that the Devil might not suspect she was a virgin; for he knew that the Messiah, who was to put an end to his power, was to be born of one." Jerome suggests that one reason why Mary was

married to Joseph was that her son might appear to be of the genealogy of David. Another was that her character might not be injured, or her life endangered, as it would have been by the Law of Moses, if the miraculous circumstances had been made known. He says: "Except Mary herself, her husband, and a few others, who might have been informed by them, all persons regarded Jesus as the son of Joseph; and the Evangelists themselves, expressing the common opinion, called Joseph the father of our Saviour." Basil of Seleucia, says: "When the devils called Christ the Son of God, they did not know that he was God; for *all* uncommonly good men were called *sons* of God; and Israel was called his first-born son." Cyril of Jerusalem says: "It was necessary that Christ should suffer for us; but the Devil would not have gone near him, if he had known that. The body was the bait of death, that the dragon, thinking to swallow it down, might vomit up all that he had swallowed." Rufinus also affirms that the divinity of Christ was concealed, in order to catch the Devil, as with a bait; and he supposes the words of Ezekiel signify this, where he says: "I will draw thee out with my hook." When some objected that it was wrong to conquer the Devil by such means, Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, replied: "It is fair enough to deceive the deceiver." It was the general opinion that the body of Christ was not subject to any human necessities, and that he ate and drank merely because it was necessary to seem to do it, in order to keep the secret of his divinity. To one who thought otherwise, Hilary exclaims: "Impious heretic! You will not believe otherwise than that Christ *felt*, when the nails pierced his hands." Cyril says: "The holy and divine body of Christ had no passions." Ambrose, alluding to Christ's temptation in the wilderness, says: "See the artifice of the Lord, whereby he circumvented his adversary! After a prolonged fast, he pretended to be hungry, that he might plague the Devil, whom he had already overcome by fasting."

The Fathers agreed in thinking that the honour of par

tially disclosing the great secret was reserved for the beloved Apostle John, whose Gospel they supposed to have been written after all the other Apostles were dead. Epiphanius says: "John found men arguing concerning the humanity of Christ. The Ebionites were in an error about his earthly genealogy, deduced from Abraham, carried by Luke as high as Adam. The Cerinthians and Merinthians maintained that he was a mere man; also the Nazarenes, and many other heretics. Therefore, he, coming last, (for he was the fourth to write a Gospel) began to call back the wanderers; saying, The Logos, which was begotten by the Father from all eternity, was not from Mary only. He was not of the line of Joseph, or David, or Abraham, or Adam. But in the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God." Jerome says: "John, the Apostle whom Jesus loved, wrote his Gospel the last of all, at the entreaty of the bishops of Asia, against Cerinthus and other heretics; especially against the doctrine of the Ebionites, then gaining ground, who said that Christ had no existence before he was born of Mary. Therefore, he was compelled to declare his divine origin." Eusebius says: "John began the doctrine of the divinity of Christ; that being reserved for him as the most worthy." Ambrose says: "The other Evangelists, who treat of the humanity of Christ, were like animals that walk on the earth; but John, contemplating the power of his divinity more sublimely, flies to heaven with the Lord, and with an open voice he proclaims that he was always with God, and that he is God." Chrysostom represents John soliloquizing with himself thus: "Why do I not write what Matthew, and Mark, and Luke, through a wise and praiseworthy fear, passed by in silence, according to the orders that were given them? How shall I speak what has been given me freely from above?" He goes on to represent John holding the pen "with a trembling hand, but rejoicing in spirit, considering how to begin the theology. Being in the body at Ephesus, but with a pure heart and holy spirit, he leaves the earth, and is

carried upward, and fishing out of the Father's bosom the doctrine of the divinity, he, in his body on earth, wrote: 'In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was made flesh, and dwelt among men.' He says: "John taught what the Angels themselves did not know, till he declared it." "John first lighted up the lamp of theology; and all the churches, even the most distant, running to it, lighted up their lamps of theology, and returned rejoicing, saying: 'In the beginning was the Logos.'"

There was a great tendency in the Fathers to deprecate the exercise of reason, and to substitute for it the authority of the church. It was settled that Scripture was the only guide, and that the right understanding of Scripture was a thing for bishops to decide. Athanasius, alluding to the doctrines of Paul of Samosata, says: "It grieves those who stand up for the holy faith, that the multitude, and especially persons of low understanding, should be infected with these blasphemies. Things sublime and difficult are to be apprehended only by faith; and ignorant people must fall, if they cannot be persuaded to rest in faith, and avoid curious questions." Basil called reasoning "the Devil's work." Cyril of Alexandria says: "In matters of faith, all curiosity must cease." Ambrose says: "When faith is in question, away with all argument." Rufinus says: "That God is the Father of his own Son, our Lord, is to be believed, and not to be discussed; for slaves must not dispute concerning the birth of their masters."

It was the universal opinion of the early Fathers, that the Logos had often appeared to Abraham and the Patriarchs. But Augustine advanced the idea that all such appearances were Angels, who took upon themselves fictitious bodies, and the Logos spoke in and by them.

The doctrine of inherent depravity in human nature, inherited from Adam's sin, early became a prevailing doctrine. Ambrose says: "We have all sinned in the first man. With the propagation of the *nature*, the propagation of the *guilt* also has passed from one to all. In him, human nature sinned." Augustine carried this doctrine to

extreme results; for the character of his intellect was such that, whatever premises he adopted, he must needs carry them out to ultimate and consistent conclusions. But his writings on the subject varied at different periods of his theological growth. For nine years he belonged to the sect of Manicheans, who, in common with many other Gnostics, believed that the souls of some men emanated from Good Spirits, and whatever sins they committed, they must eventually return to their heavenly source; that the souls of other men emanated from Evil Spirits, and by an eternal law of the universe they must forever remain exiles from the spheres of light. After Augustine was converted to the Catholic church, he was engaged in zealous controversy with his old friends the Manicheans; and in opposition to their views, he maintained that no man was wicked by nature, but only by abuse of his free will. But afterward, when Pelagius taught that every man had power to perfect himself in holiness, by divine assistance, which was always granted to him who sought it, Augustine entered the lists against him also. The sum of the doctrines he maintained in this controversy may be briefly expressed in two extracts: "The whole essence of Christian faith consists in the opposition and contrariety of two men. One is he through whom we were brought into the bondage of sin, and the other is he by whom we are redeemed from sin. One ruined us in himself, in that he did his own will; the other redeemed us in himself, in that he fulfilled not his own will, but the will of Him who sent him." "Man is by nature corrupt. He is incapable of any good, and absolutely unable to do anything for his own renovation. He cannot even will that which is good; everything must be effected by the operation of grace upon the heart." From these premises, he came to the conclusion that God had, of his own will, elected from all eternity some souls to be saved, and had predestined others irrevocably to eternal misery. No one knew who among professed Christians were fore-ordained to be reprobates; but it was every one's duty to resign himself to the divine de-

crees, with all humility, and be willing to be damned, if it was for the glory of God. After Augustine's time, the doctrines of original sin, total depravity, election, and predestination, prevailed in the church.

Origen had proved the sincerity of his Christian faith by much self-sacrifice and suffering. In his own day, and for more than a century afterward, Christians were proud of him as a man of great learning and unblemished character; and his writings exerted a great influence. But the Arians often quoted his theory of the subordination of the Son to the Father, and this began to bring him into disrepute. The severer class of theologians were offended by his doctrine that good would finally triumph over evil, and all things in the universe be restored to harmony and happiness. Jerome accused him of wishing to save all sinners, even the Devil himself. Despisers of human learning scoffed at his culture, and charged him with mingling Pagan philosophy with Christianity. But many cultivated men, especially those of mystical tendencies, revered that spiritual-minded Father, and loved his writings. Gregory of Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa, took similar views concerning the final victory of good over evil. They considered all punishment as a means of purification, ordained by divine love. They said God would not have permitted the existence of evil, if he had not foreseen that by the redemption, all rational beings would, in the end, attain to a blessed fellowship with himself. Theodore also said: "God would not revive the wicked at the resurrection, if they must needs suffer only punishment, without reformation." The Persian idea of purification by fire, and the final restoration of all things, re-appeared in a Christian form, under various modifications.

A very intimate friendship existed between Jerome and Rufinus, who, like himself, was a presbyter, and a distinguished Christian writer. They kept up a very affectionate correspondence, and always spoke of each other with the warmest praise. They both delighted in the writings

of Origen; but after the Arians appealed to them as authority, Jerome, who watchfully guarded his reputation for orthodoxy, began to attack with violence the writings he had formerly admired; and at last boasted of it, as his work, that "the whole world was set in a blaze of hatred against Origen." Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, a great persecutor of Arians and other heretics, condemned the writings of Origen, and banished from Egypt certain monks who favoured them. Because the kind-hearted Chrysostom gave them shelter, he stigmatized him as "the prince of the sacrilegious; an enemy of mankind; a filthy devil." Jerome thus commends Theophilus for his zeal against heretics: "I write briefly to assure you that the zeal of your emissaries for the faith, their activity in exploring the districts of Palestine for heretics, their perseverance in hunting the creatures to their dens, and dispersing them, will give a triumph to the whole world, and fill it with the glory of your victories. The multitude will gaze with exultation at the standard of the cross lifted at Alexandria, and the brilliant trophies won from heresy. To speak candidly to your lordship, we used to lament that you were so patient. We were ignorant of the tactics of our leader, and eager for the destruction of these wretches. But I see you kept your hand aloft so long, and suspended the blow, only to strike more terribly." Rufinus wrote in defence of Origen, and quoted some of Jerome's former praises of that learned Father. A fierce altercation ensued, in the course of which they mutually accused each other. Jerome exhausted the bitter epithets of language; and when he heard of the death of his former friend, he composed the following epitaph: "The hydra-headed monster nas at length ceased to hiss, and the scorpion lies beneath the earth in Sicily."

Controversies concerning the tenets of Origen continued to disturb the peace of the church more or less for a century and a half longer. Finally, in the sixth century, when he had been dead three hundred years, the emperor Justinian, and the bishops of his time, condemned his

writings to the flames, and pronounced the opinion that Origen himself could not be saved.

Augustine expressed the general sentiment of the Catholics of his time, when he said : " No one can attain salvation, who has not Christ for his head ; and no one can have Christ for his head, who does not belong to his body, which is the church." In one of his epistles, approved by a synod of bishops, he tells the Donatists : " Whoever is separated from this Catholic church, however innocently he may think he lives, yet being separated from the unity of Christ, for that crime alone he will not have life, but the anger of God remains upon him." When they complained of the violent persecutions they suffered, he vindicated the persecutors by quoting the example of Elijah, who slew the prophets of Baal with his own hand. But when he was reminded that the spirit of the New Testament differed from that of the Old, he admitted the justice of the distinction. When it was proposed to obtain penal laws to force the Donatists into the Catholic church, he and several of the younger bishops argued that men must seek to conquer by arguments only, unless they would have hypocritical Catholics, instead of avowed heretics. Honorius, the son and successor of Theodosius the Great, persecuted the Donatists with great severity. Three hundred bishops and many thousands of the clergy in Africa, were stripped of their possessions and exiled, and their people were punished and heavily fined, if they assembled together for worship. These coercive measures drove many of them into the Catholic church. Augustine, forgetful of his own argument, that force merely induced hypocrisy, warmly approved of the emperor's proceedings, and sustained them by reference to the parable concerning those who were forced to come in to the supper from the highways and the hedges. Large numbers of the Donatists still held out obstinately, and filled the country with tumult and bloodshed. The Vandals were at that time making war upon the Roman empire, and Genseric, their leader, had been converted to Christianity in the Arian form. He made common cause

with the Donatists, probably from motives of policy, and exerted himself to get the oppressive edicts against them repealed. They joined his army, helped him to conquer Africa, and fiercely retaliated the injuries they had received. All the Catholics whom they took prisoners were compelled to be baptized over again, and partake of the communion after their manner. If they refused, they were hung up with weights to their feet and cruelly scourged, or branded with red-hot iron, or had their hands, ears, noses, or tongues cut off. These cruel punishments were inflicted upon all ranks, and even upon respectable matrons and virgins of the church. Catholics complained loudly of the persecutions they themselves suffered; but they praised the Vandals for burning Manicheans at the stake; and they rejected with horror a proposition that Arians and Catholics should be mutually tolerated by Romans and Vandals. Soon after Nestorius was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople, he thus publicly addressed the emperor, Theodosius the Younger: "Purge the earth of heretics for me, sire, and I will in return bestow heaven upon you. Join me in extirpating the heretics, and we will join you in subduing the Persians." Whoever ventured to differ from his theological opinions, was whipped, or imprisoned. When some of the people complained that they had an emperor instead of a bishop, they were punished with lashes. Not long after, because he objected to calling Mary the Mother of God, he was himself forced to drain the bitter cup of persecution, which he had forced others to drink.

Now and then there were gleams of a better spirit, and wherever they appeared, even the fiercest sectarians acknowledged their divinity. Cyril of Alexandria was so violent and overbearing in his tone, that Nestorius relinquished all attempts at explanation, and refused to answer any more of his letters. Lampon, a presbyter at Alexandria, who was noted for his gentle and loving spirit, went to Constantinople, with the hope of healing the schism. He easily induced Nestorius to renew the correspondence

with his haughty episcopal brother. In his letter to Cyril, he bears the following testimony: "Nothing surpasses the power of Christian gentleness. By that man's might I have been conquered. I confess I am seized with fear, when I perceive in any man the spirit of Christian love. It is as if God dwelt in him." Theodosius, the fierce despotic soldier, truly revered the meek and gentle character of Christ, though he would have deemed it mean and contemptible for him to imitate it. In the same way, the sternest polemical soldiers of the church militant acknowledged the heavenly nature of qualities they seldom attempted to copy. Athanasius could argue thus, when his *own* party was persecuted by the Arian emperor Constantius: "Because there is no truth in Satan, wherever he gains admittance, he pays away with hatchet and sword. But the Saviour is so gentle, he says, Will any one come after me? He only knocks at the door of the soul, and says, Open to me, my sister. But if any one is unwilling to open the door, he withdraws. The truth is not preached by sword and javelin, nor by armies, but by persuasion and admonition." Yet eighty Arian bishops signed a protest, in which they accused Athanasius of robbing their churches in Alexandria, "with violence and bloodshed," and of forcing people by torture to partake of the communion in his churches. Jerome seems to have been deeply touched by the Apostle John's oft repeated injunction: "My dear children, love one another." He says: "It was worthy of him, who rested on the bosom of God, and was trusted with its secrets." Yet he himself was accustomed to denounce, as "scorpions," "dragons," "wolves," and "devils," all men who could not see theological doctrines from his own point of view.

In that transition state of the world, when a new mode of worship was being formed from multifarious scattered elements of the older times, Christian teachers were unavoidably engaged in perpetual controversy; an atmosphere always unfavourable to the exercise of love, or candour. This allowance ought to be made for the exceeding bitter-

ness of their sectarian strife; and also for the untruthfulness in which it must needs be confessed they sometimes indulged. In their anxiety to build up the church of Christ, they occasionally resorted to means well calculated to make Christianity appear disreputable to the conscientious and intelligent among Jews and Pagans. Mosheim, author of the *Ecclesiastical History*, expresses his fears that "those who search with attention into the writings of the Fathers of the fourth century, will find them disposed to deceive, when the interest of religion seemed to require it." Dr. Cave, author of *Primitive Christianity*, speaking of the much-quoted Sibylline Prophecies, inquires: "Who does not see that they were forged, for the advancement of the Christian faith?" Dr. Milman, in his *History of Christianity*, says: "That some of the Christian legends were deliberate forgeries can scarcely be questioned. The principle of pious fraud appeared to justify this mode of working on the popular mind. It was admitted and avowed. To deceive into Christianity was so valuable a service, as to hallow deceit itself." Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, has a chapter with the following heading: "How far it may be lawful and fitting to use falsehood as a medicine, for the advantage of those who require such a method." In explaining the line of limitation, he cites cases from the Hebrew Scriptures, where Jehovah is described as jealous or angry; which he says was done "for the advantage of those who required such a method." The fact of making such an inquiry indicates the prevailing ideas of his time. Chrysostom, in his book on the Priesthood, distinctly declares that falsehood may be meritorious, if used for the benefit of the church. Jerome relates that Christians in Jerusalem showed certain red stones found among the ruins of the temple, and told people they were stained with the blood of Zacharias, who was slain between the temple and the altar. He adds: "But I find no fault with an error, which springs from hatred to the Jews, and a pious zeal for the Christian faith." In a letter to his patrician proselyte Eustochium, he tries to dis-

suade her from reading Pagan literature; and to enforce the lesson, he gives an account, quoted in the preceding sketch of his life, of seeing Christ come to judge the world, and of being so severely beaten by angels, for reading Cicero, that he made a solemn vow never to look into a Pagan book again. He writes to her thus: "Think not that this was any of those drowsy fancies, or vain dreams, which sometimes deceive us. For the truth hereof, I call to witness that tribunal before which I then lay, and that judgment I was then in dread of. So may I never fall into the like danger, as this is true! I do assure you I found my shoulders all over black and blue, with the stripes I then received, and which I felt, after I awoke. Ever since that, I have had greater affection for reading Divine Books, than I previously had for the study of human learning." Long afterward, when he and his former friend Rufinus were engaged in bitter disputation, Rufinus accused him of breaking his vow to Christ never again to read Pagan books; and as evidence of his assertion, adduces the fact that the writings of Jerome still continued to abound with accurate quotations from the classics. Jerome at first replied, that he made all such extracts from memory. Afterward, he wrote: "Thus much I would say, if I had really promised anything in my waking moments. But with rare impudence, he objects against me a dream of mine. Let him who criminales a *dream*, listen to the voice of the Prophets, that no confidence is to be placed in dreams." The same Father, in reply to the charge of artifice in his mode of conducting theological controversies, seeks to excuse himself by quoting precedents. He says: "Origen, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, have written many thousands of lines against Celsus and Porphyry. Consider with what arguments, and what slippery problems, they baffle what was contrived against them by the spirit of the Devil; and because they are sometimes forced to speak, they speak not what they think, but what is necessary against those who are called Gentiles. I do not mention the Latin writers, Tertullian, Cyprian, Minucius, Victorinus, Lactantius,

Hilarius, lest I be thought not so much to be defending myself, as accusing others."

The priesthood of all nations had always acted upon the system that it was necessary to deceive the mass of the people, for their own good; that it was not possible to guide them by the plain open truth. Similar motives induced philosophers to veil their doctrines, and evade direct inferences. The same idea of managing the people, for their spiritual benefit, prevailed among the Christian Fathers. Even Origen, who seems to have been an unusually conscientious man, thought it might sometimes prove useful to partially conceal the truth. He assigned the highest place in heaven to those who lived single, for the sake of religion; and the second place, to those who married but once; but he did not agree with some teachers, who maintained that the twice-married must be damned. He says: "It is, however, better for people to be deceived into the belief that the twice-married cannot be saved; and through that deception be enabled to live in purity, than to know the truth, and thereby be degraded into the rank of the twice-married; though it would indeed be better to live unmarried, or in widowhood, *without* being deceived, and with a knowledge of the fact that the twice-married may partake of a degree of salvation." The Fathers also occasionally resorted to evasions, and subtle distinctions, which resembled diplomacy. Among other objections to Christianity, it was common for Pagans to declare that no state could maintain its existence, if such precepts of non-resistance to evil were carried into practice. Augustine replied, that those peaceful maxims referred rather to the disposition of the *heart*, than to outward *actions*; that the *heart* ought always to cherish patience and good will; but *actions* might vary according to the best interest of those whose good we wished to promote.

The fear of trusting truth to find its own way, and to rest simply on its own merits, produced lamentable results, in various ways. Many spurious productions were published under the names of men whose writings were habit-

ually referred to with deference; such as Peter, Paul, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and others. And books really written by the Apostolic Fathers were altered and interpolated in the copying, to suit the theological views of those who transcribed them. The learned and candid Neander says: "The writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers have, for the most part, come down to us in a condition very little worthy of confidence; partly because under the names of those men, so highly venerated in the church, writings were early forged, for the purpose of giving authority to particular opinions or principles; and partly because their own writings, which were extant, had become interpolated." Jews made similar charges concerning their history by Josephus, who was represented as speaking almost like a Christian in some cases; though it is evident, from the general character of his works, that his Jewish opinions remained unchanged. Different copies of his manuscripts do not agree in chronology, and in other particulars. Origen and Jerome allude to passages not now to be found. That manuscripts were mutilated, either by accident or design, is very evident; for scarcely any two copies could be found which were exactly alike. The celebrated passage, where he expresses a doubt whether Jesus were a mere man, exists in very few copies; and the same is said concerning his mention of James the Just, "the Lord's brother." These statements were not quoted, or referred to, by any Christian writers before the fourth century. This circumstance, combined with the fact that they are not found in many copies, and that they are obviously incongruous with the opinions of Josephus, always excited suspicions of their authenticity, in reflecting minds. At the present time, they are generally regarded by the learned as interpolations by some zealous Christian of the third century. The absence of printing at that period rendered such impositions comparatively safe from detection, especially where few had the wish to expose them.

The discipline of the church retained its early character of strictness; but as the line of demarcation between the



orthodox and all manner of heretics was more closely defined, errors of faith began to be regarded as of equal, if not of greater importance than moral delinquencies, unless of a very gross character. Those who violated their baptismal vows were not allowed to partake of the communion, and were excluded from fellowship with the church, until it was decided that they had shown satisfactory marks of repentance. They were divided into four classes, according to the degree of their sin. The first class were obliged to remain outside of the church, prostrating themselves on the earth and imploring with tears that those who were passing in would pray for them. The next class were allowed to listen to the service with the unbaptized, in the area of the church. The third class were those for whom public prayers were offered; they kneeling meanwhile. The fourth class were allowed to be present at all the ceremonies of the church, but were not permitted to partake of the Lord's Supper, or to place an offering on the altar. The communion was never refused to any dying person, however great his crime, if he had shown signs of repentance. The tendency to asceticism had increased since the time of the early Fathers. Basil maintained that clothing should be for two purposes only; for warmth and modesty. He says: "In Paradise, innocence was the only robe. Sin brought into the world the fig-leaved coat; and what should more induce us to be humble in our apparel is that clothes are monitors of our apostacy." Some objected to the use of musical instruments in churches. The introduction of women's voices into the church service was also regarded as a dangerous innovation. It was one of the charges against Paul of Samosata, that by introducing this custom he had rendered the music of the church effeminate, and seductive in its sweetness. The Gnostics, and other heretical sects, had made very effective use of fervid and ecstatic hymns; and the prejudice excited against these led many of the orthodox to require that nothing but the words of Scripture should be used in church music. Others again objected to have sacred words conveyed in melodies, which

had been used by Pagans. Athanasius required that the singing in churches should be with the slightest possible inflections of voice, that the beauty of tones might not withdraw attention from the words. Jerome says: "Not with the voice, but with the heart, must we make melody to the Lord. We are not to smooth the throat with sweet drinks, like comedians, in order that the church may hear theatrical songs and melodies. Knowledge of the Scriptures, piety, and the fear of God should inspire our songs; so that not the voice of the singer, but the divine matter expressed, may be the point of attraction; that the Evil Spirit which entered into the heart of a Saul may be expelled from those who are in like manner possessed, rather than invited by those who would turn the house of God into a theatre." The sensitive conscience of Augustine was alarmed when the Ambrosian Chants in the church at Milan brought tears into his eyes. Whatsoever was of the senses he deemed sinful; and he feared that he was moved by the sensuous luxury of sweet sounds, rather than by the devotional spirit of the Psalms.

If the Fathers in the second century found occasion to rebuke some converts for luxury in furniture and dress, it may well be supposed that it would be far more necessary when Christianity was patronized and pampered by emperors, and when it of course became a matter of custom, rather than conviction, with multitudes of professors. Wealthy converts painted their faces, and followed the fashion of colouring the hair with a golden tint. Garments richly embroidered with silk and gold were then much in vogue; the patterns representing flowers, landscapes, or hunting scenes. Christian matrons copied the fashion, but sought to manifest their piety by wearing dresses embroidered with the miracles of Christ; such as the marriage at Cana, the paralytic carried in his bed, or the blind man receiving his sight. The preachers were continually reproving such vanities. Jerome exclaims: "What business has paint on a Christian cheek? Who can weep for her sins, when tears wash her face bare, and make furrows

on her skin? With what confidence can faces be lifted up toward heaven, which the Maker cannot recognize as his own workmanship?"

But it was the same in those times, as it has been in all others. Women were quite as conspicuous for devotional tendencies, and unqualified self-sacrifice, as they were for manifestations of personal vanity. They always formed so large a proportion of the converts, that the most common sarcasm of the Pagans was that Christian assemblies were filled with women and slaves. The emperor Julian, and those who sympathized with his views, constantly reproached the men for permitting their wives to give so much to the "Galilean churches." Very many were proselyted by their wives, mothers, or sisters; and the Christian character of others was greatly influenced by such relations. Nonna, the mother of Gregory of Nazianzen, won her husband from Gnosticism, and did much to form the kindly and devout character of her son. He tells us that she was never satisfied with helping the destitute; that he often heard her say she would willingly sell herself and her children, if it were lawful, that she might bestow the price upon those who were suffering for food and clothing. Her whole life was divided between charity and devotion; and her spirit passed from the body while she was kneeling before the altar. He praises his sister Gorgonia for the extreme plainness of her apparel; and says: "The only colour that pleased her in her complexion was blushing from modesty. The only whiteness she esteemed was the pallor that came through fasting and abstinence." It was mainly through the influence of his sister Macrina, that Basil the Great was induced to relinquish his brilliant prospects as a lawyer, and devote himself to an ascetic life. Anthusa, mother of Chrysostom, devoted her life to the formation of his religious character. Monica, the mother of Augustine, converted her passionate husband by her gentleness and piety, and was a powerful agent in reclaiming her wayward son. Wealthy ladies in Rome, converted by Jerome's preaching, renounced costly clothing, sold their

jewels, and devoted their revenues to the suffering and the indigent. He says: "Ladies who could not endure to step on the filthy streets, who were fatigued to ascend a hill, who were carried by the hands of eunuchs, who considered the sunshine a conflagration, and were oppressed by the weight of a silken robe, now wear squalid and mourning garments of their own making." "They trim lamps, kindle the fire, sweep the pavement, boil vegetables, set the table, hand the cups, and run hither and thither." A patrician lady, named Fabiola, sold her estates, and with her ample revenues built and endowed the first asylum that was ever established for poor invalids. She gathered all the lame and diseased from the streets, and personally attended upon them in the hospital; preparing their food, washing their wounds, and performing for them the most disagreeable offices. When she died, all Rome mourned, as for the loss of a mother. A long procession of old and young preceded her bier, singing hymns in her praise. The streets, the windows, and the tops of the houses were crowded with spectators; and as the funeral passed along, a chorus of voices in all the churches sang, "Hallelujah!" The empress Placilla, wife of Theodosius the Younger, was constantly in the habit of visiting the poor at their own houses, and in the hospitals; washing their cups, handing them their broth, and arranging their pillows, with her own imperial hands.

The early Fathers generally spoke favourably of marriage, and though they denounced the amusements of social life, they said nothing in praise of withdrawing from its active duties. But as time passed on, the oriental element became more and more obviously mingled with Christianity. The later Fathers, almost without exception, lived and died unmarried; and nearly all of them wrote and preached earnestly in favour of celibacy. It was the leading theme of Jerome's exhortations, and he was eminently successful in gaining converts.

It was a prevailing belief among ancient nations, and was adopted by Plato, that spirits of the dead hovered

round their burial-place for some time, and afterward frequently revisited it. Therefore, they were in the habit of resorting to their tombs, to offer sacrifices, oblations, and prayers for their benefit, and also to invoke their assistance in time of need. These opinions were engrafted upon Christianity. An ordinance of the church, which continued for many centuries, prohibited having lights in graveyards, or making merriment there at night, lest the souls that came thither should be disturbed. At the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which it has already been stated was regarded in the light of a sacrifice, each time offered anew for mankind, it was customary to intercede for the souls of the dead. Husbands, wives, parents, and children, placed a gift on the altar at each anniversary of the death of their loved ones. And in return, the prayers of the church were offered for those who had fallen asleep, and for those who celebrated their memory. Individuals who had made donations to the church were publicly recommended to the Lord, by name.

Ephrem of Edessa, in his last will, requested his friends to offer constant oblations for him after his decease. He says: "When the thirtieth day shall be completed, then remember me; for the dead are helped by the offerings of the living." He seems to have supposed that Moses blessed the departed *spirit* of Reuben, though apparently he intended to bless his posterity, the *tribe* of Reuben; for he asks: "If the dead are not aided, why was Reuben blessed, after the third generation? Why does Paul say, 'If the dead rise not at all, what shall they do who are baptized for the dead? Why are they then baptized for the dead?'" Chrysostom says: "Not without reason was it ordained by the Apostles that in celebrating the Sacred Mysteries, the dead should be remembered; for they well knew what advantages would thence be derived to them." Cyril of Jerusalem says: "When the emperor condemns one to banishment, he may be induced to show him favour, if his kinsmen present a chaplet in his behalf. So we present to God the Christ who was offered for our sins, in behalf of

those who are asleep, though they were sinners." "We pray for the holy Fathers, and the Bishops that are dead, and for all those who have departed this life in our communion; believing that the souls of those for whom our prayers are offered receive very great relief, while this holy and tremendous victim lies upon the altar," [alluding to the bread and wine of the eucharist].

It had been a very ancient Hindoo idea that immersion in rivers, with religious ceremonies by the priests, purified the soul from sin, "as water cleansed the body from mud." It has been already stated that Christians imbibed the same idea concerning baptism. This belief in the efficacy of an external rite produced an increasing tendency to defer it till the approach of death; for it naturally seemed to many minds an agreeable and easy process to enjoy the pleasures of life to the utmost, and then to have all stains washed away in a few moments, preparatory to entering upon another existence. Preachers were continually combatting this inevitable tendency, by holding up warning examples of death too sudden to admit the performance of the essential rite. But their own descriptions of the mysterious efficacy of baptism had such a counteracting influence, that people generally ventured to run the risk, until frightened by an earthquake, or war, or pestilence; and then they rushed to baptism in such multitudes, that it was often difficult to find priests enough to perform the ceremonies. Cyril of Jerusalem, addressing a candidate for baptism, said: "If thou believest, thou wilt not only obtain forgiveness of sins, but as much of grace as thou canst hold." Gregory of Nazianzen says: "Baptism for adults is forgiveness of sins, and restoration of the image degraded and lost by transgression." In the case of infants, he supposed it secured their human nature in the germ from moral evil. He calls baptism "a more divine, exalted creation, than the original formation of nature." To those who found it difficult to conceive how children could be benefitted by a rite, of which they had no consciousness, Augustine replied: "The faith of the church which consecrates infants

to God, takes the place of their own faith; and although they possess as yet no faith of their own, yet there is nothing in their thoughts to hinder the divine efficacy." From the time that Cyprian had decided that children ought to be baptized as soon as they were born, because they brought with them into the world "the infection of the old death" from Adam, the doctrine had been gradually gaining ground that all unbaptized infants must be damned. The Pelagians expressed horror at this idea. They believed that the highest state of perfection and happiness in heaven could be attained only by the baptized; but they said those who died in childhood without having been thus purified, would remain in an intermediate state, where they would be exempt from suffering. Gregory of Nazianzen, and some others, believed the same concerning all those who remained unbaptized through no fault of their own. Augustine rejected this idea. Believing Tertullian's theory that the sin of Adam was physically transmitted, he declared: "There is no innocence in childhood." He said only two states could be conceived of; that of blessedness in the presence of God, and of misery expelled from Him; that unbaptized infants could not be received into the presence of God, and must therefore be irrevocably damned; though their sufferings would doubtless be lighter than those inflicted on actual sinners. Some theological writers carried out the theory so consistently, that they applied the same doctrine to babes that died unborn. It had always been a common idea among Christians that devils had possession of Pagans and heretics. In the third century, it began to be customary to repeat over them a form of words, called an exorcism, to compel the Evil Spirits to depart, preparatory to baptism. After the doctrine of original sin became a portion of the established creed, the church used the ceremony at the baptism of infants also. A council held at Carthage, in the year four hundred and eighteen, condemned the doctrine of an intermediate state for unbaptized children, on the ground that nothing could be conceived of as permanently existing between the kingdom of

heaven and perdition. The eternal damnation of all who died unbaptized was expressly affirmed. But notwithstanding the terrors of such preaching, some parents were very reluctant to have the ceremony performed on babes; for it seemed to them almost a waste of the precious remedy to bestow it on those who had committed no actual sin, and who, if they lived, would of course commit sins subsequent to baptism. To a mother in that state of mind, Gregory of Nazianzen said: "Let sin gain no advantage in thy child. Let it be sanctified from the swaddling clothes, consecrated to the Holy Ghost. You fear for the divine seal, because of the weakness of nature. What a feeble and faint-hearted mother you must be. Hannah consecrated her Samuel to God even before he was born. Immediately after his birth, she made him a priest. Instead of fearing the frailty of man, she trusted in God."

People of all religions were accustomed to the idea of sacrifice offered as an expiation for sin. Jews who became converts to Christianity, accepted the idea that Christ was a Lamb slain for atonement, instead of the Paschal Lamb annually offered by their High Priest, from time immemorial. Gentile converts accepted the same idea in lieu of the sacrifices with which they had been accustomed to avert the anger of their gods. The habit of frequently offering sacrifice was supplanted by frequent participation of the Lord's Supper, supposed to be the body and blood of Christ, each time offered anew for the expiation of sin. In consecrating the bread and wine, it was deemed very essential that the exact words in the Gospel should be used; for it was the universal impression that when the priest uttered the words, "This is my body; this is my blood;" the elements became miraculously changed into the actual body of Christ, by means of some inherent power in the holy words. When the bishop was about to finish the consecration, the curtain, which hung before the altar, was drawn up, and he raised the bread and wine, to be adored as the body and blood of Christ. Those who partook of it were supposed to receive a supernatural infusion of the

Logos into their own souls and bodies, which imparted to them a principle of imperishable life. Gregory of Nyssa says: "This bread is instantly changed into the body of Christ; agreeably to what he said, 'This is my body.' Therefore does the Divine Word commix itself with the weak nature of man, that by partaking of the Divinity, our humanity may be exalted." He explains it by saying that as bread and wine nourished and helped to form the body of the Logos while he was on earth, so after his departure the same elements were changed into his flesh and blood by an immediate miracle. Gregory of Nazianzen calls the eucharist, "A sacrifice by which we enter into fellowship with the sufferings and with the divine nature of Christ; the holy transaction which exalts us to heaven." Chrysostom, maintaining that the Holy Supper was the full accomplishment of the typical Passover, says: "This blood, even in the type, washed away sin. If it had so great power in the *type*, if death were so affrighted by the *shadow*, how he must be frightened by the verity itself!" He contemplates this institution as "the greatest proof of love Christ gave to dying men, that he should thus unite himself to them in the most intimate manner, and cause his own flesh and blood to pass into their entire nature; that he gave himself not only to be seen and touched, but to be eaten by those who desire him." He says: "As many of you as partake of this body, as many of you as taste this blood, should think of it as nothing different from that which sits above, and is adored by angels." Cyril of Jerusalem says: "After the Holy Spirit has been invoked, the eucharistic bread is no longer common bread, but is the body of Christ. He himself declared, 'This is my body,' and who shall dare to doubt it?" "Christ changed water into wine, by his will only; and shall we think him less worthy of credit, when he changes wine into blood?" Jerome says: "Our Lord Jesus invites us to the feast, and is himself our meat. He eats with us, and we eat him." Augustine says: "Because he walked here in the flesh, he gave us this same flesh to eat, for our salvation. No

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one eateth this flesh without having first adored it. We not only commit no sin by adoring it, but we should sin by *not* adoring it." Eusebius of Cæsarea, whose mind had been much influenced by the writings of Origen, takes a more spiritual view of the subject. He represents Christ as saying: "Think not I bid you drink my bodily blood; but know that the words I have spoken to you are spirit and life; so that my *words* and *doctrines* are my flesh and blood. He who appropriates to himself *these*, becomes nourished with bread from heaven, and will be made a partaker of eternal life." It was the opinion of the Fathers, that the eucharist was as essential to the salvation of infants, as was the rite of baptism. Therefore it was always administered to baptized children, till after the sixth century.

In all religions, great account was made of Mysteries. Among the Jews, none but the High Priest ever went behind the veil of the Holy of Holies. If any other person had ventured to do it, the people would have expected to see him drop down dead. When Grecians celebrated the Eleusinian Mysteries, a herald proclaimed: "Go hence, all ye profane!" a form which dismissed all but the initiated. Christianity, while seeking to establish itself, naturally adopted new forms of whatever ideas or customs were strongly rooted in the minds of men. The celebration of the Lord's Supper was represented as a Sacred Mystery. Before the veil was withdrawn from the altar, a deacon proclaimed: "Holy things to holy men. Depart all ye catechumens!" a form which dismissed all but the baptized. The doctrine of the Trinity likewise was not discussed or explained in their presence. There was a public and a private doctrine, according to the general custom of philosophers. Cyril of Jerusalem says: "We do not declare the Mysteries concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to the Gentiles; nor do we speak plainly to the catechumens about those Mysteries. But we may say many things in an occult way, that the faithful, who know them, may understand, while those who do not understand them can

not be hurt thereby." Augustine says: "If we asked a catechumen, 'Dost thou eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of Man?' he would not know what we mean; for Christ has not committed himself to them. They do not know what Christians receive." Chrysostom, alluding to the eucharist in the light of a sacrifice offered, says: "Truly tremendous are the Mysteries of the church! Truly tremendous are the altars!" Some of the Fathers style it "the awful solemnity;" "sublime in the eyes of angels." Jerome says: "The very chalices, and coverings of the mystic table, are not to be considered like things inanimate and void of sanctity; but they ought to be revered as much as his body and his blood." It was customary to allude to the subject in a very blind way, in the presence of the uninitiated. Augustine says: "Christ was held in his own hands. *How* was he held in his own hands? Because when he gave his own body and blood, he took into his hands—what the faithful know." Epiphanius says: "We see that our Lord took something in his hands; that he rose from table, and having given thanks, he said: 'This is my somewhat.'" After alluding to the Trinity or the Eucharist, in this mysterious manner, it was common to add: "Those who are initiated know what has been said." The Fathers assign as one reason for pursuing this course, that young Christians were thereby stirred up to greater eagerness to be admitted into the mysteries of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Another motive was to preserve the sacredness and dignity of religion. Basil says: "A thing cannot be properly called a Mystery when it is once exposed to every common ear."

Numerous miracles were ascribed to the eucharist. Ambrose tells of an intimate friend of his, a pious Christian, but one who had not yet been admitted to the more perfect Mysteries. Being wrecked on a voyage to Africa, he begged some of the initiated, who were on board, to give him a portion of their consecrated bread; without the presence of which no voyage, or journey, was considered

safe. Having received a piece, he fastened it in a handkerchief, tied it about his neck, and plunged into the sea, without troubling himself to look for a plank. "For he wanted nothing more than the armour of his faith. Nor did his hopes deceive him; for he was the first of the ship's company, who got safely to the shore." Augustine tells of a country-house near Hippo which was haunted. But when a priest went and "offered the sacrifice of Christ's body on the spot," praying fervently that the vexation might be removed, it instantly ceased.

It is obvious that some of the opinions and customs of the church cannot be traced either to the Jewish or the Christian Scriptures. All such were sustained upon the authority of tradition from the early Fathers. Epiphanius says: "We must look also to tradition; for all things cannot be learned from the Scriptures." Basil says: "In my opinion, it is apostolical to adhere to unwritten traditions." "The Apostles and Fathers, who prescribed from the beginning certain rites to the church, knew how to preserve the dignity of the Mysteries, by the secrecy and silence in which they enveloped them. What is open to the eye and the ear is no longer mysterious. For this reason, several things have been handed down to us without writing; lest the vulgar, by becoming too familiar with our dogmas, should pass from being accustomed to them to contempt for them." Chrysostom says: "The Apostles did not deliver all things by means of epistles. They made many communications without writing. Both are equally entitled to belief. It is a tradition. Inquire no further."

The later Fathers were as devotional in their habits, as their predecessors had been. They always washed their hands before entering a church; and required kings to lay down their armour and their crowns at the door, and leave their guards behind them. They fasted often, and prayed three times a day. They prayed and sang Psalms before and after eating, and never drank without making a sign of the cross over the cup. Chrysostom says: "The Devil is never so ready to ensnare us, as at meals; either by in-

temperance, indolence, or immoderate mirth; therefore, both before and after eating, we should fortify ourselves with Psalms."

The bond between Christians was exceedingly strong. They were always ready to assist each other in poverty, sickness, and trouble. The Pagans were continually surprised to see men of totally different education and habits, sympathizing with each other, and relying upon each other, like brothers of the same family. If fierce denunciations and bitter persecution of all who differed from them in theological doctrines excited the remark, "How these Christians hate each other," their unstinted kindness and truly fraternal feeling toward all within the fold excited the general remark how Christians loved each other. And their benevolence flowed copiously, not only to their own communities, near and distant, but also to poor and suffering strangers. To them the Roman empire owed its first asylums for widows and orphans, the sick and the indigent. Even the Emperor Julian set them up as an example in these respects, worthy of all imitation. It was a common custom to appoint fasts when any of the sister churches needed assistance, and the money saved from food enabled even the poorest to contribute something toward their relief. In times of sickness, their courageous kindness is said to have furnished a striking contrast to their Pagan neighbours, who had no such central bond of union. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, describing a pestilence in that city, says: "It was true of most of our brethren, that in the fulness of their brotherly love, they spared not themselves. Their only anxiety was a mutual one for each other. And as they waited on the sick without thinking of themselves, ministering to their wants for Christ's sake, so they cheerfully gave up their lives for them. Many who took the bodies of Christian brethren into their arms, and to their bosoms, composed their features, and buried them with all possible care, afterward followed them in death. Some of the best among our brethren, presbyters, deacons, and distinguished men of the laity, thus ended their lives; so that

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the manner of their death being the fruit of such eminent piety and mighty faith, seemed not to fall short of martyrdom. With the Pagans it was quite otherwise. They drove from them those who showed the first symptoms of disease; and fled from their dearest friends. They cast the half dead into the streets, and left the dead unburied; making it their chief care to avoid contagion." Chrysostom records that in his time the church at Antioch, which consisted of about one hundred thousand persons, daily maintained three thousand widows and orphans, besides supporting the clergy, and the hospitals, assisting strangers in distress, and ransoming many Christian slaves. Basil the Great established in all the principal towns of his diocese institutions for the reception of indigent strangers, and the care of the sick. Physicians and nurses were in attendance, and every arrangement made for the comfort of the inmates. Workshops were provided for all the labourers and artisans that were needed; so that each establishment was described as having the appearance of a small town. When the brother of Basil died, he left this brief testament: "I will that all my estate be given to the poor." Paulinus, Bishop of Treves, in the fourth century, was very wealthy; but when he became a Christian, he sold all his vast estates, and distributed the proceeds among the poor. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyros, at about the same period, though he had a poor diocese, saved enough to construct a canal from the Euphrates to the town, which had previously suffered for want of water; to repair and improve the public baths; to erect two porticoes for the use of the city; and to build two large bridges. Ambrose sold the ornaments, and even sacred vessels of the churches to redeem Christians, who had been taken in war, and sold into slavery. He says: "The church possesses gold, not to treasure it up, but to distribute it for the welfare and happiness of men. We are ransoming souls from eternal perdition. It is not merely the lives of men and the honour of women, that are endangered by captivity, but also the faith of their children. The blood of redemption, which has glowed in those golden

cups, has sanctified them not merely for that service, but for the redemption of men."

The Bishop of Nola expended his whole estate to redeem as many as he could. At last, a poor widow went to him and intreated him to rescue her only son, who had been sold to a prince of the Vandals. He told her he had not a single penny left, but he would freely give himself as a ransom. The poor woman thought he was jesting with her anxiety; but he assured her that he was in earnest. Accordingly, he accompanied her to Africa and begged the prince to release the young man, because he was the only son of a widow; offering to labour freely in his stead. The prince accepted his proposition, and employed him to work in his garden. His industry and faithfulness gained the favour of his master, who, after some time, discovered that he had been a bishop. Impressed by the greatness of such an example, the prince gave him his liberty, and promised to grant whatsoever he wished. The good man asked no favour for himself, but begged the release of all his countrymen in bondage. They were accordingly all sent home in ships laden with provisions.

Christians had the same feeling as the Israelites of old concerning allowing their own brethren to be in slavery; and a similar degree of exclusiveness led them generally not to include Pagan bondmen within the circle of their sympathies. It early began to be the feeling that one Christian ought not to hold another as a slave; the relation, even under the best circumstances, seeming inconsistent with Christian brotherhood. Many converts emancipated all their slaves as soon as they joined the church, being impelled by their own consciences, though no ecclesiastical law required it. When slaves were converted, it was common for Christian masters to emancipate them; so that baptism came to be considered a sign of freedom. Among the crowds of nominal professors, after Christianity became the established religion, there were of course many who were entirely uninfluenced by its spirit. The Archbishop of Ravenna, in the fifth century, complains of such,

who could scarcely be distinguished from the hardest masters among the Pagans, in their treatment of slaves. But as a general thing, the difference between the old and the new religion was very striking on this point. Lactantius says: "We may be asked, are there not among you rich and poor, masters and slaves, distinctions of rank between individuals? Not at all. No reason can be assigned why we call one another brethren, except that we consider ourselves equals. We measure human beings by their souls, not by their bodies. There is diversity in the condition of bodies; but to us none are slaves. We address all as brothers in the Spirit, and regard all as fellow-servants, in a religious sense." Chrysostom says: "In the bosom of the Christian church, there are no slaves, in the old sense of the word. The name exists, but the thing has ceased." "The slave glorifies Jesus Christ as his master, and the master acknowledges himself a slave of Jesus Christ. Both are subjects, both are free in this common obedience; they are equals, both as freemen and as slaves." In another place, he exhorts Christians to "buy up slaves, instruct them in the arts, and give them the means of livelihood." Chromacius, Præfect of Rome, who was converted during the reign of Diocletian, was baptized with fourteen hundred of his slaves, to whom he gave freedom, saying: "These, who are the children of God, ought to be no longer the slaves of men." He crowned this act of justice and humanity by taking paternal care concerning their means of livelihood.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FATHERS.

Nearly all the writings of the Fathers consisted of sectarian controversy, Biblical interpretation employed in its service, and fervent exhortations to celibacy; but some precious gems of morality, scattered about, indicate that the world was rising to a higher level of humanity than it ever attained under the pure and elevated, but unsympathizing teaching of the Platonic school. The following brief extracts will serve as specimens:

"God, who creates and inspires men, willed that they should be equal. He made them all capable of wisdom, imposed the same laws on all, and promised immortality to all. No one is excluded from his heavenly gifts. He makes the sun to shine equally on all, and the fountains to issue freely for all. As he furnishes food for all, and gives the sweet repose of sleep unto all, so does he give virtue and equality to all. With Him, no one is a slave, and no one master. He is the Father of all, and we are all, by equal right, his children. In his sight, no man is poor, but him who is wanting in goodness; and no man is rich, but him who abounds in virtues."—*Lactantius*.

"The poor shake with cold beneath their miserable rags, while we envelope ourselves in long floating robes of the finest silk. The poor can scarcely find a refuse morsel wherewith to appease the cravings of hunger; while we luxuriate in the choicest delicacies. We lavish the most delicate odours, as if our courage were not already sufficiently enervated. Our tables bend beneath dishes, for which all the elements have been laid under contribution; and all this is done to satisfy the avidity of an ungrateful stomach, an insatiable brute, which will soon be destroyed, together with the perishable viands that are accumulated to nourish it. The poor would think themselves happy to get water enough to quench their thirst; and we drink wine to excess, even while we feel our senses disordered by its potency. My brethren, these diseases of the soul, which infect the rich, are more grievous than the bodily infirmities that afflict the poor. Theirs are not of their own seeking; ours are what we bring upon ourselves. Death will deliver them from theirs; ours will go with us to the grave, and rise with us."—*Gregory of Nazianzen*.

"Since you alone are amenable for your own vices, or follies, what good does it do to talk of your forefathers, and rake up the ashes of the dead? One man may draw forth nothing but discordant sounds from a golden harp; another will give birth to ravishing melodies on a simple reed. Such is your history, my friend. You descended from an

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illustrious race, which is to you as the harp of gold. But if you have no merit in yourself, upon what can you build your pride? What real subject of exaltation can you find for yourself in ancestors long since dead? What is all that to us? It is with yourself alone we have to do. Are you good, or are you bad? Every thing is reduced to that simple question."—*Gregory of Nazianzen.*

"What was I before I was born? What am I now? What shall I be to-morrow? I asked the learned to guide me, but I found no one who knew any more than myself. I exist. What does that word mean? Already, whilst I speak, a portion of my existence has escaped me. I am no longer what I was. Should I still exist, what shall I be to-morrow? In no one thing permanent, I resemble the water of a stream, perpetually flowing on, which nothing stops. Like the brook, in another moment I shall no longer be the same I was a moment before. I ought to be called by some other name. You seize me, now you hold me, yet I escape. Fugitive wave! never again will you traverse the space over which you have already flowed. The same man, whom you have once reflected in your waters, will never be reflected by them again, exactly as he looked in them before."—*Gregory of Nazianzen.*

"Why is it that you are rich, and your neighbour poor? Is it not that you may sanctify your abundance by your benevolence, while he may sanctify poverty by patience and resignation? Do not deceive yourself with respect to the ways of Providence. The bread that you keep shut up belongs to the hungry. The shoes which you hoard belong to the barefoot. To withhold assistance from those who are in need, when you have the means of relieving them, is not only cruel, it is unjust."—*Basil the Great.*

"Has any one made use of injurious expressions concerning you? Reply to them by blessings. Does he treat you ill? Be patient. Does he reproach you? Condemn yourself, if the reproach be just; if not, it is a mere breath of air. Flattery cannot impart to you a merit, if you have it not, nor can calumny give you faults you do not really

possess. Are you accused of ignorance? You justify the charge by showing yourself angry. Are you persecuted? Think of Jesus Christ. Can you ever suffer as he suffered?"—*Basil the Great.*

"The slanderer does injury to three persons at once. To him *of* whom he speaks ill; to him *to* whom he says it; and most of all to himself *in* saying it."—*Basil the Great.*

"Is it a misfortune to pass from infancy to youth? Still less can it be a misfortune to go from this miserable life to that true life into which we are introduced by death. Our first changes are connected with the progressive development of life. The new change, which death effects, is only the passage to a more desirable perfection. To complain of the necessity of dying, is to accuse Nature of not having condemned us to perpetual infancy."—*Gregory of Nyssa.*

"'I possessed myself of servants and maids.' Possessed, do you say? Who can be the possessor of human beings, save God? By what right can any other claim possession of them? Those men that you say belong to you, did not God create them free? Command the brute creation; it is well and good. But do not degrade the image of God! Bend the beasts of the field beneath your yoke. But are your fellow men to be bought and sold, like herds of cattle? Who can pay the value of a being created in the image of God? The whole world itself bears no proportion to the value of a soul, on which the Most High has set the seal of his likeness. This world will perish; but the soul of man is immortal. Show me then your titles of possession. Whence have you received this strange privilege? Is not your own nature the same with that of those whom you call your slaves? Have they not the same origin with yourself? Are they not born to the same destinies?"—*Gregory of Nyssa.*

"All the immense space by which we are surrounded is peopled with angels, whose eyes are continually turned toward us. The most hardened in wickedness still shrinks from observation. The thought that he is watched checks

the criminal in the fury of his passion. Can the Christian then, who knows that celestial Spirits not only behold his every action, but also read his most secret thoughts, can he ever, in mere levity and thoughtlessness, deliver himself up to evil?"—*Hilary of Poitiers*.

"There is always something of injustice and inhumanity in the possession of immense wealth, however legitimate the possession of it may be in point of law, and however honest in the sight of man may be the means by which it was acquired."—*Ambrose of Milan*.

"There are certain persons, not altogether asleep in ignorance, nor yet fully awake in the light of reason, who hold that right is nothing but that which is commonly received. Since laws and customs differ, they conclude that there is nothing binding in its own nature; but that whatsoever a man is persuaded of in his own mind, the same must be right and good. These people have not yet looked far enough into the world to discover that all nations under heaven accept, as a standard, the maxim, 'Do unto others, as ye would they should do unto you.'"—*Augustine*.

"Blessed is he who loveth God; and his friend in God; and his enemy for God."—*Augustine*.

"Your very existence is not your own. How is it then that your riches are? They belong rather to those for whom God has given them into your keeping. Wealth is a common property, like the light of the sun, the air, or the productions of the earth. Riches are to society what food is to the body. Should any one of the members absorb the nutriment which is intended for the support of the whole, the body would perish utterly; for it is held together only by the requisite distribution of nourishment to the divers parts. In the same manner, the general harmony of society is maintained only by the interchange of services between the rich and the poor."—*John Chrysostom*.

"Nobility consists not in illustrious ancestry, but in the virtues of the soul. I call the slave a patrician, though bound in chains, if I know his soul to be noble; and I

deem the patrician a slave, though invested with outward dignity, if he has an ignoble mind." "How many drunken patricians lie stupified on their couches, while their sober servants stand by. Which of these ought to be called a slave? Should the term be applied to him who has been made captive by man, or to him who is the slave of his passions? One is enslaved by external circumstances; the other carries about his slavery within him." "Let there be no wall of separation between freemen and slaves. It is better that they should serve one another; for mutual service is preferable to an exclusive and solitary liberty. Suppose a master to own a hundred slaves, who all serve him with repugnance; and then suppose a hundred souls, who help each other from affection. On which side will there be most happiness? On which will life be the most lovely? On the first, is misery and fear; everything being effected by force, and done from necessity. On the other, vengeance is banished, and all comes from free-will, benevolence, and gratitude. Such is the order of God. He himself washed the feet of his disciples, and said: 'Let him who would be your master, be your servant.'"

FESTIVALS AND FASTS.

SUNDAY AND THE SABBATH.—As the separation from Judaism increased, the custom of observing both their Sabbath and Sunday gradually changed. But even as late as the year three hundred and sixty, a Council at Laodicea deemed it necessary to forbid Christians to abstain from labour on the Sabbath, [Saturday.] In connection with this decree, they remark: "Christians ought not to Judaize and cease from labour on the Sabbath. They ought to work on that day. As Christians, they should prefer to rest from labour, if they can, on the Lord's Day," [Sunday.] Laws stricter than those of Constantine were passed by his successors. Civil transactions of every kind were forbidden on Sunday, as sacrilegious. In four hundred and twenty-five, Jews and Pagans were required to abstain from thea-

tres and festivals on that day, because the noise in the streets disturbed the devotions of those assembled in the churches. Neander, the learned inquirer into Ecclesiastical History, says: "The celebration of Sunday, like that of every festival, was a human institution. Far was it from the Apostles to treat it as a divine command; far from them, and from the first apostolic church, to transfer the laws of the Sabbath to Sunday."

AGAPE.—It has been already mentioned that the Feast called Agape gradually changed its character, as the number of worldly Christians increased. The fraternal kiss, with which it had been customary to separate in the good old times of affectionate simplicity, probably led to some abuses among those who were not pure of heart. At all events, many scandalous stories concerning these meetings were circulated by Pagan opponents, and by Gnostic ascetics. To prevent this, the church ordained that men should confine the customary salutation to the brethren only, and women to the sisters. At that period of the world, it was the common practice to eat in a half reclining posture; but the church ordered them to dispense with couches at the Agape. Notwithstanding these, and other restraining laws, intemperance and excess became so notorious, that the Council at Carthage, in three hundred ninety seven, forbade these feasts to be held in churches; considering them a desecration of the holy place. The Fathers everywhere preached against them, and they were finally laid aside

FESTIVAL OF THE MARTYRS.—The great annual Festival among the Pagans for the Souls of all their Ancestors, had been adopted by Gregory Thaumaturgus, as a matter of policy, and appropriated to the honour of All the Martyrs. Gregory of Nyssa, in his life of that proselyting bishop, says: "The Pagans were delighted with the festivals of their gods, and unwilling to part with those delights. Therefore, Gregory, to facilitate their conversion, instituted

annual festivals to saints and martyrs." On these occasions, a great banquet was provided, and dances and pantomimes introduced, as had been the custom in the Pagan Parentalia. The gathering-place was usually at, or near the tomb, or chapel, of some celebrated martyr, where prayers were offered, and hymns sung in honour of the dead. The roads, for many miles round, were crowded with pilgrims, who went to implore the martyrs to send them good weather, abundant crops, smooth seas, and healthy children; to protect them from diseases or accidents during the year, and if they died, to bear their souls into the bosom of Christ, and intercede for them at the last day. On account of the great concourse of people, it was customary to have markets, or fairs, established near by, for the sale of provisions, and other conveniences, consequently a large proportion of the assembly was brought together merely for purposes of merriment or traffic. Some of the less strict among the bishops sanctioned the scene by their presence, after the religious portion of the ceremonies was completed; but their influence was not sufficient to restrain excesses. The health of the martyrs was often drunk to complete intoxication. Gregory of Nazianzen and Chrysostom severely denounced the luxury with which this festival was celebrated at Antioch. Many of the clergy strongly disapproved of the practice; but it was exceedingly difficult to wean the people from the old customs, which had become universally engrafted on the new faith. Basil preached against such scenes as altogether unsuitable to the solemnity of the subject, and of the places where they assembled. He reminded the people that they ought to remember how Christ whipped out buyers and sellers from the House of Prayer. As the rich, on these occasions, furnished provisions, of which the poor partook freely, the feast was often called by the old name of Agape; which was thus brought into still greater disrepute among opponents of the church. The Council of Laodicea formally condemned these festivals; but it was a long time before they were suppressed. The Manicheans, who were very

abstemious in their habits, and extremely simple in their mode of worship, frequently taunted Catholic Christians with their festivals, and multiplication of ceremonies. They said: "You have but substituted your Agape for the Pagan sacrifices. In the place of their idols, you have set up your martyrs, whom you worship with the same ceremonies they did their gods. Like them, you appease the souls of the dead with wine and with meat offerings."

LENT AND EASTER.—In addition to the weekly fasts on Wednesday and Friday, Christians held an annual fast preceding the first full moon after the vernal equinox. It was variously observed in different times and places. Some fasted several days, others abstained from animal food during several weeks. It was immediately followed by the joyful festivities of Easter, the most ancient Christian festival on record; being a continuation of the Pass-over, to which the Apostles, and Jewish converts, had always been accustomed. In the East, the members of churches assembled in grave-yards, on the Friday preceding the joyful Sunday, to commemorate the crucifixion. During the Festival of Easter, Constantine the Great released all prisoners, except those who had committed very great crimes; and he always distributed large donations among the poor. Theodosius the Great ordained that no lawsuits should be commenced, no accusations should be brought, and no punishments inflicted, during the continuance of the holy season. After the time of Constantine, this festival was observed with great pomp. On the evening preceding Easter Sunday, all the churches and the principal houses were brilliantly illuminated; people poured through the streets with torches, and vigils were kept in the churches till the morning dawned. The next day, all the churches resounded with Hallelujahs, and friends and relatives feasted at each other's houses. The holy season began on Palm Sunday, a week before Easter, and continued till the Sunday after Easter; including fourteen days. Not only the Jews, but all the ancient

nations, kept a festival near the vernal equinox, to welcome in the budding spring-time with thank-offerings to their gods. The Saxon word *Oster* means rising; and the German word *Osten* means the east, in allusion to the sun's rising. The Saxons had a season of thanksgiving in the spring, which they named *Ostern*, in honour of the old Teutonic Goddess of Nature, called *Ostera*. This is supposed to be the origin of the English name *Easter*, applied to the Christian festival in honour of Christ's rising. The French call it *Pâques*, and Italians *Pasqua*; in allusion to the Paschal Lamb slain at the Passover. It was early customary for the Bishops of Rome to distribute the remains of the tapers consecrated on Easter Eve. The people burned them at home, as a preservation against all manner of misfortunes.

WHITSUNDAY.—The Jewish Pentecost was likewise retained by Christians, but kept by them in commemoration of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples. As the Holy Spirit was supposed to be imparted by baptism, the day was peculiarly appropriated to the performance of that ceremony. The numerous candidates who assembled, being clothed in white robes, made a conspicuous show on the margin of rivers and ponds. Hence the festival came to be called *White Sunday*, or *Whitsunday*.

EPIPHANY.—Egyptians observed the sixth of January, as a joyful festival in honour of *Osiris* found; probably in allusion to the sun returning from the winter solstice. Christians in some countries adopted this festival. They at first kept it in commemoration of the *Star* which guided the *Wise Men of the East*; and presents were interchanged on that day, said to be in allusion to the offerings of the *Magi*; though in fact that custom, as well as the festival itself, was of much more ancient date than the birth of Christ. The *Ebionite* "Gospel according to the Hebrews" commenced at the baptism of Christ; and declared that when Jesus entered the water, "straightway a great light

shone round the place." Justin Martyr, who probably derived the idea from that source, says that "a fire was kindled in the Jordan." Hence, the Eastern churches often called baptism Illumination. After a time, the sixth of January, instead of being observed by Christians in honour of the miraculous star, was supposed to be the very day on which Christ was baptized; when "all the persons of the Trinity were present. The Father in a voice from heaven; the Son in the person of Jesus; and the Holy Spirit in the visible shape of a dove." In some places, many torches and fires were lighted during the celebration, to commemorate the star that guided the Magi to Bethlehem, the light that shone round the shepherds, and the fire "kindled in the Jordan." At Constantinople, it was originally called the Feast of Lights. It afterward received the name of Epiphany, from Greek words signifying The Appearance, or the Manifestation; because the Holy Ghost appeared at the baptism, and Christ was for the first time manifested as the Messiah. Chrysostom relates that during this festival people were accustomed to draw water at midnight, and preserve it carefully, believing it to possess certain miraculous powers; because Christ, by going into the Jordan, "sanctified water to the mystical washing away of sin." He affirms that water drawn at that holy season would keep pure a whole year; sometimes two or three years.

CHRISTMAS.—Most of the ancient nations observed seasons of rejoicing when the sun began to return from the winter solstice. Egyptians had two festivals of this kind; one on the twenty-fifth day of December, to commemorate the birth-day of the infant Horus, and the other on the sixth of January, to rejoice over the lost Osiris found. Persians kept a festival on the twenty-fifth of December, in honour of Mithras, the attendant Spirit of the Sun. At Rome, there was a series of festivals in the latter part of December. There was the Saturnalia, in commemoration of the Golden Age of Saturn, when all distinctions of rank

were abolished and the earth was filled with abundance. On this occasion, relatives and friends feasted each other, and interchanged presents. There was the Festival for Children, during which it was customary to give children little images. The twenty-fifth day of December was celebrated under the name of Dies Natalis Invicti Solis, The Birth Day of the Invincible Sun. It is not known at what season of the year Christ was born, and the custom of keeping his nativity is not mentioned till the second century, when it was observed by the Eastern churches on the sixth of January. In the Western part of the empire, the Roman Birth Day of the Sun, the twenty-fifth of December, began, in the middle of the fourth century, to be observed in honour of the nativity of Christ. The Eastern churches continued their old custom for some time after; but in the fifth century, the twenty-fifth of December was established, by decree of the church, as a festival to be universally observed. The Roman people had been attached to this holiday, from very ancient times; and it was deemed peculiarly appropriate to transfer it to the honour of Christ, who was called "the sun of righteousness," and often compared to the natural sun, illuminating a world in darkness. The Gospel of Luke represents Christ as born in the night; it was therefore customary to have the churches lighted up, and public worship performed the midnight preceding. The prayers and ceremonies, accompanying the eucharist were called Mass; hence the festival came to be denominated Christmas. Manicheans and other heretical sects, reproached the Catholics for observing the Birth Day of the Sun, with the Pagans. Leo the Great, Patriarch of Rome, in the middle of the fifth century, complains that in his time many Christians retained the Pagan custom of paying obeisance to the rising sun, from some lofty eminence; also in the morning, when they were ascending the steps of St. Peter's church. Theodosius the Younger prohibited games at Easter, Whitsunday, Christmas, and Epiphany; and ordered all the theatres to be closed, not only for Christians, but for Jews and Pagans.

BISHOPS.

The preceding pages have shown how the simple church government in the days of the Apostles had changed, when Cyprian maintained that bishops were supreme arbiters of theological truth. Early in the second century it began to be the custom for country churches to unite themselves to some church in a neighbouring city, which was thus constituted their head. Sometimes several churches in the same city united themselves under the guidance of one, and formed what was called a Metropolitan church. The Metropolitan Bishop presided over inferior bishops and clergy, when they came from the country to attend a council in the city where he resided; and all the clergy of his province were required to refer to him for advice, in any cases of difficulty; hence he came to be called Archbishop, or Chief Bishop. From the beginning of the fifth century, the Archbishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, began to take the title of Patriarchs; and to them was conceded the power of supervision over all the other bishops and archbishops within their jurisdiction. In almost every difficulty that occurred, Rome, the representative of the West, took one side, and Constantinople, the representative of the East, took the other. The supremacy of Rome was strongly urged, on the ground that the first church there was established by Peter, to whom Christ had said: "On this rock will I found my church." By the middle of the fifth century, it was decided by decrees of councils, and of the emperor, that the Patriarch of Rome was the last tribunal of appeal; and that the Patriarch of Constantinople was to take the second rank in Christendom. The increasing power of Rome was of course watched with jealousy by her old rival. The Eastern churches frequently rebelled against the decisions of the Primate; and even in the West, where alone his edicts had the force of law, they often met with strenuous opposition, till as late as the eighth century. As early as the time of Cyprian, it began to be customary to call all

bishops *Papas*, a title of respect, from a Greek word signifying Father. This was the origin of the English word Pope; which was not exclusively applied to the Roman Pontiff till the eleventh century. After the fourth century, bishops were often nominated by the emperor, instead of being elected by the people, as they had previously been.

Deaconesses, before entering upon their office, were originally ordained, like others of the clergy; but as the clerical order increased in dignity, the priesthood began to declare against this custom. Synods in the fourth and fifth centuries forbade the ordination of women; and those who had been previously ordained were required to receive the bishops' blessing in company with the laity, not with the clergy:

The belief that the Holy Spirit was transmitted by the imposition of hands at ordination led many to attach little importance to any preparation for the priesthood. This idea, combined with the tendency to consider mere external rites sufficient for salvation, produced an increasing contempt for intellectual culture. To have received the Holy Ghost, and to be able to perform ceremonies, was deemed sufficient for a priest. The more eminent teachers of the church, such as Basil and the two Gregories, sought to counteract this tendency, by representing human learning as a valuable servant to divine truth; but they were exceptions to the general rule.

In the first centuries of Christianity, the clergy married, if they chose; considering themselves sustained by the opinions of the early Fathers, and the example of the Apostles. Gregory of Nazianzen was born after his father was a bishop. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, and Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers were married. Eusebius, the historian, mentions numerous instances of married bishops and presbyters. Augustine also speaks of Catholic clergymen in his time, who had wives. For the first three hundred years, there was no ecclesiastical law or regulation to enforce celibacy of the priesthood. But a large proportion

of the most eminent of the later Fathers, sustained celibacy by eloquent writings and their own example; and monks were so venerated by the populace, for their superior sanctity, that it seemed to make a similar degree of holiness desirable, if not necessary, to all the clergy. The feeling first showed itself in opposition to second marriages. Any one in holy orders, even a clerk or a deacon, was immediately ejected from office, if he married a widow. At the Council of Nice, it was a disputed point whether those who had been married previous to their consecration, should be required to put away their wives. Paphnutius, the aged Bishop of Upper Thebais, himself unmarried, maintained that it was sufficient for the clergy to be required not to marry after their consecration; and his advice prevailed. Eustathius and his followers refused to receive the sacrament from any but an unmarried clergyman. On the other hand, Jovinian and Vigilantius disapproved of these oriental ideas concerning the sinfulness of marriage, which they said were not sustained by the teaching of Christ, or the example of his Apostles, and in their practical effect were unfavourable to morality. Some, even among the bishops, thought such rigid rules likely to produce secret vice, and, therefore, they refused to ordain unmarried deacons. But the Bishop of Rome, at the close of the fourth century, issued a letter positively forbidding any clergymen of the higher orders to live with their wives. A man of thirty years old, who had not married a widow, and who had had but one wife, might be a sub-deacon. If he lived ten years in strict continence, he might become a priest. If he lived ten years more in the same way, he might be promoted to the rank of bishop. This injunction was repeated by several councils; but met with more or less opposition from some of the clergy. Early in the sixth century, the emperor Justinian declared all children of clergymen illegitimate, and incapable of any hereditary succession or inheritance.

The lavish donations of Constantine, and the law authorizing his subjects to seek salvation for their own souls

by bequeathing estates to the church, to the detriment of their natural heirs, rendered the church exceedingly wealthy. The religious reverence and theological fears of the people, induced profuse liberality to monks and priests, which successive emperors sought to check by restraining laws. The ecclesiastical revenue was divided into four parts. One for the poor, one for the expenses of public worship, one for the inferior clergy, and one for the bishops. In the early times, salaries were merely sufficient for a moderate competence; but they were gradually enlarged, until the bishops in cities lived much more like princes, than like Paul the tent-maker. They dwelt in splendid palaces, gave sumptuous dinners, made lavish presents, and conferred important benefits, as a means of obtaining political influence, and popular favour, to be used for the aggrandizement of the church. Jerome thus loudly complains of the state in which he found the clergy of Rome, toward the close of the fourth century: "I am ashamed to say it, but there are men, who seek the priesthood, and become deacons, only that they may see women with less restraint. Dress is all their care. Their hair is curled with tongs; their fingers blaze with diamond rings; they will scarcely touch the ground with their feet, so afraid are they of a little dampness or dirt." He charges all the ecclesiastics of Rome with hunting for legacies, with making use of the sacred name of the church to extort money for their own emolument, from the fears of the dying, or the devotion of the living. The law of Valentinian, prohibiting the clergy and monks from receiving bequests, he acknowledges was just. He says: "I complain not of the law, but that we have deserved such a law." Ambrose and Augustine likewise admit that ecclesiastical avarice made such restraining edicts necessary. The church at Rome especially had become very wealthy and powerful. The bishop was the confidential adviser of illustrious ladies, the distinguished guest of patricians and princes. Such a position was of course a prize to excite the avarice and ambition of men. In the year

three hundred and eighty-four, Ursinus and Damasus violently contended for it. Their adherents fought, and one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies remained in the church; the price which Damasus paid for his victory. The candid Pagan, Ammianus, who was their cotemporary, thus alludes to these factions, in his History of Rome: "I am not astonished that so valuable a prize should inflame the desires of ambitious men. The successful candidate is sure that he will be enriched by the offerings of matrons; that as soon as his dress is arranged with becoming care and elegance, he may proceed in his chariot through the streets of Rome; and that the sumptuousness of the imperial table will not equal the profuse and delicate entertainments provided by the taste and at the expense of the Roman Pontiff. How much more rationally would those Pontiffs consult their true happiness, if they would imitate the exemplary life of some provincial bishops, whose temperance and sobriety, plainness of apparel, and humble deportment, recommend their pure, unpretending virtue to the Deity, and to all his true worshippers."

Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, in Spain, complained at the Council of Sardica, that bishops went to court so frequently with demands having no connection with their calling; merely to secure places of honour and profit for themselves some worldly concerns. Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, was so ambitious to erect splendid edifices, that he paid comparatively little attention to the spiritual welfare of his flock. He was so grasping of funds, that a wealthy widow, who wished to have a thousand gold pieces employed in clothing the poor women of that city, entrusted them to a benevolent presbyter, charging him to keep the transaction secret from the avaricious bishop. He discovered it, however, and persecuted the good presbyter to such a degree, that he fled into the desert. Even there the anger of Theophilus pursued him and the monks that sheltered him; and a prolonged quarrel in the church was the consequence.

Gregory of Nazianzen was so disgusted with the clerical competition he witnessed, that he exclaimed: "Would to heaven there were no primacy, no eminence of place, no tyrannical precedence of rank, and that we might be distinguished only by eminence in virtue! But, as things now are, the distinction of a seat at the right hand or the left, or in the middle; at a higher or lower place; of going before, or aside of each other, has given rise to many disorders among us, to no salutary purpose whatever, and has plunged multitudes into ruin." When Chrysostom visited the Asiatic churches, he deposed thirteen bishops for misconduct. He declared that licentiousness, and the habit of selling ecclesiastical preferments, had more or less contaminated the whole order; and he expressed a conviction that the number of bishops who would be saved was fewer than those who would be damned. Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, in the third century, was conspicuous for his luxurious style of living. He held a civil office, upon which he prided himself, and was accustomed to ride through the streets accompanied by guards, and followed by a multitude of attendants; and he sat upon a splendid throne when he presided at ecclesiastical assemblies. He exacted large contributions from the opulent, much of which he was accused of spending for his own gratification. He dressed with elaborate elegance, kept a luxurious table; and theological opponents, who attacked his heretical views concerning the Logos, said that two beautiful women were his companions in the episcopal palace.

A singular instance of compromise with regard to theological opinions occurred in the case of Synesius of Cyrene, said to have been a descendant of Hercules. He was a Platonist, or rather an eclectic philosopher, distinguished for his elegant style of writing, and knowledge of classical literature. At the close of the fourth century, he became a convert to Christianity, though not according to the prescribed pattern. But his character for eloquence, learning, and integrity, stood so high, that Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, was desirous to rank him among the bishops.

He was reluctant to assume the clerical office, for many reasons. He said that he loved classic literature and philosophy, and would by no means consent to relinquish them; that he was much addicted to field-sports, and should continue to be so; that he did not believe in the resurrection of the body, and had no sympathy whatever with the prevailing views concerning celibacy. Being still urged, notwithstanding this candid avowal of his opinions and habits, he consented to become Bishop of Ptolemais, in Egypt. With admirable frankness, he said to those who were to ordain him: "God, and the law of the land, and the holy hand of Theophilus the bishop, have bestowed on me my wife. I therefore solemnly declare, and call you to witness, that I will not be plucked from her; nor will I consent to live with her in secret. But I hope and pray that we may have a large family of virtuous children." In consideration of his distinguished talent and learning, and his well-known probity, a compromise was agreed upon, and he was permitted to enjoy his own habits and opinions unmolested. For twenty years he presided over his diocese with great energy and dignity, and with a scrupulous regard for the welfare of his people. He continued to devote his leisure to literary pursuits, and his writings have been much admired both by ancient and modern scholars. Dr. Milman thus describes them: "They blend, with a very scanty Christianity, the mystic theology of the later Platonism; but it is rather philosophy adopting Christian language, than Christianity moulding philosophy to its own uses."

The proceedings of Constantine at the Council of Nice had greatly increased the tendency to clerical pride. He had voluntarily taken a seat lower than the bishops, professing that it was not for him to assume authority, in ecclesiastical matters, over the successors of the Apostles, whom God had appointed his vicegerents on earth. The vantage-ground thus accorded to the clergy, they ever after claimed as an inalienable right. The son and successor of Constantine was denounced as a heretic, and excluded from councils,

on the ground that no layman, even though he were an emperor, had any right to be present at the discussions of bishops. The administration of the sacrament was refused to the Arian emperor, Valens; and even the orthodox Theodosius was obliged to acknowledge himself inferior in ecclesiastical concerns. It had been customary for the emperor, when at church, to sit within the railing, which separated the congregation from the officiating priests and their attendants. But when Theodosius attempted to enter within the sacred enclosure of the church at Milan, Ambrose, with a gesture of dignified politeness, pointed to a lower seat reserved for the emperor, at the head of the laity. The imperious Theodosius yielded to this assumption of clerical superiority, and the people applauded an arrangement which placed the lowest of the deacons above their monarch in spiritual rank. When messengers from the Arian empress Justina and her son accused Ambrose of tyranny, in not allowing the imperial family one church in Milan for their own mode of worship, he proudly replied: "In ancient times priests *bestowed* empire, they did not condescend to *assume* it. Kings have desired to be priests, rather than priests to be kings." Martin, the pious but illiterate soldier, who afterward became Bishop of Tours, was invited to dine with the emperor Maximin. When wine was brought, the monarch passed the goblet to the bishop, expecting and wishing to receive it from his holy hand after he had drank of it. But Martin passed it to his presbyter, not deeming it proper that even an imperial layman should take precedence of a priest; and Maximin, though of a haughty and ferocious temper, was not offended. The empress, to do all possible honour to the holy man, tended the table herself. She afterwards picked up the crumbs he dropped, and preserved them as sacred relics. Princes were continually reminded that the civil power was merely earthly and transitory, while the authority of bishops was derived from God himself, and extended beyond this world into the next; that priests were as much superior to kings, as the soul was to the

body. The people, of course, paid homage to a power acknowledged to be above royalty, and claiming to be derived from heaven. When Athanasius returned from exile, the people of Alexandria waved incense before him as he passed through the streets. Jerome calls Epiphanius "a shining star among bishops, a pattern of ancient holiness, to whom the people flocked in crowds, offering their little children to his benediction, kissing his feet, and catching the hem of his garment." Chrysostom says when the Bishop of Antioch came to Constantinople, the multitudes went out to meet him, and as many as could come near him kissed his hands and his feet. Jerome says the populace sometimes sang hosannas to their bishop, as they had done to Christ. Paul of Samosata was displeased when he entered a church, if the audience did not receive him with applause; and the hosannas introduced as an occasional salutation to the bishops, became a prominent part of the ceremonial of his church. Ambrose says that kings and princes did not disdain to bow their necks to the knees of the priests and kiss their hands, and it is recorded that this was the customary respect paid to himself.

The universal adulation and homage to bishops, though grounded in religious reverence, was not unmingled with selfish policy, and fear of their great authority in spiritual and temporal concerns. Of all the power lodged in their hands, none was more dreaded than that of excommunication. In the early days, a person guilty of misconduct was expelled from the church by vote of the community to which he belonged. But this power gradually passed from the people into the hands of bishops; and as time went on, the forms increased in severity. The ancient Druids practised terrible forms of excommunication, by which every person was forbidden to furnish the culprit with food, or fire, or to minister to his necessities in any way, whatever might be his sufferings. The awful *anathema* often included whole families, and even nations. This custom, which gave the priesthood great power, was

imitated by the Christian church. Athanasius excommunicated one of the clergy in Egypt, and transmitted orders to the churches to refuse him the use of either fire or water. Synesius excommunicated a magistrate who grievously oppressed the people of Libya, and who could not be persuaded to alter his despotic course, by any remonstrances or exhortations. Synesius at last expelled him from the church, and issued orders to all other Christian churches, on pain of being considered guilty of schism, not to allow him to partake of the sacrament, to hear prayers, to attend worship, or even to be buried with any Christian ceremonies. Private citizens were required to exclude him from their tables and their houses, on pain of being themselves excluded from religious privileges. His accomplices were included in the sentence, and even their wives and children, who had no participation in their crimes. This sentence was very terrible, because men believed that it shut them out from heaven; involving as it did the necessity of dying without Christian sacraments, which they regarded as absolutely necessary to expiate the sins of the soul. The guilty magistrate quailed before this dreadful prospect. He submitted to the bishop, acknowledged the justice of his sentence, and amended his ways.

In the days of primitive Christianity, those who committed any misdemeanour confessed their fault before the whole congregation, and were publicly prayed for. But in the fifth century, the Bishop of Rome substituted the custom of private confession to the clergy, who prescribed what penance they thought proper. This practice greatly increased the power of the priesthood.

With the increasing wealth and power of the church, subdivisions of rank gradually multiplied. Instead of the deacons and presbyters of the ancient time, elected by the congregation, and claiming no preëminence among their brethren, there were now patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers. But with all this pomp of retinue, and the luxury and worldly-mindedness so conspicuous in many of the

clergy, there were many bishops and priests, especially in the country towns, who were real blessings to mankind. Men of true piety, and unostentatious benevolence, such as the candid historian Ammianus describes. Men who lived plainly themselves, and appropriated their revenues to the building of hospitals, alms-houses, bridges, and fountains; who patiently instructed the ignorant, and sympathized with the suffering; to whom the dying could intrust their widows and orphans, secure that their rights would be courageously defended against the machinations of the cunning and the powerful; to whom the indigent and the oppressed could go in their troubles, and find such friends as the good Bishop of Nola, who sold himself to redeem the widow's only son. And even the high-handed assumption of power, which would be intolerable in our day, sometimes exerted a salutary restraining influence in those rude, superstitious times. We cannot otherwise than reverence and bless Ambrose for using his authority to fetter the tyrannical temper of Theodosius, and secure the people from outbursts of his despotic violence. In the records of those stormy times, when the rights of the common people were so entirely overlooked, there are some beautiful instances of the mediation of bishops, turning the hearts of kings when no other earthly influence could have prevailed. At the close of the fourth century, the citizens of Antioch rose in open rebellion, on account of oppressive taxation. Flavianus, the bishop, was old, and at that time very ill; but knowing the passionate temperament of the emperor Theodosius, and anxious to avert his vengeance from the people, he hastened with all speed to Constantinople. As soon as he entered into the emperor's presence, he said: "I have come as the deputy of our common Master, to address this word to your heart: 'If ye forgive men their trespasses, then will your Heavenly Father also forgive your trespasses.'" The festival of Easter was then approaching, and he alluded to it as a peculiarly fitting season to show clemency. The haughty and violent soldier was as susceptible as a woman to religious impressions.

The exhortation of the aged prelate melted him at once. He replied: "How can it be a great thing for me, who am but a man, to remit my anger toward men, when the Lord of the world himself, who for our sakes took the form of a servant, and who was crucified by those to whom he was doing good, interceded with his Father, in behalf of his crucifiers, saying: 'Forgive them, since they know not what they do.'" He promised to forget the offences committed against his government, and to institute inquiries into the real causes of grievance. Flavianus hastened back to his anxious people, and arrived in season to proclaim the joyful tidings before Easter.

When Priscillian and his followers were condemned to death for heretical opinions, by influence of Spanish bishops, Ambrose and Martin, and most of the bishops of Italy and Gaul exclaimed against it as an act of cruelty and a dangerous precedent. When Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, was exiled by the Arian emperor Constantius, his people, who were devotedly attached to him, resisted the execution of the decree. They assembled in great numbers on the road and threw stones at the magistrate who was conveying him out of town. But Meletius exhorted them to patience, and spreading out his mantle, protected the Præfect with his own body.

COUNCILS.

Synods were early held at Jerusalem, Ephesus, and Rome, to settle the dispute between Eastern and Western churches, concerning the day on which Easter should be observed. Toward the end of the second century, Provincial Synods were adopted; and it soon came to be an established custom for the bishops of all the towns to meet, every spring and autumn, in the capital of the province where they resided, to settle the disputed questions continually arising. To these were added occasional councils, as emergencies required. Heresies within the church occupied most of their attention, though Jews and Pagans re-

ceived a full share. Seven councils were held at Carthage to decide whether those who had been frightened into any concession or evasion in times of persecution should be readmitted to communion with the faithful; and whether it was necessary to re-baptize heretics, who wished to return to the bosom of the church. After Christianity became established as the state religion, the emperors occasionally summoned General Councils, to which bishops from all parts of the empire were invited. These assemblies were generally very discordant, and one council frequently reversed what the preceding had established. Nevertheless the idea began to prevail in the fourth century, and soon became an established opinion, that the deliberations of assembled bishops were under the especial direction of the Holy Ghost; that their decisions were therefore infallible; and consequently the salvation of the soul depended on unquestioning belief in whatever they decreed. The famous Simon Stylites, speaking of the fourth General Council, says: "In my declared attachment to the faith of the six hundred and thirty holy fathers assembled at Chalcedon, I take my stand upon an actual revelation of the Holy Spirit. If the Saviour is present among two or three gathered together in his name, is it conceivable that among holy fathers so numerous and eminent, the Holy Spirit should not be present throughout?" Gregory the Great, Patriarch of Rome in the sixth century, alluding to the Council of Nice, which settled the equality of the Son with the Father, to the Council of Constantinople which settled the equality of the Holy Ghost with both, and to the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon which settled the dispute concerning the divine and human natures in Christ, says: "I believe as fully and fervently in the Four Councils, as I do in the Four Gospels."

Yet the spirit manifested in these councils often seemed the reverse of holy, and there were few indications of the clearness and certainty to be expected from men supernaturally guided. According to Socrates, the Christian historian, the bishops assembled at the Council of Nice presented

the emperor with numerous letters of accusation against each other; many of them founded on personal animosity. Constantine, in his zeal to protect Christianity from ridicule or reproach, burned these slanderous documents, and advised mutual forbearance and concession. The same historian, describing the discussions in that council, whether the Son of God was created or begotten, compares it to a battle in the night, where men are unable to discern on which side they are fighting. At the Council of Ephesus, Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, violently hurried through the decisions before all the bishops had arrived, though a magistrate sent by the emperor Theodosius Second, demanded delay. Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, who refused to call Mary the Mother of God, was deposed and condemned as a second Judas. One of the bishops declared that, "having presumed to falsify the doctrines of orthodoxy, he deserved every punishment, both from God and man, as did he who counterfeited the imperial coin." John, Patriarch of Antioch, arriving after the sentence was passed, convened a synod of thirty bishops, who deposed Cyril, and described him as a monster born for the ruin of the church. The adherents of the two parties fought with words and blows. The cathedral was stained with blood, and the streets were kept in a perpetual tumult. Nestorian bishops were obliged to ask for a guard from the emperor, either to remain at Ephesus in safety, or return to their churches without peril. The magistrate finally interfered, dispersed this riotous council by force, and placed the deposed bishops in safe custody. A second Council was called at Ephesus, about eighteen years later, to decide concerning the heresy of Eutyches, who taught that Christ had but one nature. A great concourse of monks assembled, and silenced opposition by violent threats and clamorous outcries, which drowned the voice of any speaker they did not approve. The presence of soldiers, sent by the emperor, likewise served to intimidate the minority. Blank papers were placed before the bishops, which the monks and soldiers compelled them to sign, to

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be afterward filled up with whatever the ruling party thought proper. The contest was so rude, that Dioscurus, Patriarch of Alexandria, is said to have buffeted and kicked Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, to such a degree that he afterward died of the wounds and bruises he had received. This council took the ground that Christ had but one nature. They sought to maintain by Scripture, that heresy was a sin against God, and far greater than any possible sin against men. When one of the bishops attempted, in a conciliatory way, to explain in what sense he understood the doctrine of two natures in Christ, many voices vociferated: "Burn him alive! Let him be cut asunder, as he has sundered Christ!" A Council at Chalcedon, two years later, reversed the decrees of the second Council at Ephesus, which was thenceforth styled "The Synod of Robbers." At the Council of Chalcedon, ten Egyptian bishops, of venerable age, begged that they might not be required to sign an anathema against Eutyches, till they could ascertain what was the opinion of the new Patriarch of Alexandria, about to be elected; for so despotic was his authority, that if they declared opinions independent of him, they could not be certain of their lives, when they returned to their own country.

That such scenes of fierce altercation were painful and humiliating to good men might be readily supposed, even if there were, no record of it. Some of moderate temper continued to take part in councils, hoping to regulate the spirit of contention, and believing that the humanizing influences of Christianity could not be extended, unless the church could be established in unity of doctrine. Others became thoroughly disheartened and disgusted, and avoided all such assemblies. Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzen, who had much experience of councils, says: "I am so constituted, that, to speak the truth, I dread every assembly of bishops; for I have never yet seen a good end of any one. I have never been present at a synod which did more to suppress evils, than to increase them. An indescribable thirst for contention and rule prevails in

them. I am weary of struggling with holy bishops, whose jealousies render harmony impossible, and who make light of the interests of the faith, in pursuit of their own quarrels." Again he says: "They fight, and run into schism, and divide the whole world for the sake of thrones. The Trinity is a mere pretext for their wrangling; the true cause being an incredible spirit of hatred." Constantine had commanded that the public establishment of post-horses should gratuitously afford every facility for the journeys of bishops, and that during their sessions they should be sumptuously maintained at the public expense. This became a heavy charge; for it required many and prolonged meetings to settle questions, which every curious mind could ask, but which no finite understanding could possibly explain or comprehend. The historian Ammianus says: "The highways are covered with troops of bishops, galloping from every side to the assemblies which they call synods. And while they labour to reduce the whole sect to their own particular opinions, the public establishment of post-horses is almost ruined by their frequent and hurried journeys." Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, thus laments the perpetual discord: "It is a thing equally deplorable and dangerous that there are as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy as there are faults among us; because we make creeds arbitrarily and explain them as arbitrarily. The Homocousian is rejected, and received, and explained away, by successive synods. The partial or complete resemblance of the Father and the Son is a subject of dispute for these unhappy times. Every year, nay, every moon, we make new creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done; we defend those who repent; we anathematize those whom we have defended. We either condemn the doctrine of others in ourselves, or our own doctrine in that of others. Thus reciprocally tearing each other in pieces, we have been the cause of each other's ruin." Again he says: "The East and the West are in a perpetual state of restlessness and

disturbance. Deserting our spiritual charges, abandoning the people of God, neglecting the preaching of the Gospel, we are hurried about from place to place, often to a great distance, some of us infirm with age, or feeble with ill health, sometimes obliged to leave our sick brethren on the road. The whole administration of the empire, the emperor himself, the tribunes and the commanders, at this fearful crisis, are occupied with the lives and condition of the bishops. The people are by no means unconcerned. The whole brotherhood watches in anxious suspense the result of these troubles. The public post-horses are worn out with our journeyings."

These sectarian controversies were often intertwined with personal quarrels, growing out of mutual jealousy, and competition for power. The Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople were always rivals, and prone to sustain opposite sides in every dispute. A similar state of feeling grew up between Alexandria and Constantinople; for as the church of Alexandria was said to be founded by Mark the Evangelist, the Patriarch thought it gave him a claim to be the acknowledged head of the Eastern churches. Councils summoned under such circumstances, and in such a temper, settled the theological doctrines of the Christian world. Men were required to believe their decisions infallible; and it was customary to conclude their decrees with this declaration: "Whosoever teaches any other doctrine than this, let him be accursed." This remained the state of things for centuries; but as the central power of the church at Rome grew stronger, the decisions of councils were pronounced not to be infallible, till they had received the sanction of the Pope.

HERMITS AND MONKS.

The first volume of this book proves that monastic associations existed at a very early period of the world in the forests of Hindostan. It also shows that their old theological doctrine, which attributed all evil to the existence

of Matter, led the ancient anchorites of that country to hate their bodies, and to inflict upon them all manner of tortures for the good of the soul. Ancient Egypt, whose religious theories so much resembled those of Hindostan, probably had some modification of the same institution; though I am not aware of any proof that it was so, except the mention of associations called Gymnosophists and Therapeutæ.

Jews, who entertained different views concerning the origin of evil, never manifested such abhorrence of the body. There were individual ascetics among them, such as the Nazarites, devoted to the Lord by a special vow; and it is recorded that some of the prophets went without clothing, wounded themselves with sharp instruments, or remained for a long time in one position. But these things appear to have been done merely as symbolical of some event they prophesied; while Hindoo devotees resorted to similar practices, as means of atoning for sins, or of laying up a store of extra merit, to procure additional rewards in Paradise. The Essenes resembled Pythagorean communities, and both had many features in common with the old Hindoo associations. Perhaps both found their model in ancient Egypt; for there is evidence, derived from various sources, that two classes of ascetics existed in that country before the introduction of Christianity. The Gymnosophists, or naked philosophers, who lived in communities on the banks of the Nile, appear to have been regarded by Apollonius as similar to the associations of devotees in India. The Therapeutæ, described in the chapter on the Jews, in many of their customs and regulations bore a striking resemblance to the Pythagorean communities, and the Braminical schools. Eusebius the historian, thinks they were converts of the Apostle Mark, who is supposed to have founded the first church at Alexandria. But in all that is recorded of them, there is no trace whatever of Christianity. Moreover, Philo, who probably died before there was a church gathered at Alexandria, gives a detailed account of the Therapeutæ, whom he describes as already an ancient sect in his time.

A good deal of curiosity concerning "the wise men of India" was manifested by various writers in the first centuries of Christianity. Apollonius visited them. Plotinus was on his way thither, attracted by their fame. Origen evidently had some knowledge of them. Bardesanes the Gnostic, and Porphyry the New Platonist, describe them in a way implying some information concerning the Buddhists also. That some Christian converts began to imitate the East India Fakeers, as early as the time of Irenæus, seems to be indicated by his allusion to men who lived alone on the mountains, without clothing, subsisting on herbs like wild beasts. These idle ascetics appear to have reproached pious Christians who manufactured articles, which were purchased by their Pagan neighbours; but Irenæus speaks of them and their advice with disapprobation; and says such men had no correct idea what Christian life ought to be. There was certainly nothing in the teaching of Christ, or the example of the Apostles, to favour such customs. The utmost Paul said concerning a life of celibacy was, that those who chose to devote themselves to it would have more freedom from worldly cares. The early Fathers, even the stern Tertullian, commended marriage. But the Gnostics who spread so widely in all parts of the Christian world, were thoroughly imbued with Hindoo theories, derived from some source or other. The superior strictness of many of those sects was often brought into comparison with orthodox Christianity, and their example and arguments doubtless had a good deal of influence in favour of celibacy. From the earliest periods, some individuals chose to impose such a vow upon themselves as a means of devoting themselves to religion with more uninterrupted freedom. What Christ said to the rich man was very generally understood to imply that renunciation of property was essential to Christian perfection. Therefore, if such devotees had estates, they sold them, and distributed the proceeds among the destitute; and whatsoever they earned, over their very simple wants, was given to the poor. But in the early days of the church,

this class of members bore no resemblance to the self-torturing Fakeers of India. They lived in Christian families, were cheerful and diligent, and sold the proceeds of their industry to whomsoever wished to purchase.

PAUL.—The first Christian hermit, of whom there is any record, was a youth named Paul, born of a noble family in Thebes. He was not impelled by a desire to devote himself to monastic life; but during the reign of Decius, persecution raged with such terrible violence in that part of the world, that he hid himself in the desert, to escape from death, or from continual temptations to abjure his faith. He found a cavern, near which were some palm trees and a fountain. He fed on the dates and drank from the stream; and when his clothes dropped off, he substituted a garment of braided palm leaves. He became so much attached to that mode of life, that when the Christian churches were safe from outward dangers, he had no wish to return to the world. He is said to have lived ninety-eight years in the desert, seen by human beings at very rare intervals, and spending his time in meditation and prayer. He does not appear to have made any attempts, to proselyte others to his mode of life, and there is no account that any were attracted to reside in his neighbourhood.

ANTHONY.—Anthony is considered the father of Christian monasticism. He belonged to an old and rather wealthy Egyptian family, near the Thebaid. They spoke the Coptic language, the ancient vernacular tongue of Egypt. The Coptic families generally neglected education, because it involved the necessity of acquiring the Greek and Latin languages, in which all the literature of that period was written. Anthony was brought up piously, but without intellectual culture. It even seems doubtful whether he knew how to read. In boyhood he was of a serious and meditative cast of mind, little inclined to worldly learning. He attended church constantly, and all

he heard there was deeply impressed upon his memory. His parents died before he was twenty years old, and the care of a younger sister devolved upon him. Like all the people of those old times, he was prone to look for supernatural guidance in sudden exclamations, or whatever passage of a book was first opened. One day, as he walked toward the church, his thoughts were occupied with the days of primitive Christianity, when the disciples held all things in common. He entered just as the preacher was reading: "Go sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor." Believing that these words were particularly addressed to him, he gave away all his lands to the inhabitants of his native village, on condition that they would never trouble him or his sisters about taxes, or any other worldly matters. His other property he sold, and divided the proceeds among the poor, reserving only a small income for the support of his sister. Soon after that, his mind was again impressed, while in church, by hearing the words: "Take no thought for to-morrow." Regarding this as a direct admonition from the Lord, he gave away the little property he had reserved for the maintenance of his sister, and placed her under the protection of some pious virgins of the church. Being now free from all earthly cares, he sought out a venerable old hermit in the neighbourhood and took up his residence near him. The mountains and deserts of the Thebaid abounded with caves and grottoes, well adapted for anchorites. Anthony found many devotees inhabiting these solitudes. Whether any of them belonged to the Therapeutæ, or had belonged to them, is not stated. But it is recorded that whenever he heard of any remarkable ascetic, he travelled to see him, staid with him some time, learned from him all that he could, and returned to his own cell to imitate whatever he deemed admirable in his penances and devotions. He supported himself by the labour of his own hands, and gave the overplus of his earnings to the poor. His fervent piety and rigid austerity excited great reverence, though he was so young. But inwardly he had many conflicts with what

he considered Evil Spirits. His heart yearned for his sister, the beloved playmate of his childhood. Sometimes he thought of the comfortable food and clothing, and the pleasant relatives he used to enjoy, and the devils tempted him to ask whether he had done wisely to sacrifice all these, for such a dreary life of perpetual self-denial. He struggled hard against these promptings of nature. He fasted almost to starvation, and prayed in agony of spirit, till great drops of sweat stood on his forehead. The devils finding whisperings were vain, attacked him with visible temptations. They raised up visions of tables laden with delicate viands, and of beautiful women, who poured out sparkling wine, and sought to allure him by smiles and blandishments. He resolved to flee from all human beings, and subject himself to still more rigid penances. He betook himself to a distant grotto in the rocks, which had been used for a tomb. He slept but little, and that on the bare earth, and often went without food for two or three days in succession. In this state of exhausted nature and excited nerves, he had terrible visions. "The Devil fearing the whole desert would soon be filled with holy hermits, came upon him one night, with a whole troop of demons, and beat him so unmercifully, that he lay on the ground like a dead man." One of the hermits he had left behind was accustomed to carry him bread. When he arrived, the day after this disaster, he found Anthony stretched on the sands of the desert, apparently dead. He summoned assistance, and carried him to his native village, where his relatives and friends assembled to watch over the body. Anthony waked in the night, and seeing the company asleep, he roused the hermit, and insisted upon being carried back to his tomb in the desert. The hermit obeyed his orders, and left him alone. Anthony shouted to the Devil: "Ha! thou tempter! Didst thou think I had fled? Here I am again. I have strength to fight thee still." He remained in this sepulchre a long time, avoiding the sight of human beings, fasting and praying, and practising the most rigid austerities. He after-

ward retired to a distant mountain, where he spent twenty years in an old ruined castle. The fame of his great holiness attracted visitors, and a band of hermits wished to have him for their spiritual guide. He finally consented to their intreaties. Many joined themselves to him, and new comers continually solicited to be trained by him in the monastic life. The desert swarmed with hermits, who lived in separate cells, and met together for devotional exercises. Those who served a novitiate with Anthony had their faith and patience tried in various ways. Sometimes he ordered them to draw water out of a well for the whole day, and pour it on the ground; sometimes to weave a basket and pull it to pieces continually; sometimes to rip a garment, sew it, and rip it again. If these tasks were performed without questions, and without signs of weariness, it was a sign of their growth in grace. Often he related to them his own experiences, by way of encouragement. Upon one occasion he said to the younger monks: "For your instruction, I will speak what I have seen concerning the devices of devils. As often as they blessed me, I cursed them, in the name of the Lord. Sometimes they would come like an army of horsemen, fully equipped, threatening me; but when I made the sign of the cross they vanished. Sometimes, they would fill the house with wild beasts and with serpents; then I sang Psalms. Sometimes they came in the dark, with a shining appearance, and said: 'Anthony, we have come to give you light;' but I shut my eyes and prayed, and the light of the wicked was extinguished in a moment. Sometimes they came reciting Scripture; but I stopped my ears and would not hear them. Sometimes they came clapping, whistling, and dancing; but when I prayed, or sang Psalms, they began to whimper and cry, as if unnerved. Many a time, a tall devil displayed before me the appearance of gold in the desert, that I might touch it; but when I sang Psalms, it melted away. Oftentimes they lashed me with whips; but when I said: 'Nothing shall separate me from the love of Christ,' they turned and scourged each other."

He fasted almost continually, and wore a coarse hair shirt, which he never took off. In cold weather, he added the skin of an animal for a mantle. He never washed himself, not even his feet. He was ashamed of the necessities of the body, and disliked to have any one see him eat or sleep. Multitudes came from all countries to see the celebrated saint. Those who were in trouble went to him for consolation. Those who had disputes, agreed to settle them according to his decision. The diseased were brought to him to be cured, and those who were afflicted with fits, had the devils cast out of them by his prayers. "A great many of the afflicted were healed by merely sitting outside of his door, believing and praying there." Those whom he could not cure, he taught to cultivate a patient submission to the divine will. Those who were at enmity, he exhorted to imitate the forgiving spirit of Christ. He checked the monks in their tendency to place excessive value on miraculous gifts. He was accustomed to repeat to them: "Let us not rejoice that Spirits are subject to us, but rather rejoice that our names are written in heaven; for that is a witness of our virtue; but to expel Evil Spirits is a grace, which Christ has bestowed upon us."

The continual throng of people so disturbed his meditations and prayers, that he escaped to a distant mountain near the Red Sea. Some wild palm trees, and a spring of water furnished him with nourishment; and the wandering Arabs, awe-struck by his appearance, reverently brought him bread. The monks, whom he had left, discovered his retreat, after a while, and would have furnished him with food; but he preferred to save them the labour of sending it. He procured tools, and sowed some of the neighbouring land with grain and vegetables, which served for his own support, and for the refreshment of strangers, who again began to resort to him. He also wove baskets, and gave them in exchange for articles of nourishment. He exhorted those who came to him to remember that it was not he, but Christ, who wrought the cures. To a military officer, who besought him to heal a diseased daughter,

he said: "I also am a man, like thyself. If thou believest in the Christ, whom I serve, only depart and pray to God in faith, and it will be done." Wild beasts that came to drink at the spring, injured his crops of grain; but he exorcised them in the name of the Lord, and they were so over-awed, that they never ventured near the place again. He was then old, and alone, and the monks begged to come once a month to bring him olives and oil. Those who went to carry him food, often heard many voices, and as it were the clashing of arms. Sometimes, they saw him on the mountain at night, surrounded by wild beasts, or praying, or fighting with apparitions. "The Devil let loose upon him nearly all the hyenas of the desert. They came out of their holes, and surrounded him, grinning, and threatening to bite. Anthony said to them: 'If ye have received power against me, come on! I am ready to be devoured. But if the Devil has put this into your heads, begone this moment! I am the servant of Christ.' And they hurried away, as if driven by the whip of his word." After his death, a story was circulated, that when he was ninety years old, a vision informed him there was a hermit in the desert more ancient and more holy than himself. Whereupon, he took staff in hand, and went forth to find Paul, the first Christian anchorite. Many miracles are recorded concerning his journey, and the interview between the two aged saints. Among other things, it is related that Anthony, passing through a deep narrow valley, encountered a Satyr, with a horned head, and goats' feet, who bowed reverently before him, and said: "I am one of those creatures, which haunt the woods, whom the blind Pagans worship as gods. But we are mortals, as thou knowest; and I come to beseech thee that thou wouldst pray for us to thy God, who is my God, and the God of all." When Anthony heard these words, tears trickled down his venerable face, and stretching his aged arm toward Thebes, he exclaimed: "Such are your gods, O ye Pagans! Woe unto you, when even such as these confess the name of Christ, whom ye, blind and perverse

generation, deny." Jerome tells this story, and adds, "though some may consider such an apparition improbable, yet all the world knows that a Satyr was brought to Alexandria, by the emperor Constantine, and his body preserved for the edification of the curious." The Satyr was doubtless an Ourang Outang.

Anthony went to Alexandria but few times in his life, and only on extraordinary occasions. When he was nigh sixty years old, being informed that the emperor Maximin was cruelly persecuting the Christians, he immediately proceeded to Alexandria, visited those who were in prison, offered them religious consolation, and exhorted them to remain stedfast unto death. His influence so stimulated the zeal and courage of Christians, that the governor commanded all monks to leave the city. Others escaped, or concealed themselves; but Anthony boldly pursued his course; and such was the renown of his sanctity, that no one ventured to touch him.

In three hundred fifty two, when he was a hundred years old, Athanasius and other bishops sought to avail themselves of his powerful influence to arrest the spread of Arianism. At their urgent request, he left his mountain and travelled four hundred miles, to Alexandria, where he preached zealously against Arianism, as the *last* heresy, the immediate forerunner of Antichrist. "Believe me," said he, "the whole creation is angry with them, for putting the Creator and Lord of all things, the Eternal Word and Wisdom of the Father, in the number of creatures." His appearance in that excitable city produced a great sensation. His long thin hair and flowing beard, of silvery whiteness, his mild serene aspect, his kindly manners, and his uncouth raiment, were well calculated to make a deep impression. The populace, of all religions, thronged about him, trying to touch his staff, or his garments, that they might be cured of diseases. Even Pagan priests and philosophers went to church, for the sake of seeing and hearing the wonderful hermit. More were converted to Christianity during the few days he staid

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there, than during a whole year at other times. He cured many of diseases and insanity, and cast out many devils. When he was passing out of the city gate, to return to his solitary mountain, a woman ran after him, calling out: "Stop! stop! thou man of God! My daughter is wofully afflicted with devils. Stop, I pray thee!" When the woman came near him, her daughter was suddenly jerked down on the ground by the demon; but Anthony prayed over her, and she rose up well.

Constantine the Great, and his sons, wrote to Anthony, as to their spiritual father. Being unused to courtly customs, and not knowing how to answer an imperial letter, he was at first reluctant to receive it; but being reminded how much they had done for Christianity, he listened to the letter, and dictated an answer, in which he exhorted them to make just and humane laws, to be charitable to the poor, and to remember that Christ was the only true eternal king. He knew all the Scriptures by heart, though it seems doubtful whether he could read them, even in the Coptic translation. A learned Pagan, who visited him, inquired how he could endure to live without books. He replied: "Which was first, letter or spirit?" Being answered, he rejoined: "The healthy spirit needs no letters. My book is the whole creation; the Word of God, which always lies open before me. I can read it whenever I please." To some, who ridiculed Christians for excess of faith, he said: "What *we* know by faith, *you* seek to prove by arguments; and often you cannot even *express* that which we behold clearly in spirit." To an abbot, who asked what he ought to do, he replied: "Trust not in your own righteousness, and regret nothing which is already past." To Didymus, a learned Christian teacher in Alexandria, who had been blind from his youth, he said: "Be not troubled that you are in want of such eyes as enable even flies and gnats to see, but rejoice rather that you have the eyes by which angels see, by which God is beheld, and his light received." Synesius, the learned philosopher, while he was yet a Pagan, expressed great reverence for

Anthony. He compared him to *Hermes* and *Zoroaster*; and spoke of him as one of those rare men, the flashes of whose spirit enabled them to dispense with culture.

When he had lived one hundred and five years, he felt that his soul was about to be released from his emaciated frame. He retained his mental faculties, and talked of his departure with cheerful faith. The ancient custom of embalming bodies was still retained by many of the Egyptians, especially when the deceased had been venerated as a saint. These mummies, being carefully enveloped and sealed up, were placed on couches and preserved in some recess of the house. Anthony, wishing to guard against undue reverence for his remains, earnestly besought his friends the monks to bury him secretly, and reveal to no man the spot where he was laid; saying it would ill become him to be more highly honoured than the patriarchs of old, and Christ himself, who were all buried. A few of his disciples retired with him to a solitary place, grieving deeply that they should soon look upon his venerable face no more. They kissed his feet, and bathed them with tears, exclaiming: "O Anthony, father, instructor, friend, how can we live on earth without thee?" But he comforted them with the prospect of eternal reunion, and while they were praying around him, his spirit passed gently away from the body it had so much abused.

Athanasius, who greatly revered his memory, wrote his biography, from which the preceding account is abridged. In the preface he says: "I have inserted nothing but what I knew to be true, from my own acquaintance with the saint, whom I often saw, or from what I gathered from one who long ministered to him, and poured water on his hands." He makes no allusion to the miraculous interview with the hermit Paul, which was probably not spoken of in his day.

PAUL THE SIMPLE.—The earliest and oldest of Anthony's disciples is said to have been a hard-working, ignorant peasant, who retired into the desert at sixty years old, on

account of his wife's misconduct. Anthony was at first unwilling to receive him, thinking monastic life would not prove suitable for him. To prove him, he prescribed tasks more severe and difficult than usual. He never allowed him to eat or drink until evening, and then merely sufficient to sustain life. Once, when a visitor brought a pot of honey, he ordered Paul to pour it on the sand, and gather it up carefully in a shell, without mixing any dirt with it. The honest peasant obeyed these, and many other similar commands, without asking any questions, or betraying the slightest impatience. Finding that nothing could tempt him to disobedience or anger, Anthony received him as a brother monk, and was accustomed to hold him up as a pattern to younger disciples. Sometimes he had occasion to blush for his extreme ignorance. Once, when some learned monks were conversing with Anthony concerning Christ and the prophets, Paul inquired which of them was born first. Anthony made a customary sign to him, which signified that he was to hold his tongue. Paul retired to his cell, and when any one spoke to him, he returned no answer. Anthony perceiving that he persevered in this for a long time, asked him one day why he did not speak. He meekly replied: "Because you, my father, ordered me to hold my tongue." Anthony, turning to his disciples, said: "Verily he rebukes us all; for often we do not attend to the voice of God himself, while he obeys my slightest word." On account of the ignorance and child-like innocence of the man, the other hermits called him Paul the Simple, and believed that his soul was very near to God.

One day they brought to Anthony a young man who was possessed by a remarkably furious devil. He tried to rend all who approached him, and uttered the most shocking blasphemies. Anthony said: "This man is possessed by one of the most powerful order of demons, whom I have not received grace to command; but Paul the Simple has the necessary grace." So saying, he went with them to the hermit's cell, and said: "Paul, you must

drive the demon out of this man, and heal him, so that he may return home, and glorify the Lord." "But do you drive him out, my father," replied Paul. "I have not leisure," said Anthony; "I have other matters to attend to." So he left the possessed young man, and returned to his cell. Then Paul addressed an ardent prayer to God, and in all simplicity said to the demon: "Father Anthony commands you to go out of this man, that when he is well he may glorify the Lord." But the Devil answered: "I will not go out, you poor beggar-man." Then Paul laid his sheepskin mantle on the shoulders of the demoniac, and said: "Now go out, will you? Father Anthony commands you." But the Devil replied by abusing Father Anthony. "You *shall* go out," said Paul, "or I will go and tell Jesus Christ, and I give you my word that he will treat you as you deserve." But the Devil blasphemed Christ also, and declared he would not go out. Then Paul went out of his cell, and ascended a rock on the mountain, and there he stood at noon-day, like a pillar of stone, under the scorching sun of Egypt. Weary with his unavailing efforts, in the extreme simplicity of his heart he prayed thus: "Jesus Christ, you who were crucified under Pontius Pilate, I declare to you that I will not eat nor drink this day; I will stand here on this rock and starve, if you do not listen to me, and drive the Devil out of that man, that he may be delivered from torment." "Immediately, as if God were afraid of vexing a man whom he tenderly loved, the demon was heard crying from the cell, where the young man had been left, 'I am going! I am going! I am going! I am going! Paul's humility and simplicity compel me to fly; and I know not where to go.' He departed that instant, and took the form of a dragon, more than a hundred feet long, crawling toward the Red Sea."

Rufinus, the friend of Jerome, has recorded that this same Paul the Simple could tell the disposition and thoughts of people, by merely looking at them; and that he could also see their attendant angels. One day, as he stood at the door of a church, seeing the brethren pass in

to celebrate the Lord's Supper, he saw, with his spiritual eyes, that their angels had bright joyful countenances, as if well pleased with the state of their hearts. But one man went in, whose countenance was dusky; demons pulled him by the nose, and his guardian angel followed sadly at a distance. At that sight, Paul threw himself on the ground and wept bitterly. In vain the brethren tried to persuade him to go in with them to partake the sacrament. He refused to be comforted, and remained outside weeping and praying for the wretched man. When the people came out of church, he watched to see if any change had taken place; and lo! the man came out with a bright and happy face; the demons had left him, and his angel was rejoicing. When Paul told him what he had seen, the man confessed that he had been a fornicator, but that his heart had been deeply touched by passages of Scripture read in the church, that he had prayed earnestly to Christ, and promised to sin no more.

Rufinus, and Sozomen, the Christian historian, give accounts of Paul the Simple.

HILARION.—Hilarion, one of the most celebrated of the old saints, was born in Palestine, and sent to the Alexandrian schools. He had been educated in the old Roman religion, but the fame of Anthony, which was then spreading through Egypt, kindled his young imagination. He went out to the desert to see him, and remained with him some months. After the death of his parents, he returned to his native place, with several monks, divided all his share of the property with his brothers and the poor, and at fifteen years old retired into the solitude of a neighbouring desert, where he commenced a mode of life in imitation of Anthony. Finding that the Devil tried to tempt him with visions of beautiful women, and luxurious feasts, he subdued his body by protracted fasts, and when he ate, he confined himself to a few dried figs and the juice of herbs. He laboured incessantly digging the ground, singing Psalms meanwhile, to keep away evil thoughts. He be-

came so attenuated that his bones could hardly hang together. This severe discipline had the same effect on his nerves, that is recorded of the ancient devotees in Hindostan. "On a certain night, he heard the crying of children, the wailing of women, the bleating of sheep, the lowing of kine, the roaring of lions, and the tramp of an army. He knew the tricks of demons, so he fell on his knees, and made the sign of the cross on his forehead. All of a sudden, a coach with glowing wheels came rushing toward him; but he called aloud on the name of Jesus, and the earth opened and swallowed it up. Then he began to sing: 'The horse and his rider hath he cast into the sea.'"

Jerome, who wrote the life of Hilarion, from which this account is taken, has recorded many miracles performed by him. He had been twenty-two years in the desert, many monks had joined him, and his fame had spread throughout Palestine, when a woman who had been blind ten years was brought to him. She told him she had spent all her money on physicians, and begged him to cure her. He replied: "If you had given to the poor, what you have squandered on doctors, Jesus, the true physician, would have healed you." But when she continued to beg for mercy, he spit on her eyes, and immediately she received her sight.

"A Christian kept horses to run in the chariot races at the circus, against his rival, a chief magistrate of Gaza, and a worshipper of idols. Now this rival employed a magician, who, by certain incantations, made his horses run very swiftly, while he checked the speed of the Christian's horses. The latter went to Hilarion to ask assistance. The venerable saint thought it a silly business to waste his prayers about; he therefore said: 'Why not sell your horses and give the money to the poor, for the salvation of your soul?' The man answered that it was an ancient custom to observe the chariot races; that he did not do it from choice, but was bound as a magistrate to take part in them; that he came rather as a servant of God for aid against those who insulted the church of Christ. There-

fore, at the request of the brethren who were present, Hilarion filled with water the earthen cup out of which he was accustomed to drink, and gave it to the petitioner. He took it and sprinkled his stable, horses, chariot, and charioteer; also the bars of the starting place in the circus. His competitor ridiculed the action, but he was confident of victory; nor were his hopes disappointed. His horses flew like the wind, while those of his rival were impeded. The wheels of his chariot glowed, and the other party could scarcely keep sight of them. The populace exclaimed that their god had been conquered by Christ. The defeated party were furious, and demanded that Hilarion should be punished as a Christian enchanter. The victory being manifest, however, both in these games, and in many afterwards, caused great numbers to embrace Christianity."

Men and animals possessed with devils were constantly brought to Hilarion, and he cured them all. Among the rest, a mad Bactrian camel was dragged to him by thirty men. "The beast's eyes were bloodshot, he foamed at the mouth, his lolling tongue was swollen, and his roaring was terrible. When the old man told them to let him loose, they all ran away. But he walked up to the animal, and standing with outstretched hands, said: 'You are not going to frighten me, you Devil, big as you are! It is all the same to me whether you take the body of a small fox, or a huge camel.' The furious beast came up as if he would devour him; but instantly fell down, and lay with his head to the ground. All wondered to see such tameness follow such ferocity. But the old man told them the Devil often took possession of beasts, because he had such burning hatred against men, that he desired to destroy not only them but their property. He said no one ought to be disturbed because two thousand swine had been killed by demons, at the Lord's command; because that was the only way by which spectators could be convinced that such a multitude of demons had gone out of a man."

"One day, as he returned from the garden, he saw a man lying before his door, whose whole body was para-

lyzed. He wept, and stretching out his hand over him, said: 'In the name of the Lord Jesus, I say unto thee rise up and walk.' With wonderful quickness, while the old man was yet speaking, the members of the paralytic received such strength, that he began to rise."

When he was in Epidaurus, there was a terrible earthquake, which caused the sea to break over its bounds, and threaten a second deluge. The inhabitants, fearing the town would be completely overwhelmed, led Hilarion to the beach, and placed him there as a bulwark against the encroaching waters. "He drew the figures of three crosses in the sand, and stretched forth his hand against the waves. It is incredible to what a height the swelling sea rose and stood before him. After raging for a considerable time, as if indignant at the obstacle, it retired by degrees to its proper boundaries. This fact is affirmed, in all that region, to this day; and mothers teach it to their children, that they may transmit it to their posterity."

He was unable to stay long in any one place, because the fame of his miracles drew such multitudes round him, that he was oppressed by their constant demands upon him. When it was rumoured that he was about to leave Palestine, ten thousand people, men, women, and children, assembled and implored him to stay. Jerome says: "Others may admire his miracles, his incredible abstinence, his knowledge, and his humility; but for my part, nothing so astonishes me as his ability to tread all that glory and honour under his feet. There flocked to him bishops, priests, companies of clergymen and monks, of Christian women, too, (a great temptation), and from all sides a multitude of the common people, besides mighty men and judges, that they might get some bread, or some oil, on which he had pronounced a blessing. But he thought only of solitude."

He died at eighty years old, requesting to be buried in his garden, in the hair shirt and rustic cloak, which he had worn for many years without having them changed, or even washed. However, his remains were too valuable to

be left in an obscure place. They were secretly taken, carried to a monastery, and buried with great solemnity.

MARTIN.—But none of the old saints wrought so many and such great miracles as Martin; who was first a valiant soldier in the army of Constantius, then a rigid monk, and finally the zealous, uncompromising, orthodox Bishop of Tours, in the year three hundred and seventy. In all these capacities, from youth to death, he was characterized by great sobriety, purity, serenity of temper, and unbounded benevolence. One of his young disciples, not yet baptized, chanced to die in his absence. When Martin returned, after three days, he found him a corpse, laid out for the funeral. "Feeling himself filled with the Holy Spirit, he commanded all the brethren to leave the cell where the body lay. He then prostrated himself on the corpse, and prayed. After a while, he rose a little, looked steadfastly on the countenance of the deceased, and prayed. In about two hours, the youth began to open his eyes. Then Martin lifted up his voice to the Lord, and made the cell resound with thanksgiving." The brethren rushed in, astonished to find him alive, whom they had left dead. He was baptized immediately, and lived many years afterward. He was accustomed to relate, that when he left the body he was brought before the Judge, "who sentenced him to dark places, among the common herd of departed spirits." [This was because he had died unbaptized.] "Then two angels suggested that this was he for whom Martin was praying; whereupon, they were ordered to convey him back to life again."

There are several other instances of raising the dead, recorded by the biographer of Martin. He says also that, "at Paris, while he was entering the gate of the city, to the horror of all, he kissed a leper, and gave him his blessing, though the man's face was deformed by the disease. The leper was instantly cleansed; and the next day he came to the church with a clear skin, to give thanks for his cure." Diseased people were cured by having a letter

from Martin laid upon the breast. The blind received sight, when he touched their eyes with his cloak. "It is known that angels often visited his cell and held conversations with him. He kept the Devil, too, so closely and distinctly under his eye, that the fiend, whether he retained his proper shape, or assumed various disguises, could never hide himself from the view of Martin. Many a time he tried mischievous tricks upon the holy man. One while, he would personate Jupiter; more frequently Mercury; often he presented himself with the countenance of Venus, or Minerva. But Martin always met him with an undaunted spirit, and protected himself with the sign of the cross and the weapon of prayer."

Sulpicius Severus, an ecclesiastical historian, who wrote toward the close of the fourth century, was a personal friend of Martin, and wrote a biography of him, which is still in existence. Among other marvellous things, he relates that the Devil one day appeared to Martin, "shedding round himself a purple splendour, clothed also in a royal robe, crowned with a diadem of gold and jewels, wearing golden slippers, with a serious aspect and a smiling face, so as to appear like anything rather than the Devil. Martin, who was at prayer in his cell, was dazzled at first, and both kept silence for some time. The Devil began by saying: 'I am Christ. Being about to descend upon the earth, I have resolved first to manifest myself to you.' Receiving no answer to this declaration, he had the audacity to repeat: 'Martin, why do you hesitate to believe? I am Christ!' Then the Spirit revealed to Martin that it was the Devil, not God. And he said: 'The Lord Jesus did not foretell that he would come clothed in purple, and with a glittering crown. I will not believe that Christ has come in any other dress than that in which he suffered; and bearing the marks of his cross.' At that word, the Evil Spirit vanished like smoke, and filled the cell with such a stench, as to afford indubitable evidence that he was the Devil. Lest any one should think this story fabulous, I aver that I heard from

Martin's own mouth the circumstances as I have related them."

He informs us Martin's popularity was so great, that an incredible multitude assembled out of the city and all the neighbouring towns to give their suffrages to elect him bishop. "But some of the bishops who were summoned to consecrate him, resisted his election; alleging that he was a contemptible person, of mean countenance, dirty clothing, and shaggy hair; unworthy of the bishop's office. By people of sound mind this madness of theirs was derided." After he became bishop, he continued to be a monk, lived in a small cell, and wore the same mean apparel. His admiring biographer says: "I declare truly, that if old Homer himself were to rise from the dead, he could not do justice to this subject; so much above the power of language are the merits of Saint Martin. Not an hour, nor even a minute passed, in which he was not engaged in prayer; for however employed, he never suffered his mind to relax from its devotional frame. Happy man, in whom there was no guile! Judging nobody, condemning nobody, never rendering evil for evil! For he had attained to such a degree of patience under injuries, that although he was the chief priest in his diocese, yet he might be injured with impunity by the lowest of the clergy; nor did he ever, on that account, remove them from their places, nor cease to treat them with all possible kindness. No one ever saw him angry, or disturbed, or sorrowful, or laughing. He was always the same; bearing in his countenance a sort of heavenly cheerfulness. He seemed to have risen above the weaknesses of human nature. There was nothing in his mouth but Christ; nothing in his heart but piety, peace, and compassion. There were some who envied his miracles and his purity of life, and hated in him what they were conscious of not possessing. But he had few persecutors; very few indeed, except the bishops." The biographer concludes by saying: "If any one reads this work without believing it, he will sin. I am conscious that I have, under the influence of

love to Christ, faithfully related well-known facts, and have adhered to the truth in all my statements."

For centuries after the death of Martin, the most astounding miracles continued to be performed at his tomb, which became a place of resort for people of all nations, of whom multitudes were converted to the Christian faith by the marvels they witnessed.

MONASTERIES.—It is recorded of the Therapeutæ in Egypt that their reverence for Mosaic ceremonies gradually diminished, and that great numbers of them became converts to Christianity. It seems most likely these were the hermits, whom Anthony found in the deserts, whom he was accustomed to visit, and to take for examples. Therefore, when he drew around him a band of devotees, whom he guided, the customs introduced bore a strong resemblance to those anciently observed in the forests of Hindostan, whence Egypt had derived the model of such institutions. Anthony's disciples lived in separate huts, or caves, and only met together at stated hours, for devotional purposes. Such isolated devotees were called Anchorites, from Greek words signifying those who live alone. Their collection of hermitages was called a Laura, which means an open space.

Long before Anthony died, an Egyptian monk, named Pachomius, believed he heard the voice of an angel, saying it was not the will of God that he should devote himself entirely to his own spiritual perfection, but rather that he should seek to be an instrument of good to his brethren. Accordingly, he assembled a band of anchorites, who agreed to occupy separate cells enclosed in one large building. The regulations and ceremonies introduced were said to have been revealed by an angel; but they were exactly like those of the ancient Therapeutæ, and so were the titles bestowed on the various officers of the institution. It will be sufficiently obvious to every observing reader that there was also a striking resemblance to Buddhist Lamaseries, as described in the chapter on Thibet. As the monks of

Pachomius ate at one common table, they were called Cœnobites, meaning those who live together. He, as head of the establishment, was called Abbot, from a Hebrew and Syriac word signifying Father. The association was divided into classes, according to their degrees of spiritual progress. Each class had its own presiding officer, and its allotted tasks. Pachomius was opposed to a life of idle contemplation, and the inmates of his establishment were as diligent as the occupants of Buddhist Lamaseries. They were agriculturists, basket-makers, weavers, tailors, carpenters, tanners, and whatsoever other trade was needed. They raised and manufactured all that was wanted among themselves, and sent a great deal to the markets. Each department had its own steward, and all gave in their accounts to a general steward, who had oversight of the income and expenditure of the whole association. All that remained of their funds, after their own necessities were supplied, was distributed in the prisons, or sent to the poor, the aged, and the diseased. Very strict inquiry was made into the character of every one who wished to be admitted. He was required to make solemn asseveration that he was legally entitled to act for himself, that he had committed no crime, from the consequences of which he wished to seek refuge, that he could submit to perpetual chastity, be strictly obedient to superiors, cheerfully renounce his property, and consent never to call anything his own. If he answered all these questions satisfactorily, he was still required to serve a season of probation, to test his qualities. When he entered, he shaved his head, and changed his name.

This first Christian Monastery was erected on the island of Tabenna, in the Nile. Pachomius died in three hundred forty-eight, and during his life-time, it numbered three thousand inmates. It increased so rapidly, that in the first half of the fifth century, less than a hundred years from its commencement, there were fifty thousand monks included within its rules. Beggars and travellers always received gratuitous food and shelter; as had been the case with the ancient anchorites and the Braminical associations

in Hindostan, and with the Lamaseries of the Buddhists. The well-ordered industry of these Monasteries not only supplied the wants of all the poor in their own vicinity, but ships were built at their expense, and whole cargoes of grain and vegetables were sent to the destitute in foreign lands. The monks wore long linen tunics, fastened with a girdle, to which they added a sheep-skin cloak in winter. They usually went barefoot, but sometimes wore wooden sandals, to protect them from the extreme heat or cold. They lived on bread and water, to which, on festal occasions, was sometimes added the luxury of a little oil, or salt, an olive, or a fig. They ate in companies of tens, and in perfect silence. They were bound to obey their superiors without remonstrance, or question. Each had his separate cell, with a mat on the floor, and a roll of palm leaves, which served for a seat by day, and a pillow by night. Every morning, evening, and night, the sound of a horn summoned them to prayer. At each meeting one of the brethren rose up, and standing in the midst chanted a Psalm. On stated occasions, portions of Scripture were read. No one spoke, or sneezed, or sighed, or yawned, or even looked up. If affecting passages were read, they wept in silence, unless some over-charged heart relieved itself by an involuntary sob. If the happiness of heaven was described, a very gentle murmur sometimes intimated the satisfaction of the audience. No one was allowed to have more than enough for daily subsistence; and so strict was the vow of poverty, that no man was allowed to say my tunic, or my sandal. Such expressions were punished with six lashes. Every one was obliged to do his share of the work. It was a proverb with them that a labouring monk was tempted by only one devil, but a lazy one with a legion.

These early Egyptian monks were generally true to their professions. They had no lands, or revenues, and would accept of none. It being discovered after the death of one of their number, that he had laid up a hundred shillings from the proceeds of his labour, they buried the money

with him, repeating over his grave: "Thy money perish with thee." The discipline was exceedingly strict. The slightest deviation from the rules was punished by penance of some kind, and more serious offences by incarceration and scourging. Unquestioning obedience to superiors was inculcated as the highest virtue, and was sometimes tested by extravagant trials; such as being ordered to walk through a heated furnace, or to plant a staff in the ground, and water it till it blossomed. Complete suppression of all the natural affections was required. Cassian tells the story of a man named Mucius, who begged to be admitted to a monastery. He had with him a son of eight years old. They were placed in separate cells, lest the sight of the child should inspire a sinful degree of tenderness in his father's heart. The boy was dressed in rags, and left so filthy as to be a disgusting object even to parental love. He was frequently beaten, to ascertain whether any remains of "carnal affection" would force tears from his father's eyes. The historian says: "Nevertheless, for the love of Christ, and from the virtue of obedience, the heart of the father remained hard and unmoved." As a final test of his implicit submission, he was ordered to throw the child into the river. He proceeded to obey, as cheerfully as if it were the command of God; exalted and strengthened in his mind by the idea that he was imitating the example of Abraham. But the brethren interposed, and "as it were rescued the child from the waters." Cassian relates this as if it were the highest effort of Christian heroism; and Mucius attained such holiness by this process of heart-stifling, that he became a bishop.

Basil the Great travelled in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, to make himself thoroughly acquainted with monastic rules. He returned to establish a monastery in the forests of Pontus, on a plan very similar to that of Pachomius. Basil agreed with him in disapproving of idle meditation. Prayer and psalm-singing had their stated seasons, but were not allowed to encroach on the hours appropriated to labour. The money obtained by the diligent pursuit of

various trades, after defraying the expenses of their own very abstemious mode of life, was appropriated to the maintenance and education of orphans, of all classes and religions. Other children were received, if parents gave their consent, certified by witnesses; but none of these young pupils were compelled to take vows of celibacy. In all these institutions the ties of kindred were regarded as entirely subordinate to spiritual relationship. Basil pronounced him "a slave to carnal nature," who loved a brother in blood more than a brother in the religious community. He lived twelve years in the monastery endowed with his wealth, and strictly conformed to its rules of poverty and abstinence. After he was chosen Archbishop of Cæsarea, he made frequent journeys to visit such associations, and wrote them many letters of advice and encouragement.

The later Fathers expressed unbounded admiration for these institutions, where many of them passed more or less of their time. The following extract from the writings of Gregory of Nazianzen sounds very much like the praises of holy anchorites, which abound in the ancient Sacred Books of Hindostan: "How dearly do I love to represent to myself a pious hermit, who has subjugated his senses to the dominion of reason; who, though still confined to earth, yet stands on its outmost boundary; and who from day to day emancipates himself from the ties by which he may yet be linked to human beings. Elevated above external objects, breathing a life altogether spiritual, he has relinquished commerce with men, except what may be required by the duties of charity, or the actual necessities of life. He communes with his own thoughts; he occupies himself with God; he has neither voice nor language for anything, but to converse with Him, to bless and glorify Him. Solely bent on the discovery and contemplation of eternal truth, he catches it at intervals, in characters of radiant light; and the sublime and lofty ideas he conceives of its perfections remain imprinted on his mind, free from all the fugitive deceptive phantoms and shadows, with

which they would be obscured by earthly things. Thus the interior of his soul becomes a mirror, in which God is pleased to reflect the rays of his divinity, and to manifest the splendours of his glory. Joined to blessed Spirits in this region of light and peace, he maintains celestial intercourse with them, and feeds upon his grand and solid hopes of a future life."

Basil says: "Let us suppose a solitude like the desert, in which I now am; where the pious exercises of a religious life, uninterrupted by outward things, afford continual nourishment to the soul. Can you imagine felicity more desirable than that of imitating on earth the life that angels lead in heaven? To commence the day with prayers and sacred hymns, to mingle with our labour the holy songs which make it still more pleasant, and diffuse perpetual serenity. We become purified by this majestic equilibrium in the movements of our souls; by not permitting the tongue to indulge in idle conversation; the eyes to dwell on the vain glory of outward things; the ears to introduce to the soul anything effeminate or frivolous, like mere earthly music, or the heartless jests of trifling minds. The soul, secured by these precautions from outward distractions, and the temptations of the senses, elevates itself to contemplation of the Deity. Enlightened by the rays, which shine forth from his Divine Essence, it rises above its own weakness; freed from temporal cares, corporeal necessities, and the affections of earth, it devotes all its powers to the search after immortal good."

Chrysostom says: "The stars in the firmament are not so numerous as the solitaries in Egypt. With them, contemplation is not idleness. Not contented with renouncing earthly things, with being crucified to the world, they exercise their bodies with laborious occupations, the produce of which, distributed by the hands of charity, contributes to the support of the poor. In the night, they watch, and sing praises to the Lord. During the day, they pray and labour with their hands, copying the example of the great Apostle. If St. Paul, occupied as he

was with the government of all the churches, could yet find time for manual labour, how much more are men removed from the tumult and distraction of cities called upon to occupy their leisure with everything that may be useful to others, as well as to themselves. Thus do these virtuous solitaries argue. Before the day has dawned, anticipating the orb of light, they are already on their feet, singing praises to the Creator. More fortunate than Adam himself in his terrestrial Paradise, and comparable to the angels alone, they sing with them, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good-will toward men.'

The "majestic equilibrium," which Basil praised so highly, and which was preserved in the monasteries under his guidance, did not long continue a characteristic of monastic life. Ancient Egypt shared the temperament, as well as the theology, of Hindostan. To the high, bright tone of aspiration there always echoed a minor third of sadness. There was something of exuberance in their whole character; a tendency to excess, in festivity and in penitence. In both countries the climate produced such results, as it did lotus blossoms and deadly serpents. The hot sunshine of Africa poured fire into the temperaments, and thence into the theology, of Tertullian and Augustine. When Christianity was introduced into that part of the world, it took a character of extravagant zeal, and rigid asceticism. No other Christians fasted so often and so long, as those of the North African churches. There the Donatists and Montanists wrought themselves up to a frenzy of devotion and a furor of intolerance. In that region, above all others, it was natural that monasticism should first unite itself with Christianity. It was also natural that the same asceticism, which introduced the institution, should soon manifest itself in excesses similar to those practised by the devotees of Hindostan. An Alexandrian named Heron, who joined a company of hermits in the Desert of Nitria, often lived there months on nothing but wild herbs and the bread of the eucharist. He frequently travelled thirty miles into the desert, under a

scorching sun, without food or drink, constantly repeating passages of Scripture. Perpetual contemplation of his own state of mind induced a belief that he had arrived at spiritual perfection, and could not possibly commit sin. From this there was an extreme reaction. The string of the bow snapped from extremity of tension. He was seized with an uncontrollable restlessness. He returned to Alexandria, and plunged into all sorts of amusement and sensuality. Excessive dissipation brought on severe illness; and after terrible struggles, mental and physical, he at last attained to a calm and cheerful state of mind. Arsenius, a learned man, who had been tutor to the emperor Arcadius, became disgusted with the world, and retired into the desert. He contrived to invent a method of discomfort from the quiet and useful employment of mat-weaving. The water in which the leaves were soaked he changed but once a year; considering the fœtid smell a suitable penance for the perfumes he had enjoyed when he was a courtier. On Saturday evening, it was his custom to lie down at the setting of the sun, and continue in fervent prayer till the rising sun shone full upon his face. Onofrio lived in a deep cave in the deserts around Thebes. For sixty years, he never saw a human being, or uttered a single word, except in prayer. He wore no covering, except a few twisted leaves. His hair and beard grew uncut, till he resembled a wild beast. In this state, a hermit, who was travelling, discovered him crawling on the ground, and was doubtful what sort of animal it might be. When he discovered that it was a human being, and learned the privations and sufferings he had endured for more than half a century, he was filled with wonder and reverence, and fell at his feet to receive a blessing. John of Lucopolis formed a small cell for himself on the summit of a lofty mountain in Thebais. There he lived fifty years, without opening his door, without seeing the face of a woman, and without tasting any food prepared by cooking. Five days of the week he spent in silent meditation and secret prayer. On Saturdays and Sundays, he opened a

small window, and gave audience to the crowd of suppliants, who came to him from all quarters, to have devils expelled, diseases cured, and the future predicted. He answered their questions, and drew up with a string the fruit and vegetables supplied by their charity. Theodosius the Great sent a messenger to him to inquire what would be the result of his projected war with Eugenius. He respectfully proposed the question, and received assurance of a certain though bloody victory. This greatly excited the emperor, and stimulated the courage of his troops to verify the prediction. The prosperous result greatly increased John's fame as a prophet.

Hermits generally lived in low, narrow, wooden huts, with a palm-leaf mat on the ground, and a bundle of leaves for a pillow. Some constructed cells in such a way that they were compelled to sit doubled up in a most uncomfortable manner. Some exposed themselves to the fury of storms and sunshine, unsheltered, on the tops of mountains. Some lived in deep caves, where not a ray of light could penetrate; some in the clefts of steep, inaccessible rocks; some in the most retired chambers of ancient tombs; some in the dens of wild beasts; and some in iron cages, with weights hung to their arms or feet. Some retired to districts where no rain fell, and where they could obtain no drink but the dew, which they lapped up from the rocks. Some never cut their nails, or combed their hair or beard. Some wore a coarse garment unwashed, until it dropped off in rags; others were partially screened by a few plaited leaves; others were entirely uncovered, except by their long flowing hair, which they never cut. Sleep, being a refreshment to the body, was regarded as sinful. One hour of unbroken slumber was deemed sufficient. They were wakened by each other often in the night to attend prayers and watch; the precise time being determined by the position of the stars. They lived on berries, roots, and vegetables, drank water only, and even from this abstemious diet fasted often; sometimes for days in succession. If, by any accident, they happened to look

upon a woman, they inflicted upon themselves severe penance for the crime. One of them allowed his sister to visit him, at her urgent entreaty; but he shut his eyes during the whole interview. The natural instincts which they tried so zealously to repress acquired exaggerated importance in their imaginations. This is manifested in the sorrowful struggles recorded by the gentle Gregory of Nazianzen; in the general testimony of monks and anchorites that the devils had a peculiar proneness to appear to them in the forms of women; and in the following passionate outburst of confession from Jerome: "Oh, how often in the desert, in that vast solitude, parched by the sultry sun, did I fancy myself in the midst of luxurious Rome! Plunged in an abyss of bitterness, I have thrown myself on the floor of my solitary cell. My limbs were rough with the friction of coarse hair-cloth; my skin, dried and blackened in the sun, was like that of an Ethiopian, and my complexion was livid as a corpse. I groaned and wept throughout the day; and if, in spite of my resistance, drowsiness overcame me at night, my bones, which scarcely held together, clashed on the naked earth. I say nothing of my food. In the deserts, even those who are ill never permit themselves to drink anything but water. If they took anything that required the aid of fire in its preparation, they would accuse themselves of sensuality. Yet even I, who, from fear of hell, had condemned myself to this dungeon, with no other companions than scorpions and wild beasts, often imagined myself in the midst of dancing girls. Fires boiled up in this body prematurely dead. Criminal remembrances, desires, and regrets, overwhelmed me. I shrunk from my very cell, seeming to dread its walls as the accomplices of my thoughts. I penetrated to the inmost recesses of the desert, or wandered on the summits of mountains, or hid myself in the cavities of rocks. I went and came, not knowing where to seek refuge from myself, until at last I threw myself at the foot of the cross, bathing it with my tears, that flowed in rivers, and which I wiped with my hair. I strove to sub-

due my rebellious nature by fasting a whole week. I frequently passed entire nights uttering loud cries, until the Lord himself dispersed the tempest that raged within me, and restored peace to my soul."

The tendency to asceticism, which had strongly manifested itself in the Syrian sects of Gnostics, produced the extremest results when monasticism prevailed in that country. In Syria and Mesopotamia were bands of hermits called Graziers, because they fed only on grass and herbs. They lived unsheltered in the forests, or on the sides of mountains, continually praying and singing psalms. When the stated hour for eating arrived, each one took a knife and cut as many herbs as he wanted; and this was the only care they took for temporal concerns.

SIMEON STYLITES.—A Syrian shepherd named Simeon devoted himself to the austere life of a hermit when he was only thirteen years old. It is recorded that he once caused himself to be locked up in a cell, to fulfil a vow he had made to fast forty days. He persisted in his resolution, though a friend took the precaution to place bread and water within his reach. He was found senseless, but survived. For twenty-eight years he went without food one hundred days in the course of each year. During his protracted fasts, he stood till he could stand no longer, then sat, but at last fell down half dead. Finally, he took up his residence on the top of a column, nine feet high, and seven in circumference. There he stood for nine years, like an image on its pedestal. As the pillar admitted of no other posture than standing, he tied himself to a beam fastened to it, to prevent falling when he underwent very severe fasts. He afterward ascended a column sixty feet high, and only three in diameter at top. It was about thirty miles from the city of Antioch. There he stood twenty-eight years, enduring the scorching sunshine of the climate, and the cold of winter. He was called Stylites, from a Greek word meaning a column. He made but one meal in a week, and that a very light one. When

he slept, he leaned against a sort of balustrade. He spent the day in prayer till three o'clock in the afternoon, then preached to the audiences collected round the foot of his column, and answered the various requests that were brought to him. By practice, he had learned to assume various attitudes while engaged in prayer. On solemn festivals of the church, he stood with his hands stretched out, so as to resemble a cross, from the setting of the sun to its rising, without a wink of sleep. While praying, he continually bowed so low as to touch his toes with his head. These performances excited the wonder and admiration of spectators. One of them counted his bowings, till he came to twelve hundred and forty-four, and then he gave up the task. His pillar was constantly surrounded by crowds of invalids, who besought his prayers and went away miraculously cured. Devotees from all parts of the world, even from India and Arabia, came to obtain his blessing. Churches often sent delegates to ask his advice, which he gave in the form of letters. Theodosius the Younger frequently consulted him, both in political and theological emergencies. Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, the pious historian of that period, says: "The holy Simeon, being placed in a middle region, as it were, between heaven and earth, conversed with God, and glorified him with the angels; offering up supplications from man to God, and drawing down blessings from heaven for men." He testifies to many miracles performed by Simeon, of which he says he was himself a witness. He heard him foretell a famine, a pestilence, and a destructive irruption of locusts: all of which took place. He likewise correctly foretold the death of one of Theodoret's enemies a fortnight before it happened. A man who made a vow to God, in the presence of Simeon, never to eat animal food, was afterward tempted to eat a chicken; but when he tried to taste it, the flesh turned to stone. Theodoret says there were many eye-witnesses of this miracle, who handled the fowl, and found the breast to be a compound of bone and stone. This celebrated devotee expired on his column, about the

year four hundred and sixty. During the thirty-seven years he passed in this manner, he was seldom left in solitude. In addition to the innumerable people cured by his prayers, it is recorded that some were cured by his touch. His miracles converted many to Christianity, and the celebrity he acquired induced many anchorites to imitate his mode of penance. The highest dignitaries of church and state formed a procession to convey his body to Antioch; and the possession of it was considered a greater safeguard to the city than walls or armies.

Of course, these unnatural modes of life tended to irritate the nerves and bewilder the mind. Effects similar to those produced on the ancient anchorites of Hindostan are recorded concerning Christian ascetics. Considering every pleasant reminiscence, and natural impulse, as a temptation of the Devil, they lived in a perpetual state of vigilant anxiety, or mournful contrition. Feeble in body, and excited in mind, they doubtless saw fiery visions, which they supposed to be Evil Spirits, and heard mysterious noises, which they mistook for the howling and hissing of Demons. The places they chose for their residence also contributed to render their imaginations more impressible. Night settling down over the vast solitude of the desert; mighty mountains, shrouded in dark clouds, revealed by fitful flashes of lightning; shrieks of the stormy winds; howlings of wild beasts; the fantastic shadows of moonlight; to hear and see all these, and be alone with them, for ever alone, required great strength both of body and mind. And even without external sources of solemnity and awe, the firm belief that fiends were always lurking near them, to tempt their unwary souls to hell, was of itself enough to drive men mad, when made a subject of perpetual contemplation. Some grew sceptical about the existence of a God, or of themselves. They regarded all things as phantoms, and creation as a self-moving show. Some rushed into furious licentiousness, from the idea that where the soul was holy, the body could commit no sin. Insanity

manifested itself in so many forms, that in the sixth century it became necessary to establish a hospital at Jerusalem for lunatic devotees. But indefinite degrees of insanity often passed for inspiration; and multitudes continued to be attracted toward a mode of life, which gave them such influence over their fellow men. The degree of veneration paid to Christian hermits and monks appears to have been fully equal to what was accorded to the ancient anchorites of Hindostan, when the world was many centuries younger. The holiest of these devotees were believed to be invested with miraculous power, which in many cases was imparted to the garments they had worn, the staffs with which they walked, and the vessels they had handled. It was supposed that they could cast out devils by their prayers; cure diseases by a touch, a word, or even a distant message; perceive the secret thoughts of men; foretell future events; cause iron to swim, and dead trees to blossom; pass safely through fire; handle serpents uninjured; and compel devils and wild beasts to obey their commands. All these things are recorded as of frequent occurrence in the lives of remarkable saints. The bishop Theodoret, a man of learning, benevolence, and sincere piety, was in the constant habit of visiting celebrated hermits in their caves, and monks in their cells. He thus made a great collection of their maxims and miracles, which he recorded in his Ecclesiastical History. He affirms that both himself and his father were often cured of distempers, by applying a piece of the girdle of a holy monk named Peter, "whose garments wrought wonders, like those of the Apostle Paul." He tells of a noble and wealthy lady at Antioch, who became delirious, could not recognize the members of her own family, and obstinately refused to eat or drink. It was generally believed that she was possessed by a devil; but physicians said she had a disease on the brain. All medical aid having proved vain, her husband applied to a celebrated monk, named Macedonius. When the holy man entered the room, he addressed a fervent prayer to God, and ordered some cold

water to be brought. As the physicians had forbidden her to drink water, he requested every one to leave the apartment; he then made the sign of the cross over a goblet of water, and himself gave it to the lady to drink. As soon as she had swallowed it, her senses began to return. She recognized the Holy Father, reverently kissed his hand, and soon recovered her health completely. Whatever these renowned devotees said concerning theological doctrine, or modes of worship, was supposed to be expressly revealed to them by the Holy Spirit, and was therefore obeyed as reverently as had been the oracles of Ammon, and of Urim and Thummim. Emperors visited them in their cells, to consult them on affairs of state; their benediction was esteemed an important prelude to every great undertaking; and they were frequently summoned from seclusion to preside in episcopal palaces. It would have been altogether inconsistent with the constitution of human nature, if such extreme adulation and profound deference had not excited spiritual pride. Symptoms of it do in fact abound. Simeon Stylites had a vision of a flaming chariot from heaven, guided by an angel toward his column. The angel urged him to ascend the chariot, saying the Heavenly Spirits were longing to receive him. Simeon had already placed his right foot on the step, when it was suggested to him to take the precaution of making the sign of the cross. He did so, and immediately the chariot vanished; being a mere phantom sent by Satan to deceive him. His right foot was sprained, and he said it was done in his attempt to mount the visionary vehicle. Some monks, whose minds were better balanced, regretted the excessive tendencies of many of their brethren, and occasionally cautioned them against the results. Nilus thus addressed one of the imitators of Simeon: "Whoever exalts himself shall be abased. You have done nothing worthy of commendation, in having stationed yourself on a lofty pillar; yet you covet the greatest praise. Look to it, lest you be extravagantly lauded by mortals, and hereafter be obliged to appear wretched before the eternal God,

because you were intoxicated here by the undeserved praise of men."

Extravagances of asceticism were generally more conspicuous among anchorites of the deserts and mountains, than in the monasteries. Such institutions were often under the guidance of wise and prudent men, and in the beginning, visionary tendencies were much checked by the salutary influence of useful occupation. But the industrial character of the early establishments soon changed. An idea began to prevail that buying and selling was detrimental to holiness, by occupying the mind too much with external affairs, and bringing saints into contact with worldly men. Martin, who was afterward bishop, established a monastery in a very secluded spot, about two miles from Tours. It was enclosed between a river and precipitous mountains. There was but one way of access to it, and that was extremely narrow. He began with eighty disciples, most of whom lived in holes they had scooped out among the steep rocks. Himself, and some others, constructed very small wooden cells for their habitations. They raised barely enough for their own scanty subsistence. There was no buying or selling, to create a fund for charity, as in other monasteries. The elder members of the community did nothing but read the Scriptures and pray, and the juniors copied the Scriptures, and the Lives of Saints. They all wore coarse garments of camel's hair, fasted often, and rarely left their cells, except to assemble for prayer. The biographer of Martin says: "What made this more wonderful, was that many of them belonged to noble families, and had been far differently educated. Most of them subsequently became bishops; for what city or church could do otherwise than desire to have pastors from the monastery of Martin?" There gradually grew up classes of monks who gave especial prominence to the Hindoo doctrine of a divine intuitive science, obtained by those who had completely subjugated the senses. They thought they had attained to a state of spiritual perfection, which no longer needed the Scripture,

or any other external aid: that they were a sufficient law unto themselves, being constantly guided by immediate revelations of the Holy Spirit. They considered labour a degradation to the soul, and lived by alms only. These were the origin of what were afterward called Mendicant Friars. What might at first have originated in sincere fanaticism, before long degenerated into shameless imposture. Tribes of importunate beggars roamed about the country in monkish costume, committing all manner of licentiousness and deception, and often robbing the charitable who sheltered them. This was carried to such an extent, that in some places monks came to be regarded as a nuisance. When a band of them came from Jerusalem to Carthage, about the middle of the fifth century, the populace ridiculed and cursed them, as they passed through the streets. So loud was the remonstrance against the abuses of monasticism, that Chrysostom was obliged to write several books in defence of the system. But through evil report and through good report, these associations continued to spread, till they covered the whole face of the Christian world. Jerome estimated the number of monks and anchorites in Egypt only, at seventy-six thousand in his time. There were at that period five thousand monks in the Deserts of Nitria, near Alexandria, who could be immediately rallied by sound of trumpet to attack Jews, Pagans, or heretics. They often committed terrible devastations under the covering of zeal for religion. The abstraction of such large and ever-increasing numbers of men from the various trades and occupations also became a serious evil. The emperor Valens published an edict, in which he styled the monks "those followers of idleness," and commanded that they should serve in the army.

The idea that the perfection of human nature consisted in complete estrangement from the senses was oriental in its origin, and thoroughly oriental in its character. It did not find its way into Europe, till introduced with Christianity. Some tendency that way was indeed indicated by the general celibacy and extreme temperance

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of philosophers. But this element, which they brought from Egypt, was tempered by the active and joyous spirit of Greece, and by the restraining sense of Roman dignity. The grove in which Plato taught was full of beautiful statues, and he always wore stainless garments of fine and soft material. His followers the New Platonists, though tending more and more to oriental doctrines, were always gentlemen in dress and manners. The majestic and the beautiful was the pervading character of Grecian and Roman temples, and their houses were adorned with images of joy and grace, such as dancing nymphs, frolicsome Cupids and laughing Bacchantes. Among people descended from such ancestry, monasticism could not fail to meet with some repulsion. A monk was never seen in Rome, till Athanasius introduced a few of the companions of Anthony the Hermit, in the year three hundred and forty. Their emaciated bodies, dirty dress, and matted hair, excited horror and disgust, which was very slowly conquered by stories of their superior sanctity and supernatural power. When Jerome went there, a little more than forty years afterward, he found that the very few who had been converted to the monastic practices taught by Athanasius, were regarded by the Roman people as "ignominious and vile." But his fervent exhortations soon kindled wonderful enthusiasm on the subject. Roman Senators, wealthy matrons, and beautiful young maidens of patrician rank, were seized with longing to leave their luxurious palaces, and purchase eternal happiness and glory, by renouncing all the pleasures of the world in some narrow cell of a monastery. The zeal thus kindled caused a great deal of domestic disappointment and unhappiness. There had always been more converts to Christianity among women, than among men. It often happened that noble Romans retained their attachment to the old worship, while their wives and daughters were Christians. Young men, influenced by their mothers and sisters, suddenly resolved to become monks, when their fathers had opened for them a brilliant career as lawyers, magistrates,

or military officers; and the pride of patrician friends was mortified to see them exchange their elegant and perfumed robes for the squalid dress of monks, and in lieu of dignified offices occupy themselves with weaving mats and baskets. Beautiful young girls, for whom wealthy marriages had been arranged, took upon themselves vows of perpetual celibacy, and no persuasion or threats could change their purpose; the vexation of ambitious relatives, and the grief of affectionate parents, were extreme. All who did not share the enthusiasm detested monks in general, and Jerome in particular. It was much the same in other cities. In Constantinople, parents appealed to the government to have some legal measures taken to prevent their children from being persuaded to desert their homes. But Chrysostom preached from the pulpit of Santa Sophia that all who thus wished to expose their offspring to the temptations of the world must expect misery here, and eternal perdition hereafter. The number and wealth of the monasteries increased continually; for in Christian countries, as it had always been in Hindostan, alms given to a monk was considered as so much paid toward the salvation of the donor's soul. They gradually monopolized the practice of medicine, as had been done among Hindoos and Buddhists. They cured diseases by their prayers and exorcisms, and they cultivated a knowledge of herbs to assist their miraculous power.

There were Christians who strongly remonstrated against these doctrines and customs. Jovinian of Rome, though himself a monk, disapproved the exaggerated importance awarded to celibacy. He urged that it was by no means peculiarly Christian, since the priests of Isis and of Cybele always took upon themselves a similar vow. He said the union of Christ and his church would never have been typified by marriage, if there were anything wrong in the relation. He exhorted those who chose to lead a single life, for the sake of freedom from worldly cares, to be careful not to pride themselves upon it, as a great merit and distinction; since the married could be truly religious also.

Jovinian appears to have been one of those men, whose good sense restrains them from extremes. Jerome could not accuse him of selfish reasons for depreciating the value of celibacy; for he scrupulously observed his own monastic vow. But he reproached him with wearing clean linen garments, and making frequent use of the bath; as if cleanliness were incompatible with religion. Vigilantius, who so greatly exasperated Jerome by protesting against invocations to martyrs, and the burning of lamps before their relics, likewise provoked his wrath by writing against the doctrine that celibacy was essential to holiness. He maintained that there was no authority for it in the teaching of Christ, or the Apostles. He urged that Paul had merely required bishops and deacons to have but one wife, and that he sanctioned the election of a bishop who had a wife and children. He protested against monastic life, as a desertion of social and domestic duties, and as a warfare with nature, well calculated to produce secret immorality. He denied that virgins had any higher merit than widows, or married women, unless they excelled them in good works; and he maintained that it would be far more acceptable to God to spend money judiciously for the industrious poor at home, than to send alms to indolent monks at Jerusalem. These views gained favour with many minds. They were approved by some even among the clergy, who candidly admitted that excess of rigour did produce secret licentiousness. But this opposition served to stimulate zeal on the other side, and failed to arrest the progress of monasticism.

NUNS.

It has been stated that in very early times there were individuals, both among men and women, who voluntarily devoted themselves to a single life, for the sake of more leisure for religious pursuits. These "virgins of the church," as they were called, generally lived in Christian families, and assisted in the care of the household. Cyprian calls these celibates, "the flower of the ecclesiastical tree;

the most illustrious portion of Christ's flock;" and tells them that the best mansion in the Heavenly Father's house is reserved for them. It was early the custom for women thus dedicated to live in the houses of clergymen, whether married or unmarried. Many of them were poor, and were glad to obtain a comfortable home by the management of household affairs; and to the sincerely devout among them the opportunities for religious instruction, which such situations afforded, would doubtless be very precious. The title of "spiritual sister," usually bestowed upon them, would naturally be attractive, from the spiritual equality it expressed. Such a mutually helpful relation might have been generally pure and salutary in the primitive days, when there were no Christians except those who became so through conscientious conviction. But after a time, it became customary for these virgins to receive pecuniary assistance from the church, and this would naturally induce many to join, who had no higher motive than selfishness. That some of them were not very seriously impressed is implied by Cyprian's finding it necessary to preach to them against painting their faces, and colouring their hair of the fashionable tint. He asks if they are not afraid their Maker will not know them for his own work, when their bodies rise from the dead. Under such circumstances, their residence in the houses of unmarried clergymen would naturally give rise to suspicion. Cyprian says: "The church often complains of her virgins, and groans at the scandalous stories told of them. Their glory and dignity are profaned." He gave orders that those who were living in the houses of unmarried clergymen should immediately depart. Several of the Fathers allude to the custom with disapprobation. Jerome, who never sacrificed strength to delicacy, describes it in coarse, sarcastic terms. Basil wrote to an old presbyter of his diocese to dismiss his "spiritual sister," though he was seventy years old, lest his example should prove a stumbling-block to younger ecclesiastics. The Council of Nice formally condemned the practice, and forbade clergymen

to have any woman reside in the same house with them, except a mother, sister, or aunt. But the evil had become so extensive and deeply rooted, that the emperor was obliged to pass very strict laws on the subject.

When Pachomius established the first monastery, he likewise founded a separate institution for women vowed to celibacy. They received the name of nuns, from a Coptic word signifying mother; a term of respect, applied to them, as holy father was to the monks. As women had few profitable employments, Pachomius made it a rule that the expenses of the nunneries should be defrayed by the monasteries. Women were as emulous of this kind of sanctity as men. Jerome says there were nearly twenty-eight thousand nuns in Egypt in his day. When Athanasius introduced monks at Rome, they proselyted a lady named Marcella, who with a few other devout women retired into seclusion, and devoted herself to celibacy and prayer. But that mode of life had not then become fashionable at Rome, and her example was not praised or followed. When Basil the Great established his monastery in Pontus, he built a nunnery on the other side of the river, where his mother and his sister Macrina presided over a community of pious women. The three sisters of Theodosius the Great made a vow of perpetual celibacy, which was inscribed on a golden tablet set with gems, and presented by them to the cathedral at Constantinople. They lived in religious community with a company of devout maidens, who had taken the same vow. They were exceedingly abstemious, fasted often, and spent their time praying and singing Psalms. Their example was eulogized as the perfection of human virtue. The enthusiasm for monastic life, which Jerome's preaching excited at Rome, was peculiarly conspicuous among women. His argument, that "as the Lord had angels to attend upon him in heaven, he ought also to have angels devoted to him on earth," proved very attractive to young maidens, who felt a degree of spiritual dignity in resolving to become "the spouse of Christ." Jerome was fond of applying to this

subject all the glowing descriptions of the bridegroom in the Song of Solomon; and if he had been painting earthly love with a free pen, some of his pictures could scarcely have been more impassioned. This mingling of earth and heaven in his eloquence had a powerful influence over the devout and susceptible nature of women. Under its influence, the young, the beautiful, and the wealthy, renounced the world and its pleasures, assumed coarse garments, and devoted themselves to poverty, chastity, and obedience. Ambrose had similar success in his diocese. Many parents tried to keep their daughters out of hearing of his eloquence, lest he should induce them all to become nuns. The most distinguished among Jerome's converts at Rome were the widow Paula, and her daughter Eustochium, descendants of the Scipios and the Gracchi. Paula impoverished her own family, to bestow her great wealth on the church. The enemies of Jerome attributed his influence over them to human love. He admitted that both the ladies were attached to him, but solemnly denied that he ever made any base or selfish use of his influence. They left kindred, friends, and country, and accompanied by a number of women, who were excited by a similar religious enthusiasm, they joined Jerome and a band of monks in a pilgrimage to Bethlehem. There Paula built and endowed a monastery and two nunneries. Jerome presided over the first, and herself and Eustochium over the others. When she left Rome, a younger daughter and a little son watched her departure with looks of sorrowful intreaty. But without turning to take a farewell glance, she raised her tearless eyes to heaven, and went forth to the Holy Land. Jerome eulogizes this as the sublimest height of self-denying piety. Paula died in her nunnery, and he boasted that she did not leave a farthing to her daughter, but many debts.

The Fathers were lavish in their praises of women who thus dedicated themselves to the Lord. Jerome calls monks and nuns "the precious gems and flowers of the church." He says: "Marriage replenishes the earth, but

virginity peoples heaven." "There must be vessels of wood and of earthen, as well as of gold and of silver." Chrysostom says: "Transport yourself in imagination into Egypt. You will there see a new Paradise, more beautiful than the richest gardens; innumerable troops of angels in human forms; entire nations of martyrs and virgins. There the weaker sex rival the most fervent solitaries in their virtues. A holy phalanx of pious Amazons, not armed, as of old, with bucklers and javelins, keep themselves continually on their guard against an enemy the most subtle and dangerous of any." Elsewhere, he says: "It is a life worthy of heaven, and not inferior to that of angels."

It was the same with Christianity as it always has been with all sects. In the beginning all the members of it were in earnest; all were deeply impressed by the new aspects of truths presented to their minds; in a word, all were religious. But after Christianity was patronized by the state, multitudes received it as an inheritance, or merely adopted it as a custom. It was easy to do so, because the church itself laid so much stress on external ceremonies, such as baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the sign of the cross. To these was added the old Hindoo idea that donations to priests, and alms to monks, were so much paid toward the expiation of sins and the increase of future rewards. The more Christianity set itself up in opposition to nature, and demanded entire suppression of the instincts and affections, the more the separation widened between the worldly class and the religious. Hindoo rationalists and moralists had asked, centuries before, how the business of the world was to get on if all devoted themselves to celibacy and contemplation. The same theory introduced into Christianity gave rise to similar reflections. The result was, that men engaged in active pursuits came to regard religion as incompatible with the necessary business of life; as an affair belonging to priests and monks only. They supposed their own duties adequately performed if they paid the consecrated class for the perform-

mance of ceremonies, which they declared to be essential to salvation. If such men were exhorted to become sober and devout, it was common for them to reply: "I have worldly duties to perform; I am neither priest nor monk." Augustine, alluding to this line of separation, says: "As the Pagan who would be a Christian hears rude words from the Pagans, so he among the Christians who is striving to lead a better and more conscientious life must expect to hear himself mocked by Christians themselves, who will say: 'You are really a very righteous man; a second Elijah or Peter; you must have descended from heaven.'" Elsewhere he says: "As soon as a man begins to despise the world, to refrain from revenging injuries, and from the accumulation of riches, to walk faithfully in the ways of Christ, and think of nothing but God, we must expect Christians themselves to remark: 'What is the man about? What can have entered into his head?'"

GENTILES.

It has been already stated that Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others of the early Fathers, had such reverence for Plato, that they thought he must have been inspired by a degree of the Logos, which inspired the Hebrew Scriptures. Some of the later Fathers retained a portion of this feeling. Eusebius says: "Plato alone, of all the Greeks, reached to the vestibule of truth, and stood upon its threshold." Lactantius calls him "the wisest of all philosophers." Augustine declares that any Platonist might become a Christian by merely changing a few words and sentences. But this very similarity, combined with the eclectic tendency of the new Platonists, induced an increasing hostility to philosophy, and to classic literature in general, as a polished and insidious enemy, likely to destroy the individuality of Christianity by fusing all systems together. Jerome says: "The vain words of philosophy, in the doctrines of Plato, kill the infants of the church, and are turned to divine vengeance and blood to them." He

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has himself told us that he was so in love with the rich, harmonious Greek, and the majestic Latin, that he tried to do penance for his besetting sin, with "the hisses of Hebrew;" and that angels were obliged to come to his assistance and scourge it out of him. Yet some of the old leaven seems to have remained after that castigation; for he always continued to quote the classics. Rufinus, seeking to heap accusations on him, brings it against him, as a very serious charge, that he employed monks on the Mount of Olives to copy portions of Cicero. He says: "I have held the sheets in my own hands. I have read them. He cannot deny that when he came from Bethlehem, he brought one of Cicero's Dialogues with him; and that, in his Greek Paganism, he gave me a volume of Plato."

Lactantius complains that Pagans pertinaciously defended their religion, because they derived it from their ancestors; deeming it impiety to question what had been handed down from very ancient times; that they reproached Christianity with being a new worship, unlike anything that had ever been approved by kings, lawgivers, or philosophers. To meet this objection, Christians claimed the revelations made to Hebrews as the fountain of their religion, and affirmed that they were not only as old as the world, but were also the only revelations of divine truth that had ever been given to mankind, before the advent of Christ. Eusebius, in his efforts to give antiquity to Christianity, affords a curious example how words may be pressed into the service of theological theories. He asserts that the Hebrew patriarchs had the same faith and the same worship as the Christians, and even the same name. To prove this position, he quotes: "The Lord said, Touch not mine anointed." As the word Christ signifies anointed, he thence derives the inference that God called them Christs, or Christians. Augustine says: "What is true and good in the writings of Pagans should be used for the service of Christianity; since it was not created by themselves, but, like their gold and silver, was dug out from stores everywhere provided by Divine Providence." He

also says: "That which is now called the Christian religion existed among the ancients; nor was it wanting from the beginning of the human race till Christ came in the flesh; from which time the true religion, which had always existed, began to be called Christian."

Jewish converts of course retained the fixed idea of their nation, that God never inspired any but his chosen people of Israel. They adopted the opinion of Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus, that any fragments of truth found in the writings of Plato and other philosophers must have been borrowed from Hebrew sources, while all that was false in their teaching came from the Evil Spirits whom they worshipped as Gods. They succeeded in firmly fixing this idea in the minds of the Christian Fathers. Some said Plato had conversed with the prophet Jeremiah in Egypt. Others said he went to Egypt for the express purpose of studying the Hebrew Law and the Prophets; and that he became acquainted with them through the medium of the Greek translation called the Septuagint. They did not explain how it happened, that Plato, having taken all that trouble, never made the slightest allusion to the Hebrews or their books, though he continually referred to the learning of the Egyptians. The total dissimilarity between his writings and those attributed to Moses was explained by the assertion that all of truth in Plato could be found in Moses by allegorical interpretation. Augustine for a time maintained this Jewish theory concerning Plato, but he subsequently retracted it; being convinced that Plato was born near a hundred years after Jeremiah was in Egypt, and that the Hebrew Scriptures were not translated into Greek till sixty years after Plato's death. Lactantius and Jerome likewise acknowledged that chronology would not sustain such a theory. Then a conjecture arose that the Grecian philosopher, during his stay in Egypt, must have conversed with some learned interpreter of Moses. This opinion, which satisfied Jewish exclusiveness, generally prevailed among Christians. That Hebrew patriarchs and prophets were directly inspired by the Logos—that is, by

Christ himself—was universally maintained; but the old idea that the best philosophers might have been thus inspired, though in a lesser degree, was rejected by all the later Fathers. The learned among them acknowledged that the doctrine of One God was very anciently taught in Egypt. Lactantius says: "Thoth, or Hermes, a most ancient philosopher, instructed in all kinds of learning, and therefore called Trismegistus, [thrice greatest,] wrote many books concerning the knowledge of divine things; wherein he asserts the majesty of One Supreme God, calling Him, as we do, God and Father. Lest any one should inquire his name, he said that he was without any name; that is, ineffable and incomprehensible."

To rightly estimate the opposition to Christianity manifested by many good and sincere men among the Pagans, it is necessary not only to make allowance for the strong attachment men naturally feel for the ancient faith of their nation, but it is also just to remember that Christianity did not then present itself to reflecting minds with the same aspect it now does in the most enlightened parts of Christendom. The alleged efficacy of mere external rites naturally excited distrust, when so many manifested a lax morality, and selfish policy, after being baptized. Spurious Gospels, abounding with marvellous and childish tales, were then in general circulation; and prophecies by Sibyls, which learned Pagans knew to be forged, were constantly appealed to in confirmation of Christianity. Allegorical interpretations of Homer seemed to the Fathers like foolish conceits; but the symbolical interpretations which they gave to the Scriptures, Old and New, seemed quite as forced and unmeaning to Grecian and Roman minds. They had been accustomed to regard Jews in very much the same light that we regard Hindoos; as a people of small intellectual culture, and strongly wedded to strange, unsocial customs. Not being educated to consider Moses inspired, they did not look at his laws through the glorifying medium of reverence, but judged them with the same freedom that we judge the laws of Menu, Minos, or Numa.

The bold and sublime, but rough style of the Hebrew Prophets was offensive to ears accustomed to flowery rhetoric, and the harmonious versification of Grecian and Roman poets. Moreover the allusions and metaphors were so Jewish, that much of their significance was lost upon other nations. Therefore, notwithstanding the strong inducements to accept a religion on which successive emperors lavished funds and honours, there still remained a considerable class of educated minds strongly, though silently attached to old religious ideas, clothed in the robes of refined philosophy. And though the indigent and the helpless were sure of shelter and nourishment in the arms of the mother church, there were still many peasants, who believed that their flocks would not multiply, if they ceased to offer oblations to Pan, and that their harvests would be unblest, without an altar to Ceres in the fields.

As the new religion grew more powerful, it became less merciful toward the old. It was the general belief that all Pagans, who lived before the world had heard of Christ, could not possibly be happy in another world; not even the wise and virtuous Socrates, and the excellent Phocion. And no Christian entertained a doubt that every Pagan must be eternally damned, whatever might be his degree of moral worth, if he worshipped the ancient gods, after the religion of Christ had been offered to him. At the beginning of the fifth century, when the persecuting Cyril was Archbishop of Alexandria, a learned and beautiful woman, named Hypatia, was head of the school of New Platonists in that city. She gave lectures on philosophy, and her uncommon eloquence and graceful manners attracted very large audiences. She is said to have been free from pedantry, strictly virtuous in character, and eminently modest in her manners. She was under the protection of her father, who was also a philosopher, and their house became the resort of all the learned and distinguished. Orestes, Governor of Alexandria, was frequently their guest, and she was supposed to have great influence over him. A jealousy arose that this influence was exerted.

unfavourably to Cyril. He and his monks began to utter calumnies concerning her friendship with Orestes; though it does not appear that she was guilty of any other offence than that of exerting extraordinary talent and learning to render the old religion attractive in its mystic veil of Platonism. The monks of the neighbouring deserts, who prided themselves on contempt for human learning, were much displeased by the applause her eloquence excited; and their enmity increased to hatred. As Hypatia was returning home from one of her lectures, she was seized by a mob of these violent devotees, who dragged her through the streets into one of the churches, murdered her, stripped off all her clothing, tore her limb from limb, and burned the mangled remains to ashes. Theodosius the Younger, who was then emperor, either did not dare to punish this terrible outrage, or he had no will to do it.

The decrees of the church and the laws of the state manifested the same hostility toward the vanquished religion. Whoever allowed his daughter to marry a Pagan priest was expelled from the Christian church, and not permitted to receive the sacrament even in the hour of death. When Justinian became emperor, in the year five hundred and twenty-seven, he appointed a bishop to hunt out all who were suspected of secret attachment to the old worship. Their silence was not sufficient. They were ordered to make ready for baptism or death. Seventy thousand were discovered; mostly in the Asiatic provinces. They were immediately converted into as good Christians, as outward ordinances could make them. Photius, a man of patrician rank, stabbed himself rather than submit to the enforced ceremony. The emperor caused his corpse to be ignominiously exposed.

JEWIS.

It is not recorded that any dispute ever arose between the Apostles and their countrymen whether Christ was the Logos; or concerning the question of his divinity, in any form. The only complaints which Jews brought against

the disciples of Jesus were, that they ate forbidden articles of food with foreigners; that they profaned the temple by bringing Greeks into it; and that they admitted the uncircumcised to associate with them, even in their worship. The Psalmist says: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made;" and similar expressions abound in the Old Testament. But Jews never entertained the idea that this Messiah was to be an impersonation of the Word; and the idea that God could have a son was very shocking to their established mode of thought. Eusebius says: "If any Jew be asked whether God has a Logos, he will say, 'Certainly.' Every Jew will say that He has one or more of them. But if asked whether God has a Son, he will deny it." Elsewhere he says: "If any one suppose that the Son is a mere *word*; quiescent in the Father when He is quiescent, but active when He made the world; resembling the word of man, which is quiescent when we are silent, but active when we speak, it is evident that he interprets according to human reason, as the Jews do, and that he denies the true Son of God." The Rabbi Jonathan says: "The Messiah and Moses will appear at the end of the world, one in the desert, the other at Rome; and the Logos will march between them."

As soon as the doctrine of the Messiah's divinity was made known to the Jews, they controverted it most strenuously, as an idea totally at variance with their strict belief in the unity of God. Basnage, in his History of the Jews, says: "Christians and Jews separated at the second step in religion. Having adored together one God, absolutely perfect, immediately afterward, they find the abyss of the Trinity, which separates them entirely. The Jew considers three persons as three Gods; and this shocks him." This obstruction in the path was probably the principal reason why so much fewer Jews than Pagans were converted. The following remarks, by Herbanus, a learned Jew, in the fifth century, in controversy with a Christian bishop, express the substance of what they always said on the subject: "The prophet Moses pronounces

a dreadful curse upon the children of Israel, if we should ever receive any other God beside the God of our fathers. God himself strictly orders us, by the prophets, saying: 'There shall be no other God in thee, nor shalt thou worship a strange God.' Why, then, should you make any words on the subject?" "It is grievous to me to desert the God of the Law, whom you also acknowledge to be the true God, and to worship a younger god, not knowing whence he sprung." "Whence do you derive your faith in the Father, Son, and Spirit, and introduce three strange gods?" "Where did any prophet foretell that the Messiah was to be a God-man, as you say?" "Why did not God order Moses and the prophets to believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but yourselves only, who have lately discovered it, as you pretend?" Another of their writers says: "Moses commands to worship only one God. He makes no second like him, or unlike him, as you have done. If you can produce a single expression in Moses to this purpose, do it. That saying of his, 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, like unto me, hear him,' is not said of the son of Mary. But even if this be granted to you, Moses says the prophet shall be like himself, not like God; a man, not a deity." What Isaiah prophesied concerning Emanuel, which means God with us, they interpreted by their own ancient custom of giving significant names to children. Eusebius says: "The Jews teach, I know not how, that all those things were said of a common child." Those who adopted the Cabalistic idea that Adam Kadman created the world, that he appeared as the earthly Adam, and would again appear as the Messiah, seem to have been a small minority, both among Jews and the Christianized Jews called Ebionites.

To meet the objections started by their opponents, the Christian Fathers said God spoke to his Logos, when he said: "Let us make man after our own image." But Jews replied that God then addressed his conclave of ministering angels. In answer to their demand for proofs from the

Old Testament, the Fathers said that the Godhead of the Messiah was predicted, but purposely veiled. Eusebius says: "The prophets, who foretold concerning Christ, concealed their treasure in obscure words." Epiphanius says: "Adam, being a prophet, knew the Father, Son, and Spirit, and knew that the Father spake to the Son, when he said, 'Let us make man.'" Chrysostom says: "When Moses said the world was made by God, not by Christ, he accommodated himself to the stupidity of his hearers; and justly, because it would not have been proper to give those meat, who had need to be fed with milk." It was generally maintained that the doctrine of the Trinity was hidden from the Jews, on account of the danger of their relapsing into their old tendencies to worship other gods than Jehovah. The Fathers said it was for this reason that Christ and his Apostles purposely concealed it. Eusebius says: "The multitude of the Jews were kept in ignorance of this hidden mystery, when they were taught to believe in one God only, on account of their being frequently drawn into idolatry. They did not know that God was the Father of the only begotten Son. This mystery was reserved for the Gentile church, out of special favour to them."

The virginity of Mary was likewise opposed to Jewish habits of thought and feeling. Their theories concerning the creation of man did not recognize an eternal principle of Matter, the origin of evil. Consequently, they did not hold the human body in contempt. The mother of the largest family was the woman most honoured among them; and there are indications that the idea of giving birth to the long-expected Messiah was a cherished hope among Hebrew women. Learned Rabbis denied that Isaiah predicted the Messiah would be born of a virgin. They said the Hebrew word thus translated in the Septuagint simply signified a young woman. They ridiculed what some of the Christian Fathers said concerning the miraculous birth of Christ, differing from all other births. They asked: "If this were so, why was Mary represented as going to the temple to make offerings for purification?"

If the warfare had been confined to words, it would have been better and more creditable to both parties. But unfortunately many causes were at work to increase the hostility always felt by a long-established church toward a non-conforming sect. After the introduction of Christianity, Jews began to attract more attention from other nations than they had previously done. This was partly owing to the fact that they had grown with the growth of the world. They formed a large, wealthy, and enterprising class in all the principal cities of the Roman empire, and there were many men among them who commanded respect by their learning and their virtues. In the early times, Jews had little zeal for making converts. But intercourse with foreigners, and the rapid spread of Christianity, roused in them a spirit of proselytism; and at a time when the Pagan religion was undermined by general scepticism, some devout minds were solemnly impressed with sublime passages from the Hebrew Scriptures, and with the worship of one God, of whom no image was allowed to be made. In large cities considerable numbers of the populace were converted by Jewish magicians, called *Gostæ*, whose wonderful skill they believed to be miraculous. The later Jewish writers were accustomed to trace the miracles of Christ to magic. They said he had power over Evil Spirits, because he had learned the secret and ineffable name of God, expressed only by a mysterious sign, and had dared to utter it.

After our era, Jews were brought into notice in one way peculiarly annoying to themselves. They were constantly identified with the seceders, whom they so much abhorred; for when Christianity began to be a troublesome element in Roman affairs, magistrates regarded the sect as merely a peculiarly refractory portion of the Jews. This induced a habit of mutually vilifying each other, to repel the charges brought by Romans. The breach widened continually, and when Christianity became the paramount influence of the state, Jews were deprived of the protection and toleration they had enjoyed under emperors of the old

religion. Constantine, in his edict concerning the observance of Easter, declares that it was unsuited to the dignity of the church to follow "that most hateful of all people, the Jews," in their celebration of the Passover. He enacted that if the Jews should stone a Christian convert, or otherwise endanger his life, all concerned in it should be burned alive. He prohibited all Christians from becoming Jews, under pain of arbitrary punishment. He forbade Jews to hold Christian slaves; assigning as a reason that those who had been made free by the blood of Christ ought not to be slaves to the murderers of the prophets, and of the Son of God. They were constrained to take upon themselves certain public offices, which were burdensome and avoided by others. Some degree of justice was, however, observed. The right of Roman citizenship was not taken from them, they chose their own officers to regulate their markets, and their Patriarchs and Rabbins were exempted from military duty and civil offices, the same as the Christian Archbishops and their clergy.

In Spain it was customary for landholders and peasants to keep a joyous festival in the spring time, and at the gathering of the harvest. Many of them were Jews; and according to the devout custom of their nation, before they partook of the banquet, they prayed to God that even in the land of the stranger he would send sunshine and dews to produce abundant crops. A Council held at Illiberis forbade Jews to assemble with Christians on such occasions, lest the blessings pronounced by them should render unavailing the powerful benedictions of the church.

Constantius passed laws still more severe than those of his father. The Jews were very heavily taxed and burthened in every way. They were forbidden, under pain of death, to hold Christian slaves, or marry Christian women. The old edict of Adrian, forbidding them to approach Jerusalem, was renewed. A painful pilgrimage it must have been, had it been allowed; for their Holy Mountain lay desolate, while the glittering cross, surmounting the splendid church on Mount Calvary, might be seen from

afar. Under the short administration of Julian all these oppressive enactments were abolished, and he proposed to rebuild their temple, as has been already stated; but Jovian restored the old state of things.

These persecutions of course excited bitter animosity in the objects of them. When disturbances occurred, the Jewish population, especially in reckless Alexandria, rushed to the aid of Pagans, or Arians, and often committed frightful excesses. Christians availed themselves of every pretext to insult, harrass, and plunder the Jews; and Jews lost no opportunity to retaliate.

After the time of Jovian, several of the emperors were inclined to restrain the animosity of the bishops toward the Jews, who were everywhere a numerous and useful class of citizens. Maximus commanded the Christians to rebuild at their own expense a synagogue which they had wantonly destroyed at Rome. Theodosius the Great gave the same orders concerning a synagogue demolished at Callinicum. The outrage occurred at a great distance from the jurisdiction of Ambrose, but he felt called upon to remonstrate with the emperor concerning the intended restitution. He expressed disapprobation of such acts as setting fire to synagogues, but asserted that no bishop could conscientiously contribute anything toward building a place of worship for Jews. He also said, somewhat inconsistently: "I myself would willingly assume the guilt, and say, I have set this synagogue in flames; at least in so far that I have urged on all; that there might be no place left in which Christ is denied." From the pulpit, he preached in the same strain he had written. The emperor, who was at Milan, yielded his sense of justice to the zeal of the bishop, and the Jews were left without a synagogue. But he recognized the right of their Patriarchs to judge and punish members of their own community, according to their own laws, and Roman magistrates were forbidden to interfere in such cases. When near the close of his life, and away from the influence of Ambrose, he issued an edict of toleration to the Jews, and ordered that all who pillaged or

destroyed their synagogues should be punished according to the discretion of the magistrate.

Where two classes of people were so hostile to each other, occasions were never wanting for a quarrel. Brawls in the streets were continually occurring between Jews and Christians, upon the slightest provocation; and Jews, being the party out of power, were not very likely to obtain a candid hearing. At a place not far from Antioch, some Jews in a state of intoxication manifested their rancorous animosity in a manner they would not have ventured to do while sober. They mocked at Christ in the public streets, and erected a cross, on which they fastened a Christian boy, whom they scourged till he died. They were rigorously punished; but the transaction deepened popular hatred of the Israelites. Some years afterward, a mob of Christians plundered a synagogue at Antioch. The Roman Governor represented the case to the emperor, Theodosius the Younger, who commanded the clergy to make restitution; but they appealed to Simeon Stylites, who remonstrated with the emperor. Theodosius could not resist the intercession of such a celebrated saint. He granted his request, and wrote him a letter soliciting his prayers, addressed to the "Holy Martyr in the Air." The magistrate, who had exerted himself to preserve justice from being warped by intolerance, was removed from office.

In the excitable city of Alexandria, where Jews were always numerous, commotions were more frequent than elsewhere. At the theatre, a quarrel arose between some of the Hebrew population and one of the partisans of Cyril the archbishop. Cyril threatened to make all the Jews responsible, if such scenes were not prevented. This threat excited the Hebrew populace, who well knew that he always availed himself of every pretext for persecution. They raised a false alarm that the church was on fire in the night, and when the Christians rushed out, they fell upon them and killed many. The next morning, the archbishop, without waiting for any examination into the affair, or any warrant from the civil authorities, led on an army

of monks to attack the Jewish citizens, who were unarmed, and not aware of danger. Synagogues were demolished, houses pillaged, many Jews slaughtered, and all the rest driven out of the city. There were forty thousand Jews in Alexandria, and a large proportion of them were wealthy. Orestes, the Governor, as a matter of policy, wished that such a large and valuable class of citizens should feel security in the possession of their property. He accordingly represented to the emperor that compensation ought to be made for the extensive robberies committed, and the buildings destroyed. Five hundred monks attacked him, as he was riding through the street. In vain he protested that he was a Catholic Christian. One of the great stones they hurled at him, made the blood gush from his head, and nearly cost him his life. He was generally popular, and the citizens rose in his defence. The monks were driven back to their deserts, and the man who had thrown the stone was put to death. But Cyril caused his body to be taken up, and accorded to him all the honours of a martyr, who had fallen in defence of the church.

Justinian, who was a great persecutor of Jews and heretics, passed laws more severe than any of his predecessors. He forbade the reading of the Talmud, and compelled Jews to keep their Passover on the same day that Christians observed Easter.

A similar state of feeling existed between Christians and Samaritans. On Easter Sunday the Samaritans, for some unexplained reason, broke into the church in their city of Sichem, killed a great many people, and cut off several fingers from the hands of the bishop, who held fast to the consecrated bread, he was just about to administer in the sacrament. It was wrenched from him, and treated with the utmost fury and contempt. The bishop fled, and sought redress from the emperor Zeno, showing his mangled hands, and quoting the prophecy of Jesus to the woman of Samaria: "The time shall come when ye shall worship God, neither on this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem." The Samaritans had built no temple on Mount Gerizim; but

the ancient veneration for the holy place continued, and on its summit they offered their devotions. At the request of the bishop, the emperor not only severely punished the Samaritans for the outrages they had committed, but ordered them to be expelled from Mount Gerizim, and caused a chapel to the Virgin Mary to be erected on its summit. It was necessary to build a strong wall round it, and place an armed guard to watch it. A small party of Samaritans clambered up the precipitous side of the mountain and slew the guard.

Justinian passed very severe laws against the Samaritans. They were deprived of all dignities, and not allowed to hold any office whatsoever, civil or military; "lest they might have opportunity of judging and punishing Christians; even bishops." These stringent measures produced furious insurrections, in which many Christians were killed, and their churches destroyed. The Samaritans were finally expelled from Sichem, their capital city, and forbidden to enter it again. In litigation, where one or both parties were Christians, the testimony of a Jew or a Samaritan was inadmissible. Those who adhered to their religion were not allowed to inherit property. To provide for cases where the wife became a convert to Christianity, while the husband remained a Jew, or a Samaritan, it was enacted that the true religion should rule. The unbelieving father was bound to maintain his children, but the believing mother was invested with authority to regulate their education and marriages. These laws had the intended effect of causing many of the Samaritans to submit to baptism.

When there was great competition among conflicting sects to increase their number of proselytes, when converts were rewarded with worldly advantages, and driven by legal disabilities, frequent deceptions were the inevitable result. Those among the Jews, who had no sincere reverence for any religion, made a traffic of being baptized in several places, managing to receive banquets and presents for their trouble. This was carried to such an extent, that it became necessary to pass laws that no Jew should be

baptized without previous inquiry into his character, and serving a period of probation. An instance is recorded of the detection of one of these hypocrites by miracle. When he would have entered the pool, the water recoiled from him, as if conscious that he had often made traffic of the ceremony.

The Jewish population always sided with the Arians in times of disturbance, and when Arians were in power, they always protected the Jews. This probably arose from mutual sympathy, growing out of the fact that both were persecuted by the dominant church. How much evil might have been averted, if Christians had obeyed the gentle precepts of their founder, is proved by the fact that both Jews and Pagans were prompt to manifest gratitude toward those who treated them with justice and moderation. The published letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop of Clermont, contain several epistles from eminent Jews, full of friendly feeling. Basil the Great aimed at impartial justice in the administration of his episcopal office, and in debate with theological opponents, he was always courteous. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, also manifested a candid and kindly disposition. At the funeral of both these prelates there was a great concourse of Pagans and Jews, and Israelites mingled their voices with Christians in Psalms of lamentation.

HERETICS.

The spirit manifested toward Christians, who departed in any respect from the Catholic standard, was hardly less bitter than that exhibited toward Pagans and Jews. Various disputes, which germinated in the Nestorian controversy, long continued to divide and subdivide the church. The Asiatic and Egyptian clergy were generally followers of Eutyches, called Monophysites; while the Western clergy were strenuous advocates for the decree of the Council at Chalcedon, which condemned Eutyches. In four hundred eighty-two, five hundred assembled bishops decided that the decrees of the Synod of Chalcedon might

be supported by bloodshed, if necessary. There were a multitude of monks in Jerusalem, who espoused the Monophysite cause, and pillaged and murdered their opponents. The sepulchre of Christ was stained with blood shed by furious combatants; one side maintaining that he had two natures completely united in one *nature*, the other that he had two natures completely united in one *person*. The Bishop of Alexandria was constantly guarded by two thousand soldiers; and for two years he contended with the people of that city, who were violently opposed to the decree at Chalcedon. At last, they besieged him in his cathedral, murdered him, burnt his corpse, and scattered the ashes to the winds, to prevent his relics from being honoured. Many thousands were slain in consequence of this theological splitting of a hair. Such a state of excitement existed, that the smallest spark was sufficient to kindle a devouring flame. The Apocalypse of John represents angels and cherubim continually singing before the throne of God, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty!" As this was supposed to express the Trinity, it became customary, in the fifth century, to sing this in the churches, under the name of the Trisagion, Thrice Holy. A Monophysite bishop, in his zeal to represent the one nature of Christ as God, added the words, "who was crucified for us." This practice was copied at Constantinople and some other places. The opposite party regarded it as a blasphemous and dangerous heresy to represent God as crucified. The emperor Anastasius took one side, and the Patriarch of Constantinople took the other. Two adverse choirs in the cathedral sang the Trisagion; one without the additional phrase, the other with it. They strove to drown each other's voices, and when their lungs were fatigued, they attacked each other with clubs and stones. A mob of men, women, and children, led on by an army of monks, went about the streets, shouting and fighting. The statues of the emperor were broken, he hid himself to save his life, and was finally compelled to abdicate. Sixty-five thousand Christians were slaugh-

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tered before the insurrection was quelled. This was the first war between Christians on account of theological differences.

In the first half of the sixth century, a complete separation took place between the Catholic Church and the Monophysites. They formed independent churches in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and appointed their own patriarchs. They soon divided into sects. Controversies arose among them whether the body of Christ was created or uncreated; whether it was corruptible or incorruptible. Some of them arrived at the conclusion that the three persons of the Trinity were three gods. This sect, called Tritheists, were rejected as heretics by the Monophysites, as well as by their opponents.

In connection with the discussion concerning two *natures*, arose the query whether Christ had two *wills*. Believers in one will were called Monothelites, from Greek words having that meaning. Many of the Eastern clergy favoured that view, but considered controversy on the subject unnecessary and injudicious. The clergy at Rome were displeased with this advice, and pronounced the doctrine of the Monothelites heretical. Bishops were summoned to assemble in that city. They signed a sentence of condemnation on St. Peter's tomb, and rendered it more emphatic by mingling sacramental wine with the ink. After prolonged controversy, it was finally settled that two wills, divine and human, were perfectly harmonized in Christ.

The controversy with Macedonius likewise left a wake behind it. The equality of the Holy Spirit with the two other persons of the Trinity was settled by decree of council; but new discussions arose concerning what was called "the procession of the Holy Ghost." Scripture declared that the Spirit was sent by Christ; which led some to infer that he proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father. Others rejected this as involving the idea of double parentage, and maintained that he proceeded from the Father only. In five hundred eighty-six, the Council of Toledo added three words to the creed established by

the Council of Constantinople, and made it declare "the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father, *and the Son.*" This gave great offence to the churches in the East. Rome decided that "the Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son; and he proceeds from them both eternally, as from a single principle, and by one single procession." The churches in Constantinople persevered in maintaining a different opinion on this subtle question, and the contest ended in complete separation from the Catholic church.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

It was in this state of things, that Gregory the First, commonly called the Great, became Patriarch of Rome in the year five hundred ninety. His father was a Roman senator, and his mother was a woman of uncommon endowments. She was a devout Christian, and watched most carefully over his youthful education. Her pious tendencies are indicated by the fact that while he was yet a babe, she dreamed the holy hermit Anthony appeared to her, and foretold that her son would be a bishop.

Gregory commenced his career as a lawyer with distinguished success. He became a member of the senate, and was employed in various other services of honour and trust. He was Prefect, or Governor of Rome, and resigned the office after having fulfilled its duties with great ability and integrity, for twelve years. Satiated with worldly success, his spirit craved something more satisfactory and abiding; and he longed for religious seclusion. On the death of his father, he inherited a large fortune, which he immediately devoted to pious and charitable purposes. His paternal mansion, on the Celian Hill, was converted into a monastery, and hospital for the poor, dedicated to the Apostle Andrew. A small cell was reserved for himself, and thither he retired from the world, taking upon himself the usual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. His time was divided between prayer, devotional studies, and attention to the poor. When a terrible pestilence

raged at Rome, he devoted himself most assiduously to the care of the needy and the suffering. The Pope, Pelagius Second, employed him as his secretary; and when he died, the popular voice immediately named Gregory as his successor. He wrote to the emperor, intreating him not to ratify the choice of the people; it being his earnest wish to devote himself to the quietude of religious seclusion. Finding that his election was confirmed, he fled from the city, and hid himself in a cave. Tradition says those who were sent to search for him were guided to the place of his concealment by a celestial light. He was brought back and solemnly installed in the high dignity of the Roman Pontiff, with far more power and splendour than had ever belonged to the old Pagan office of Pontifex Maximus.

Gregory was the first Pope who assumed the title "Servant of the servants of God." He discharged the duties of his elevated station with an unusual degree of humanity and wisdom, if we judge him by the standard of that age. When the Jews in Sardinia appealed to him, in consequence of some outrages they had suffered, he commanded that the synagogues, which had been taken from them and converted into churches, should be immediately restored. He forbade any interference with the worship of the Jews, and severely rebuked those whose zeal led them to place in the synagogues images of the Virgin Mary and of the crucified Christ. At the same time, he sought to proselyte them by a process more kindly and considerate, though it appealed to selfish motives; he offered remission of taxes to all converted Jews. He exerted himself to the utmost to prevent the "cruel and impious" traffic in Christian slaves, and to redeem from bondage to Jews or Pagans all who were Christians, or who professed a wish to become Christians. He advised bishops to sell the church plate, if necessary, for this purpose, as a service well-pleasing in the sight of God. Before he was Pope, his compassion had been greatly excited by some young English captives offered for sale in Rome. He formed the design of going as a missionary to England, and had in fact started on his

journey; but his services were so much needed at home, and he was so much beloved by the people, that they induced the Patriarch of Rome to send after him, and forbid his departure. He returned accordingly; but the sight of those beautiful youths, so desolate and sad in the markets of a foreign land, made an impression on his soul which he never forgot. It was one of the earliest acts of his administration to send missionaries to England. His zeal for the general dissemination of Christianity was very great. He not only sent missionaries to neighbouring nations, but to Huns, Bactrians, Persians, Medes, East Indians, and Chinese. He displayed similar zeal for the conversion of Jews and heretics, and for the advancement of monasticism. He rigidly enforced the celibacy of the clergy; a regulation which still continued to meet with a good deal of opposition. Its tendency was to guard the wealth of the church; for married bishops and priests would have been likely to use the ecclesiastical revenues for the benefit of their own families; and the effect would have been, in those times, to establish an hereditary priesthood. Gregory not only protected the wealth of the church, but greatly increased it. The distinctness and prominence which he gave to the doctrine concerning Purgatory, proved a valuable source of revenue. The idea that the soul, after death, went to some place where it was purified by fire, was a feature common to the oriental religions, and the Gnostic systems, and was also introduced into Platonism. Origen, and Clement of Alexandria, thought it was proved by the Christian Scriptures. Most of the Fathers so construed the third chapter of Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians. That prayers, oblations, and penances of the living could affect the condition of the dead, was another idea which pervaded the oriental religions; particularly the Braminical and the Buddhist. The early Christian Fathers also inculcated it as a duty to offer prayers and oblations for the deceased; on the ground that such ceremonies were a benefit to their souls. This conviction was strengthened by the feeling that though original sin was

washed away by baptism, penance was required for sins committed after baptism. Gregory the Great defined these doctrines with more precision; and from that time henceforth they were invested with accessories both terrifying and attractive to the imagination. Purgatory was represented as a region on the borders of hell, where souls not good enough to enter heaven were detained, for a longer or shorter time, to be purified by suffering. One spark of its fire was said to cause more agony than any bodily pain that could be endured, or conceived of, in this world. Prayers offered for the dead, and donations given to churches and monasteries in their behalf, would lessen the intensity and shorten the term of this probationary suffering. Priests were paid for reciting these prayers; and as tenderness for the departed, whether founded in affection, remorse, or pride of family, is one of the strongest feelings in the human heart, masses repeated for the dead became a source of great emolument. Gregory's administration was marked by increasing splendour in the decoration of churches, the richness of ecclesiastical costume, and the pomp of ceremonies and festivals. He revised the ritual of worship, and arranged the liturgy as it has ever since been preserved. He introduced chants sung by male voices in unison, and himself trained choristers to perform them. The voices of the whole congregation had heretofore joined in the music of the church, but it was thenceforth intrusted to trained bands of singers. These Gregorian chants, supposed to have been formed on the model of the old Greek chorus, with more complex modulation, remained for centuries the orthodox standard for all church music, from which it was considered a sort of heresy to deviate. The pomp and ceremony thus introduced, and the ecclesiastical authority established over the minutest forms, had a great effect to dazzle and overawe the ignorant; especially barbarian converts, to whom the Pope did indeed appear like God's vicegerent upon earth, and his attendant bishops, priests, deacons, and choristers, like so many ministering angels. This increase of Roman greatness

was by no means pleasing to many of the Eastern churches. In fact, the splendid pontificate of Gregory was a constant struggle for power with his competitor, John, Patriarch of Constantinople.

But if his ambition was great, his benevolence was perhaps even greater. He was truly a kind shepherd to the poor of his flock. When told that a beggar had died of hunger in the streets of Rome, he seemed to consider himself personally responsible. He imposed penance on himself, and for several days refrained from the administration of his priestly office, as one unworthy to appear before the Lord. It is related of him that when he was only a monk, a beggar presented himself at the gate of the monastery. Being relieved, he came again and again. At last, Gregory had nothing to give him but a silver porringer, in which his mother had sent some nourishment to sustain him during his penances. He gave that also to the beggar. After he became Pope, it was his daily custom to invite twelve poor men to sup with him. One night, he observed that thirteen were at the table. When the steward was asked the reason of this, he replied that there were but twelve. Gregory inquired no further; but after supper, he privately asked the unbidden guest who he was. He answered: "I am the beggar, whom thou didst formerly relieve so often at the monastery. I am now called The Wonderful; and whatsoever thou shalt ask of God, through me, thou shalt obtain." Then the charitable Pope knew that he had entertained Christ.

Innumerable miracles are recorded of him. His Secretary declared that while he was writing, he had often seen the Holy Ghost perched on his shoulder in the form of a dove. Once, when a man was present in the church, who doubted that the bread and wine were really changed into the body and blood of Christ, Gregory prayed that he might be convinced; whereupon, Jesus himself descended upon the altar, with his cross and crown of thorns.

Gregory died at sixty-four years of age, fourteen years

after he was chosen Pope. He suffered much from physical infirmities, said to have been induced by severe fasts and vigils, while he was a monk. He left numerous writings, which have been frequently published. A book of Dialogues, written at the end of the sixth century, has been ascribed to him; but many suppose the sanction of his name was assumed without authority. These Dialogues describe monks in Italy as curing all manner of diseases; walking on the water as freely as on dry land; turning rivers out of their course; suspending the arm of an executioner in mid air, so that he was unable to lower it to behead a Christian; replenishing vessels of wine and oil miraculously; and having pieces of gold, fresh as if just from the mint, dropped into their laps from heaven.

SLAVERY.

Slaves in the Roman empire were those who had been taken captive in war, or poor men sold for debt. Being subject to the arbitrary will of their masters, their condition was dreadful in the extreme. Even Nero compassionated their situation so far as to forbid masters to expose their slaves to be torn by wild beasts. Adrian decreed that the master who killed a slave, except for a lawful cause, should be put to death. Antoninus Pius ordained that whoever punished a slave unreasonably should be compelled to part with him. The altars and statues of the gods, and many of the temples, were places of refuge for abused slaves, from which they could not be forced by their masters, till their complaint had been inquired into; and if they had been cruelly dealt by, they could demand to be sold to another master.

Constantine the Great passed a law that masters should not punish their slaves "except with moderation." Justinian also passed several laws restricting the power of masters. But the efforts of Christian emperors, and of the bishops, were mainly directed against Christians being held in bondage by Jews or Pagans. Constantine prohibited

Jews from holding Christian slaves, under pain of confiscation of property. This law apparently fell into disuse; for laws were subsequently passed forbidding Jews to attempt to convert their Christian slaves. A Council at Orleans in five hundred and forty, enacted that if a Christian slave was required to perform any service incompatible with his religion, and the master proceeded to punish him for disobedience, he might find an asylum in any church; that the clergy of that church were on no account to give him up, but to pay his value to the master. Another council the next year enacted that if a Christian slave, under the same circumstances, should seek the protection of any Christian whatsoever, he was bound to shelter him, and to redeem him at a fair price. Any Jew, who proselyted a Christian slave by promises of freedom, forfeited all his slaves. The slave, who had agreed to such a condition, was pronounced unworthy of freedom, and the contract with him was rendered null and void.

Jews, being more engaged in merchandize than any other class of people, became the principal traders in slaves, which were exchanged for other commodities. Gregory the Great was much troubled by the fact that Christians often came into the possession of Jews by this process. He ordained that no Jew or Pagan who wished to embrace Christianity should be held in bondage by any but a Christian. If a slave expressed such a wish within three months after he was bought, the purchaser was obliged to accept the market price offered by any Christian. If he was kept longer than three months, he was free without being paid for; it being evident that the Jewish slave-merchant kept him for his own service, not for sale. The Council of Macon, in five hundred eighty-one, forbade Jews to hold Christian slaves at all, or to sell Christian slaves to any but Christians. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of bishops and the decrees of councils, the cruel traffic continued to prevail extensively. Different provinces were under different jurisdictions; many of the clergy could not read the decisions of councils; and those who were acquainted with

such decrees, sometimes cared more for pecuniary profit, than for humanity to Christian brethren. In a Council held at Toledo, in six hundred fifty-five, complaint was made that "even the clergy, in defiance of the law, sold captives to Jews and Pagans."

It has already been stated how great sympathy was expressed in the churches for Christians carried into captivity, and how general was the custom of raising contributions, and even of selling the church-plate, for their relief. But the Jews of old would sell any into foreign bondage except those of their own faith; and Christian humanity was limited by a similar theological boundary. No decrees were passed prohibiting either Jews or Christians from holding in bondage those who were *not* Christians, or to prevent Christians from owning each other. The Council at Chalcedon, in the middle of the fifth century, forbade convents to receive slaves without the consent of their masters; and threatened excommunication for the offence. The reason assigned was "that the name of God may not be blasphemed;" that is, that the church should not be accused of exciting insubordination. Basil the Great made it a rule that slaves, who sought refuge in the monasteries he founded, should be sent back with an admonition, unless their masters had ordered them to do something contrary to the law of God.

After the Pagan temples and statues were destroyed, slaves, who had been accustomed to fly to them for safety in emergencies, began to take refuge in churches. During the reign of Theodosius Second, several slaves in Constantinople sought shelter in the sanctuary of the principal church, to escape from the wrath of a cruel master. There, for several days in succession, worship was disturbed by attempts to regain them. When, at last, resort was had to force, the slaves, in their desperation, killed one of the ecclesiastics, wounded another, and then put an end to their own lives. This and similar occurrences led to the enactment of a law to protect the inviolability of church asylums; passed in four hundred thirty-one. It was then

enacted that not only the altar, but whatever formed any part of the church buildings, should be an inviolable place of refuge. It was forbidden on pain of death to remove forcibly those who fled thither unarmed. When a slave sought shelter there, the clergy were ordered not to delay longer than a day to give information of it; but the master was required to grant full forgiveness, and promise to receive him back without inflicting any punishment. Whoever violated such a promise was expelled from communion. Excommunication from all the churches was likewise the punishment decreed by several councils, for the crime of killing a slave.

Though Christian emperors and bishops enacted no laws which indicate the recognition of the institution itself as a crime, indications abound that such a conviction pressed on the individual consciences of Christians. Manumissions at baptism were very frequent; still more frequent at the approach of death. A latent consciousness of wrong is betrayed by the following form in common use on such occasions: "Almighty God having blessed us in our day with health of body, we ought, for the salvation of the soul, to turn our thoughts somewhat to the cutting off from the number of our sins. Therefore, in the name of God, for the good of my soul, and redemption from my sins, I have set at liberty my slave," etc. How boldly some of the Fathers rebuked the iniquitous system has been already shown by extracts from their writings. A similar spirit was manifested by the best of the monks. Nilus, who in the fifth century retired from a dignified station in Constantinople to a monastery on Mount Sinai, in his writings especially inculcates compassion for slaves, "whom a mastership of violence, destroying the fellowship of nature, has converted into tools." A monk named Eloi, called "the Glory of his Age," was in the habit of attending all the slave-sales he could hear of, buying up large numbers of them and setting them free. He then offered them the choice of entering a monastery, or of returning to the countries whence they had been brought. The Abbot Isidore

of Pelusium, writing to a master in behalf of a slave who had begged for his intercession, says: "I did not suppose that a man who loves Christ, who knows the grace which has made all men free, could still hold a slave." The celebrated Benedict, a truly religious man, established the following rule for his monasteries: "The Abbot shall not prefer one to another, except for obedience and faithfulness. He shall not rank one born free above one who was a slave before his conversion; for whether bond or free, we are all one in Christ Jesus. With God there is no respect of persons." The Abbot Theodore, in his will, left this injunction to his monastery: "Never make a slave of man, who is made in the image of God; either for your private service, or for the monastery, or for the cultivation of the fields." A great many slaves became monks, and many were chosen bishops. It was requisite that they should be previously emancipated; but in general this was easily accomplished; for it was deemed a sort of impiety to place any obstacles in the way of a slave, who wished to devote himself to a religious life. Perhaps this class of people were found to be a useful check upon the pride of nobles. At all events, there was in many portions of the empire an increasing predilection for ordaining bishops who had been slaves. The Archbishop of Treves, in the ninth century, declares that a large proportion of the bishops were of servile extraction, and commonly took sides against the nobility. Some remonstrated with the bishops for habitually giving such candidates a preference, and felt obliged to quote, in favour of the free-born, the declaration that "God is no respecter of persons."

CHURCHES, IMAGES, AND SAINTS.

The churches were not only asylums for slaves, but for debtors, who could thus gain time for the bishops to interfere in their behalf, or raise money for their relief. In times of invasion, or civil war, the conquered took refuge there. Ambrose protected multitudes from the sword,

during the frequent revolutions in the Western part of the empire. The noble-hearted Chrysostom, always ready to shelter the unfortunate, extended the powerful arm of the church over every victim of arbitrary violence, whether patrician or peasant. When Alaric the Goth captured Rome, the churches of Peter and Paul, and the chapels, were places of universal refuge. Amid the general uproar, not a single Gothic soldier touched those consecrated spots; on the contrary, they themselves conveyed thither many women, children, and aged people, whose helplessness excited their compassion. This was the more commendable, because the Goths were Arians, and the churches in Rome were Athanasian.

The privilege of asylum was of course abused, as the increasing number of churches rendered sanctuaries easy of access for criminals of all sorts; and the clergy must have been more than human, if they had not made the great power, which this custom conferred upon them, sometimes subservient to purposes of ambition or avarice. The Pagans had made great complaints of justice defeated, or evaded, by criminals taking refuge in their temples. In process of time, similar complaints were made concerning the abuse of sanctuary in the churches; but in the latter case, the evil was more extensive; for a single city in Italy contained more asylums for criminals and debtors, than there had formerly been in the whole of Greece.

The earliest Christians met in each other's houses for devotional exercises. When Gentile converts became numerous, they had, in some places, the use of domestic chapels, belonging to wealthy proselytes, who had previously devoted them to the worship of Pagan deities. Sometimes they assembled in the woods, or at the burial-place of martyrs, whose tombs, covered with red cloth, in memory of their blood, served as altars on which to place the bread and wine of the eucharist. If there were no such tombs in the vicinity, moveable boxes, covered with cloth, were often used for the same purpose. When persecution raged, the faithful met together at night in caves, or in the

large subterranean burial-places called catacombs. Under the emperors who tolerated Christianity, churches began to be built, but in very simple style. The father of Gregory of Nazianzen, though bishop of only a small diocese, built one at his own expense. They generally faced the east, as was the custom with the temples of all nations. Jewish converts retained their national dislike for sculpture and painting, always closely associated in their minds with the idea of idolatry; and the early Christian Fathers imbibed a similar feeling, in the course of their efforts to overthrow a system of worship abounding with pictures and statues. Epiphanius, who was a bishop in the middle of the fourth century, was of Jewish extraction. When he visited Palestine, he was surprised to find a curtain hanging over the door of the church, whereon was painted a likeness of Christ. He says: "When I saw the image of a man hanging up in the church, contrary to the authority of the Holy Scriptures, I immediately tore it, and advised them to use it as a winding-sheet for some poor man's burial." The congregation being somewhat troubled by this summary proceeding, he sent them another curtain, but without painting. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, declared strongly against images. He says he once saw in a woman's possession two figures, wearing the philosopher's robe, which she said were Christ and Paul. But he made her give them up; lest it might seem that Christians, like idolaters, carried about an image of their God. Tertullian mentions pictures of Christ upon communion cups, as though it were the custom in his day. These cups were of various materials, according to the wealth of the church; of wood, crystal, onyx, silver, and in some cases gold. The most common representations on them were the Crucified Jesus, and the Good Shepherd, carrying a lamb on his shoulders. On the walls of an ancient cemetery near Rome, is an ill-drawn figure, with short robe and sandals, his arms outstretched, in the act of prayer. There is a glory round his head, and above it the inscription, Paulus Apostolos, the Apostle Paul. It is supposed to be as old

as the second or third century. The glory, or halo, with which it became customary to represent holy personages, was copied from the Pagan artists, who represented their deities crowned with rays, or the head surrounded by a luminous circle, to indicate that they dwelt in fulness of light. It is supposed that it began to be customary to paint the interior of churches with emblems, as early as the close of the third century. A cross was the most common emblem; sometimes a lamb with a cross; or a lamb standing on a mound, whence four rivers flowed, to represent the four Gospels; an anchor represented faith; the old Hindoo emblem of a triangle with an eye in the centre, was a symbol of the Trinity. At the commencement of the fourth century, a Council at Elvira forbade objects of worship to be painted on the walls. After the time of Constantine, the churches rapidly increased in number and magnificence. The columns and the pavements were of the most beautiful and highly polished marble. They contained shrines of martyrs set with precious stones, and their relics covered with rich embroidery, or cloth of gold, before which lamps of gold or silver were continually burning. The smoke of frankincense, which for ages had filled the temples of Hindostan, Egypt, Jerusalem, Greece, and Rome, now floated round the Christian altars. Marble basins filled with holy water, stood in the porch of Christian churches, to sprinkle those who entered; as was formerly the case in the vestibule of Pagan temples. Early in the fourth century, wealthy men who founded churches, introduced the custom of presenting images and pictures, in memory of some martyr or saint; as it had formerly been the custom to consecrate a statue, or a painting, to some temple, as a thank-offering for benefits received from the gods. Churches dedicated to martyrs were enriched by such gifts, more than others; on account of the cures supposed to be performed by them. Like the ancient temples of Apollo and Æsculapius, they were hung with tablets inscribed with golden letters, with pictures representing cures, and with eyes, hands, and feet, made of

silver or gold. One of the earliest descriptions of Christian painting is that of the church at Nola, in Italy, built in honour of Felix, the Martyr. On the colonnades were painted passages from the history of Moses and Joshua, Ruth and Naomi, and other characters in Scripture. As little children receive ideas from pictures before they can read, so those paintings afforded some degree of instruction to the crowds of illiterate pilgrims who annually flocked to the shrine of St. Felix; for, however rude the impressions they received, they were at least a degree above the mere sensual pleasures of the banquet provided on such occasions. Gregory of Nyssa, brother of Basil the Great, describing a church where the relics of Theodorus the Martyr were deposited, says: "The artist has here shown his skill in the figures of animals, and the airy sculpture of the stone; while the painter's hand is most conspicuous in delineating the high achievements of the martyrs. The figure of Christ is also beheld looking down upon the scene." It early became a custom to have the ground plan of churches in the form of a cross. They went on increasing in magnificence and beauty, until finally a church was built over the tomb said to be St. Peter's, at Rome, the cost of which has been estimated at over forty-three millions of dollars.

The ancient Hindoos and Egyptians were accustomed to carry about with them little images and symbols of their deities, which they considered as amulets to protect them from evil. Among these symbols, the Cross of Hermes was conspicuous. Greeks and Romans never travelled by land or sea, without tying about their necks small images of the Goddess of Fortune, or of the household gods, called Lares, which represented the spirits of their good ancestors. After the time of Constantine, it became customary for Christians to wear a cross as a protection from evil. Those made of the wood of the true cross found in Mount Calvary, were, of course, believed to possess superior efficacy. The wood was cased in gold, often set with pearls or diamonds. Sometimes there was a ruby or carbuncle at each

extremity and in the centre, to denote the five bloody wounds. In the sixth century, it became customary to have an image of Christ embossed on the cross, which was thus converted into a crucifix. Small images of Christ, of his Mother, the Apostles, and the Martyrs, were also worn about the neck, as amulets.

Not only ancient ceremonies were adopted with merely a change of object, but in some cases the images and emblems themselves were retained, with simply a change of name. The statue of a river-god was named the Jordan; Orpheus with his lyre was called Christ; and the image of Apollo was made to personate the Good Shepherd. In the oldest pictures of the Virgin Mary, the face was covered with a blue veil; from which it might be inferred that they were representations of Isis, taken from Egyptian temples, and produced under a new name. Ancient pictures of the Virgin and her Child are so much like the representations of Isis with her infant Horus, that one might easily be mistaken for the other. It was the universal custom to represent Pagan deities accompanied by some emblem sacred to them, as Jupiter with his eagle, and Minerva with her owl. In very ancient nations, as in Egypt and Chaldea, the emblem was sometimes joined to the deity. Thus Osiris is often represented with the head of a hawk, and Isis with a cow's head; the hawk and the cow being symbols consecrated to them. Among the curiosities dug up at Nineveh, winged animals abound, as they did in the sculptures of Egypt; and so do human figures with wings and with the heads of animals. Similar things are found in the earliest specimens of Christian Art. The prophet Ezekiel describes a vision of four living creatures which he saw. One had the face of a man, one of a lion, one of an ox, and one of an eagle. The Jewish Rabbins considered them typical of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; but Christians applied them to the four Evangelists. In the recess over the altar, in the most ancient Christian churches, it was common to represent a man's head and shoulders, with wings, to indicate Matthew;

a lion's head on a man's shoulders, with wings, for Mark ; the head of an ox, with wings, for Luke ; and an eagle, with a glory round its head, for John. These winged animals are generally represented as holding a volume of the Gospels. In some places, John is represented with the body of a man, and the head and clawed feet of an eagle. Sometimes the four stand in a row, with human bodies, each holding a gospel in his hands ; Mark with a lion's head, Luke with the head of an ox, and John with the head of an eagle. The resemblance to the Egyptian deities is very striking. In later times, artists separated the emblem from the figure, and represented Mark accompanied by a lion, Luke by an ox, and John by an eagle. In some very ancient churches, and on some of the old Christian tombs at Rome, may still be seen effigies of Peter and Paul ; also on old glass lamps in the Vatican. In some cases, Christ is represented as a lamb with a glory round his head, and six sheep in a row on each side of him, to signify the twelve apostles. Sometimes he stands in the midst of the sheep, as the Good Shepherd, with a lamb in his arms. In an old Roman church, built in the sixth century, he is represented standing on the clouds, with the Book of Life in his hand, and the river Jordan flowing at his feet.

Augustine states that the form and person of Christ were entirely unknown, and painted with every variety of expression ; also that there were no authentic portraits of his mother, or of the apostles. Eusebius of Cæsarea says that Abgarus, King of Edessa, in Mesopotamia, wrote to Jesus, inviting him to come and cure him of a disease ; and that Jesus replied, promising to send one of his disciples to him after his ascension. For the authenticity of this correspondence, Eusebius refers to public registries in the city of Edessa, which he had himself read. The letters were regarded as genuine in his time ; and it was afterward said, that with his answer Jesus sent to Abgarus a perfect likeness of his face, miraculously impressed upon a napkin. It was concealed in a niche of a wall, whence it was

brought out by a bishop, early in the sixth century. It was regarded as a divine protection to the city. Some very old pictures of Christ have been found in ancient cemeteries; but they merely embody the ideas formed of his character. The hair is parted in the middle of the head, and falls in long masses over the shoulders. The expression of the face is mild, serious, and plaintive.

Lucian, the Pagan, mockingly describes Paul, as "the bald-headed Galilean with a hook-nose." Ancient traditions of the Fathers also describe him as a small thin man, with bald head, aquiline nose, high forehead, sparkling eyes, and long flowing beard. They describe Peter as a robust old man, with broad forehead, large features, fearless expression, thick gray hair, and short curly beard. The oldest pictures extant are according to these traditions.

After the Council of Ephesus had anathematized Nestorius, theological zeal multiplied images and pictures of the Virgin, bearing the inscription "Mother of God." There is no evidence that the church recognized them as sacred before the beginning of the sixth century. Their general diffusion and popularity throughout the Western churches dates from the time of Gregory the Great. On a tablet in the church of St. Dominick, at Rome, is the following inscription: "Here, at the high altar, is preserved that image of the most blessed Mary, which, being delineated by St. Luke, the Evangelist, received its colours and forms divinely. This is that image with which St. Gregory the Great, as a suppliant, purified Rome; and the pestilence being dispelled, the angel messenger of peace, from the summit of the Castle of Adrian, restored health to the city, and the Queen of Heaven rejoiced." Pictures and images of Christ and the Virgin abounded everywhere before the end of the sixth century. The picture of the Virgin, said to be painted by Luke, brought by the empress Eudoxia from the Holy Land, was considered a celestial safeguard to the city of Constantinople. When the emperor led his army to battle, it was carried on a superb

ear, in the midst of the troops. Houses were supposed to be protected by the presence of such pictures and images; and soldiers fought with more confidence under their guardianship. Incense was waved, and lamps kept burning before them, in the churches. Their aid was implored in emergencies, and many were the miracles believed to be wrought by them. Images and pictures of saints and martyrs were supposed to possess similar efficacy, though less in degree.

Many people objected to these customs; and in the eighth century the opposition was embodied in a numerous sect called Iconoclasts, which means image-breakers. Leo Third, emperor in the East, favoured their views, and gave orders that the images in churches should be demolished, and the pictures covered with plaster. A council at Constantinople decreed that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the Eucharist, were blasphemous, and that the kissing of images, and burning lights before them, was a renewal of Paganism. The emperor ordered a statue of Christ above the gate of his palace to be destroyed. But a crowd of zealots, principally women, shook the ladder so violently, that the men fell on the pavement and were killed. The Pope, Gregory Second, applauded the women for their piety, and defended the images. He maintained that the Pagan statues were fanciful representations of Demons, at a time when God had not visibly manifested himself; while the likenesses of Christ, his mother, and the saints, were proved to be genuine by a thousand miracles, and by their antiquity also, having been in use ever since the apostolic age. The cities of Italy swore to defend the Pope and the images. The emperor Leo was excommunicated. Successive emperors supported the Iconoclasts, and for more than a hundred years the East and the West were in conflict. Several battles were fought, and many people put to death. Councils in the East condemned images, while Councils in the West inflicted punishment upon all who maintained that religious honours should be paid to God alone. At last, the Pope was victorious, and an an-

nual festival was observed in commemoration of the triumph of the images.

The martyrs took the place of the old tutelary deities. Every nation, every city, every trade, every household, and every individual, was under the protection of some particular saint, whose images or pictures they especially venerated. Some of the oldest pictures of the Virgin had Lucas inscribed upon them. It was probably the name of some obscure artist; but it was supposed to signify Luke the Evangelist, who, on that account, became the tutelary saint of painters. A martyr named Agnes was the protector of flocks; probably because her name signified a lamb. A martyr named Phocas was the guardian of sailors. During a voyage, the crew always set a plate for him, believing that he was invisibly present at their meals. Each day, they took turns in purchasing the plate; and when the vessel arrived safely in port, the money thus collected was distributed among the poor, in token of gratitude to their tutelary saint. The old autumn festivals in honour of Ceres, were transferred to the Virgin Mary; and in many places the peasants laid the first flowers and the last fruits upon her altar, as they had been accustomed to do for the Pagan goddess.

CANONIZATION.

The number of saints multiplied so fast, and so many old customs were transferred to the worship of fictitious personages, that a Council at Frankfort, in the eighth century, deemed it necessary to prohibit the invocation of any new saints. At last the Pope decided that only those should be regarded as true saints, whom the church authenticated by certain public ceremonies, called canonization. This custom has been thought to resemble the Roman apotheosis, by which emperors and great men were placed among the gods. But ceremonies of apotheosis were sometimes performed for the living, while saints were never canonized till after their death. Nearly all the Fathers

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and the celebrated monks were canonized, and, of course, received the title of Saint. The zealous Tertullian was not canonized, because he became a Montanist. The good and great Origen met with the same fate, because the Arians found a defence for their doctrines in his theory of emanations; while, by a singular chance, George, Bishop of Alexandria, was sainted, although he was an Arian. He became wealthy by furnishing the army with bacon; and after he was forced upon the people as a bishop, he made himself odious to all classes by his greediness for gain, his tyrannical temper, and his persecuting spirit. But as the populace murdered him during the reign of Julian, he was considered a martyr to Pagan animosity, was canonized, and became the renowned St. George, the guardian saint of England. The emperor Constantine had double honours. His Pagan subjects, by ceremonies of apotheosis, placed him among the gods, whose worship he had abjured, and Christians afterward placed him among the saints, by process of canonization. In the Eastern parts of the empire, it was common to stamp medals with a monogram, signifying Jesus, Mary, and Constantine.

ROSARIES.—The anchorites of ancient Hindostan were accustomed to say their prayers on strings of Lotus seeds, or cords with knots tied at intervals. The Buddhists used strings of berries, or beads, for the same purpose. In the sixth century, the Benedictine monks are said to have repeated their prayers according to a series of beads on a string. This custom afterward became universal in the Catholic church. The poor used the stones of olives, and other hard seeds; but the wealthy wore the rosary as a rich ornament, formed of gold, pearl, agate, and other precious stones.

AUTHORITY OF TRADITION.—The traditions of the Fathers were decided to be of equal authority with Scripture; and such doctrines or customs as derived no support from Scripture were sustained by appeals to tradition, on the

ground that they had been orally transmitted from the Apostles. But the authority of the Fathers was not acknowledged, if in any of their views they departed from the standard of the church. Thus the writings of Tertullian, after he became a Montanist, were not accepted as authority, and the writings of Origen were condemned and burned.

CHRISTIAN SACRED BOOKS.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.—For some time after the death of Christ, his followers had no other Sacred Books than those of the Old Testament. Hebrew being a language unknown to scholars until after the establishment of Christianity, the Fathers depended entirely on the Greek translation of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint. It has been stated, in the chapter on the Jews, that the Alexandrian Jews added to that version several books, which they regarded as sacred, though not as strictly canonical. These books are what we now call the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. The Septuagint being held in very great reverence by the Hellenistic Jews, and by the early Christians, there grew up a tendency to consider all the books it contained as equally sacred. Origen accepted the book of Baruch, which, in the Alexandrian version, was appended to the prophecies of Jeremiah. He also quoted from the story of Susanna, as genuine Scripture. To some who expressed doubts on that point, he replied: "Consider whether it is not well to think of those words, 'Remove not the ancient landmark, which thy fathers have set.'" The learned De Wette says: "There can be no doubt that the most celebrated teachers of the second and third centuries made frequent and public use of the writings we call apocryphal. They pronounce them inspired and divine, quote them as authorities, and regard them with the same esteem as the canonical writings. The Wisdom of Solomon, and of Sirach, the Books of Macabees, Tobit, and Judith, are most frequently appealed to."

Several of the Fathers believed that Ezra restored the

mutilated Pentateuch, and other books of the Old Testament. They doubtless received this idea from Alexandrian Jews, who drew that inference from the fourteenth chapter of the second book, purporting to be written by Esdras [Ezra]. In that chapter, Ezra is represented as saying to the Lord: "The world is set in darkness, and they that dwell therein are without light. For thy Law is burnt; therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or the works that shall begin. But if I have found grace before thee, send the Holy Spirit into me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning, which was written in thy Law; that men may find thy path, and that those in the latter days may live. And the next day, behold a voice called me, saying, Esdras, open thy mouth and drink! Then I opened my mouth, and he reached me a cup, full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire. And I took it and drank; and when I had drunk of it, my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my breast; for my spirit strengthened my memory." In the Book of Esdras, it is stated that it was written by Ezra, who was captive in Babylon. But the most learned critics generally agree that it was written by some Jewish convert to Christianity, well acquainted with Rabbinical traditions. The Book of Wisdom, ascribed to Solomon, is supposed by Biblical critics to have been written by some Alexandrian Jew, about a century before Christ. It contains internal evidence that the writer was imbued with the ideas of Plato.

The habit of sustaining doctrines by quotations from the apocryphal books led to a great deal of trouble in controversies with Jews of Palestine, who had always disliked the Septuagint, and regarded with aversion the new books it contained. The Septuagint varied in some respects from the Hebrew original, and different copies of the Septuagint did not agree together. Origen complains that many errors had crept in, "from the negligence of some transcribers, and the boldness of others." To obviate difficulties arising from this state of things, he undertook the immense

labour of revising the copies of the Septuagint, and the translations from it, comparing them with the Hebrew, and giving the different readings in five distinct columns. Prideaux says: "The copies which went about in Origen's time, for use among Hellenistic Jews and Christians, were very much corrupted, through the mistakes and negligence of transcribers, whose hands, by often transcription, it had now long gone through. By comparing many different copies and editions, he endeavoured to clear it from errors of transcribers; and also, by comparing the Septuagint with the Hebrew original, to clear it from the mistakes of the first composers also; for many such he found in it, not only by omissions and additions, but also by wrong interpretations made in it by the first authors of that version. The Law, which was the most exactly translated of all, had many of these, but other parts a great many more." Printing was then unknown; and as Origen's learned work consisted of many volumes, it was seldom copied, not only on account of its bulk, but from the difficulty of finding Christians who understood Hebrew. It was, however, exceedingly valuable for reference in later times.

In Jerome's time, copies of the Septuagint had become yet more changed by transcribers. A Latin translation had been made from the Greek before the middle of the second century; and as Latin was the vernacular language of the Roman world, such versions naturally multiplied rapidly. Augustine says: "The number of those who have translated the Scriptures from Hebrew to Greek may be counted; but those who have translated the Greek into Latin cannot be counted." These various versions had fallen into lamentable confusion. Passages had been put in, and others taken out, or altered by transcribers, to sustain some doctrine they favoured, or overthrow some doctrine which they deemed heretical. Scarcely any two copies could be found exactly alike, and the discrepancies were often of a serious character. All sincere believers were alarmed by such a state of things. Damasus, Patriarch of Rome, entreated the learned Jerome to try to re-

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medy the evil. Accordingly, in the latter part of the fourth century, he carefully compared the Greek and Latin translations of the Old Testament with Hebrew originals; and Latin copies of the New Testament with the most approved manuscripts in Greek. "His object being to retain existing expressions, as far as possible, and not to introduce new ones, except where the true sense had entirely disappeared." He encountered innumerable difficulties, not only on account of the inextricable confusion of Latin copies, but because the Greek also had been much altered, by carelessness or design. He complains that he found the copies very unlike in different places. Jews, in the course of their controversies, continually accused the Christian Fathers of falsifying texts, to suit their own polemical purposes; and the Fathers retorted the charge upon them. These mutual accusations doubtless grew in part out of the fact that the Septuagint version differed from the Hebrew Scriptures in some particulars, and also contained several books which the Fathers were accustomed to quote as authority, but which were never regarded as either canonical or sacred by Palestine Jews.

A learned Jew, who had been converted to Christianity, was employed by Jerome to instruct him in Hebrew. He says: "I sweat in learning a foreign tongue, only for this reason, that the Jews might no longer insult the churches, by charging them with the falsity of their copies of the Scriptures." The task was an arduous one. The Hebrew language, on account of the exclusive habits of the nation, and their discouragement of literature, was concise, meagre, and limited. A sentence in Hebrew required twice as many words to express it in Latin. Punctuation was not in use in those days. The Hebrews omitted vowels in their writing, as did the Egyptians in their hieroglyphics. Of course, the translator, when he inserted them, was obliged to rely solely upon the sense of the context. If an English writer should express a word by p t, it would be left for a translator to judge whether he meant pat, or pet, or pit, or pot, or put. Prideaux says: "It must be confessed

that there are in Hebrew several combinations of the same consonants, susceptible of different punctuations, and thereby make different words, of different significations; and therefore, when put alone, have an uncertain reading. But it is quite otherwise, when they are joined in context with other words." In "The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldaea Concordance to the Bible," it is stated that the same Hebrew word has four different English meanings in four different places. In Genesis 2: 7, it is translated *nostrils*; in Genesis 3: 19, it is translated *face*; in Genesis 27: 45, it is translated *anger*; in Exodus 34: 6, it is translated *suffering*. It was for the judgment of the translator to decide whether the last-mentioned verse should be translated: "The Lord thy God, merciful and gracious, long-*nostrilled*, long-*faced*, long-*angered*, or long-*suffering*." Other similar instances are adduced to show the extreme difficulty of translating Hebrew correctly. The habits of many Jewish copyists created other obstacles. Notwithstanding their great reverence for the words of Scripture, they were prone to sacrifice correctness to the neat appearance of their manuscripts. If they made a slight mistake, they left it un erased, for fear of a blot; and if they wrote part of a word at the end of a line, they often began the word again on the next line, in order to make the lines appear even.

Jerome was remarkably well-fitted for the task, by his great learning, his laborious diligence, and especially by his long residence in Palestine, and consequent familiarity with the language, traditions, and localities of the country. His version has always been highly commended by scholars. De Wette calls it "perhaps the best work antiquity can boast." But he incurred much obloquy at the time. Converts from the Hellenistic Jews had deeply impressed upon Christians their own great reverence for the Septuagint. The early Fathers agreed with them in believing that every single word of the translation had been miraculously inspired by the same Holy Spirit, who inspired the original Hebrew authors. Palestine Jews had been greatly shocked at the impiety of their Alexandrian brethren,

when they translated their Scriptures into Greek; and a majority of Christians were equally shocked at Jerome, for supposing that the Greek translation could have any imperfections. Rufinus indignantly asked how such impiety could be expiated, that perverted the very Law itself into something different from what the Apostles handed down. He complains that "the whole history of Susanna, which formerly afforded an example of chastity to the churches, is cut out by this fellow, cast away, and neglected."

Neander remarks: "This appeared to many, even to those who did not belong to the class of ignorant persons, a great piece of impiety—to pretend to understand the Old Testament better than the seventy inspired interpreters! better than the Apostles, who had followed this translation, and who would have given another, if they had considered it necessary! To allow one's self to be so misled by Jews, as for their accommodation to falsify the writings of the Old Testament!"

A bishop of one of the churches in Africa tried to introduce the corrected version of the Scriptures, but was forced to lay it aside, for fear all his people would desert him. One of the translator's cotemporaries published a letter in Jerome's own name, in which he was represented as feeling great remorse for what he had done. But Jerome immediately disclaimed any such feeling concerning a task, which he had conscientiously undertaken, at the earnest intreaty of the Patriarch of Rome. He translated the Apocryphal Books into Latin, and spoke very favourably of Tobit in the Preface. He says the church permitted no one under thirty years of age to read the beginning of Genesis, or the Song of Solomon, or the beginning and end of Ezekiel; that the mind might be in its greatest vigour to attain a perfect knowledge of the mystical sense of those portions of Scripture. Spiritual-minded Hindoos were accustomed to consider all descriptions of sexual love, in their Sacred Books, as typical of the complete absorption of the human soul into the Supreme Soul of the universe. The voluptuous imagery of the Song of Solomon was alle-

gorically interpreted by Christians, to signify the perfect union of Christ with his bride the church.

Though Jerome's version found many advocates among the learned, it was not received into general use for two centuries. Gregory the Great acknowledged that he used the best old version, and the new likewise, for evidence; and the new version was thenceforth considered sanctioned. As the use of two versions caused confusion, one was made from both, forming the Latin Bible used by the Catholic church, well known under the title of *The Vulgate*, which signifies the common edition; for originally the word *vulgar* was merely used to designate what was common. The *Vulgate* contains all the Books we call *Apocryphal*, except the Books of *Esdras*. Jerome, and some other theologians of his time, did not consider those Books canonical. But the church generally received them, as it did other portions of the *Old Testament*, as an inspired guide.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.—The Christian Scriptures, called the *New Testament*, are composed of separate writings, very different from each other. First, there are four biographies of Christ, obviously fragmentary; some containing incidents and discourses which are omitted in the others. Second, there is a journal of the trials of Christianity when it first began to spread abroad from Palestine. Third, there is a series of letters written by the first Christian missionaries to the churches they had founded, containing such advice, encouragement, or reproof, as their situation required. Lastly, mysterious visions, regarded as prophetic, and supposed to have been written by the Apostle John, in his old age.

The first of the biographies, by Matthew, one of the Twelve Apostles, is supposed to have been written in Palestine, and the only one written in Hebrew, [*Aramæan*, or *Syro-Chaldaic*.] It more abounds with references to the peculiar customs of the Jews, than any of the other biographies; and seems to aim particularly at conciliating and converting that people. It contains a genealogy of Jesus

through David, up to Abraham; the line in which the Messiah was expected by the Jews. It relates his birth in Bethlehem, and refers to an ancient Hebrew prophecy concerning that city of David. It describes his being carried into Egypt, and adduces his return as a verification of Hosea's words: "When Israel was a child, I called my son out of Egypt." This seems like the Rabbinical mode of interpretation; for Hosea obviously alludes to the bringing of the *tribes* of Israel out of Egypt, in the childhood of that people. In the book of Matthew, Christ is represented as charging his Apostles not to go "into the way of the Gentiles, or enter into any city of Samaria;" an injunction exceedingly Jewish in its character, and not mentioned in the other Gospels. Jerome noticed that Matthew quoted passages out of the Old Testament differently from the other Evangelists; that he did not appear to use the Septuagint, but to translate from the ancient Hebrew to the modern Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldaic, which was spoken in the time of Christ. Learned commentators in modern times have made the same observation. In fact, the whole Gospel bears marks of having been written before Christianity began to spread among the Gentiles. It cannot be precisely ascertained at what period Matthew wrote his recollections of the sayings and doings of Jesus. Dr. Henry Owen, in his *Observations on the Four Gospels*, thinks there is evidence that it was written A. D. 38; which would be two years after the crucifixion, according to the general supposition that Christ was thirty-six years old when he died. Jones, in his *Canonical Authority of the New Testament*, supposes it to have been written A. D. 41. Dr. Lardner in his *Credibility of the Gospel History*, dates it A. D. 64. The writings of Paul make no allusions to its existence. The Apostles were doubtless in the habit of describing orally the example and maxims of their holy Teacher; and this would excite a desire to have them recorded. Matthew would naturally be selected for that purpose; for having been a publican, or tax-gatherer, he would necessarily be familiar with writing; an accomplish

ment very uncommon among the class to which the other Apostles belonged. That there was an ancient copy of a Gospel believed to have been by Matthew, and written in the modern Hebrew dialect, called Aramæan, is affirmed by Irenæus, Tatian, Origen, Jerome, and many other of the Fathers. There was a current tradition, from very early times, that Barnabas carried everywhere with him a Gospel written in Hebrew, by the hand of Matthew; and that when any were diseased, or possessed with devils, he laid it on their bosoms, and they were healed. Eusebius states that Pantænus, a Christian writer of the second century, found in India a Gospel according to Matthew, which had been left there by Bartholomew, one of the Twelve Apostles; and that it was written in Hebrew. To this statement, Jerome adds that Pantænus brought the Gospel back with him to Alexandria, and that it was written in Hebrew letters. The learned Neander thinks there is satisfactory evidence that Bartholomew carried a Hebrew Gospel with him; and he adds: "It was probably that compilation of our Lord's discourses, by Matthew, which lies at the basis of our present Gospel according to Matthew."

In the very earliest days of the church, the Judaizing Christians, already described under the name of Ebionites, had but one Gospel, and that was in Aramæan Hebrew. They believed it to be an authentic account of the sayings and doings of Jesus, as related by the Twelve Apostles, and recorded by Matthew. Epiphanius, who was originally a Jew, says it did not contain the two first chapters. Of course, the miraculous conception, the visit of the wise men, the flight into Egypt, and the slaughter of the children at Bethlehem, were omitted. It began with the baptism of Jesus; on which occasion, it declared that a great light shone all over the place, and fire burst forth from the Jordan. The copy used by the sect called Nazarenes appears to have differed in some respects from the Gospel used by the other Ebionites; for Jerome, who saw the manuscript, alludes to it as containing the two first chapters, and makes some quotations from them. The Ebion-

ites considered Christ a mere man, with no peculiar circumstances preceding or attending his birth. But the Gospel used by the Nazarenes appears to have adopted the Cabalistic notion that the Wisdom of God was a feminine Spirit, the mother of Adam Kadman, or The Primal Heavenly Man, who appeared as the earthly Adam, and was to reappear as the New Adam, the Messiah. For this Gospel declared that the Holy Spirit was the *mother* of Christ. She is represented as descending upon him at baptism, and thus saluting him: "My Son, in all the prophets I expected thee, that thou shouldst come, and I might find in thee a place of rest; for thou art my resting place; thou art my first-born son, who reignest forever." Christ also is represented as saying: "My mother, the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs, and conveyed me to the holy mountain Tabor." In Gnostic theories, the Divine Wisdom, under the name of Sophia, figures very conspicuously, as the mother of Christ. This idea of a Mother of Spirits might have been derived from the writings of Philo, or the Cabalists, or from this Nazarene Gospel.

It seems likely that the Ebionite Gospel was in use in Justin Martyr's time; for he makes the following quotation from the Gospel of Matthew with which he was acquainted: "When Jesus came to the river Jordan, where John was baptizing, as he descended into the water, a fire was kindled in Jordan." When Jerome undertook the revision of both the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, at the close of the fourth century, he examined the Nazarene copy of Matthew. He says: "Matthew was the first who composed a Gospel of Christ; and, for the sake of those among the Jews who believed in Christianity, he wrote it in the Hebrew language and letters; but it is uncertain who translated it into Greek. Moreover, the Hebrew copy itself is to this time preserved in the library of Cæsarea. The Nazarenes, who live in Berea, a city of Syria, granted me the favour of writing it out." Again he says: "The Gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use, which I lately translated out of Hebrew into Greek, is by most

esteemed the authentic Gospel of Matthew." Epiphanius says the Nazarene Gospel was more entire than the Ebionite. Iræneus, Eusebius, and Epiphanius say that the Gospel received by the Nazarenes and Ebionites was the Gospel of Matthew, altered in some things, according to their different sentiments. Ebionites broke off all communication with other Christians, in the time of Adrian, as already described. Being disliked by both Jews and Christians, they dwindled away, and in the fifth century, no traces of them were left. Christians would be likely to take little interest in the Hebrew copy of their Gospel, which few could read; and it was either destroyed or lost.

There appears to have been a Greek translation of Matthew very early in existence; for Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Ignatius, and Justin Martyr are represented as quoting from it. There has been much controversy concerning the two first chapters, as they have been handed down to us. The reasons given for doubting their authenticity may be briefly stated as follows: They are acknowledged to have existed in the Greek copies only. Though much has been written concerning Herod, by both Jewish and Gentile historians, none of them allude to such a monstrous act of cruelty, as the slaughter of all the children in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. Several of the old Greek manuscripts, now in existence, begin at the eighteenth verse of the first chapter. In the British Museum, is an ancient Greek copy written in capitals. It is supposed to be twelve hundred years old, and is known as the Harleian Manuscript. The genealogy of Christ is separated from the Gospel, in the following manner:

"Thus far the Genealogy."

"Here begins the Gospel according to Matthew."

The same separation is made in a manuscript used by the ancient Britons, now in the Cottonian Library, in England; also in Latin copies, written in red ink, in Anglo-Norman characters, about the beginning of the eleventh

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century. Eusebius, speaking of Symmachus, an Ebionite, who was learned in Greek and Hebrew, says: "Symmachus was of the Ebionites, who suppose Christ to be a mere man, born of Joseph and Mary. There are now Commentaries of his, in which it is said that, disputing about the Gospel of Matthew, he eagerly defends that heresy." This Ebionite Commentary, probably disputing the account of the miraculous conception, in the first chapter of Matthew, was destroyed or lost, as was the case with all writings deemed heretical; therefore posterity has had no opportunity to judge impartially concerning their merits. Those who maintain the authenticity of the two first chapters of Matthew, urge that they exist in the Syriac translation, the most ancient manuscript now extant; also that Irenæus alludes to the flight into Egypt, and that he, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, all speak of the genealogy as a portion of Matthew's Gospel. Many suppose that Matthew left a Hebrew Gospel with the Jews, and, after he travelled abroad, wrote a Greek translation of it, to which he appended the two first chapters, for the use of the Gentiles; and this opinion is sanctioned by high authority in antiquity.

The second biography of Jesus was written by Mark, the nephew of Barnabas. He was not one of the Apostles, and it is not recorded that he was ever with Jesus, or that he was among the disciples when the Holy Ghost descended upon them. Peter, in his first Epistle, calls him his son, and it has thence been inferred that he was converted to Christianity by his preaching. He is supposed to have been the son of the pious woman mentioned in the twelfth chapter of the Acts, at whose house the early disciples had met to pray, when they were surprised by the sudden appearance of Peter, whom an angel had conducted out of prison. Mark accompanied the Apostles in their missionary travels. Paul speaks of him as "profitable in the ministry," and alludes to him as being his companion in Rome. Nothing more is related of him in the Scriptures. But there was a tradition among the Fathers

that he afterward went into Asia, where he met Peter, and returned with him to Rome. It is supposed that he there wrote his Gospel, under the direction of Peter. No one knows at what time it was written; but as Peter was believed to be in Rome during the reign of Nero, it is supposed that the Gospel was written sometime between A. D. 63 and 67. This account rests on the authority of early tradition, and of writings attributed to Clement, Bishop of Rome, said to have been ordained by Peter. These writings state that Peter's hearers at Rome were very desirous to have written down what he related to them about Christ; and that they did not desist from intreating Mark to do it. At last they prevailed upon him; and Peter gave it his sanction, as an authentic record, that might be read in the churches. A considerable portion of this Gospel is word for word like Matthew; but, being intended for Gentile converts, it passes over much that was adduced by Matthew to prove Jesus was the Messiah. It gives no account of his birth or childhood, but begins with his baptism. Quotations from Hebrew prophets, and allusions to Jewish customs are avoided, and words and phrases not likely to be understood by Gentile Christians are explained.

The third biography of Jesus was written by Luke, who accompanied Paul in many of his missionary labours. Eusebius states that he was a native of Antioch; but the intimate knowledge of Jewish doctrines, customs, and ceremonies, displayed in his writings, has led to the conclusion that he was either a Jew, or of Hebrew parentage. It is not known when, or by whom, he was converted to Christianity. He is described as a man of education, and the style of his Greek is said to corroborate the statement. Paul calls him "the beloved physician." He does not appear in connection with Christianity for many years after the death of Christ, and it is not recorded that he was personally acquainted with any of the Twelve Apostles. Biblical critics suppose that he wrote his Gospel not far from A. D. 63, which was nearly thirty years after the crucifixion. In his introduction, he apparently alludes to spurious

Gospels, which probably had begun to be written by that time; for they were very numerous in the second century. He says: "Forasmuch as *many* have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee, in order that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed."

This Gospel bears very evident marks of being written for Gentile converts. Matthew traces the genealogy of Jesus up to Abraham, whom the Jews considered the progenitor of their nation; but Luke traces it up to Adam. The two genealogies are very unlike, both in names and the number of generations. Between David and Jesus scarcely any of the names are similar; and Matthew gives only twenty-six generations, while Luke gives forty-one. Matthew dates the birth of Christ in the reign of Herod, king of Judea, but Luke dates from Augustus the Roman emperor. Luke mentions a census taken by the Roman government, as a reason why Jesus was born at Bethlehem, when his parents were on their way to Jerusalem to be taxed. After the forty days necessary for the purification of his mother were completed, according to the Law of Moses, he says they returned "into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth." Matthew makes no mention of Nazareth, until after Christ had begun his public ministry; and he says that Herod's command to slaughter all the young children was confined to the coasts of Bethlehem. That village was five miles south of Jerusalem; but Nazareth was fifty miles north of it. Of course, there would be no necessity of flying into Egypt from Nazareth. Luke makes no mention of the visit of the Three Magi, guided by a miraculous star, of the slaughter of the infants, or the flight into Egypt. But he relates several things not mentioned by the other Evangelists. Among them are the miraculous

circumstances attending the birth of John the Baptist; the appearance of the angel Gabriel to Mary; the visit of Mary to Elizabeth; the vision of the shepherds; the prophecies of Simeon and Anna when the infant Jesus was carried into the temple to be circumcised; his disputation with the learned doctors of the Law when he was twelve years old; the story of the penitent thief on the cross; and of Christ's walking to Emmaus with his disciples after his resurrection.

The fourth Gospel is less biographical, and more doctrinal and spiritual than the others. It is attributed to John, the beloved Apostle, and confidential friend of Jesus; and is supposed to have been written at Ephesus, in his old age, after Jerusalem was destroyed, the Jews scattered abroad, and all the other Apostles dead. It was written for a foreign people, in a foreign land, and a foreign tongue. Irenæus declares that John was urged to do it by the bishops of Asia Minor, in their anxiety to refute Cerinthus, the Gnostic, who adopted the old Hindoo idea concerning the illusive nature of incarnations, and said that Christ only *appeared* to have a human body. John is the only one of the Evangelists who describes blood and water flowing from the side of Jesus when he was pierced by the Roman soldier; a circumstance which could not have happened, if he had been merely a spiritual phantom, as Cerinthus taught. John likewise expressly says: "The Logos was God, and was made *flesh*, and dwelt among men." Some of the later Fathers, who lived after the Arian controversy, said John wrote his Gospel to refute the Ebionites, who maintained that Jesus was born of human parents, like other mortals. The account of the woman, to whom Jesus said, "Go thy way, and sin no more," is omitted in most of the oldest manuscripts, and in the Syriac translation. Tertullian strongly objected to the story, as seeming to favour licentiousness. Chrysostom, when he wrote a Commentary on the whole Gospel of John, left it out. Jerome and Augustine state that in their time the Greek Christians did not insert it in their copies.

The verse in the fourth chapter, concerning an angel's troubling the pool of water, is wanting in some manuscripts.

The Book of Acts takes its name from the Latin word *Acta*, meaning Records. It is a very clear and circumstantial journal of the progress of Christianity during the first thirty years of missionary labour; supposed to be written A. D. 63 or 64. The Fathers unanimously attributed it to Luke the Evangelist; and this opinion is sustained by internal evidence. The Apostles Matthew and John make no mention of the ascension of Christ. Mark and Luke, who were converted after that event, allude to it indefinitely in their Gospels; but in the Acts of the Apostles, it is stated, that while he was talking with his disciples, after the resurrection, he visibly ascended into the clouds. "And while they looked stedfastly toward heaven, as he went up, behold two men stood by them in white apparel, and said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven."

The Apocalypse is a series of visions, or Revelations, from Heaven, to the Apostle John, either at Ephesus, or in the island of Patmos; supposed to have been written A. D. 95 or 96. It has given rise to more theories, and excited more controversy, than any other book in the Christian Scriptures. In the first ages, it was not unanimously accepted. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, speak of it as received among the inspired writings. Athanasius is of opinion that the Egyptian churches so received it. But before the sixth century, only a portion of the Eastern churches received it as canonical. Jerome says it was rejected by the Greek churches in his time. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, classed it among spurious books. Eusebius says: "Some reject the Apocalypse of John, but others class it with the acknowledged books." One of the arguments brought against its being written by the Apostle John was, that one of the churches it addressed was the church at Thyatira, which was not in existence till after

the death of John. Epiphanius met that objection by saying that John doubtless wrote prophetically; foreseeing that there *would* be a church at Thyatira. A Council at Laodicea, in three hundred and sixty, did not include it in the canon; though Laodicea was one of the churches to which it was addressed.

Concerning some of the Epistles, there was also much division of opinion among the Fathers of the church. Clement of Alexandria believed the Epistle to the Hebrews was from the hand of Paul; but Irenæus and Tertullian did not. De Wette says: "Origen had doubts, more or less strong, concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews; the Epistle of James; the Second Epistle of Peter; the second and third Epistles of John; and the Epistle of Jude." Origen says: "Peter left one acknowledged Epistle; that he wrote a second is doubted." "The thoughts of the Epistle to the Hebrews are admirable, and not inferior to any of the writings acknowledged to be apostolical; but the style and arrangement belong to some one who remembered the thoughts of the Apostle, and wrote commentaries on the words of his teacher. If any church receive this as the epistle of Paul, let it be commended therefore; since the men of old time did deliver it to us as Paul's, not without cause. But who it was that wrote the epistle, of a truth God only knows. Before our time, it was the opinion of some that Clement, Bishop of Rome, wrote that epistle; of others, that it was written by Luke, who wrote also the Gospel and the Acts." Didymus says: "It is not to be concealed that the Second Epistle of Peter is forged; and although it is published, yet it is not in the canon." Clement of Alexandria says: "Let it be understood that the Epistle of James is spurious." Jerome says: "The Epistle was published in James's name, by some other person; and in progress of time it obtained authority." The following verse in John's first Epistle is believed by very many to have been interpolated, either by design of some transcriber, or by the accidental insertion of some marginal note into the body of the text: "There are three

that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one." This passage is said to be wanting in the most ancient Greek manuscripts, in more than forty of the Latin translations, and in all the translations made before Jerome's time, in Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, and Persian; also in the ancient Armenian versions. It was not quoted by any of the Fathers preceding Jerome. The learned Neander says: "It is undoubtedly spurious; and in its unguine shape testifies to the fact how foreign such a collocation is from the style of the New Testament." The Rev. George Campbell, a distinguished Scotch divine, in the Preface to his Translation of the Gospels, says: "Many interpolations crept in by remissness of transcribers. Some few, however, appear to have been the result of design. After the Arian heresy enlisted the passions of belligerents, there appears to be some ground for ascribing to the pride and jealousy of polemics a design to foist into the text some words favourable to their distinguishing tenets. Some of these were soon detected; others have continued for many generations."

Eusebius of Cæsarea, who lived in the third century, before any councils of the church had established what books belonged to the canon, attempted to answer the oft-repeated question, "Which of the writings that pretend to belong to the New Testament, really do belong to it?" In making his catalogue he followed "the tradition of the church," by which he meant the prevailing opinion of all the Christian communities, both oral and written, as far as he could ascertain it. He divides the Christian Sacred Writings into three classes. First, those *universally* received; as the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles from Paul, one Epistle from Peter, and one from John. In the second class, he places those which were doubted of by *some*; as the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse of John. In the third class, he places those doubted of by *many*; as the Epistle of James, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third Epistles of John, and the Epistle of Jude. He says the Four

Gospels were pronounced canonical by the Apostle John.

Polycarp quotes from several books of the New Testament, especially from Paul's Epistles, and the First Epistle of Peter; which shows how very early those writings were in circulation. The early Fathers all testify that all the churches in their time agreed in accepting, as undoubtedly authentic and inspired, the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles from Paul, [exclusive of the Epistle to the Hebrews,] the First Epistle from Peter, and the First Epistle from John. Irenæus calls them "The Divine Scriptures"—"The Oracles of God"—"The Lord's Scriptures." Clement calls them "The God-inspired Scriptures." The four biographies of Christ very early received the name of *Evangelis*, from Greek words meaning Good Tidings. In later times, they were called Gospels, from Saxon words having the same signification.

Nearly a hundred years elapsed, after the death of Christ, before there was any entire collection made of the Christian Sacred Writings. The Canon had been nearly or quite settled, by general usage, and the authority of learned Fathers of the church, before Councils made any decisions upon the question. The rule assumed by the Fathers was to limit their choice to such books as were written either by Apostles, or disciples of the Apostles; but this was not invariable—for the writings of Luke were included within the Canon, and those of Clement at Rome were excluded, though both were believed to have been companions of Paul. The testimony of the oldest ecclesiastical writers, and the authority of the church, formed the basis on which faith in the genuineness of the books rested. Origen says: "Among the Jews, many pretended to prophesy, and were false prophets. So likewise in the New Testament, many have attempted to write Gospels, but all are not received. You must know that not only four, but many Gospels have been written; from which those that we have are selected, and handed down by the churches. The church receives Four Gospels." We approve nothing but what the church approves." Augustine, who wrote

nearly two centuries later, says: "The church follows this rule with respect to the canonical Scriptures. It prefers those which have been received by *all* the Catholic churches, to those which some do not receive. And respecting those not received by all, it prefers those received by the *greatest number* of churches, and churches of the *greatest authority*, to those admitted by fewer churches, and of less authority."

Questions concerning the authenticity of books were occasionally brought before councils. A Council at Laodicea, in three hundred sixty, forbade the reading of uncanonical books, and gave a list of those which were canonical; from which the Apocalypse of John, and the books of the Old Testament, which we call Apocryphal, were excluded. But a Council convened at Hippo, in three hundred ninety-three, accepted Ecclesiastes, The Wisdom of Solomon, Tobit, Judith, and the two books of Maccabees, as canonical.

As the New Testament was written in Greek, there was little difficulty in transmitting it perfectly to posterity. The structure of the language did not render it so liable to mistakes, as was the Hebrew; and its phraseology could be easily explained by comparison with cotemporary literature. The errors which have crept in do not in the least affect the spirit and moral teaching of the Gospel; and, therefore, are of little consequence. Scholars who have examined critically, find that they arise principally from inserting into the text explanatory notes, originally written on the margin, by transcribers.

The Bible was divided into the Old and New Testament, because that word means Covenant. The old books were regarded as God's covenant with the Jews, and the new as his covenant with the human race. Both were received by Christians as of equal authority. Origen says: "That the Logos wishes us to be wise may be shown from the ancient and Jewish writings, which we use, and which are believed by the church to be no less divine than those written after the time of Jesus." This joining of the old with the new was inevitable, according to the laws of human nature; but if it had some good effects, it was also

productive of evil. The Old Testament contained much that was vastly superior to anything the barbarian nations had been accustomed to receive in the form of religion; such as the thoughtful kindness to the poor everywhere enjoined, and the omnipresent guardianship of One Invisible God, in whose sight the heavens themselves were not pure. But on the other hand, the equal acceptance of the Old Testament, *as a rule of life*, and combining them both together in the instruction of the people, greatly impeded the humanizing influence of the New Testament. Moses commanded men to put out eyes, and knock out teeth, in retaliation for similar injuries; but Christ said: "Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you." Thus the two furnished equal authority for the good and the evil in man's nature. Intolerance, vengeance, and cruelty, rebuked by the New Testament, found plausible examples and excuses in the Old. This incongruity was felt by some, even in the first centuries, as is very plainly manifested by Gnostic writers. A Gothic Bishop, when he translated the Old Testament, omitted the Books of Kings, saying he feared they would increase the love of fighting, to which the Goths were already too much addicted.

If we strive to divest ourselves of the habitual predilection for Christianity, which education imparts to us, and endeavour to approach the Gospels in the same spirit that we should examine the Sacred Books of Hindostan or Persia, it appears to me that even in that state of mind, we cannot fail to be struck with their great superiority over all the other religious teaching, which God, by his various messengers, has given to mankind. There are variations in the statements, because they were formed of recollections which had been often and reverently repeated by the Apostles to mixed audiences, long before they were recorded. Some would naturally give more prominence to particular reminiscences than to others; especially as they were written at different times, in different places, and intentionally adapted to the class of people for whom they

were prepared. But the character of Jesus is shown in the same heavenly light by all; gentle, benevolent, self-denying, forgiving, not satisfied with forms, but seeking for the spirit within them, indignant only toward hypocrisy and oppression, full of reverence for God, and love for man. We feel, in reading the record of his words and actions, that he was indeed a son of God; and that the picture must be a photograph portrait of a living original, made by the sunlight of truth; since the imagination of man has never risen to so high a conception of holiness and love.

If we turn from internal evidence to the external, we find it in the remarkable simplicity of these books. There is no attempt to conceal disparaging circumstances. It is frankly told that the family and townspeople of Jesus did not believe in his divine mission; that when a voice from heaven "glorified his name," the people, who stood by, "said it thundered;" that some of his disciples were ambitious to have high offices of honour in his earthly kingdom; that one of them betrayed him unto death, for a reward in money; that they all deserted him in his hour of danger; that Peter, in care for his own safety, thrice repeated a falsehood, swore to it, and then wept bitterly for what he had done; that after the resurrection of Jesus, when his disciples saw him, "they worshipped him, but some doubted." There is an artlessness in all this, which appeals strongly to the candid mind. Judging of these biographies merely as we would judge of any other human testimony, it would lead us to conclude that the writers were aiming to record things honestly, just as they appeared to their own minds.

As I have given samples of the best and of the most objectionable in the Sacred Books of other religions, I will also insert brief specimens from the Christian Scriptures:

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

"This is the first and great commandment.

"And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

"On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

"Blessed are the poor in spirit: for their's is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

"Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

"Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

"Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

"Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

"Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for their's is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

"Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."—*Gospel by Matthew.*

"And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them.

"But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God.

"Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein.

"And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them."—*Gospel by Mark.*

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"I say unto you there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.

"A certain man had two sons:

"And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living.

"And not many days after, the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.

"And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.

"And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.

"And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

"And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger!

"I will arise, and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee,

"And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.

"And he arose, and came to his father: But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

"And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.

"But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet.

"And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat and be merry:

"For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry.

"Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing:

"And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

"And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound.

"And he was angry, and would not go in: therefore came his father out, and entreated him.

"And he, answering, said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment: and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends:

"But as soon as this thy son was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.

"And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.

"It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found."—*Gospel by Luke.*"

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.

"And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.

"And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.

"Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up.

"Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil;

"Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth;

"Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

"Charity never faileth."—*Paul to the Corinthians.*

"And I saw heaven opened, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

"His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew but he himself.

"And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God.

"And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.

"And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.

"And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

"And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God;

"That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

"And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

"And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

"And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth, and all the fowls were filled with their flesh."—*Revelation of St. John the Divine.*

The reverence paid to the Bible, after the church had

decided of what books it ought to be composed, partook of the same external character as other tendencies of the time. While the most palpable violations of its prevailing *spirit* were sanctioned, it was heresy to doubt that every book, nay every single *word*, was directly inspired by the Holy Spirit, and was therefore a rule for life, and a standard in matters of science, as well as of faith. Hebrews and Buddhists were accustomed to wear scraps of their Sacred Books for amulets; and it was common for the Christian populace to wear portions of the Gospels about their necks, supposing they would have efficacy, similar to the cross and the eucharist, to protect them from Evil Spirits, from diseases, and all manner of disasters.

Very few copies of the Bible, made before printing was invented, are now in existence. Butler, a learned and candid writer, belonging to the Catholic church, wrote a work in the nineteenth century, called *Horæ Biblicæ*, [BIBLE HOURS.] He therein says: "The New Testament was probably all written in Greek, except the Gospel of Matthew, and Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews." "There are not known to be in existence, at present, any original manuscript in the autographs of the authors; and there is no evidence that any of those autographs existed in the third century." "Very few of the old manuscript copies of the entire New Testament remain. Of those that have been discovered, the greater part contain the Gospels only. Very few have the Apocalypse. In the oldest specimens, several leaves are wanting, sometimes replaced in writing of much later date. All the manuscripts have obliterations and corrections; some made by the writer himself, others by persons of a subsequent time." The Alexandrian copy, said to have been brought from Egypt, is preserved in the British Museum. It is written on parchment, in Greek, and contains the Old Testament, in the Septuagint form, most of the New Testament, and the Epistles of Clement, Bishop of Rome, to the Corinthian church. Some date it from the close of the fourth century, others not till the latter half of the sixth. Some suppose that the most an-

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cient manuscript of the New Testament now existing is preserved at Cambridge University in England. It contains the Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, in Greek and Latin. The parchment is much torn and mutilated, and ten leaves are supplied by a later transcriber. Some say it was written in the second century, others in the fifth. Another copy, supposed to have been written in the fifth century, is preserved in the Vatican Library, at Rome. It originally contained the whole Bible in Greek.

SPURIOUS BOOKS.

The apocryphal Gospels and Epistles in circulation in the first centuries were numerous. Many of them were doubtless written by Gnostics; for it was their belief that any person endowed with the Gnosis was as perfect a medium of Divine truth as the Apostles themselves; and some considered themselves even more completely enlightened. There was the Gospel of Cerinthus; the Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles; the Gospel to the Egyptians; the Gospel of the Birth of Mary; Protevangelion, or First Gospel of the Birth of Christ, ascribed to James, "the Lord's brother;" the Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus, ascribed to the Apostle Thomas; the Gospel of Nicodemus, sometimes called the Acts of Pontius Pilate; the Acts of Paul and Thekla; the Book of Hermas, the Shepherd; the Doctrines of the Apostles; the Apocalypse of Peter; the Ascent of Isaiah; the Epistle of Barnabas; the Clementine Homilies; and many others. According to Origen, some classed the Ebionite Gospel of Matthew among them. Speaking of spurious books, he says: "There are some who place among them the Gospel according to the Hebrews; a volume with which Hebrew Christians are especially pleased."

Epiphanius supposed that Luke, in the introduction to his Gospel, alluded to the Gospel of Cerinthus; and Jerome conjectured the same concerning the Gospel of the Egyptians; suppositions which indicate the great antiquity

of those books. About the end of the second century, when Gnostic sects were numerous, the fabrication of new Gospels, and alterations of the old, prevailed to a great extent; and it was a very common practice to write under the name of some Apostle, or other person eminent for holiness; by which means an extensive circulation was obtained, and responsibility, which might sometimes have proved dangerous, was avoided. It was not often easy to discover whence or how these manuscripts came into circulation. The early Fathers found them in existence, and revered by the people, and being exceedingly credulous, they sometimes received and quoted, without due examination, whatever tended to glorify Christ, or his Apostles.

The Gospel of the Birth of Mary is among the works preserved in Jerome's writings. It is said that some obscure sects, in the first centuries, believed it was written by Matthew. This Gospel declares that Mary was of the royal lineage of David. It states that an angel appeared to Joachim, her father, and to her mother Anna, and foretold to them the birth of a wonderful daughter. The Jews never had the custom of consecrating virgins to the temple, as was the case in many other countries. But the author of this Gospel states that the angel commanded them to carry their child to the temple, to be brought up there, devoted to the Lord, and carefully kept from all communication with the common people, that her character might be above all possibility of suspicion. The angelic vision was obeyed, and Mary was placed in the temple, as soon as she was weaned. There she had daily conversations with angels, and was so familiar with their glorious appearance, that she was never surprised to see her room suddenly filled with celestial light. When she was fourteen years old, a voice from the Mercy Seat ordered the High Priest to summon all the unmarried men of the lineage of David, to choose from among them a husband to the Virgin, by means of the prophecy of Isaiah: "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a flower

shall spring out of its root." The High Priest therefore ordered them all to bring rods, resolving to bestow Mary on him whose rod blossomed when laid upon the altar. Joseph came among the rest; but being a very old man, he lingered behind the others, not wishing to enter into competition for the prize; whereupon, a dove alighted on his rod, and thus signally pointed him out, as the chosen of heaven.

In the Gospel of the Birth of Christ, which assumed to be written by the Apostle James the Less, Joseph is represented as reluctant to marry Mary, after he had been designated by the miracle of the dove and rod, saying: "I am an old man, and have children; but she is young, and I fear lest I should appear ridiculous in Israel." But the High Priest said to him: "Joseph, thou art the person chosen to take the Virgin of the Lord, to keep her for him;" and he reminded him that the judgments of the Lord descended upon those who refused to obey him. Joseph being afraid, took her home, and bidding her farewell, said: "I will leave thee in my house; but I must go and mind my trade of building." In this book it is stated that Jesus was born in a cave, three miles from Bethlehem, when Joseph was on his way to Jerusalem to be taxed. Tertullian and Origen probably borrowed the idea from this source; for they both speak of his having been born in a cave. The visit of the Wise Men from the East is described in this book. When Herod heard of them he inquired what sign they had seen, that brought them to Bethlehem. They answered: "We saw an extraordinary large star, shining among the stars of heaven; and it so outshone all the other stars, that they became invisible. We knew thereby that a great king was born in Israel; and therefore we are come to worship him." In consequence of this information, Herod ordered all the young children in and about Bethlehem to be slaughtered. This Gospel is described as written in Hebrew, and signed, "I, James, wrote this at Jerusalem." It was brought from the Levant, translated into Latin, and published in Switzer-

land, in 1552. It is said to have been publicly read in some of the Eastern churches.

The Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus, written under the name of the Apostle Thomas, contains an accumulation of miracles. It declares that the cave where Jesus was born was filled with light at the moment of his birth; "greater than the light of lamps and candles, and greater than the light of the sun itself." The divine infant "spake from his cradle, and said to his mother Mary, 'I am Jesus, the Son of God; that Word, which thou didst bring forth, according to the declaration of the angel Gabriel; and my Father hath sent me for the salvation of the world.'" It is stated that when Joseph and Mary arrived in Egypt with their child, the great idol in the temple cried out: "'The unknown God hath come hither, who is truly God; nor is there any one beside him, who is worthy of divine worship.' At the same instant, the idol fell down; and at his fall, all the inhabitants of Egypt ran together." "The priest, who ministered to the idol, had a son three years old, who was possessed with a great multitude of devils. Going to the inn, he found Joseph and Mary. And when the Lady Mary had washed the swaddling clothes of the Lord Christ, and hung them out to dry upon a post, the boy possessed with the devil, took down one of them, and put it upon his head. And presently the devils began to come out of his mouth, and fly away in the shape of crows and serpents. From that time, the boy was healed by the power of the Lord Christ." When his father inquired concerning the matter, he replied: "'I went to the inn, and found there a very handsome woman, with a boy, whose swaddling-clothes she washed and hung on a post. I put one of them on my head, and immediately the devils fled away.' The father, exceedingly rejoiced, said, 'My son, perhaps this boy is the Son of the living God, who made the heavens and the earth; for as soon as he came among us, the idol was broken, and all the gods fell down.'" "Jesus was playing with other Hebrew boys, by a running stream; and he took soft clay from the banks, and formed

of it twelve sparrows. A certain Jew, seeing what he was doing, went to his father Joseph, and said: 'Thy boy is playing by the river-side, and profaneth the Sabbath.' Then Joseph called to him and said: 'Why doest thou that which it is not lawful to do upon the Sabbath day?' Then Jesus, clapping the palms of his hands together, said to the sparrows: 'Fly away! and while ye live, remember me.' So the sparrows flew away with noise. And the Jews were astonished, and went and told their chief persons what a strange miracle they had seen wrought by Jesus." "A certain schoolmaster, named Zaccheus, said to Joseph, 'Thou hast a wise child. Send him to me, that he may learn to read.' When he sat down to teach Jesus the alphabet, he began with the first letter, Aleph; but Jesus pronounced the second, and the third, and said over the whole alphabet to the end. Then he opened a book, and taught his master the Prophets; and Zaccheus went home wonderfully surprised at so strange a thing."

This Gospel of the Infancy was much quoted in early times, and several of the stories it relates have ever since been believed by many members of the Catholic church. Eusebius and Athanasius both record that when Joseph and Mary arrived in Egypt, they took up their abode in Hermopolis, a city of Thebais, in which was a superb temple of Serapis. They visited this temple, carrying with them the infant Jesus. What was their astonishment to see the great idol, and all the inferior gods, fall prostrate before them! The priests fled with horror, and the whole city was filled with alarm. Sozomon, a Christian historian of the fifth century, likewise relates the story. It was cited as a remarkable verification of Isaiah's prophecy: "Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it."

Extracts in the first volume of this work show several striking points of resemblance between the ancient Hindoo and Hebrew Sacred Records. In some cases, even *names*

are synonymous; the sons of Noah, for instance. The names of the first man and woman are Adim and Iva, in Sanscrit. In these spurious Gospels of Christianity, the observing reader will be reminded of the stories told of Crishna, in Sacred Books of Hindostan, quoted in the first volume of this work. Sir William Jones was so much struck with various coincidences, that he thought the Hindoos must have seen these spurious Christian Gospels, and copied from them. It does not seem to have occurred to him that the reverse might have been the case; and that Egyptian Christians, being frequently in communication with India, were very likely to become acquainted with Hindoo legends.

Many of the ancients supposed that the Book called *The Shepherd of Hermas*, was written by the Hermas whom Paul salutes, at the close of his Epistle to the Romans. Others assigned a later date, and attributed it to the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome, in the second century. It consists of three books, occupied with a succession of visions, intended to convey instruction to the church, and to impress upon the mind the superior sanctity of celibacy. The following brief sample will serve to give some idea of it: "Behold I saw a great beast, as it were a whale; and fiery locusts came out of his mouth. The height of the beast was about a hundred feet. I began to weep, and to pray unto the Lord that he would deliver me from it. Then I called to mind the words I had heard: Doubt not Hermas! Wherefore, I delivered myself boldly unto the beast, which came on as if it could have devoured a city. I came near unto it; and the beast extended its whole length upon the ground, and put forth nothing but its tongue, nor once moved itself, till I had quite passed by. Now the beast had upon its head four colours; first black, then blood-red, then golden, then white. After I had passed by it, there met me a virgin well adorned, as if she had just come out of her bride-chamber; all in white, having a veil over her face, and covered with shining hair. I knew by my former visions that it was *The Church*; and

thereupon I grew the more cheerful. She said: Did nothing meet you, O man? I replied: Lady, there met me such a beast as seemed able to devour a whole people; but, by the power and mercy of God, I escaped it. She replied: Thou didst escape it well, because thou didst cast thy whole care upon God. For this cause, the Lord sent his angel and stopped the mouth of the beast, that he should not devour thee. Go, therefore, and relate to the elect the great things God hath done for thee. And say unto them this beast is a figure of the trial about to come. If ye shall have prepared yourselves, if your hearts be pure and without spot, ye may escape it. Cast all your cares upon the Lord. He can turn away his wrath from you, and send you help and security. Wo to the doubtful! to those who shall hear these words and despise them. It would be better for them that they had not been born. Then I asked concerning the four colours upon the head of the beast. She said: The black denotes the world in which you dwell. The fiery red denotes that this age must be destroyed by fire and blood. Ye are the golden part, who have escaped out of it. For as gold is tried by the fire and made profitable, in like manner are ye tried, who live among the men of this world. The white colour denotes the time of the world which is to come, in which the elect of God shall dwell; because the elect shall be pure and without spot, unto life eternal. Wherefore, do not thou cease to speak these things in the ears of the saints." Hermas teaches that the Apostles descended into Hades, to baptize the pious personages of the Old Testament. He recommends frequent fasting, and adds: "Above all, exercise thy abstinence in this, to refrain both from hearing and from speaking what is wrong. Cleanse thy heart from all pollution, from all revengeful feelings, and from all covetousness. On the day thou fastest, content thyself with bread, vegetables, and water, and thank God for these. But reckon up what thy meal on this day would have cost thee, and give the amount to some widow or orphan, or to the poor. Happy for thee, if with thy

children and whole household thou observest these things."

The Epistle which went under the name of Barnabas, companion of Paul, was known to the Alexandrian church in the second century. It contains singular specimens of the forced, allegorical mode of interpretation, which the Christian Fathers seem to have learned from Jewish Rabbins. It is therein stated that the Hebrew priests were ordered not to wash with vinegar the inwards of the goat offered in expiation for the sins of the people, in order to foreshadow that when Christ should offer his flesh "for the sins of a new people," they would give him vinegar to drink, mixed with gall. It was ordained by Moses, as a process of purification, that a red heifer should be burned; that a piece of scarlet wool and hyssop should be tied on a stick and dipped in the ashes, to sprinkle the people. The author of this Epistle says: "That heifer was Jesus Christ. And why was the wool put upon a *stick*? Because the kingdom of Jesus was founded upon the *cross*; and therefore they that put their trust in him shall live forever." According to the Greek method of notation the letter T signified three hundred, the letter I ten, and H eight; of which fact the following use is made in the Epistle of Barnabas: "Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen men of his house. What, therefore, was the mystery that was made known to him? The I H, which make eighteen, denote Jesus. And because the cross was that by which we were to find grace, he adds T, which is three hundred, and forms the figure of the cross. Wherefore, by three hundred and eighteen he signified Jesus and his cross." The ancient *Egyptian* cross was in the form of T. He adds: "He who has put the engrafted gift of his doctrine within us, knows that I never taught to any one a more certain truth; but I trust that ye are worthy of it." Again he says: "Why did Moses say, Ye shall not eat of the swine? He meant thou shalt not join thyself to such persons as are like unto swine; who while they live in pleasure forget their God." "He says also, Thou shalt not eat the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the kite, nor the crow; that

is, thou shalt not keep company with such kind of men as know not how to get themselves food by their labour, but injuriously ravish away the things of others." "Neither shalt thou eat of the hyena; that is, Be not an adulterer, nor a corrupter of others. And wherefore so? Because that creature every year changes its kind, and is sometimes male and sometimes female." "Why might they eat such animals as cleave the hoof? Because the righteous liveth in this present world, but his expectation is fixed upon the other. Behold, brethren, how admirably Moses commanded these things. Speaking as concerning meats, he delivered great precepts to them in the spiritual signification of those commands. They, according to the desires of the flesh, understood him as if he had only meant it of meats. But the Lord has circumcised our ears and our hearts, that we might know these things." This Epistle thus exhorts Christians to be in readiness for the second coming of Christ: "Be ye taught of God; seeking what it is the Lord requires of you, and doing it; that ye may be saved in the day of judgment. For the day is at hand in which all things shall be destroyed, together with the Wicked One."

The book called the *Ascent of Isaiah* was evidently written by some one imbued with Gnostic tendencies. It describes the progressive descent of Christ from his radiant home above, through "the seven heavenly spheres," gradually changing his form, during the journey, into the likeness of the inhabitants of each sphere; so that his superiority was always veiled. At last, he arrived on earth, and assumed the appearance of a mortal man.

A remarkable book, called the *Clementine Homilies*, was in general circulation, and had great celebrity. It professed to be written by Clement, Bishop of Rome, in the first century, and to give an account of his conversion, and of his travels with the Apostle Peter. But the name of Clement was assumed, on account of its authority with the church. Scholars say it can be clearly proved to have been written about a century after his death. At that

period, Gentile Christians and Judaizing Christians were in opposition to each other; Gnostics were attacking Judaism; and Christians were contending with Gnostics. The book appears to have been written by some one who had combined Jewish, Gnostic, and Christian ideas, and who wished to present a common ground of conciliation to the conflicting parties. He adopts the idea of the Cabalists that the Wisdom of God was feminine. He called her by the Greek name Sophia, and said: "God himself rejoices in her alliance." His ideas concerning the First Adam and the Second Adam were also very similar to those entertained by many Jews. He describes Adam Kadman, the First Adam, as "Lord of All, existing before the worlds;" first manifested on earth in the form of Adam, afterward as Enoch, Abraham, and Moses. Lastly he took the form of Jesus, was crucified, and ascended to the heaven whence he came. "Changing the forms of his appearance, he passed through the course of ages, until reaching his own times, he was, by God's grace, anointed in recompense for his toils, and blessed with eternal repose." "The first prophet was Adam; in whom, if in any one, formed as he was immediately by the creative hand of God, that which is the immediate efflux of the Divine Spirit dwelt." "God, the alone good, bestowed every thing on the man created after his own image. Full of the divinity of his Creator, and as a true prophet, knowing all things, he revealed to his children an eternal Law, which has neither been destroyed by wars, nor corrupted by godless power, nor hidden in any particular place, but can be read of all men. The appearance neither of Moses nor of Jesus would have been necessary, if men had been willing of themselves, to come to a knowledge of what is right. But since this original revelation, which should have been transmitted by the living word, from generation to generation, was corrupted, over and over, by impure additions, proceeding from an Evil Principle, new revelations were requisite to counteract these corruptions, and restore that original revelation. And it was always that

Primal Spirit of Humanity, the Spirit of God in Adam, which reappeared, in manifold forms, and under various names." Supposing the Law of Moses to be a new revelation, to restore the primitive truths taught by Adam, this author exalted the Pentateuch above other books of the Hebrew Scriptures; but he maintained that it had been written many times over, and that many foreign elements had been introduced into it. The Father of Mankind appeared as Moses, to trust the Jews with the preservation of primal truths. He appeared as Jesus, for the especial purpose of delivering to his other children, the Gentiles, that pure primitive religion, which had been constantly handed down by a consecrated few among the Jews. The author of the Homilies says: "Jesus loved men, as none but the Father of the Human Race could love his own children. His greatest sorrow was that he must be striven against by those, in their ignorance, for whom he strove as his children. He loved them, though they hated him; he wept over the disobedient, he blessed them that blasphemed him, he prayed for his enemies; and these things he not only did himself, as a father, but also taught his disciples to pursue the same course of conduct toward men, as their brethren." "The same primitive religion is to be found in the pure doctrine of Moses and of Christ. He who possesses the former may dispense with the latter; and he who possesses the latter may dispense with the former; provided the Jew does not blaspheme Christ, whom he knows not, nor the Christian blaspheme Moses, whom he knows not. But he who is accounted worthy of attaining to the knowledge of both, to find in the doctrine announced by both but one and the same truth, is to be esteemed a man rich in God; one who has found in the old that which has become new, and in the new that which is old. The Jew and the Christian owe it entirely to the grace of God, that they have been led to a knowledge of the Divine will, by these revelations of the Primal Man, repeated under different forms, one by Moses, another by Christ." "He who is under no necessity of seeking for truth, who has no

doubts, who *knows* the truth, by means of a higher Spirit, dwelling *within* himself, which is superior to all uncertainty, he alone obtains knowledge of the truth, and can reveal it unto others."

The reverence for apostolic traditions led to a collection of ecclesiastical laws, called Apostolical Constitutions and Apostolical Canons. These also were ascribed to Clement of Rome, whose acquaintance with Peter would enable him to receive them from high authority. Neander supposes them to have been formed gradually, out of different fragments, from the close of the second into the fourth century.

There was an ancient tradition that before the Apostles dispersed to proclaim Christ in all lands, they drew up a Confession of Faith, to which each one contributed an article. This has ever since been known under the name of the Apostles' Creed. In the early times, it was devoutly believed to be the work of their own hands; but this idea has long since been acknowledged to be without foundation. It cannot be traced beyond the fourth century, and the author is unknown. Before A. D. 600 it existed in the following form: "I believe in God the Father Almighty; and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary; was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried; and the third day, he rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father; whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Church; the remission of sins; and the resurrection of the flesh. Amen." It was afterward altered, so as to read: "Who was *conceived* by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary;" "I believe in the Holy *Catholic* church, and the *communion of saints*." It was also added, that after Christ "was crucified, dead and buried, *he descended into hell*."

Several of the spurious Gospels and Epistles were publicly read in the churches, and were often quoted by the Fathers, in a manner that implies they regarded them as

of equal authority with canonical Scripture. The great number of church pictures illustrating those Gospels, and still revered in all Catholic countries, proves that their authority was very extensive. Perhaps none of the apocryphal books were held in higher estimation, in the first centuries, than the Shepherd of Hermas. Irenæus cites it as "the Scripture." Clement of Alexandria says: "The book of the Shepherd is disputed by some; on whose account it is not placed among the acknowledged books. But by others it is judged most necessary. For which reason, it is now publicly read in the churches, and I have understood that some of the most ancient writers used it." Origen says: "I think Hermas was the author of that book called the Shepherd. It seems to me a very useful writing, and, as I think, is divinely inspired. It is admitted into the church, but not acknowledged by all to be divine." Eusebius and Jerome say it was publicly read in the churches, though not esteemed canonical. Jerome praised it in his catalogue, but afterward pronounced it apocryphal and foolish. Rufinus expressly styles it "a book of the New Testament."

The Epistle of Barnabas was also much quoted by the Fathers; and some of them considered it genuine. Clement of Alexandria speaks of it as "read in most of the churches." Apparently it must have been extant in Justin Martyr's time; for it contains his statement that the efficacy of Moses' prayer was owing to his arms being extended in the form of a cross; and both of them speak of the cross as allegorically signified by every *stick, tree, and bit of wood* in the Old Testament.

NATIONS CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY.

In some countries, Christianity began to spread by means of Christian captives taken in war, who became missionaries among their conquerors; and when a king, queen, or other influential person, became a proselyte, the multitude followed their lead. The baptism of barbarians by hundreds and thousands, by no means implies that they

understood the spirit of Christianity, or imbibed its principles. The crowd, as usual, followed the example of the powerful; and those who led them were often converted by some dream, or omen, the cure of a disease, or the fortunate event of a prayer or a vow. Miracles constantly wrought at the tomb of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, were a fruitful source of additions to the church. The people of Gallicia, and the Suevic prince in Spain were converted by them. There were baptismal fonts near the Guadalquiver, which were miraculously replenished every year, on the evening before Easter. These caused many conversions.

The Goths were early converts to Christianity. When they made their first inroads into the Roman empire, they carried off many Christians among their captives; and the conquered gained spiritual ascendancy over the rude minds of their conquerors. As early as the time of Constantine, a Gothic bishop was sent as delegate to the Council at Nice. Bishops from those countries afterward visited Constantinople, at a time when Arianism was the religion of the emperor, and of nearly all the people in that city. Thus it happened that the Goths received Christianity in the Arian form, and so it was transmitted to the different branches of their nation. These Christianized barbarians were as fierce in their zeal to convert Catholics, as the Catholics had been to convert Arians. They fined, banished, and persecuted them in various and cruel forms. Long after Arianism was vanquished in other parts of the Christianized world, it remained in full force among various Gothic tribes; and this difference was the cause of perpetual and rancorous hostility. But finally, Goths gave in to the argument that all other nations had yielded to Catholic supremacy, and that they alone disturbed the unity of the church. One of their kings, who had consented to be baptized, was not deterred by being told that all his Pagan ancestors were undoubtedly in hell; but when the Catholic missionary assured him that all his Arian relatives must be damned

also, he drew back his foot after he had placed it in the water.

When Clovis, king of the Franks, and founder of the French monarchy, first heard an account of the death of Christ, he exclaimed: "If I had been there, at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged him!" He married Clotilda, a princess of Burgundy, who was a devout Catholic. For some time, he resisted her efforts to convert him. He allowed their first child to be baptized; but as the babe died soon after, he repented the concession he had made, and said to his wife: "If he had been consecrated in the name of my Gods, he would not have died; but being baptized in the name of your God, he could not live." Clotilda was not discouraged by this unlucky event. She availed herself of every opportunity to induce him to relinquish the worship of idols. One day, when he was going to battle, she said to him: "My lord, to insure victory, you must invoke the God of the Christians. He is sole Ruler of the Universe, and he is styled the God of Armies. If you address yourself to him with confidence, nothing can resist you. Though your enemies were a hundred against one, you would be sure to triumph over them." The king came very near being defeated. When he saw his cavalry flying in all directions, he spread out his arms toward heaven, and exclaimed: "Oh Christ, whom Clotilda invokes as Son of the Living God, I implore thy assistance! I have called upon my gods, and I find they have no power. Deliver me from my enemies, and I will be baptized in thy name!" His troops rallied, fought desperately, and finally gained the victory. He was solemnly baptized at Rheims, on the twenty-fifth of December, A. D. 496. According to the wish of the queen, it was made an occasion of great pomp. There was a procession of bishops and priests, with a long train of monks, carrying crosses, and singing the liturgy. Immediately after baptism, he was anointed, according to the mode of inaugurating Christian kings. It is recorded that the Holy Ghost, in the form of a white dove, descended from heaven with a vial

of celestial oil for the occasion. His sister, and three thousand of his court and army, were baptized the same day. He soon after caused a whole line of princes to be assassinated, to make way for his ambition. But he spared no pains to secure the good-will of the clergy; and the Patriarch of Rome conferred on him the title of Most Christian Majesty, which the French kings have ever since retained.

The Burgundians and the Visigoths, who had been converted to Christianity by Arian bishops, had taken possession of some provinces in Gaul. Clovis said to his assembled warriors: "It grieves me to see the fairest portions of Gaul possessed by Arians. Let us march against them; and having vanquished the heretics, by God's aid, we will divide their fertile provinces among us." Clotilda approved of this resolution; and begged her husband to remember that donations for pious purposes would propitiate the Deity, secure the powerful prayers of his faithful servants the bishops, and bring down a blessing from heaven on his pious undertaking. Her words pleased the king, and he replied: "Wherever my battle-axe shall fall, there will I erect a church, and dedicate it to the Holy Apostles." And he hurled the axe from him with a strong arm. On his march to invade the Arians, he turned aside to visit the sepulchre of Martin of Tours. They were performing religious ceremonies in St. Martin's church, and Clovis charged his messenger to take particular notice what was chanted at the moment they entered. The words were of good omen; but to make success still more secure he offered prayers and costly oblations at the tomb. Among other things, he made a present of his favourite war-horse. He afterward wished to redeem the valuable animal with one hundred pieces of gold; but the miraculous power of the saint kept the horse enchanted in the stable, till he offered six hundred pieces.

Clotilda survived her warlike and victorious husband; and after her death, she was canonized by the church. She seems to have had a degree of worldly ambition rather

inconsistent with saintly character. Her younger sons made war upon their eldest brother, and took his children captive. They so far respected the feelings of their aged mother, as to offer to spare her grandsons, provided they were devoted to monastic life. She passionately replied: "Better my descendants should be dead, than become shaven monks!" Two of the princes were stabbed. The third made his escape to a monastery, and afterward became the famous Saint Cloud.

Gaul, conquered by the orthodox Clovis, submitted to the Catholics. Spain, which had for awhile been Arian, under Gothic conquerors, was restored to the Catholic church by voluntary conversion of the Visigoths, under King Recared; who forthwith proceeded to persecute the Arians, and burn their books, as his predecessor had done toward the Catholics. He sent ambassadors to Gregory the Great, with costly offerings of gold and gems. The Pope received them graciously, and in return for their rich presents, conferred on Recared the title of Catholic Majesty, and sent him a small piece of the True Cross, a few hairs from the head of John the Baptist, and a key made of iron filings from the chain of St. Peter. The Lombards now remained the only Arian nation; but their queen was induced to aid Catholic missionaries to convert the people. Thus, after three hundred years of incessant wrangling, of mutual murders, and burning of each other's books and churches, the metaphysical controversy concerning the Trinity was hushed, and the unity of the Catholic church at last established.

In order to introduce Christianity into Scandinavian countries, missionaries deemed it necessary to make many concessions to their fierce converts. To eat horse-flesh in honour of Odin, and take as many wives as they chose, were their principal stipulations. Plurality of wives was granted, as a politic compromise; but horse-flesh was interdicted, on account of its association with idolatry. After they consented to be baptized, they had great carousals in honour of Christ, and the Apostles, and the martyrs, and

all the saints. On these occasions, they drank horns full of strong liquor, as they had been accustomed to do in honour of their old gods; until at last, the Christian festivals became such scenes of tumultuous revelry, that the better sort of men avoided them. So superficial was their conversion, that the whole mass might have been easily turned back had any unlucky accident happened before there was time for the new worship to become fixed as a habit. While Catholic missionaries were holding conference with priests of Odin assembled in Iceland, a messenger brought tidings that a volcanic eruption had done great damage in a neighbouring district. The Icelandic priests at once said: "Odin has done this, to manifest his displeasure that there are men among us who propose to abandon his worship." A Christian convert reminded them that the soil on which they were then standing was formed of lava, from an eruption centuries ago. He inquired what it was that offended the gods then; and the priests were vanquished by his sensible argument. When Bishop Poppo tried to introduce Christianity into Jutland, he convinced the people of the truth of his doctrine by thrusting his hand into a red hot iron glove, and drawing it out uninjured. The people seeing this, rushed in crowds to be baptized by the worker of miracles. This circumstance is said to have introduced trial by ordeal into that country; the bishop's method of appeal to Heaven being considered as efficacious to ascertain the truth in legal disputes, as it had proved in theological.

When Gregory the Great wished to convert the English, a monk named Augustin was chosen for the purpose; he having already attained celebrity by raising the dead, restoring sight to the blind, and various other miracles. Accompanied by forty other monks, he went to Kent, where he was kindly received by Ethelbert the king, whose wife Bertha was a Christian. Augustin permitted no coercive measures to be used, but so great was the power of his miracles, that he is said to have baptized ten thousand converts in one day. His success was rewarded

by being appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, with authority over all the English churches. There had been converts to Christianity in Wales, as early as the second century, and churches were established there, which had never submitted to the jurisdiction of Rome, but continued to follow many of the old customs of the Eastern churches. Augustin tried to induce the bishops to unite with the churches he had formed in England. But they answered that they could not lay aside their old customs, and conform to the ceremonies and institutions prescribed by Rome, without first obtaining the free consent of all the people. A synod was convened, where they agreed to meet Augustin. As he did not rise to receive them, or show them any mark of courtesy, they formed an idea that he was a proud ambitious man, and felt more than ever desirous to preserve their independence. They therefore declined his offers of alliance, and when he exhorted them to conform in the manner of observing Easter, and of administering baptism, they excused themselves; saying: "We owe no more to the Bishop of Rome than the love and brotherly assistance due to all who believe in Christ. But to our own bishop we owe obedience; and without his leave, we cannot alter any of the ordinances of the church." In consequence of this, Augustin proceeded to depose the bishops, without accusing them of any crime, and without the formality of a council. Not long afterward, twelve hundred Welsh monks were slaughtered, and their monastery destroyed, by the King of Northumberland; and suspicion rested upon Augustin as the instigator of the massacre. But he is described as "a most learned and pious man, an imitator of primitive holiness, frequent in watchings, fastings, prayers, and alms; earnest in rooting out Paganism; diligent in building and repairing churches; extraordinarily famous for the working of miracles, and cures among the people." He always walked when he visited his provinces, and often travelled barefoot. The skin on his knees had grown hard by perpetual kneeling at his devotions. Yet Gregory the Great felt it necessary

to admonish him for being unduly puffed up, with the honours he received.

During the reign of Constantine, a woman named Nino, who had vowed herself to celibacy and prayer, fled from Armenia, because the Christians in that region were fiercely persecuted by the Persians, who were making a convulsive effort to restore and perpetuate the worship taught by Zoroaster. She took refuge in Iberia, a country of Asia now called Georgia. The people were rude and warlike, and, as usual with such tribes, they had an instinctive reverence for whoever devoted themselves to the service of the Deity, under circumstances of peculiar self-denial. The complete seclusion, the severe fasting, and continual prayers of the Armenian woman inspired respect and awe. It happened that a child belonging to the tribe was taken ill; and, acting under the influence of the universal belief in Asia, that whoever was holy could cure diseases, they brought the child to Nino. She told them she was not acquainted with any remedy for the disease, but she would pray to her God for help. She did so, and the child soon afterward recovered. The queen was informed of this, and when she was afflicted with severe illness, she sent for the devout Armenian. Nino declined the invitation, saying, with becoming humility, that she was no worker of miracles. The queen then insisted upon being carried to her, and besought prayers for her recovery. She complied with this request, and the invalid was soon after restored to health. The king wished to send a rich present; but his consort assured him that the Christian woman despised all earthly goods; that the only thing in which they could please her would be to join in worshipping her God. In the fulness of her gratitude, and perhaps hungering and thirsting for better spiritual food than had yet been offered to her, she listened eagerly to the instructions of her pious physician, and became a convert. Her husband also was greatly impressed by the cures the stranger had performed, which she reverently attributed to the power of the God in whom she believed; but he was held back by fear of

offending the old deities, and also by the danger of rendering himself unpopular among his subjects, who were bigoted worshippers of Aramazd, the Ormuzd of the ancient Persians. One day when he was wandering alone through a thick forest, he became enveloped in a dense fog, and was unable to find his way. Awe-struck by the uncertain light, and by the silent solitude of the place, he began to reflect upon what he had heard of those Superior Spirits, who guide the destinies of men. The thought passed through his mind that if he should be safely restored to his companions, he might become a worshipper of the Christian's God, of whom his wife told such marvellous things. At that moment, the sun suddenly burst forth, and illumined the foliage with a wondrous glory. The wavering mind of the monarch hailed the beautiful omen. He saw in that golden radiance a symbol of the light of truth, dispersing all mists from the soul. He rejoined his companions, to whom he related what had happened. He sent for the Christian captive, and became converted by her. He began to instruct the men among his subjects, and the queen the women. They sent to Rome for religious teachers, and were baptized. The people were at first exceedingly averse to a change in the national religion, but, after much opposition, the temple of Aramazd was pulled down, and a Cross was raised upon its ruins. It is recorded that the erection of the first Christian church was attended with miracles. A heavy column of stone resisted all the efforts of the workmen to raise it. But Nino spent the night in praying that they might be assisted, and the next morning, the pillar rose of its own accord, and stood erect. The people, when they witnessed this, shouted in praise of the Christian's God, and were generally baptized. The king entered into alliance with Constantine the Great, who sent him valuable presents, and a Christian bishop. The popular feeling toward the temple of Aramazd was transferred to the Cross, the possession of which soon came to be regarded as the great safeguard of the nation.

Tiridates, king of Armenia, was a bigoted worshipper

mounted his horse, and for the slightest offence against the church, their subjects were forbidden to supply them with food, water, or fire, on pain of similar excommunication themselves.

The number of Catholics at the present time is estimated at about one hundred and forty millions.

SEPARATE CHURCHES.

GREEK CHURCH.—But neither the zeal of missionaries, nor the sword of kings, succeeded in making the Catholic church quite universal. The continual rivalry between the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople, at last terminated in open schism; and the adherents of the latter took the name of the Greek church. The point of doctrine on which they separated was concerning the mode in which the Holy Ghost came into existence. The church at Constantinople maintained that he proceeded from the Father *only*; but the Roman church decided that he proceeded from the Father *and* the Son. The Patriarch of Rome excommunicated the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, in the fifth century. Various attempts to reunite were afterward made, but they were followed by renewed excommunications. The Greek church assumed entire independence, and were governed by their own Patriarch and bishops. In nearly all respects, their doctrines and ceremonies are like those of the Catholics. They accept the traditions of the Fathers as of equal authority with Scripture; believing them to have been orally transmitted from the Apostles. The lower order of their priests are allowed to marry once, provided it be not to a widow.

They invoke the Virgin and the saints, whose pictures abound in their churches and houses, sometimes set with precious stones. But they retain the opinion which caused the Iconoclast warfare, and allow no sculptured images. On the strength of this distinction, they express abhorrence of the Catholics, as idolaters.

Their numbers are computed at seventy millions.

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Theodosius suppressed Pagan worship by the sword, and dragged the gods of antiquity at his chariot-wheels. Justinian completed the work in the same spirit. The thousands who performed their ancient rites in secret were ferreted out, and allowed no choice between baptism and death. The same course was pursued toward the Samaritans. They resisted. Twenty thousand were slain; twenty thousand sold into slavery to Persians and East Indians; and the remainder saved their lives by consenting to be baptized. It has been computed that one hundred thousand Roman subjects were slaughtered in the course of Justinian's efforts to establish the unity of the Christian church. Charlemagne drove Paganism from Teutonic Europe at the point of his spear. In his attempts to force the Saxons into Christianity, which he doubtless did from motives of state policy, he incurred a war of thirty years' duration. At last, Wittikind the Great, Duke of Saxony, was compelled to submit. The only alternative allowed them was death or baptism; and he with his whole army submitted to the ceremony, which made them Christians. When the Saxons, under King Ethelwolf, fought with the Danes, they, in their turn, offered the same choice to those who were taken prisoners; and Danish vikings, or pirates, were baptized by hundreds on the battle fields, to escape the gallows, which was ready to receive them. King Olaf, who was afterward canonized, and became the patron saint of Norway, demolished the temples and altars of Odin, introduced Christianity among his subjects by an armed force, and allowed them no alternative but slaughter.

Every one knows how the wealth and power of the church went on increasing, until the Pope came to be universally acknowledged as the Vicegerent of God upon earth, the infallible medium of the Holy Ghost. When the empire broke up into independent nations, Rome became the ecclesiastical centre of the world, as it had formerly been of the civil power. So subservient were kings to priests, that princes held the Pope's stirrup while he

of the old gods of his country. He put in prison one of his subjects who had become a Christian, and who refused to offer sacrifices to Anaitis, a goddess resembling the Venus of the Romans, and the Astarte of the Syrians. Gregory the Christian languished in prison fourteen years. Meanwhile, the king's sister had become converted; and when a terrible pestilence broke out, she ventured to advise that he should be released, as a means of arresting the plague. The king, being himself afflicted with the deadly malady, and greatly alarmed, accepted her counsel. He was cured by Gregory, and the pestilence soon after abated. Believing this to be a sign of approval from Heaven, the monarch consented to be baptized; and his example was soon after followed by all his nobles and the people. Priests were sent for from other countries; four hundred bishops were consecrated, and churches erected everywhere; though not without strenuous resistance. The Christian prisoner who had effected all this, was appointed archbishop of the kingdom, and became famous under the name of Gregory the Illuminator. The Province of Dara, considered the sacred region of Armenia, obstinately resisted the innovation, and fought desperately for the preservation of their ancient altars and temples. Every Christian church erected there was built under the protection of troops. The prolonged contest was at last decided by a bloody battle, which was commemorated by the following inscription on a monument:

**"THE LEADER OF THE WARRIORS WAS ARGAN,
THE CHIEF OF THE PRIESTHOOD,
WHO LIES HERE IN HIS GRAVE,
AND WITH HIM ONE THOUSAND THIRTY-EIGHT MEN.
THIS BATTLE WAS FOUGHT FOR THE GOD-HEAD OF KISANE,
AND FOR THAT OF CHRIST."**

This was the first war for the introduction of Christianity. But it cannot with truth be said that Christianity made its way by persuasion, and by appeals to the inward consciousness of men, except for the first three hundred years.

NESTORIANS.—The adherents of Nestorius, after they were excommunicated, sought protection in Persia, and gained proselytes in various Asiatic countries. The doctrine taught by Nestorius, that Christ had two natures, human and divine, was afterward received into the creed of the Catholic church; but as the Nestorians persisted in calling Mary the mother of Christ only, and refused to style her Mother of God, they remained excommunicated, and formed an independent establishment. Their doctrines, worship, and church government are like those of the Greek church; but they abominate pictures as well as images, and allow no image in their churches except the cross. When an image of the Virgin was presented to them by missionaries, they exclaimed: "We are Christians, not idolaters." It is supposed that some of them, when they fled from persecution, after the decision of the Council at Ephesus, took refuge in Hindostan; for churches maintaining the same faith and worship were found centuries afterward on the coast of Malabar. They were called Christians of St. Thomas, on account of a tradition that Thomas the Apostle travelled into India, carried the Gospel there, and became a martyr to the bigotry of the Bramins. But the tomb shown as his is now believed by many scholars to be the grave of a Nestorian bishop, by the name of Thomas. The Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus, mentioned among spurious books, as purporting to be written by the Apostle Thomas, is said to have been read in these churches on the Malabar coast as late as the sixteenth century. These Christians of St. Thomas united with other Nestorians in Mesopotamia and Syria, under one church government. The whole number is computed to be about three hundred thousand. They are generally called Syrian Christians, because they have the ancient Syrian version of the New Testament, and use the same language in their worship.

ARMENIANS.—Another independent church was formed in Armenia, which agreed with the Greek concerning "the

procession of the Holy Ghost," but differed both from that and the Roman on the question whether Christ had one nature or two natures. They are the remains of the Monophysites, who so long kept up a warfare against the decree of the Council at Chalcedon. To this day they teach the doctrine of Eutyches, that Christ had but one nature, and that even his body was of a divine incorruptible substance. The Armenian church agrees with the Greek in believing that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father only. It was long before they became reconciled to images, but they now venerate images of the Virgin and the saints. Their Patriarch lives in a monastery on Mount Ararat, which is much resorted to as a place of pilgrimage. The number of Armenians is estimated at two millions. There are also Monophysite Christians remaining in Abyssinia, who retain many Jewish customs. They circumcise their children, keep Saturday as the Sabbath, and observe the laws of Moses concerning articles of food. They admit no one to the Lord's Supper till he is twenty-five years of age; maintaining that no one is accountable for sin before that time, and that all who die earlier are sure of salvation. In Egypt there is a small remnant of the disciples of Eutyches, called Copts. These and the Abyssinian Christians are all that remain of the once powerful churches in Africa, where Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine lived and laboured. Some travellers have mentioned a Gospel of Thomas, read in various Christian churches in Asia and Africa, and adopted by some as their only rule of faith. It seems likely that this is the apocryphal book mentioned under the title of The Infancy of Jesus; purporting to be written by the Apostle Thomas.

Christians of all churches are accustomed to offer their prayers in the name of Christ; and it is a prevailing belief that faith in the atonement of his blood will save the greatest sinner; even if he does not repent till he is on his death-bed. Among the titles commonly bestowed on Jesus, are "The Messiah; The Anointed One; The Holy Son of Mary; The Only Begotten Son of God; The Word

of God ; The God-man ; God manifested in the flesh ; God of God ; The Mediator and Intercessor for the sins of mankind ; The Lamb who was slain from the beginning ; The Sacrifice for all sin ; The Redeemer of the world."

The birth of Christ was not introduced as an era among the nations, until five hundred and twenty-seven years after that event. Dionysius Exiguus, abbot of a monastery in Rome, was the first author of it. In the beginning, there was considerable variation between the eras adopted by churches in different parts of the world ; and differences of computation still remain. But nearly all Christian nations place the birth of Christ four thousand and four years after the Creation ; in the seven hundred and fifty-third year of the building of Rome. Some learned men suppose it to have occurred two years earlier ; others say four years. Not being introduced as an epoch until after several centuries had elapsed, it is not surprising that some discrepancies occur in the reckoning.

The entire number of Christians, of all denominations, is computed at about two hundred and fifty millions.

MOHAMMEDANISM.

"I ask myself if all that host,
 Whose turban'd marbles o'er them nod,
 Were doomed, when giving up the ghost,
 To die as those who have no God!
 No, no, my God! They worshipp'd Thee;
 Then let no doubts my spirit darken,
 That Thou, who always hearest me,
 To these, thy children too, didst hearken."

J. PIERPONT.

ACCORDING to Arabian traditions, when Hagar and her son were dying with thirst, and she implored God for relief, the angel Gabriel descended and stamped on the ground; whereupon, a fountain sprang forth in the desert, on the very spot where the city of Mecca now stands. Abraham loved Ishmael better than Isaac, and often visited him in his exile; being conducted by a miraculous horse, that enabled him to perform the journey in half a day. Nevertheless, when the boy was thirteen years old, he prepared to sacrifice him, having been thus commanded by God three times in a dream. Eblis, [the Devil,] wishing to prevent such an act of piety, gave warning to Hagar and her son; but they both replied: "If he believes it to be the will of Allah, let it be done." But when all was in readiness, Gabriel appeared with a ram, which he ordered Abraham to sacrifice instead of Ishmael. This ram was the same that Abel offered; and since that time it had been pastured in Paradise. The Jewish Talmud, in relating a similar story of Isaac, says an Angel brought the ram from Paradise, where it pastured under the Tree of Life, and drank from the rivers that flowed therefrom. Ishmael became a famous hunter and warrior, and married

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the daughter of a king in south Arabia. He had twelve sons, the founders of twelve tribes. Abraham, who took great interest in his prosperity, wished to have the worship of One Supreme God established among them. Allah had sent down from heaven a temple for Adam, but at the time of the Deluge, He had caused it to be again drawn up into heaven. Abraham prayed earnestly that the model of it might be revealed to him, and Gabriel brought it in answer to his prayer. He then assisted Ishmael in building a temple precisely like it, on the spot where he had prepared to sacrifice him to the Lord, close beside the miraculous fountain. The Angel appointed to prevent Adam from eating the forbidden fruit had been changed into a diamond for his neglect. The diamond had been given to Adam, but was afterward drawn up into heaven with his temple. When Gabriel brought the model to Abraham, this precious stone was also sent from Paradise for him to rest upon; and it was ever after preserved in the House of Prayer, which he and Ishmael erected.

The descendants of Ishmael were hunters and herdsmen, and, like their cousins the Israelites, lived thus for ages, without attracting the attention of more civilized portions of the world. It is recorded that Caab, son of Ishmael, was accustomed to assemble the people in the temple every Friday, and instruct them concerning the God taught by Abraham. Families that spread into the adjacent country built altars for themselves, but all were in the habit of repairing to the temple erected by Abraham, which was called the Caaba, from the name of the zealous preacher. Notwithstanding his constant exhortations, idolatry increased among his relatives; insomuch that when his grandson died, Meccâ was the only place where the doctrine of One God was taught.

When Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire, Arabians were in a condition which indicates that their opinions and customs had been principally derived from Chaldean and Egyptian sources; and such would be the natural result of traditional teaching,

derived by Ishmael from his Chaldean father and Egyptian mother. A large majority of them worshipped Spirits of the Stars, whom they called "Sons of God" and "Daughters of God." They named the Supreme Being Allah Taaba, and considered the Spirits his subordinate agents in the creation and government of the world, and mediators between Him and mortals. Polytheism produced the same results there as elsewhere. The Supreme God became a mere abstract idea, and the inferior deities were the only objects of popular adoration. Opinions and customs varied in different parts of the country, but there was a general resemblance in doctrines and modes of worship. All professed to derive their system from Sabi, the son of Seth, and were therefore called Sabians. They prayed three times a day: at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset. They observed three annual fasts; offered sacrifices of men and animals; made a yearly pilgrimage to Mecca, where they performed many ceremonies; and occasionally made pilgrimages to Harran in Mesopotamia, rendered sacred by some connection with the history of Abraham. Some of them made devotional journeys into Egypt, where they sacrificed a cock and a black calf, offered prayers, and burned incense before the great pyramids, which they believed to be the sepulchres of Seth, and his sons Enoch and Sabi. The Arabians, from the most ancient times, universally practised circumcision, and abstained from pork. In some of the tribes, society was divided into castes. Some sects believed in the transmigration of souls, and some introduced into their worship the sexual symbols, which Hindoos and Egyptians revered as Emblems of Life. When a relative died, it was the general custom to sacrifice a camel on his grave, that he might have an animal to ride upon when his body rose from the dead. In the vicinity of Persia, the doctrines of Zoroaster had become considerably mixed with the old Arabian traditions. Some sects supposed that the souls of wicked men would be punished during nine thousand ages, and then all would be forgiven, and become good.

The seven days which constitute our week were successively appropriated to the worship of the seven Planetary Spirits, to each of whom a temple was erected. The one built at Mecca is said to have been originally consecrated to the Spirit of the planet Saturn. Each tribe considered itself under the especial protection of some tutelary deity. Therefore, one tribe peculiarly devoted itself to the Spirit of the Sun, another to Jupiter, another to Sirius, and another to the star in the Bull's eye. But the temple at Mecca, which contained the ancient Caaba within its enclosure, was the central place of worship for all the Sabians.

Jews had settled in different parts of Arabia long before the Christian era; and when Jerusalem was destroyed, large numbers of them took refuge there. They gained many proselytes, some of whom were powerful chiefs, whose example influenced whole tribes. This is not surprising, considering how much common ground there was between them and the descendants of Ishmael. Both revered Abraham as their ancestor; both received as sacred nearly the same accounts of the creation, the deluge, and the patriarchs; and both followed the Egyptian customs of circumcision and abstinence from pork.

When Nestorius was persecuted by the dominant Christian church, some of his adherents took refuge in Arabia, where they established churches, made some proselytes, and had a bishop. The followers of Eutyches, belonging to that branch of Monophysites called Jacobites, likewise found shelter there from the storm of persecution, and converted some of the natives to their form of Christianity. There were differences of opinion among the Arabian Christians. Some believed the soul died with the body, and would rise with it at the resurrection; others regarded that doctrine as a great heresy. Nestorians denied that Mary, a mortal woman, could be the mother of that portion of Christ's nature which was divine. But another Christian sect adored her as one of the Trinity; an idea which might have originated in the fact that some Jewish Chris-

tians represented the Holy Spirit as the *mother* of Christ.

Jews and Christians in Arabia competed with each other in proselyting the Sabians. Upon one occasion they challenged each other to a public discussion, which continued three days. Early Christian writers give a miraculous account of it. They say that on the third day of the disputation, the advocate of the Hebrew religion remarked: "If Jesus is really in heaven, and can hear the prayers of his worshippers, call upon him to appear, and then we shall be convinced." The Jewish portion of the audience cried out: "Yes; show us your Christ, and then we will believe that he is the Messiah." Whereupon, there came a loud clap of thunder, followed by vivid lightning; and Jesus appeared walking on a purple cloud, surrounded by rays of glory, crowned with a diadem, and bearing a sword in his right hand. He hovered over the assembly, and proclaimed, with a loud voice: "Lo, I appear in your sight! I am Jesus, whom your fathers crucified." When he had said this, he disappeared in the clouds. The Christians exclaimed: "Kyrie eleison!" which signifies, "O Lord, have mercy on us!" The Jews were struck blind by the vision, and did not recover their sight till they were all baptized.

But efforts to convert the Arabians were only partially successful. A great majority of the people continued to worship the Spirits of the Stars, under the form of images made to represent them. The Caaba contained three hundred and sixty images, either in human form, or in the shape of lions, eagles, bulls, and other creatures that represented the constellations. Three goddesses, named Al Lata, Al Uzzah, and Manah, were called "Daughters of God;" and their images were regarded with peculiar veneration. One of them held a babe in her arms, as the Egyptian Isis was represented with her infant Horus. Every family had images of household gods, to which prayers were offered in sickness or trouble, also when they set out on a journey, and when they returned. During the last month of every year, a great concourse of pilgrims

travelled to Mecca, to offer vows and sacrifices, return thanks, and present images, or other gifts, to the temple. They put off their garments before entering on the consecrated ground, and walked naked round the Caaba seven times, throwing a stone each time, because they believed that Abraham drove away the Devil with seven stones, when he appeared on that spot and tried to tempt him not to sacrifice Ishmael, as the Lord had commanded. They reverently touched the stone which Gabriel had brought down for Abraham to rest upon; travelled seven times to the neighbouring mountains, looking on the ground, to imitate Hagar's search for water; drank from her miraculous fountain, and carried home some of the holy water. They sacrificed goats, sheep, and camels, part of which they ate, and distributed the remainder among the poor. Before they returned home, they cut off their hair and their nails, and burned them in the sacred valley of Mina. They wore amulets to protect them from evil, and had faith in the magical power of charms and talismans.

Such was the state of things in Arabia, when the celebrated Mohammed Ben Abdallah, commonly called Mahomet, was born at Mecca, five hundred and sixty-nine years after the birth of Christ. He was a lineal descendant from Ishmael, in a straight line, from eldest son to eldest son. He belonged to the Koreish, the most eminent of all the tribes. Ten of their principal men were hereditary governors of Mecca, and guardians of the Caaba. The family of Hashem, into which Mohammed was born, belonged to that honoured class. The offices they held involved responsibility, as well as credit; not only on account of the annual concourse of pilgrims, but because Mecca was a privileged place of sanctuary, like the Cities of Refuge appointed by Moses. Abdallah, the father of Mohammed, died without property, soon after the birth of his son. His mother Aminah, who was noted for her beauty, worth, and intelligence, died when he was six years old. His father's eldest brother, Abu Taleb, became guardian of the orphan. He was an upright man, and educated the boy conscien-

tiously, according to the best ideas of his age and country. He was a merchant, engaged in inland trade, and as his nephew was destined to follow the same business, he frequently took him with him on distant excursions, while he was yet a lad.

In youth Mohammed was observable for integrity, thoughtfulness, and strictness in the performance of devotional exercises. He was rather taciturn, but when he did speak, it was with earnestness and sincerity. His companions were accustomed to call him Al Amin, The Faithful. He had large dark eyes, full of feeling, his complexion was fresh and glowing, his teeth brilliantly white, his mouth finely formed, and his whole countenance luminous with an expression of intelligence and frankness. He was above the medium stature, his limbs well-proportioned, and his movements graceful. By the influence of his uncle, he became agent of a widow with considerable property in Mecca, named Khadeejah. He managed her business with so much honesty and discretion, that he won her confidence and gratitude, which ripened into personal affection, cordially reciprocated by him. He was only twenty-five years old, and she was forty. She had been distinguished above all other women in Mecca for amiability and beauty; and though she had survived two husbands, her face was still handsome, and her figure graceful. This marriage placed Mohammed in easy circumstances. Little is recorded of him during the next fifteen years. He was constant in his affection for Khadeejah, very temperate in his habits, just in his dealings, scrupulous in keeping his word, kind and generous to his relatives, extremely liberal to the poor, and strict in the performance of religious exercises. The sacred stone, on which Abraham sat, was once stolen from the Caaba and carried off by a sect, who were in hopes of thereby attracting pilgrims to their city. They would not restore it for a long time, though the people of Mecca offered five thousand pieces of gold. But not succeeding in their project of attracting pilgrims, they finally sent it back; and the keepers of the Caaba proved its iden-

tity by its peculiar property of swimming on water. A dispute arose as to who should have the honour of replacing it in the temple; but the people manifested their respect for Mohammed by unanimously deciding that he was the most worthy.

All his relatives worshipped after the manner of the Sabians. How far he conformed to it, and what influences induced him to become dissatisfied with it, are not known. Jews were numerous, and much engaged in trade. In the course of his commercial expeditions he would be very likely to meet them, and to hear them express horror of idolatry. It is said he was on terms of intimacy with a learned Jew, and with a Persian named Salman, who having been converted to Judaism, and afterward to Christianity, in some form or other, finally became a Moslem. It is not improbable that he was likewise somewhat acquainted with the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians settled in Arabia, who seem not to have been in a very enlightened condition. When he was fourteen years old, travelling with his uncle to a Fair in Syria, he lodged with Bahira, a Nestorian monk, who had been a Jew; and some say he again spent the night with him, at a later period of his life. Whatever he learned must have been taught orally. During his lifetime, writing began to be introduced among the descendants of Ishmael; but when he was young, no Arab, not even the wealthiest and best educated, was taught to read or write; and it is supposed he always remained ignorant of those useful accomplishments. But Khadeejah had a cousin, named Warakah Ebn Nawfal, a proselyte to Christianity, who could read and write Arabic and Hebrew, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures. Mohammed had manifested devout tendencies from early youth; his mind was eager and inquisitive, and his memory remarkably retentive. Under such circumstances he could hardly fail to have heard much from Khadeejah's relative, which would make a deep impression on him, and form subjects of contemplation, to occupy his serious and thoughtful mind, during his jour-

neys through the deserts. The Arabs were in a very rude state, and had many barbarous and superstitious customs. Those not engaged in trade were generally herdsmen. In many parts of the country, they were much addicted to robbery and marauding excursions, as their cousins the Israelites had been. Mohammed appears to have loved those wild tribes, with the old Asiatic feeling for descendants from a common ancestor. He had heard how Moses received communications from Jehovah, when he retired to the sublime solitude of a mountain; how he was divinely directed to lead the tribes of Israel away from the degrading influences of idolatry, and teach them that the One Supreme God was the only suitable object of adoration; and how those rude tribes, thus bound together by a common faith, and a central place of worship, became a wealthy and powerful nation. In this there was much to excite a fervid, energetic temperament. If God had listened to the prayers of Moses, on Mount Sinai, and commissioned him to be a great prophet to the descendants of Isaac, why should He not also listen, on Mount Hera, to the earnest entreaties of a descendant of Ishmael, who also derived his existence from Abraham, a worshipper of the One True God?

Through what states of preparation his soul passed is unknown. It is only recorded that he strictly observed the annual Arabian Lent, called the Fast of Ramadam, which continued thirty days. On such occasions, he was always accustomed to retire to a cave in Mount Hera, near Mecca, and spend the month in solitude and prayer. No one can tell whether severe fasting, and prolonged efforts to concentrate all his thoughts on spiritual subjects, so affected his nerves, as to produce vivid dreams, or apparent visions. If so, he would honestly consider them miraculous, because that was the universal faith of the age in which he lived. It was the old Sabian belief, corroborated by the testimony of every Jew and Christian, with whom he conversed.

In the fortieth year of his age, while fasting during the

month of Ramadam, in the cave on Mount Hera, he informed Khadeejah that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him, and told him he was appointed to be a prophet, to abolish idolatry, and teach the worship of One God. Previous conversations had doubtless prepared his wife for this communication. She listened with reverent joyfulness, and swore, by Him in whose hands her soul was, that she believed he was ordained to be the prophet of his people. She soon communicated the tidings to her cousin, Warakah Ebn Nawfal, who was also ready to believe. He said Moses had predicted that a prophet like unto himself would arise, and that Jesus had promised not to leave his disciples alone, but to send them a Comforter. He thought there was no reason to doubt that the same Angel, who had appeared to Moses, had been sent to Mohammed; but he did not live long to assist in propagating that belief.

From that time henceforth, Mohammed considered it his mission to destroy idolatry, and restore the worship of One God, as taught by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus; which religion he said both Jews and Christians had corrupted by their superstitions. A favourite slave, named Zaid, believed his master was divinely inspired, and his faith was rewarded by immediate emancipation. Not long after, Mohammed's cousin Ali, a fiery-hearted, spontaneous, generous lad, the son of Abu Tâleb, became a proselyte. The next convert was Abubeker, a man of high standing in the Koreish tribe, who soon gained over some other influential men in Mecca. To them Mohammed preached, according to the communications he received from the angel Gabriel. His two leading doctrines were the unity of God, and unquestioning submission to the Divine will; therefore he called his system Islam, which means submission. Things went on in a quiet and rather private way for three years, during which he had only thirteen followers, including the members of his own family; but they all prayed incessantly that the faith might be extended, and they zealously devoted themselves to its advancement, in every possible way. At the end of that time, he caused

a banquet to be prepared, and invited forty relatives, all of them descendants of his great-grandfather Hashem, who had been a man of note in his day. When they had assembled, he told them of the visits of the Angel, and said: "God Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him. I know of no man in all Arabia who can offer his kindred anything more excellent than I now offer you; happiness in this life, and felicity in that which is to come. Who among you will assist me in my mission? Who will be my brother, and vicegerent?" They all seemed doubtful what to think or say. The youthful Ali, then only fourteen years old, seeing them hesitate thus, started up, and exclaimed: "Oh prophet, I am the man! Whoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, and rip up his belly. O prophet, I will be thy brother and vicegerent." Mohammed embraced the ardent youth, and desired those present to listen to him, and obey him, as his deputy. Whereupon, many of them laughed, and told Abu Táleb he must now prepare to submit to his son. The coldness of his kindred did not abate the zeal of Mohammed. He seized every opportunity to converse either with friends or strangers, concerning the doctrine of One Invisible God. He openly condemned or ridiculed some of the popular usages, rendered sacred by the sanction of ages. To those whom he saw worshipping after the manner of their country, he said: "You pray to idols, that you rub with oil and wax, and the flies stick to them. I tell you they are nothing but wood." The Koraish, supposing he assumed to be a prophet for the purpose of making money, offered to make a collection for him, to appoint him chief of the tribe, and marry him to any woman he wished, if he would desist from the course he was pursuing. His uncle, the beloved guardian of his childhood, besought him to keep silence, and not risk his own safety, and that of his relatives, by proclaiming such opinions. He burst into tears, and replied: "It is a faith approved by God, and He has appointed me to be its apostle. If they would put the sun in my right hand, and the

moon in my left, and give me the whole earth for a possession, I could not disobey the commands of God." When pilgrims arrived, or the people assembled on festival days, he delivered to them messages from the angel Gabriel against idolatry. His uncle Abu Tâleb sought to counteract these efforts, saying: "Citizens and pilgrims, do not listen to these impious novelties. Stand fast in the worship of Al Lata, and Al Uzzah." He had, however, a strong affection for his nephew, and did his utmost to protect him from his numerous enemies. Many of the Koreish were jealous of the influence exerted by the Hashem family, and this heretical teaching afforded them a good opportunity to seek to weaken it. They reproached Abu Tâleb for protecting his blasphemous relative; saying: "Thy nephew reviles our religion. He accuses our wise forefathers of ignorance and folly. Silence him quickly; lest he kindle discord and excite tumult in the city. If he perseveres, we will draw our swords against him and his adherents, and thou wilt be responsible for the blood of thy fellow-citizens." As the Prophet could not be induced to desist, they violently attacked him and his followers, and he was frequently obliged to change his residence, to save his life. Once, when he was proclaiming his prophetic mission to an assemblage of pilgrims, he was well nigh killed by the stones thrown at him. His uncle Abu Tâleb appears to have believed in his sincerity, though he had no faith in his mission. He encountered the enmity of his tribe by openly protecting him, and providing secret places of refuge when he could do no better. The more the danger increased, the more did the good Khadeejah strive to soothe and encourage her persecuted husband. She never doubted that he was indeed a prophet sent by God; and she felt as if she was performing a great duty in consecrating her property to his support and defence. Once, when he had been preaching to the people, and returned in the evening, the house was surrounded by furious men, who pelted it with stones and other missiles, and called upon him to appear, that they might kill the

man who blasphemed their gods. Khadeejah, perceiving there was no chance for him to escape, went forth into the midst of the mob, and demanded whether her countrymen had lost the Arabian sense of honour, that they could do so mean a thing as to attack the house of a woman. Her rebuke made them ashamed, and they dispersed without doing any further injury. But the animosity of the Koreish increased to such a degree, that the Prophet gave the more timid of his followers leave to withdraw from Mecca. In the fifth year of his mission, sixteen of them, among whom were one of his own daughters and her husband, took refuge in Abyssinia. The persecution continued to increase, and two years afterward they were followed by seventy or eighty more. They were all kindly received by Nejashy, king of that country, who was either partly or entirely a convert to Christianity. When they asked for his protection, they said: "We have been driven from Arabia because we believed in a prophet, whom God hath sent; the one whom Jesus promised. He forbids murder, robbery, gambling, oppression, and adultery. He enjoins us not to eat blood, or the flesh of any creature that died of itself. He commands us to worship One Invisible God, and no other; to pray often, and give a tenth of our income to the poor." Nejashy, highly pleased with this account, replied: "The Most High God sent Jesus with the same injunctions. What does your prophet say of *him*?" They answered: "He says Jesus was the Word of God, whom a virgin conceived by the breath of the Holy Spirit." "Prosperity be with you, and with him from whom you came!" exclaimed the king. "He must be that prophet on whom the Son of Mary pronounced blessings. If the duties of my royal station did not hinder me, verily I would go and assume the office of bearing his shoes. No one shall molest you." The Koreish sent to demand them, but he refused to give them up, and he afterward became a convert to the faith of Islam.

Persecution produced the usual effect. The new doctrines spread so rapidly among the tribes, that the exas-

perated Koreish entered into a league not to buy or sell, marry or give in marriage, or in any way hold intercourse with the descendants of Hashem, unless they would give up Mohammed to the vengeance of their offended deities. They entered into this covenant with solemn formalities, and to invest it with greater sacredness they placed a record of it in the Caaba. The relatives of Mohammed refused to renounce him; and the tribe divided into factions, which contended with each other during three years. At the end of that time, Mohammed told his uncle Abu Tâleb, leader of the Hashemites, that God had manifested his displeasure at the Koreish league, by causing a worm to eat every word out of the document placed in the Caaba, except His own sacred name. Abu Tâleb, being in some way convinced that the writing had actually disappeared, went to the leader of the Koreish and made a statement of it; declaring that if it proved false, he would deliver his nephew into their hands; provided they would agree to cancel the league, if it proved true. They acquiesced, and were much astonished to find the record obliterated, as he had said. But though their covenant was thus rendered void, animosity between the factions remained as strong as ever. That same year, which was the tenth of Mohammed's mission, his kind guardian Abu Tâleb died, at the age of eighty. Some say he embraced the faith of Islam on his death-bed; others deny it. Very soon afterward, Khadeejah died. She was sixty-five years old, and had lived with Mohammed a little more than twenty-four years; during which time she brought him two sons and four daughters. While she lived, no other woman shared his affections, and he never seemed to desire the acquaintance of any; a very remarkable fact, considering he was fifteen years younger than herself, and lived in a country where polygamy was sanctioned by law and universal custom. He buried her with his own hands; and that year was ever afterward named by him and his followers The Year of Mourning.

The animosity of the Koreish became more active after

he was deprived of the guardian uncle, who had so long loved and protected him. They intercepted supplies of water, and injured him and his adherents in so many ways, that he fled to Tayef, sixty miles from Mecca, accompanied by his favourite freed man Zaid. He was received coldly by the principal inhabitants, and when he had been there a month, the populace rose against him, while he was attempting to preach to them, and drove him from the city. He returned to Mecca, where he found his followers greatly disheartened by the unpromising aspect of his affairs. He kept up his courage, however, and continued to preach boldly to the pilgrims, and all others who would hear him. Six members of a Jewish tribe of Arabs, who lived at Yathreb thus became believers in his inspiration, and when they returned home, they warmly commended him and his doctrines.

In the twelfth year of his mission, he declared to his followers that he had made a journey from the temple in Mecca to Jerusalem, and had thence ascended through the seven heavens into the presence of God, and back again to Mecca, in one night. This excited so much distrust, that many left him. Others said if "Moses conversed with God face to face," they knew not why a similar privilege might not be granted to the prophet whom Moses had promised should be "like unto himself." The zealous convert Abubeker declared if Mohammed affirmed it, that was sufficient for him; he believed every word he uttered. His undoubting reliance confirmed some who were wavering; and the idea that Mohammed, who had heretofore received communications through the medium of the angel Gabriel, had been actually admitted to the Divine Presence, and taught by God himself, greatly increased the sacredness with which their faith invested him.

Meanwhile, the pilgrims, who had gone back to Yathreb favourably impressed with Mohammed's teaching, had sown some seeds of doctrine in that city. That same year twelve men came from thence, and had a meeting with the Prophet on a hill near Mecca. They took a

solemn oath never to worship images, or kill their children, or steal, or commit fornication, or forge calumnies, and to obey the Prophet in all things reasonable. These proselytes, having received his blessing, were sent home with one of his experienced disciples, to give them still farther instruction in his doctrines. The next year, being the thirteenth of his mission, the Prophet met seventy-five more converts, in the night time, at the same place. He told them frankly that he had many and powerful enemies, and might soon be compelled to fly from his native city. If they sought to protect him, they might become involved in great dangers; therefore, unless they were very firmly persuaded in their own minds, they had better leave him to seek assistance elsewhere. They asked what reward they were to expect if they happened to be killed in defence of him and his doctrines. He told them they would thus make sure of the joys of Paradise; whereupon, with solemn formalities, they pledged themselves to his service. He chose twelve from among them, who were invested with the same authority that the Apostles of Christ had over the other disciples.

When the Koreish heard that his doctrines were thus extending abroad, and that he had formed a league with certain influential men in Yathreb, they resolved to prevent his leaving Mecca. It was agreed that a man should be selected from each of the forty tribes, and every one should pledge himself to plunge a knife in Mohammed's heart. This array of numbers was intended to prevent the Hashemites from revenging the murder of their kinsman; their power being altogether inadequate to a contest with all the tribes. The conspiracy came to the Prophet's knowledge. He said it was revealed to him by the angel Gabriel. He escaped by night in disguise, with his friend Abubeker. His generous-hearted cousin Ali assumed his garments, and laid himself down on the Prophet's couch to await the assassins. They came at the appointed hour; but they respected the nobleness of the action, and did him no injury. Meanwhile, the fugitives had concealed them-

selves in a cave, about three miles from Mecca. There they remained three days, and the son and daughter of Abubeker secretly conveyed them food. The Koreish sent scouts in every direction to search for them. One of these parties passed directly by the cave, but did not enter. As the sound of their trampling passed away, the trembling Abubeker remarked: "We are only two." "There is a third with us," replied Mohammed; "it is God himself." Some of the Prophet's followers say the Koreish were struck with sudden blindness, and could not see the cave. Others affirm that a spider was sent to spin a web across the entrance, and a pigeon was sent to weave a nest and lay two eggs. The pursuers, being deceived by those indications, took it for granted that no one could have recently entered there. Jews had a similar tradition concerning David; of whom the Talmud relates that the Most High sent a spider to weave a web across the mouth of the cave where he was hidden from the anger of Saul.

The fugitives remained in the cave three days. The pursuit having abated in that time, their friends furnished them with camels and a guide, and they escaped by night, through a rocky and desert country, to Yathreb, which was a hundred and seventy miles from Mecca. This is called the Hegira, which signifies Flight. It was the commencement of Mohammed's prosperous career as a prophet; therefore, his followers adopted it as their era. It occurred six hundred and twenty-two years after the birth of Christ, when Mohammed was fifty-three years old.

The wanderers met with a cordial reception from the believers at Yathreb. Mohammed bought a piece of ground, and built a small house and a place of worship; both characterized by extreme simplicity. There he stood and preached every Friday, leaning against a palm tree. It was several years before he indulged himself with the use of a chair. Afterward, a rude pulpit was made of rough timber. His fervour and eloquence gained converts rapidly. In a short time, there was scarcely a family to be found which did not contain more or less believers.

Before his flight from Mecca, the Prophet had always declared that he was appointed merely to preach One Invisible God, and the duty of submission to His decrees; that he had been invested with no authority to compel people to embrace the true religion. But after the Koreish attempted to murder him, he taught that it was highly meritorious to fight with unbelievers. It is said he was personally present in twenty-seven military expeditions, in nine of which he gave battle. On one of these occasions he was severely wounded, and narrowly escaped with his life. This somewhat shook the faith of his adherents; but he soon restored his authority by telling them the defeat was sent as a punishment for their sins, and to admonish them to be more zealous in the performance of religious duties. This, combined with the assurance that every one who died fighting for the faith of Islam was sure to go directly to Paradise, re-assured their faith and renewed their enthusiasm.

At the commencement of his career he strongly favoured the Jewish religion, and taught his followers to turn toward Jerusalem when they prayed. There are indications that he might have formed a friendly alliance with them, if they had not persevered in treating his claims with the utmost contempt. Three years after the Hegira, he led a band of his followers against the Jews of Koreidha, who had aided the Koreish against him. Nearly seven hundred men were dragged to the market-place in chains, massacred, and thrown into one common grave. The conquerors took possession of all their goods, and carried their women and children into bondage. He afterward took the principal Jewish city in Arabia, and completely subjugated all the descendants of Isaac in that region.

With success, his power over the minds of men increased of course. Though he lived with extremest simplicity in the midst of his followers, wore no pontifical robes, and assumed no regal state, he ruled them with the combined authority of pope and king. They believed everything he touched imbibed supernatural virtue. They reverently

picked up the hairs that fell from his head, and preserved them as relics; and every one was eager to obtain some of the water in which he had washed. His residence at Yathreb rendered the city sacred; and it was thenceforth called *Medinat al Nabi*, The City of the Prophet; known to Europeans under the name of Medina. The most distinguished and venerated guardians of the holy Caaba had never received a thousandth part of the homage accorded to him. The shrine at Mecca was held so sacred by all Arabians, that it was an object of importance to the Prophet to be allowed to make a pilgrimage thither with his adherents, who fully believed that he was sent by God to restore the religion of Abraham, as it had been originally taught in that place. The animosity of the Koreish rendered such an attempt dangerous; but six years after the Hegira his cause had acquired such strength, that he started for Mecca, with an escort of fourteen hundred armed adherents. When he arrived at the boundary of the sacred territory, the Koreish sent him orders not to enter the city. He had determined to besiege the place, when an ambassador arrived, proposing a ten years' truce, on certain conditions. He and his followers were permitted to visit the temple unarmed, and perform the customary rites of pilgrimage, with the agreement that they would all leave the city at the expiration of the third day. Eighty of the Koreish had entered Mohammed's camp in disguise, and were discovered by the Prophet, who pardoned the spies, and allowed them to return unmolested. It is said this act of generosity occasioned the truce. But it is most likely that the accounts they carried back served to intimidate his enemies, and that he had sufficient sagacity to foresee such would be the result. For the ambassador, who was sent to negotiate a treaty, returned, saying: "I have seen the princes of Persia and the emperors of Rome; but I have never seen a king among his subjects like Mohammed among his followers." The Koreish retired to the neighbouring hills, while the pilgrims from Medina performed their acts of worship within the consecrated ter-

ritory. Mohammed departed with his train on the third day; but during that time he succeeded in converting three influential men among the Koreish. The next year, the Prophet sent messages to various chiefs and princes, inviting them to embrace the only true religion. Some returned a respectful answer, accompanied with gifts. Others replied very contemptuously. One of his ambassadors, to a Grecian district in Syria, was put to death. He sent his freed man Zaid with three thousand men to revenge the insult. Victory was gained, after severe fighting, but Zaid was slain. The Prophet loved him, and had adopted him; for he had always been faithful and affectionate, and he was the first man who believed in his inspiration. When they told him Zaid was dead, he answered calmly: "He has done his master's work, and he has gone to his master. All is well with him." But when the corpse was brought home, the daughter of Zaid found the stern old warrior weeping over it like a sorrowing child. "What do I see!" she exclaimed, in astonishment. He answered: "You see a man weeping over his friend."

The Koreish having violated some articles of their treaty, Mohammed marched against Mecca with ten thousand troops. He ascended a hill near his native city, and prayed with a loud voice that Gabriel and three thousand angels might be sent to his assistance. Though these celestial auxiliaries were invisible, his followers had the most implicit faith that they were in attendance. They rushed furiously to the attack, and the Koreish, taken by surprise, offered slight resistance. The chiefs fell at the feet of their conqueror, who sternly demanded, "What right have you to expect mercy from a man whom you have so persecuted?" They answered: "We trust to the generosity of our kinsman." "You shall not trust in vain," he replied; and they received life and liberty, on condition of embracing the faith of Islam. Only ten in the city were condemned to die, and six of those were afterward pardoned. All the idols in the temple, and on the neighbouring mountains, were destroyed, to the great grief and dismay

of their worshippers. The temple became a mosque, and the ancient Caaba the point toward which all believers in the Prophet turned when they prayed, as Jews did toward the Ark of the Covenant. The diamond from Paradise, on which Abraham rested, had long been known as "the black stone." Moslems say the frequent touch of Pagans had changed its colour, but its purity and lustre will one day be restored. The Prophet touched it, and thenceforth it became more sacred than it had ever been.

The man who began by saying he was merely sent to preach the truth, not to compel men to accept it, and who probably honestly thought so, while he was untempted by power, now began to announce that he was ordained to destroy monuments of idolatry everywhere, without regard to holy places, months, or days. He sustained himself by the example of Moses and Joshua, whom God had sent on a similar mission. He included Jews and Christians under the term idolaters. The first, because he said they styled Ezra "the Son of God." The second, because they worshipped Christ as God; prayed to the Spirits of Martyrs; paid homage to images, pictures, and relics; and in some cases believed the Virgin Mary to be one of the Trinity. Had the Jews treated him respectfully in the early days of his mission, when Jerusalem was his *kebla* for prayer, he would probably have made common cause with them; and very likely he might have done much toward verifying their ancient prophecy that they should conquer many nations, and finally subdue the whole earth. But he seems never to have forgiven the scorn with which they treated him. He had far greater aversion to them than to Christians. He often denounces them in the Koran, and during the latter part of his life he persecuted them with peculiar severity. But savage as were the Arab tribes, it must be admitted that they were somewhat less so, than the Hebrews had been under Joshua. In their efforts to extend what they believed to be the true religion, they were often cruel, tyrannical, and avaricious of plunder. Like their Hebrew

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relatives, they seized "vineyards they had not planted," and "harvests they had not sowed," and said they did it in obedience to the commands of God. But they did not exterminate idolatrous tribes, with all their women and babes, without offering them a chance for escape. They always proffered the alternative of submission or battle. If they fought and were conquered, they could save their lives, and be admitted to equal privileges with their invaders, by assenting to their simple creed: "There is but One God, and Mohammed is his prophet." Exceptions were made in favour of those who received some Sacred Book for the guide of life; as did Jews and Christians. Such could purchase liberty to follow their own religion, by paying tribute; though they were deprived of many of the civil privileges enjoyed by "true believers," and were supposed to have no hopes of salvation in the world to come. This was done to express Mohammed's reverence for any laws which he believed to have been originally revealed from heaven, how much soever he supposed them to have been afterward corrupted.

Layard, in his very interesting book on the Remains of Nineveh, says: "One of the first acts of Mahomet, after he had established his power, was a treaty with the Nestorians, securing them protection and certain privileges. They were freed from military service, their customs and laws respected, their clergy exempted from tribute; and it was expressly declared that when a Christian woman entered into the service of a Mussulman, she should not be compelled to change her religion, to abstain from fasts, or to neglect her customary prayers and ceremonies. This document is rejected by some European critics as a forgery; but its authenticity was admitted by early Christian and Mahometan writers. A letter from the Patriarch Jesujabus is evidence of the Mahometan toleration of Nestorians. He writes: 'Even the Arabs, on whom the Almighty has in these days bestowed the dominion of the earth, are among us. They do not persecute the Christian religion; on the contrary, they commend our faith, and

honour the priests and saints of the Lord, conferring benefits upon his churches and convents.'” The Nestorians were doubtless regarded with peculiar favour, because they would never allow any picture or image to be placed in their churches.

During twenty-four years, Mohammed lived with one wife, devotedly attached to her, and her only. After her death, he married twelve wives, all widows, except Ayesha, the daughter of his early and zealous friend Abubeker, whom he espoused when she was only nine years old. In addition to these, he had two handmaids; one of whom gave birth to a son, named Ibraheem; the only child born to him after the death of his first wife. The members of this seraglio occupied separate apartments round his dwelling at Medina. His followers were not allowed to marry more than four wives; the limit fixed by Jewish laws. But he said he was himself exempted from that rule by revelations from Gabriel, which are inserted in the Koran. This extension of privilege was also in conformity to the decisions of Jewish Rabbis, and was sustained by the example of David and Solomon; whom both Jews and Christians believed to be supernaturally guided and inspired. He already had several wives, when he chanced to see the wife of his freed man Zaid. She was very beautiful, and he became violently enamoured. Zaid, who loved him with strong personal affection, and revered him as the chosen ambassador of the Most High, offered to divorce her for his sake. Mohammed at first refused, and struggled a while with his passion. But a verse of the Koran was revealed to him, which sanctioned the proceeding, and he added the handsome Zaynab to his hareem. There was no Nathan the prophet in Arabia, who dared to rise up and rebuke him; and it must be confessed there were some features in King David's treatment of Uriah even more discreditable to a servant of God, than were Mohammed's dealings with Zaid.

In the midst of all these irregularities, his good old Khadeejah never seemed to lose her strong hold upon his

affections. After her death, he loved and trusted Ayesha more than any of his wives; partly on account of her youth and beauty, partly from his strong affection and gratitude for her father. Yet when this petted favourite, years after his first companion was in her grave, ventured to ask: "Do you not love me better than you did Khadeejah? She was old, and a widow. Am I not better than she was?" He replied warmly: "No; by Allah, there never *can* be a better woman than Khadeejah. She helped me when I was poor; she believed in me, when others despised me; she was devoted to me, when all men persecuted me." He was accustomed to say that there were four perfect women, who had more beautiful palaces in Paradise, than any other women. These were his wife Khadeejah, his daughter Fatima, the sister of Moses, and the mother of Jesus.

With the exception of voluptuous tendencies in the latter part of his life, and great fondness for perfumes, Mohammed was exceedingly frugal and temperate in all his habits. He never tasted of wine or intoxicating drinks. He sometimes ate animal food, and he was very partial to honey and milk; but his common diet was barley bread, dates, and water. Sometimes months passed without his eating anything that required fire for its preparation. A cloak spread on the ground served for his bed, and a skin filled with date leaves was his pillow. He rode on a blanket instead of a saddle, mended his own garments and sandals, milked the goats, and ate the same food as his servants, seated with them on the ground. He manifested an attentive kindness to children, and always gave the first salutation to whoever he met, even if it were the meanest beggar. He declared that he would always persist in doing such things, that they might thenceforth be deemed meritorious by those whom his example could influence. It was allowable for him to divide lands of the conquered, because God had given to him the possession of all the earth; and to take whatever he chose from the spoils of war, beside receiving a fifth part when division was made

Of course, an immense amount of wealth came into his hands. But he was so generous to his friends, and so exceedingly liberal to the poor, that he never accumulated. From the large sums that came to him, he reserved merely enough to maintain his family; and even from that fund he imparted so liberally to the necessities of others, that the close of the year found him destitute. On one occasion, it is said he even gave away his last shirt. His followers have a tradition that an angel once appeared to him, and offered to change the whole wilderness around Mecca into gold for him. But he raised his hand toward heaven, and said: "O Lord I desire to be filled one day, and thank Thee, and be hungry another day, and supplicate Thee." His followers placed implicit reliance on his veracity and justice, which they declare was unimpeachable. His cruel treatment of the Jews of Koreidha was the darkest stain upon his character. It cannot be excused, even on the ground of mistaken theological zeal; for there was great similarity in their opinions, and there was nothing in their practices to excite his animosity against image-worship. With this exception, he was, on the whole, more merciful than Asiatic conquerors have generally been. Human nature is such a problem, that it is not easy to decide how far his aggressions upon others might have been sanctioned by the honest, though mistaken, convictions of his own conscience. He seems to have been sincerely persuaded that there was no salvation for those whose faith was erroneous; certainly not if they were idolaters. It is related of him that he went to visit his mother's tomb. As he gazed upon it, he burst into a flood of tears, and said: "I asked permission of God to visit my mother's grave, and it was granted to me; but when I asked leave to pray for her soul, it was denied."

He was extremely devotional in his habits. He never destroyed a piece of paper on which he knew that the name of God was written in any language, or by the followers of any religion. He was diligent in prayer. Ali has re

corded that he sometimes prayed all night, and that "from convulsive weeping his breast sounded like a boiling pot; so extreme was his awe of God." He fasted several days in every month, beside observing with great strictness the annual fast of Ramadam. He never mentioned the faults of others, or bestowed much praise. He often smiled, but never laughed. He was taciturn, as Arabians generally are; but he had an insinuating politeness, and was always courteous and affable, especially to inferiors. The Hashem family were distinguished by a large dark vein in the middle of the forehead, which swelled when they were excited. When Mohammed was angry, this became very prominent, and "the perspiration fell from his brow like pearls." But though naturally of a violent temper, he acquired great control over himself. It was one of his maxims that "he who can command his own soul is bravest of the brave." Returning from battle, he said he was going from a small contest to a great one. Being asked what he meant, he replied: "The conflict with our own souls, where we always have to encounter the worst of our enemies." He was never disturbed by the destruction of worldly goods, and was habitually gentle; but "if he heard that truth or equity had suffered, he was so angry for the Lord's sake, that no one could stand in his presence till the truth was vindicated." Though he dressed with such rude simplicity, associated daily with all sorts of men, and performed the most menial offices for himself, there was a dignity about him, which inspired veneration. The Persian Book of Traditions concerning him declares that "while he spoke, the company inclined toward him, and were silent and still, as if a bird were perched on their heads." "The Most High inspired such awe of him in the hearts of men, that notwithstanding his humility, condescension, and clemency, no one could look him directly in the face; and a trembling, which lasted two months, fell on every infidel and hypocrite who approached him." "Light radiated from his countenance, as from the full moon; and his smooth erect neck resembled a polished silver statue." He was of

illustrious lineage, of unequalled nobleness, knowledge, and generosity; his words sweeter than honey; and for gracefulness a proverb." Of course, some allowance must be made for these accounts, considering the partial source whence they come. But a man who lived on an equality with his servants and soldiers, and yet impressed them with so much reverence, as to give rise to such traditions, must have been a remarkable character. To estimate him justly, it is necessary to remember that he was brought up among a fierce and ignorant people, and that he scarcely knew anything of the world beyond Arabia. His views concerning Christianity cannot surprise us, if we reflect what was its condition at that period; especially in the countries that came under his notice. Different sects persecuted each other even unto banishment and death; bishops contended for power, and were often unscrupulous about the means; the cross was considered an efficacious amulet to expel devils from haunted houses, and from the bodies of men; churches were filled with pictures and relics, before which the multitude prostrated themselves, praying for health and harvests; and in every house were images of apostles or martyrs, to which prayers were offered before and after a journey. It is not surprising that a religion without a priesthood to contend for wealth and power, with unadorned places of worship, few ceremonies, and a creed without abstruse doctrines, which merely taught belief in one God and submission to his decrees, should have impressed some minds favourably in comparison. Had Christianity been in harmony with the precepts and practice of its founder, the sword of Mohammed could not have displaced it in so many countries.

His system was a reproduction of old ideas, from various sources. He retained many of the Sabian traditions, and borrowed from Jews, Christians, and Persians. Judging from the quotations and allusions he makes, his knowledge of the Christian Scriptures was mostly confined to the Spurious Gospels, mentioned as having been in general use in the first centuries; which continued to be received

and revered by churches in the East much longer than by those in the West.

As a reformer, Mohammed was most undoubtedly a benefactor to his country. All the changes he introduced were an improvement upon the state of things he found in Arabia. He abolished idolatry, and sacrifices, and firmly established the idea of one God. Daughters were considered a burden to a family, and a disgrace if they were not married; therefore, parents often drowned them, or buried them alive. But the Koran forbade this, as a great sin. Before his time, women were not allowed to inherit any share of a father's or husband's property, but he changed the laws, and inculcated justice and kindness toward widows and orphans. His example established the idea that no believer in the faith of Islam ought to hold a fellow believer in slavery. In the sale of captives, he prohibited the practice of separating mothers from their children. He ordained that masters and slaves should have the same food and clothing; and he rendered emancipation easy. The destitute were not trusted to casual charity. It was enacted that every man should give a tithe of his income for the support of the poor; and if he attempted to defraud, he was compelled to pay a fifth. The Arabians were much addicted to gambling and intoxication. Both of these were expressly forbidden. They were not even allowed to taste of wine or strong liquors. He did not abolish polygamy, which was the ancient custom of the country, and believed by him and his followers to be sanctioned by the example of the patriarchs; but he discouraged divorce, and passed several salutary and restraining laws on the subject. He continually urged honesty and veracity, as crowning virtues. The old custom of assembling on Friday to offer sacrifice and prayer had come to be used mainly as a convenience for trading purposes; but by his exhortations and laws it became invested with a devotional character. His rude countrymen already believed in a very sensual heaven and hell. The Koran diminished rather than increased this tendency. The voluptuous pictures, which Europeans

are accustomed to quote, were mostly introduced by Books of Traditions, received as supplementary to the Koran, long after his death. He appointed the following prayer to be repeated by every one when he was about to leave his house: "Oh God, make me content with thy decrees, and bless me in that which thou hast destined. Help me not to wish the acceleration of what thou hast delayed, nor the delay of what thou hast accelerated; for all things are in thy power." He prescribed prayers five times in every twenty-four hours; at sunrise, noon, sunset, close of twilight, and before the first watch of the night. When some converts complained of this, as onerous, he replied: "Religion is nothing without prayer." He required that all these acts of devotion should be preceded by ablution, saying that without cleanliness no prayer could be acceptable to God. He taught his followers that prayer and fasting would carry them to the gate of Paradise, and benevolence to the poor would gain them admittance. He repeatedly disclaimed power to work any other miracle than producing the Koran. Whether he really believed he was in communication with the angel Gabriel, no mortal can ever know. The balance of evidence inclines a candid mind to the conclusion that he was a religious enthusiast, rather than an ambitious artful impostor.

Ten years after the Hegira, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca, with a splendid retinue of more than one hundred thousand followers. This was his last journey. The physical strength which had endured so much hardship, turmoil, and battle, had been failing for the last few years, in consequence of eating mutton, supposed to have been poisoned by a Jewish woman, in revenge for the injuries inflicted on her people. Soon after his return from Mecca, he was seized by fever, which at intervals deprived him of reason. He said to Ali: "Gabriel has every year recited the Koran to me once; but this year, he has done it twice. I think this is a sign that my departure is near." He emancipated all his slaves, and gave directions concerning his funeral. He was so poor, that he literally possessed nothing but one

camel; but he charged Ali to see that every debt was paid. Until three days before his death, he continued his usual practice of public exhortation and prayer. Weakness then compelled him to ask his old friend Abubeker to perform the duty for him. With a bandage bound tightly round his throbbing head, and leaning on the shoulder of Ali, he went to the mosque to bid his people farewell. "Oh, my companions," said he, "what a prophet I have been unto you! Did you not break my front teeth, throw dust on my forehead, and cause blood to flow from my face, till my beard was dyed with it? Have I not suffered distresses and calamities through the ignorance of my people? Did I not bind a stone on my stomach to allay the torment of hunger, while aiding my followers?" They replied: "Yes, O prophet of God. Verily you have endured much for God's sake, and you have prohibited what was wrong. May God reward you with the best of rewards, on our account." He answered: "May God grant you the same. The time is now very near when I shall be concealed from you. Therefore, if any man has a claim on me, let him declare it now." A voice from the crowd said: "You owe me three drachms." He ordered them to be paid; and added: "If I have done injury to any one, I adjure him to rise and tell me." A man stood up, and said: "Your staff struck me one day; but whether it was done intentionally on your part, I do not know." He replied: "God forbid that I should have done it intentionally;" and he offered the man his staff, that he might return the blow; saying: "It is better to be in shame now than at the Day of Judgment." But he kissed the Prophet's body, and forgave the accident. Mohammed said to the people: "No one can hope for favour from God, but by obedience. That alone can save us from the wrath of God. Verily, if I should sin, I should go to hell. O Lord, I have delivered thy message." He descended from the pulpit, and after offering a brief prayer with the people, he returned to his house. During his illness, he expressed undoubting confidence in the favour of God, and often repeated consoling

messages brought by the angel Gabriel, who was said to visit him every day and night. The only child he had left was Fatima, who had married her cousin Ali. He manifested the strongest affection for them, fervently blessed them and their children, and charged Ali to be always kind to his family. He had previously declared that the Angel of Death would never be allowed to take his soul from the body till he received permission from himself. Gabriel informed him that the Angel was now in attendance, and would either take him, or go away, which ever he chose; adding: "Verily the Most High is desirous to meet you." Whereupon, Mohammed replied: "I have finished my mission, and am ready to join my fellow prophets in Paradise. Oh, Angel of Death, execute your orders!" He died with his head reclining in Ayesha's lap. His last broken words were: "O God—pardon my sins—yes, my companions—I come."

The announcement of his departure was met with an outburst of clamorous grief. His friends exclaimed, "How *can* he be dead? He who was our witness and intercessor with God? By Allah, he *is* not dead! He is only wrapped in a trance, like Moses and Jesus; and he will speedily return to his faithful people." Omar, in his frenzy, unsheathed his scimitar, and declared he would strike off the head of any infidel, who said the Prophet was dead. But Abubeker rebuked them, saying: "Is it Mohammed you worship, or Him who created Mohammed? Verily Allah liveth forever; but his apostle was a mortal, like ourselves; and he has experienced the common fate of mortality, according to his own predictions." He died in the eleventh year of the Hegira, when he was sixty-three years old. People came from the surrounding country in great numbers to gaze upon his beloved countenance, and pronounce blessings over his bier. This ceremony lasted from Monday till Tuesday night. He had instructed Ali to build a very simple tomb, and enclose it with a wall. The possession of it rendered Medina a sacred city, thenceforth resorted to by many pilgrims.

SACRED BOOKS.—A belief prevailed among both Hebrews and Arabians that writings had been handed down by Adam. Some Jewish Rabbis ascribed the ninety-second Psalm to Adam. In some manuscripts, there was a Chaldean title, which declared: "This is a song of praise, repeated by the first man, for the Sabbath day." In the Christian Scriptures, Jude alludes to prophecies by Enoch, "the seventh from Adam." It was a current tradition among Arabians that Adam received ten books from heaven; that Abraham, in the course of his travels, found a chest containing those books, together with others, written by Seth and Enoch; that ten others were afterward communicated to him, among which was the Zend Avesta. Books purporting to be written by Enoch and Seth still exist in Asia. They are said to contain accounts of Star Spirits, mediators between the Supreme and mortals, and of love entertained by some of them for women on this earth, by which different races of intermediate genii were produced. At the time Mohammed appeared, the Book of Seth was much revered by many of the Arab tribes. They also had traditions concerning the creation, the deluge, and the descendants of Adam, which were very similar to the Hebrew, and which they traced to Abraham. The Zend Avesta, also attributed to him, was regarded with reverence, especially by tribes in the neighbourhood of Persia. A knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures, especially of the Rabbinical traditions which formed the Talmud, was introduced among tribes converted to Judaism. They had much reverence for a book called Psalms of David, to which were added prayers by Moses, Jonas and others. Some of the numerous spurious Gospels afloat in the first centuries, many of them from Gnostic sources, had been introduced into Arabia by Christian sects; and it is obvious that Mohammed, by some means or other, was acquainted with them. The Koran seems to be composed of fragments from all these sources; and this was in accordance with the teaching of Mohammed, who always spoke of his own inspirations as "a confirmation of the

Scriptures which had been revealed before." He said ten books had been given to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Enoch, and ten to Abraham. Afterward the Pentateuch was revealed to Moses, the Psalms to David, the Gospel to Jesus, and the Koran to him. He says: "We make no difference between that which God has taught us, and that which Abraham, Isaac, Ishmael, the twelve tribes, Moses, and Jesus, have learned of the Lord." To restore religion as it was taught by Abraham was especially his object. In the Koran it is written: "The Law and the Gospel were not sent down till after Abraham. He was neither a Jew nor a Christian. But he was of the true religion; one resigned unto God, and not of the number of idolaters." Mohammed said the first hundred books revealed by God had all been entirely lost; that Jesus had carried his Gospel back with him to heaven; that the Pentateuch of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Gospels received by Christians, had been so much altered, that, though they might retain some portions of truth, they were by no means to be relied on; the Koran was the last revelation that would ever be given; the only trustworthy standard; and angels had especial charge of it, to prevent its ever becoming corrupted, as other Sacred Books had been.

The Koran purports to have been revealed to Mohammed in portions, by the angel Gabriel, at different places, and successive periods, as various emergencies required, during the course of twenty three years. The Prophet being unable to write, employed a scribe to record these fragments. It is generally said that Ali was his principal amanuensis; but others were also employed. These fragments were left in a chest, in a very disorderly state, some written on skins, some on palm leaves, and some on shoulder-blades of mutton; for paper was not invented, and parchment was then rarely seen in Arabia. Two years after the death of Mohammed, his friend Abubeker collected them and had them copied into a volume; and it is said that some verses which had been committed to memory were added. It forms a printed book about

the size of the New Testament. Like the Pentateuch, it constitutes the only civil code, as well as the religious standard of the nation; and most of the laws are in fact almost exact transcripts of the ordinations of Moses, and the judicial decisions of Jewish Rabbis. It breathes also the same spirit of extermination against idolaters, that the Old Testament does against the Philistines. Hebrews called their Sacred Books by the general term of The Scriptures, or The Writings. Arabians named theirs Al Koran, which signifies The Reading. The following extracts will serve to give some idea of its character: The first chapter consists of a prayer, which all devout Moslems pronounce before they begin to read anything, and as a prelude to all important undertakings: "Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures; the Most Merciful, the King of the Day of Judgment! Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious; not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray."

"God hath commanded that ye worship no one beside him."

"There is no God but Allah, the living, the self-subsisting. He hath sent down unto thee the book of The Koran, with truth confirming that which was revealed before it. For he had previously sent down the Law and the Gospel, as guides unto man. He had also sent down the distinction between good and evil. Verily, those who believe not the signs of God shall suffer a grievous punishment; for God is mighty, and able to revenge."

"Say God is one God; the eternal God. He begetteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not any one like him."

"The Jews say Ezra is the Son of God, and the Christians say Christ is the Son of God. This is their saying in their mouths. They imitate the sayings of those who were unbelievers in former times. May God resist them! How they are infatuated! They take priests and monks for

their lords, beside God, and Christ the son of Mary; although they are commanded to worship one God only. There is no God but him."

"When God shall say unto Jesus, at the Last Day, O Jesus, son of Mary, didst thou say unto men, take me and my mother for two gods, beside God? He shall answer, Praise be unto Thee! It is not for me to say that which I ought not. If I had said so, thou surely wouldst have known it. Thou knowest what is in *me*, but I know not what is in *Thee*; for thou art the knower of secrets. I have not spoken to them otherwise than what thou didst command me; namely, Worship God, who is *my* Lord, and *your* Lord."

"Verily Christ Jesus is the apostle of God; a Spirit proceeding from Him; the Word, which he conveyed into Mary. Believe, therefore, in God and his apostles; and say not there are three Gods. Forbear this. It will be better for you. God is but one God. Far be it from him that he should have a son! He alone governs the heavens and the earth. Christ doth not proudly disdain to be a servant unto God; neither do the angels, who approach near to his presence."

"Assuredly, they are infidels, who say, Verily, Christ, the son of Mary, is God; since Christ said, O children of Israel, serve God, my Lord, and your Lord. Whosoever giveth a companion unto God, God will exclude him from Paradise, and his habitation shall be hell-fire; and the ungodly shall have none to help them. They are certainly infidels, who say God is the third of three; for there is no God but one God. If they refrain not from what they say, a painful torment will surely be inflicted on them. Will they not, therefore, be turned unto God, and ask pardon of Him? since God is gracious and merciful. Christ, the son of Mary, was no more than an apostle. Other apostles preceded him. His mother was a woman of veracity. They both ate food."

"It is not allowable to the Prophet, nor to those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters, although

they be of kin, after it becomes known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell. Abraham did not ask forgiveness for his father, otherwise than in fulfilment of a promise he had made unto him. And when it became known unto him that he was an enemy of God, he declared himself clear of him."

"Verily, repentance will be accepted with God, from those who do evil ignorantly, and repent speedily. Unto them will God be turned; for God is knowing and wise. But no repentance will be accepted from him who waits till death presents itself, and says: 'Verily I repent now;' nor from those who are unbelievers. For them is prepared a grievous punishment."

"Fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you; but transgress not by attacking them first; for God loveth not the transgressors. And kill them wherever ye find them; and turn them out of that whereof they have dispossessed you; for temptation to idolatry is more grievous than slaughter. Yet fight not against them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein; but if they attack you, slay them there."

"The sword is the key of heaven and of hell. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer. Whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven. At the day of judgment, his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim."

"Whoever shall be slain unjustly, we have given his heir power to demand satisfaction. But let him not exceed the bounds of moderation, by putting to death the murderer in too cruel a manner, or by revenging his friend's blood on any other than the person who killed him."

"Verily, those who disbelieve our signs, we will surely cast to be broiled in hell-fire. So often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may have the sharper torment; for God is mighty

and wise. But those who believe, and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers. Therein shall they remain forever, and there shall they enjoy wives free from all impurity; and we will lead them into perpetual shades."

"When the inevitable day of judgment shall come, it will abase some, and exalt others. Those on the left hand shall dwell amid burning winds, and scalding water, and in the shadow of black smoke. Those on the right hand shall approach near unto God. They shall dwell in gardens of delight, reposing on couches adorned with gold and precious stones. Youths, blooming with immortal beauty, shall wait upon them with whatsoever birds or fruits they may desire, and with goblets of wine, the drinking of which shall not disturb their reason, or cause their heads to ache. As a reward for that which they have wrought they shall have for companions fair damsels, resembling pearls hidden in their shells, and having large black eyes. They shall not hear any charge of sin, nor any vain discourse; but only the salutation, Peace! Peace!"

"He who shall appear with *good* works, shall receive a *tenfold* recompense for them; but he who shall appear with *evil* works, shall receive only an *equal* punishment for them."

"O Lord, give us the reward thou hast promised by thy apostles; and cover us not with shame on the day of resurrection. Their Lord answereth them, saying, I will not suffer the work of those among you who work righteously to be lost, whether ye are male or female; for the one of you is from the other."

"Surely those who are believers, and Jews also, and Christians, and Sabians, and all who believe in God, and the last day, and do that which is right, shall have their reward with the Lord. There shall come no fear upon them, neither shall they be grieved." Some commentators on the Koran admit that this text teaches the salvation of all men in their own religion, provided their faith is sin-

cere, and their works righteous. But they say it was soon after abrogated by other revelations; especially by the following message: "Whoever followeth any other religion than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him; and at the last day, he shall be of those who perish."

"No man can die except by permission of God; according to what is written in his Book, which contains the fore-ordination of all things."

"If ye hear that a mountain hath changed its place, believe it; but if ye hear that a man has changed his disposition, believe it not." * * * * "He shall assuredly return to that for which he was created."

"Freemen may marry as many as four wives, free or servile; but no more." "Ye are to live chastely with them, neither committing fornication, nor taking them for concubines."

"O men, fear the Lord, who hath created you out of one man, and out of him created his wife, and from those two hath multiplied many men and women. Fear God, by whom ye beseech one another. Respect women, who have borne you; for God is watching over you. Give orphans their substance when they come of age. Render them not bad, in exchange for good; and devour not their substance by adding it to your own; for this is a great sin. If ye fear that ye shall not act righteously toward orphans of the female sex, take in marriage such other women as please you; two, or three, or four; but no more. If ye fear that ye cannot act equitably toward so many, marry one only; or the slaves ye shall have acquired. This will be easier, that ye swerve not from righteousness."

"Men ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave behind them, when they die; and women ought also to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave; whether it be little, or whether it be much, a determinate part is due to them."

* "Show kindness unto your parents, whether one or both of them attain to old age with thee. Say not unto them, Fie upon you! neither reproach them. But speak respect-

fully unto them, and submit to behave humbly toward them, out of grateful affection; and say, O Lord, have mercy on them, and care tenderly for them, as they cared for me, when I was little."

"Give what is needful unto him who is of kin to you, also unto the poor and the traveller. Waste not thy substance profusely; for the profuse are brethren of the devils; and the Devil was ungrateful to his Lord. If thou turn away from giving to the needy, at least speak kindly to them, in expectation of the mercy thou hopest from God."

"Paradise is prepared for the godly, who give alms in prosperity and adversity; who bridle their anger, and forgive men. For God loveth the beneficent, and those who after having committed a crime, or dealt unjustly with their own souls, remember Him, and ask pardon for their sins, and persevere not in what they have done. Their reward shall be pardon from their Lord, and gardens wherein rivers flow. They shall remain therein forever."

"To endure and to pardon is the wisdom of life."

"It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces in prayer toward the East and the West; but righteousness is of him who believeth in God and the last day, and the angels, and the Scriptures, and the prophets; who for the Lord's sake, giveth money unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and to the needy, and to strangers, and for the redemption of captives; who are constant in prayer, and in the giving of alms; who perform their covenant when they have covenanted; who behave patiently in times of violence, adversity, and hardship. Such are they who truly fear God."

"Unto such of your slaves as desire a written instrument, allowing them to redeem themselves, on paying a certain sum, write one, if ye know good in them; and impart to them of the riches of God, which He hath given you."

"If your maid-servants wish to live chastely, compel them not to prostitute themselves, in order that ye may gain the casual advantages of this present life."

"Walk not proudly in the land; for thou canst not

cleave the earth, neither canst thou equal the mountains in stature. All this is evil, and abominable in the sight of the Lord."

"O true believers, when ye are called to prayer on the Day of Assembly [Friday] hasten to the commemoration of God, and leave merchandizing. This would be better for you, if ye knew it. When prayer is ended, then disperse yourselves through the land as ye list, to seek gain from the liberality of God; but remember God frequently, that ye may prosper."

"Prayer is the pillar of religion, and the key of Paradise."

"Draw not near unto fornication; for it is wickedness, and an evil way."

"In wine and lots [gambling] there is great sin. In some respects they are of use unto men; but their sinfulness is greater than their use."

"God will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths; but he will punish you for what ye solemnly swear with deliberation. The expiation of such an oath shall be to feed ten poor men, or to clothe them, or to ransom a true believer from captivity. He who cannot find wherewith to perform one of these three things, shall fast for three days."

"Perform your covenant; for the performance of covenants shall be inquired into hereafter."

"When you measure aught, give full measure; and weigh with a just balance."

"One hour of equity is better than seventy years of devotion."

The accounts of Adam, Noah, and the patriarchs, which Arabs believed had been handed down by Abraham, are given in the Koran with less resemblance to the Pentateuch, than to Rabbinical traditions among the Jews. The following will serve for a sample: God is represented as saying to man, "We created you, and afterward formed you; and then said unto the angels, Worship Adam! And they all worshipped him except Eblis. God said,

What hinders thee from worshipping Adam, as I have commanded? He answered, I am more excellent than Adam; for thou hast created me of fire, and hast created him of clay. God said, Get thee down from Paradise; for it is not fitting to behave proudly therein. Get thee hence! Thou shalt be one of the contemptible. He said, Give me respite until the day of resurrection. God answered, Verily thou shalt be one of the respited. The Devil said, Because thou hast degraded me, I will lay wait for men in thy strait way. I will come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right hand, and from their left. Thou shalt not find the greater part of them thankful. God said unto him, Get thee hence, despised and driven far away. Verily, whoever of them shall follow thee, I will surely fill hell with you all. As for thee, O Adam, dwell with thy wife in Paradise, and eat of the fruit thereof wherever ye will; but eat not of this tree, lest ye become of the number of the unjust. And Satan suggested to them both that he would discover unto them their nakedness, which was hidden from them. He said, Your Lord has not forbidden you this tree for any other reason but lest ye should become angels, or immortal. And he swore unto them, saying, Verily I counsel you aright; and through deceit, he caused them to fall. When they had tasted of the fruit, their nakedness appeared unto them; and they began to join together the leaves of Paradise to cover themselves. Their Lord called to them, saying, Did I not forbid you that tree? Did I not say unto you Satan is your declared enemy? They answered, O Lord, we have dealt unjustly with our own souls; and if thou art not merciful to forgive us, we shall surely perish. God said, Get ye down! the one of you an enemy to the other. Ye shall have a dwelling-place upon earth, and provision for a season. Therein shall ye live, and therein shall ye die; and from thence ye shall be taken forth at the resurrection."

The phrase, "Get ye *down*," implies that the Garden of Eden was supposed to be above this earth. Cyprian, and
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other Christian Fathers, believed that the souls of martyrs were waiting for the day of resurrection in the same Paradise from which Adam was expelled. Probably the idea of expulsion from Paradise grew out of the old oriental theory that the souls of human beings were originally angels, who were banished from their heavenly home for desiring too much knowledge, and were imprisoned in bodies on earth, made subject to death. In the sacred traditions of most nations, the *celestial* Paradise is described as having a Tree of Life in the midst, at the foot of which four rivers flowed.

The accounts of the birth of Christ in the Koran are obviously from some of the Spurious Gospels, described in the chapter on Christianity; and like them will remind the reader of Hindoo accounts of Crishna. The Gnostic idea that Jesus merely *appeared* to die is reproduced in the Koran, and of course universally believed by Moslems. A few extracts will serve to show this: "The angel said, O Mary, verily God sendeth thee good tidings. Thou shalt bear the Word proceeding from himself. His name shall be Christ Jesus, the Son of Mary. In this world he shall be honoured, and in the world to come he shall be one of those who approach near to the presence of God. He shall speak while he is yet in the cradle; and when he is grown up, he shall be one of the righteous. She answered, Lord, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me? The angel replied, God creates whatever he pleases. When he decrees a thing, he says Be! and it is done. God will teach him wisdom, and the Scripture, and the Law, and the Gospel; and will appoint him an apostle to the children of Israel. He shall say, Verily, I come unto you with a sign from the Lord; for I will make before you the figure of a bird with clay, and when I breathe thereon it will become a bird, by permission of God. I will heal him that has been blind from his birth. I will cure the leper, and raise the dead, by permission of God. I come to confirm the Law, which was revealed before me. And I come unto you with a

sign from your Lord; therefore, fear God and obey me."

"Zachariah, who had charge of Mary during her pregnancy with the immaculate child, being at that time officiating priest, suffered no one but himself to go into her chamber, or supply her with food; and he always locked seven doors upon her. Notwithstanding this precaution, he always found a plentiful table spread before her of summer fruits in winter, and winter fruits in summer."

"When Mary brought the babe to her people, they said, O Mary, now thou hast done a strange thing! Thy father was not a bad man, neither was thy mother a harlot. She made signs to the child to answer them. But they said, How shall he speak, who is but an infant in the cradle? Whereupon, the babe said, 'Verily, I am the servant of God. He hath given me the book of the Gospel, and appointed me to be a prophet. He hath commanded me to observe prayer, and to give alms so long as I shall live, and to be dutiful toward my mother. Peace be on the day whereon I was born, and the day whereon I shall die, and the day whereon I shall be raised to life.' This was Jesus, the son of Mary, the Word of truth, concerning whom they doubt. It is not meet for God that he should have any son. God forbid!" Certain Jews demanded, as a proof of Mohammed's mission, that they might see a book descend to him from heaven; or that he would produce one written in celestial characters, like the tables of Moses. In answer to this, the following verse was communicated for the Koran: "They who have received the Scriptures will demand of thee that thou cause a book to descend unto them from heaven. They formerly asked of Moses a greater thing than this; for they said, Show us God visibly. They have not believed in Jesus, and have spoken against Mary, which is a grievous calumny. They have said, Verily we have slain Jesus, the son of Mary, the apostle of God. Yet they slew him not, neither crucified him; for he was represented by one in his likeness. Verily, they who disagreed concerning him were in doubt as to this matter. They had no sure knowledge thereof, but

followed only an uncertain opinion. They did not really kill him, but God took him up unto himself." * * * *
"The Jews devised a stratagem against Jesus, but God devised a stratagem against them. God was the best deviser of stratagems, when he said, O Jesus, verily I will not have thee to die, but I will deliver thee from the unbelievers, and take thee up unto myself."

The sermon on the mount and the parables of Jesus are not alluded to in the Koran. Whether Mohammed was acquainted with them or not is a matter of uncertainty. He never learned to read or write. His followers consider this conclusive evidence that the Koran was produced by direct inspiration; and they glory in calling him The Illiterate Prophet. The Koran gave this answer to those who demanded miracles: "They say unless a sign be sent down to him from his Lord, we will not believe. Answer, Signs are in the power of God alone; and I am no more than a public preacher. Is it not sufficient for them that we have sent down unto thee the book of the Koran? Thou couldst not read any book before this, neither couldst thou write. Had it been otherwise, gainsayers might have justly doubted the divine origin thereof."

All Asiatic languages lose much of their beauty and majesty in the process of translation into modern tongues. This is peculiarly the case with the Koran, because it was written in a kind of chanting verse, the rhythm and cadence of which were very musical to Arabian ears, but are entirely lost in translation. To the English reader it seems a confused medley of Chaldean, Persian, Arabian, Jewish, and Christian traditions, with many excellent moral maxims, and wearisome repetitions of promises and threatenings. Arabic and Hebrew have near relationship, being derived from the same source; but Arabic is the richer language, and has been styled "a more refined kind of Hebrew." The Koreish spoke a dialect more polished than the other tribes; and Mohammedans describe the Koran as its purest and most beautiful specimen. The following verse relating to the Deluge is quoted as pre-

eminently sublime: "O earth, swallow up thy waters! and thou, O heaven, withhold thy rain! And immediately the water abated, and the decree was fulfilled." They have a tradition that four unbelievers, most eminent for eloquence, met at Mecca, to produce a book equal to the Koran; but when they heard that sentence recited, they gave up the attempt in despair. When poets produced anything of superior excellence, it was customary to fasten it on the Caaba, by way of honourable distinction. But after that verse was revealed to Mohammed, all the poets went to the temple at night, and removed their specimens, lest they should be humbled by the comparison. When the inspired Imam Saduk listened to that sentence, he exclaimed: "Verily, if men and genii were purposely assembled to produce a book equal to the Koran, they could not produce one like unto it, though they combined to assist each other." Their traditions likewise declare that Mohammed once issued a challenge to the learned everywhere, to disprove his claim to divine inspiration by composing a book equal to the Koran. "But though the number of elegant writers exceeded the sands of the desert, and all were eager to falsify the Prophet's claims, yet their efforts were entirely vain." Mohammedan writers say that "a sentence of the Koran inserted in any other composition, however eloquent, is like a ruby, and shines like a gem of most brilliant lustre. So inimitable is its diction, as to be the subject of astonishment to all learned men, ancient and modern." "Such is the innate efficacy of the Koran, that it removes all pains of body and sorrows of mind. It annihilates what is wrong in carnal desires, delivers from the temptations of Satan, from external and internal fears, from enemies within and without. It removes all doubts raised by satanic influences, sanctifies the heart, imparts health to the soul, and produces union with the Lord of Holiness. It moves hearts that are heavy as mountains, causes rivers to flow from the eyes, ploughs up the soil of careless bosoms, sows there the seed of divine love, and like the trumpet of the archangel,

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re-animates those who are dead in pride." The Imam Saduk, being asked why it was that the more the Koran was read the newer it appeared, replied: "Because it was not sent for one particular age, but for all mankind, down to the judgment day." Some say that the proof of inspiration is not in the style, but in the remarkable and true prophecies it contains.

Jews believed that the Law of Moses was written before Adam was created; that it was coeval with the throne of Jehovah. The prevailing belief in Mohammedan countries is that the Koran was not written by any mortal; that it was the uncreated eternal Word, existing in the very essence of God; that every word of it was inscribed with a ray of light on the table of everlasting decrees, which stands near the throne of Allah; that a copy of it was written on parchment made of the skin of the ram, which Abraham sacrificed instead of Ishmael; that it was bound in silk, adorned with the gold and gems of Paradise, and brought by Gabriel to Mohammed. Portions of it were read to him from time to time, as occasions required; and once a year the entire volume was shown to him. All sects hold it in the greatest possible reverence. Like the Hindoos and the Jews, they never touch the Sacred Book without first washing their hands. Lest it should be done inadvertently, they place a label on the cover: "Let no one touch this, but those who are clean." They never hold it below their girdles; and never knowingly allow an unbeliever to possess a copy. On important occasions, they consult it as an oracle, taking the first verse they open upon as an inspired guide. They swear by it, carry it with them to war, inscribe sentences of it on their banners, and believe it will finally be established in every kingdom of the earth. The wealthy have copies of it enclosed in golden covers set with precious stones. In some places the entire volume is read through daily at the principal mosque, by relays of appointed readers, who take it up in succession. It is said there are some devotees who have read it seventy thousand times. All questions of

life and property, as well as of doctrine, are decided by it. Having been in existence over twelve hundred years, it of course fails to meet all the wants of modern times, even where society is so very slightly progressive as in Asia. But they stretch its capacities by resorting to the same process that Hindoos did with the Vedas, and Jews with the Pentateuch; they give ingenious interpretations, and resort to allegorical significance where the literal meaning is unsatisfactory. An immense number of commentaries have been written upon it. It is supposed to require much learning to distinguish rightly between what was intended to be allegorical and what literal; to determine for what emergencies particular passages were written, and whether they were abrogated by succeeding passages. There have been various editions of the Koran; but they are all said to contain exactly the same number of words and letters; for, like the Jewish Rabbins, they take pains to count the letters, and even how many times each letter is used. It has been translated into many languages.

Jews formed the Talmud by collecting their prevalent traditions and oral laws, which became of equal authority with the Pentateuch. Christians received the Traditions of the Fathers as of equal authority with their Scriptures. Two hundred years after the death of Mohammed, traditions concerning him and his family, and a collection of canonical decisions made in the first ages of Islamism, were collected and published. The first of these volumes, called the *Sonna* was prepared under the supervision of Al Bochari, who from three hundred thousand traditions selected seven thousand two hundred and seventy five, believed to be authentic. To obtain divine direction in the process, he prayed for guidance each day in the temple at Mecca, having previously bathed in water from Hagar's sacred fountain. Each page, as it was written, was consecrated by being placed on the pulpit and on the tomb of Mohammed. This supplement to the Koran is received as sacred authority by a majority of Moslems, but not by all. After the death of the Prophet there was much quar-

relling and fighting concerning who should preside over civil and ecclesiastical affairs. In the course of these contentions, Ali was assassinated. Mohammed had been accustomed to call him his brother, his vicegerent, his Aaron; and had given him his most beloved daughter in marriage. This, combined with his own honourable, generous, courageous, and poetic character, excited great veneration for his memory, and gave rise to a sect, who declared that Mohammed was the prophet of God, and Ali was the vicegerent of God. He, and the twelve Imans who succeeded him were believed to be inspired, and their sayings were invested with sacred authority. These followers of Ali rejected the *Sonna*, and collected another book of traditions called the *Hyat ul Kuloob*. The two volumes have many traditions in common; but Ali, Fatima, and their children are peculiarly glorified in the *Hyat ul Kuloob*. In the *Koran*, Mohammed repeatedly disclaims the power to work any other miracle than writing that sacred volume; but innumerable wonders are related of him in both the books of traditions. It is therein stated that his mother Aminah, previous to his birth was continually hearing benedictions pronounced upon her, from air, earth, and heaven. She told her husband Abdallah these prodigies, and he charged her to keep the matter secret. When her babe was born, a light beamed from his head, birds surrounded her, and a radiant angel took him in his arms, and made a mark between the shoulders with his signet ring; saying: "My Lord hath commanded me to breathe into thee the Holy Spirit. Blessed are they who obey thee, and woe unto those that oppose thee." Every idol in the *Caaba* fell on its face, as soon as he came into the world; and *Lake Savah*, which had been an object of worship, disappeared and became a salt plain. Sacred fires, which had not been extinguished for a thousand years, were quenched that night. The skill of soothsayers and magicians departed. Satan shrieked, and his infernal children drew near to inquire what new curse had fallen upon them. "Woe to you!" he cried. "Some great

event has happened on earth unparalleled since Jesus ascended to heaven. Fly, to discover what it is!" In answer to his inquiries, Gabriel told him that Mohammed, the best of the prophets, was born, who would require men to worship God in the unity of his being. Whereupon, "the whole infernal crew cast the dust of degradation on their heads, and fled to the fourth sea, where they wept forty days." "The whole earth was illuminated that night. Every stone, and clod, and tree laughed for joy. All things in heaven and earth uttered praises to God." There was a monstrous fish called Tamoosa; probably another version of the Hebrew leviathan. He had seven hundred thousand tails. The same number of bullocks, each one larger than this world, walked up and down on his back; but, on account of the immensity of his size and strength, he was entirely unconscious of it. This huge creature, when he knew Mohammed was born, was "so agitated with joy, that if the Most High had not quieted him, he would surely have overturned the world." As soon as the wonderful babe came into the world, he prostrated himself in an attitude of worship; "with his luminous forehead on the floor, and his fore-finger pointing to heaven, while he pronounces, There is no God but Allah." "From his birth to his death, he was free from all sins, great and small, both of design and ignorance, and from all error." Jewish Rabbis declared that God created the world solely for the children of Israel, and on account of the merits of Moses. Moslems say the head and heart of Adam were formed from the sacred soil of Mecca and Medina; that God revealed to him the coming of Mohammed in the latter time, and said: "By my glory, I have created thee, and the whole world, only for his sake." When Eve was made, all the angels, and all the animals in Paradise, exclaimed: "Hail ye parents of Mohammed!" The Traditions represent Mohammed as saying: "I am Lord of all those who have been sent by God. This is no boast in me." "He who has seen me has seen God." "He who obeys me obeys God; and he who sins against

me sins against God." When unbelievers required that he should prove his divine mission, by performing such miracles as Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus did, he answered, My miracle is the Koran. I should not dare to receive such verses from God, and then ask him to confirm their inspiration by another miracle. Moreover, if I should invoke miracles, and you should still remain unbelieving, they would bring judgments upon you." At this juncture, Gabriel appeared and said to Mohammed: "The Most High sends you salutation, and declares that he will manifest whatever miracles they require to prove your prophetic office; though after they have witnessed them they will still remain in unbelief." His enemies demanded that the moon, which was then full, should be divided into halves. The prophet raised his hand toward heaven, saying, "Moon, part in twain!" and it was immediately done. He was then asked to restore the moon to its former state, and it was forthwith accomplished. The miracle was performed at Medina, but the prodigies were seen at Mecca, and by travellers on their way from Syria. Ebn Masood swore that the different portions of the moon separated so far asunder, that he saw Mount Hera between them. "When everything round Medina was perishing from drought, he raised his blessed hand to heaven, and prayed for mercy on the people; and before he moved from his place, the rain fell in torrents." "A man had his foot cut off in battle; but when Mohammed applied some of his saliva, and joined it to the leg, the limb was at once restored to its former condition." "He was sent for to visit the son of a blind woman, and found him dead; but as soon as he removed the cloth from his face, the young man rose up and ate." "Once when he was travelling through the wilderness asleep, a lote tree which stood in his path, parted asunder for his camel to pass through." It still remains in that state, and is called The Prophet's Tree. People bind its leaves on sheep and camels to protect them from harm. These Sacred Traditions declare that the moon rocked Mohammed, and no

insect ever lighted on him; that every tree bowed when he passed, and every rock saluted him; that his forehead was so luminous, it caused a reflection on the walls of the house, like moonlight; that at night his steps were guided by the light which radiated from his fingers; that his body cast no shadow in the sunshine; that he saw behind as well as before; heard when he was asleep as well as awake; and knew what was concealed in the hearts of men.

The story of the midnight journey to heaven is so vaguely described in the Koran, that some commentators think it was merely a dream, given for instruction. But both the Books of Traditions amplify it greatly, and declare that it was performed when the Prophet was wide awake, and that he was literally conveyed in the body, on a steed sent from Paradise. In that blessed region, he saw angels building palaces of gold, silver, and ruby blocks, cemented with the soil, which was pure musk. Sometimes they stopped, and being asked the reason, said they waited to have expenses paid: which they explained by saying that whenever true believers on earth exclaimed: "There is no God but Allah! Praise be to Allah!" their work went on; but when the voice of prayer ceased, they were obliged to pause. Mohammed declared that the greater part of the inhabitants of Paradise were those who had been poor in this world; and that the gates were opened for them five hundred years sooner than for the rich. On the banks of celestial rivers he saw palaces prepared for himself and his family, and his "pure women." In the midst was the Tree of Happiness, of such immense size that a bird could not fly round the trunk in seven hundred years. Its branches, laden with fruit, and with baskets full of silken garments, extended to every true believer. From its roots flowed four rivers; water, milk, wine, and honey. He also looked down into the hells, and saw devils tearing sinners with red-hot pincers, and pouring fire down their throats. The greater part of the tormented were women, suffering in one form or another for

having been disobedient to their husbands. One was hung up by her hair, her brain boiling with excessive heat, because she had not concealed her beautiful tresses from the view of men. In the first heaven, he was introduced to Ishmael, who exclaimed: "Hail worthy brother and prophet!" and all the angels laughed with joy. In the second, John the Baptist and Jesus welcomed him as worthy brother and prophet. In the sixth, Moses saluted him, saying: "The children of Israel think I am dearest to the Most High: but this man is dearer than I am." In the seventh, Abraham blessed him as a worthy son and prophet. Beyond that no angel or archangel was allowed to go. But Mohammed left his companion Gabriel, and ascended to the throne of the Most High, who placed his hand upon his shoulder, and promised to grant everything he might ask for himself or his followers.

The Hyat ul Kuloob is full of glorifications of Ali and his family. It is therein stated that Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and all the archangels inquired so particularly after Ali that Mohammed began to think his cousin was better known in Paradise than he was himself. The Angel of Death told him it was his office to take away the soul of every human being, except his and Ali's; but the Most High himself would take theirs away. The Prophet is represented as declaring that himself and his daughter Fatima, and her husband Ali, and their sons Hasan and Husayn, were created ages before earth or heaven. When asked how their existence commenced, he replied: "God first uttered a word, and that word took the form of Light. He uttered another word, which became Spirit. He then tempered the light with the spirit, and formed me and Fatima, and Ali, and Hasan and Husayn. We ascribed praise to God, when there was no other existence to give him glory. God afterward expanded my light, and formed the empyrean; which, being created of my light, I am more excellent than the empyrean. He next expanded the light of Ali, and formed angels; therefore, he is superior to them. From the light of Fatima, he formed the

heavens and the earth; which are consequently inferior to her. He expanded the light of Hasan to form the sun and moon; so that he is superior to them. From the light of Husayn was formed Paradise and the Hoories; therefore he is more excellent than they." According to these traditions he told Ali that after his corpse was washed and perfumed, it would answer any questions he might ask. Accordingly "He taught Ali a thousand chapters of knowledge, from each of which a thousand more opened; and from these he learned all that would happen until the judgment day." Ali was also enabled to hear all that angels were saying to the spirit of Mohammed. It is said that angels were never sent down to the earth to announce the birth of any prophet, except Jesus and Mohammed; and that the pavilions of Paradise were never pitched for any woman but the Virgin Mary and Aminah. On the day that the Prophet was married to Khadeejah, all the angels sang a hymn of thanksgiving, and the Most High ordered Gabriel to go down and plant a banner of praise on the dome of the Caaba. Afterward, whenever he brought a message to Mohammed, he always left a respectful salutation for her. On one of these occasions, he stated that a palace built of precious stones had been prepared for her in Paradise.

The amours of the Prophet are described with Asiatic plainness on such subjects; and the joys of Paradise are much more minutely and glowingly painted than they are in the Koran. The gigantic Tree is described as hung with millions of baskets, each containing a thousand changes of garments of the richest silks and brocades. Beautiful damsels, called Hoories, are formed of the pure musk of Paradise. Their large dark eyes are full of melting tenderness, and they are so modest that they always remain hidden from public view in pavilions of pearl. Their bodies are so radiant, that they shine through seventy garments. If one of them were suspended between the sun and the earth, mortals would be willing to spare the orb of day. When true believers enter Paradise, they will be

as tall as Adam, who was sixty cubits high. They will be endowed with the beauty of Joseph, the perfection of Jesus, and the eloquence of Mohammed. At each meal, they will be served with three hundred different kinds of food, on plates of gold. Bells hanging on the Tree of Happiness will be set in motion by breezes from God's throne, as often as they desire music. All their capacities for enjoyment will be a hundred fold greater than they were in this life. Each one will have a harem of seven thousand Hoories, and eleven thousand women; the most perfect of whom are more beautiful than the Hoories. When Saduk, one of the twelve inspired Imams, was asked whether a husband and wife, who were true believers, would resume the matrimonial bond in another world, he replied, that if the man was superior to the woman in excellence, he would decide whether she should be of the number of his wives or not; but if the woman was more excellent, she would choose whether or not she would have him for a husband.

Some of the traditional sayings of Mohammed have great moral excellence. The following, for example: "All the sons of Adam are equal, like the teeth of a comb. One has no preëminence over another, except that which is imparted by a religious life." "Every good act is charity. Giving water to the thirsty is charity. Putting a wanderer in the right path is charity. Removing stones and thorns from the road is charity. Exhorting your fellow men to virtuous deeds is charity. Smiling in your brother's face is charity. A man's true wealth hereafter is the good he does in this world. When he dies, mortals will ask what property he left behind him; but angels will inquire of him: 'What good deeds hast thou sent before thee?'" An aged woman and an African convert were once very much troubled, because he told them there were no old women in Paradise, and no black people; but they were comforted by his afterward explaining that all the good became eternally young and fair when they left this world. * It is related of his grandson, Hasan, that a slave who upset on him a dish of boiling hot food, fell on his knees

in great fear, and repeated from the Koran: "Paradise is for those who bridle their anger." Hasan answered: "I am not angry." "And for those who forgive men," continued the slave. "I forgive you," was the mild response. The culprit finished the sacred sentence, by repeating: "For God loveth the beneficent." The master replied: "I give you your freedom, and four hundred pieces of silver."

SECTS.—Mohammed declared that revelations from God to man would cease with him; and he commanded that any one should be put to death who afterward claimed to be a prophet. He predicted that many such would arise, and that his followers would divide into many sects. It happened as he had very naturally foreseen. After his death, there were many who professed to be inspired messengers, and strove hard to equal his power over the minds of men. One said he was Moses returned in the flesh; another that he was John the Baptist. Their contending claims produced a great deal of disturbance and bloodshed. Several of the tribes manifested a strong tendency to return to idolatry; and considerable time elapsed before they were all united in one faith. After their power was consolidated, they divided into various sects. The first great division arose from political as well as religious causes. Those who asserted that Ali was the only legitimate successor of Mohammed, denied the authority of the caliphs who preceded him. To the simple creed, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the prophet of God;" they added "and Ali is the vicegerent of God." They reject the *Sonna*, and accuse their opponents of having expunged from the Koran many sentences favourable to the claims of Ali. The *Sonnites* retort upon them the charge of altering the Koran, and of publishing fabulous traditions to glorify Ali and his family. They call them *Shiites*, or *Sheahs*, which signifies *Heretics*; a name by which they have become generally known to Europeans. Their theological doctrines are the same. But when the

Sonnites perform ablution before prayers, they begin at the elbow and wash down to the fingers; whereas the Sheahs begin at the tips of the fingers and wash upward to the elbow. This has given rise to very hot controversies; being considered a question of as much importance as sprinkling and immersion among Christians. The animosity between these two sects is so great, that they consider it more meritorious to destroy each other, than to exterminate infidels. When Sheahs, on their pilgrimage to Mecca, pass through countries inhabited by Sonnites, they generally conform to their customs, and call themselves by their name; otherwise, scenes of violence and bloodshed occur continually. Both sects claim to be the only true interpreters of the Koran. Arabs, Turks, and Tartars are Sonnites. The Persians, and some East Indians, are adherents of Ali. The hostility between Turks and Persians is mainly caused by this sectarian feud. The Sonnites are divided into many sects. The four principal differ concerning some matters of practice, but agree on points of faith; therefore they do not deny to each other the possibility of salvation; which they all agree to do toward numerous minor sects deemed heretical.

There are seventy or eighty sects among the Sheahs. One small sect maintains that God was incarnated in the person of Ali; these do not perform pilgrimages to Mecca, but to Meschid, where Ali was buried; they neglect many of the purifications and fasts observed by orthodox Mohammedans, have no buildings for public worship, and perform their religious ceremonies in a very simple way. One small sect in Syria believe in the transmigration of souls, have consecrated plants and animals, and introduce the sexual emblems of Hindostan into their worship. The head of ecclesiastical and civil affairs in Persia was called the Imam. All the sects of Sheahs believe that Ali, and the twelve Imams who succeeded him, were directly inspired by God; therefore their decisions were to be accepted as permanent rules of life. Some asserted that the essence

of God was incarnated in all of them. The last of these Imams was peculiarly celebrated for his sanctity, and was called Mahedi, which signifies The Guide. He retired to a cave near Bagdad, and the time and place of his death were unknown. This gave rise to a belief, still entertained by many, that he is living, and will appear in the last days, to establish the faith of Islam throughout the world. At different periods, a number of prophets have arisen claiming to be this Mohammedan Messiah.

A book called the Gospel of Barnabas is in great repute among them. It is supposed to be one of the Apocryphal Gospels, used by the Eastern churches, translated and modified by some Christian, who became a Moslem. It represents Christ as foretelling that God would send a prophet by the name of Mohammed, to perfect the dispensation he had brought to men. It declares that an unbelieving Jew, while watching Jesus to prevent his escape, was suddenly transformed into such an exact likeness of him, that even the Virgin Mary herself was deceived. This man was crucified, and Christ was taken up into heaven alive. But seeing his mother and his disciples so overwhelmed with grief, he appeared to them, and told them the stratagem God had devised. He foretold that a prophet greater than himself, named Mohammed, would be sent to lead men into the truth. He also promised to appear on earth again in the last days, and destroy a false prophet named Dejal, and a wild boar that would devastate the earth. He would burn the Christian Gospels, which ungodly priests had falsified, and the crosses they worshipped as gods, and help to subject the whole earth to Mohammed. In consequence of this communication, the Virgin Mary lived and died in the faith of Islam. It is the universal belief that when Mahedi appears, Jesus will come to his assistance; that he will perform his devotions in the mosque, will exterminate the Jews who rejected him, and the Christians who worshipped him as God; that he will marry and have children, and remain on the earth forty years, during which there will be universal peace and plenty. In the royal

stable at Ispahan, two horses were always kept saddled; one for the use of Mahedi, the other for Jesus.

The idea of atonement for sin, by any kind of sacrifice, forms no part of the system of Mohammed; it being one of his favourite maxims that "a man cannot die for his neighbour." But in general, questions which excite controversy elsewhere have caused disputes among his followers. Some deny the personality of God; others affirm that he is in the likeness of a man. Mohammed said: "The heart of a believer is between the fingers of The Merciful." Some say that a preacher who should stretch forth his finger while he read that text would deserve to have it cut off; because he might thereby convey the idea that God had fingers. The doctrine of predestination is fully believed by orthodox sects. But it shocks the minds of many, who draw from it an inference that God is the author of evil; and this they are so reluctant to admit, that they are not even willing to say He created infidels. Out of this question has arisen much discussion whether the doctrine that infants are foredoomed to eternal punishment can be reconciled with the justice and mercy of God. The comparative importance of faith and works is another dividing topic. Some maintain that if a true believer in Mohammed commits a crime and dies without repentance, he must surely be damned to all eternity; though his punishment will be lighter than that of an infidel who commits the same crime. This is regarded as impious doctrine by the orthodox, who say God forgives everything but infidelity. Some sects maintain that this world will never be destroyed, and that there is no other heaven or hell. It is generally supposed that departed souls are waiting in some intermediate state, not very clearly defined. Some think they are with Adam in the lower heaven, because when the Prophet made his miraculous Night Journey, he said he saw souls destined to heaven on Adam's right hand, and those destined to hell on his left. The prevailing faith is that bodies will rise at the day of resurrection, and souls will be re-united with them. But some, who

think man is merely a corporeal being, say the body only will rise; others believe the resurrection will be purely spiritual. The orthodox belief is that the Koran is the uncreated Word of God, and existed in his essence from all eternity. Some sects reject this doctrine, because it conveys to their minds the idea of two eternal beings. They are denounced as infidels, and in their turn denounce their opponents as idolaters. Men were scourged, imprisoned, and even put to death, for opinions on this point; until at last a law was passed allowing them to judge for themselves on the subject. Old theological ideas being strictly guarded by penal laws, as well as by habits of reverence, progressive minds found themselves in straitened circumstances; and, as usual, they made for themselves two doors of escape from inconvenient limitation. One class resorted to allegorical interpretation of the Koran; styling it half man and half beast, in reference to the spirit and the letter. Some scholars who had become enamoured with Aristotle, made use of metaphysical and logical subtleties to explain the literal sense. This mode, called *Al Calam*, or Science of Reason, excited strong abhorrence in orthodox minds. They said whoever resorted to this mode of interpretation ought to be impaled; while a public crier proclaimed through the streets: "This is the reward of those who forsake the Koran, and the Sacred Traditions, to follow the Science of Reason." A school of mysticism also arose among the Mohammedans, and took forms similar to the Hindoo and Platonic ideas. The complete union of the soul with God, and intuitive perceptions of divine things, thence derived, is taught by some as the highest wisdom and happiness. They convey this idea in glowing allegories concerning love and intoxication, which, like some Hindoo devotional writings, seem sensual to those who perceive only the external sense; but the initiated find in them an interior meaning. Their very dances have mystical significance; as is the case with the dance consecrated to the memory of Crishna. They carry about with them a small mirror as a religious symbol; which also was

a custom among Egyptians, when they celebrated the Mysteries of Isis. This contemplative and mystical tendency of mind began to manifest itself decidedly among Mohammedans little more than a century after the Hegira, and has continually gained ground unto this day, especially among the superior class of minds in Persia. They became a distinct sect, known under the name of Sufis; which some learned men derive from the Arabic word *Safi*, meaning Pure; others from the Greek word *Sophi*, signifying Wise. Their saints believe that they receive immediate communications of truth from heaven into the interior of their minds, when they are completely abstracted from all earthly cares and wishes. They say it is mysteriously transmitted through the medium of Abubeker or Ali. But their doctrines are obviously of Hindoo origin, and bear no resemblance to the teachings of the Koran. Pantheism soon mingled with their system. Mohammed declared that God was not in anything, nor was anything in God; but devout Sufis believe they have become one with God; which Hindoos call absorption in Brahm. One of the Mohammedan poets says: "I am the world's soul." But these views are generally expressed in veiled language, lest they should give rise to a charge of blasphemy. One of their teachers, named Hosein al Hallaj, was put to death for making himself equal with God, by saying: "I am the Truth." Complete subjugation of the senses was of course intimately connected with this idea of mystical union with Deity. Hence the Sufis early formed monastic fraternities, which adopted very ascetic modes of life. It was the natural growth of the same foreign element which had been grafted upon Christianity, and produced monkism. Mohammed disapproved of celibacy, and declared he would have no monks in his religion. But three hundred years after the Hegira, Islam began to swarm with a class of men called Dervises, whose habits are very similar to Hindoo Fakirs, and Mendicant Monks. There are thirty-two religious orders of that kind in the Turkish empire; others in Persia and India. These Mohammedan monks have great

reputation for miraculous power obtained by superior sanctity. People apply to them to interpret dreams, cure diseases, pray for the birth of children, for rain, harvests, and other blessings. People of the highest rank receive them at their tables, and the Imams are generally selected from their communities. The rosaries used by Dervises consist of ninety-nine beads, usually made of holy earth from Mecca or Medina. They pass these through their fingers at prayer, while they recount the ninety-nine qualities of God mentioned in the Koran.

A follower of Mohammed always calls himself a Moslem, which signifies a Believer. From the plural of this the European word Musulmân is formed. All sects entertain the greatest reverence for Mohammed. All their writings commence with a benediction on his name. They call him "The Lawgiver, The Prince of Men, Last and Best of the Prophets, The Most Noble of Apostles, The Refuge of Revelation, The Sanctified One, The Most Perfect of Created Beings, The Beloved of the Lord." They universally believe him to be the Prophet predicted by Moses, and the Comforter whom Jesus promised to send. They adduce passages from Apocryphal Gospels and from our Scriptures to prove it, and say that other texts, containing more positive evidence, have been fraudulently suppressed by Christians. The Crescent is the adopted emblem of their religion, because the new moon lighted him in his flight from Mecca. The country around that city swarms with pigeons, which they never kill, lest they should destroy some descendant of the sacred bird, sent by God to build a nest at the mouth of the cave where he was concealed. They have a similar feeling concerning spiders, because a spider spun a web across the entrance. Mohammed emancipated Zaid for believing in his mission; therefore, no Mohammedan ever holds a person of his own faith in slavery. The ancient fast of Ramadam is rendered still more holy by being associated with the first revelations he received from Heaven. During the entire month, they taste no food or drink between sunrise and sunset. They

abjure baths and perfumes, and shun the sight of women. The fast is rendered void by inhaling the mere smell of food; and some are so strict, they will not even swallow the moisture in their mouths. As they reckon their months by moons, the fast is moveable. When it occurs at the sultry season of the year, the pious, especially those who labour, often suffer very severely. Their teachers inculcate that fasting, to be of any avail, must include abstinence from worldly cares, evil thoughts, and impure ideas. Many of the old opinions and customs were transferred to the new religion; that being an invariable compromise between the conservative and progressive tendencies of man. The Caaba lost none of its sacredness. There is a tradition that Mohammed said those who died without visiting it might as well have died Jews or Christians. The poorest Moslems often make great sacrifices to visit Mecca once in their lives; and some go annually. On their way, they almost invariably turn aside to visit the tomb of their Prophet at Medina. Reverence for his memory is reflected on all his descendants. The sovereignty of Mecca and guardianship of the Caaba is still entrusted to them, and they take rank above princes. In the lapse of centuries, they have become numerous, but they all have honorary titles, take the highest seat in company, receive a stipend from the public treasury, and are distinguished by a turban or girdle of green, which is a sacred colour.

Any system of religion or morals which did not profess to be founded on the Koran would be taught at the peril of life. All the sects study it in the light of either the Sonnite or the Sheah Book of Traditions. In case of palpable contradictions, they say if a passage is not true in one aspect it is in another, and that God can easily reconcile what seems incongruous to the human mind. Some few venture to declare that they receive only such traditions as can be reconciled with reason; but such are regarded with horror by orthodox believers.

The fundamental doctrines in which all agree are, that

God is One; that it is impious to divide his personality, or to associate any other being with his worship; and that Mohammed is the last and best of all the prophets He has sent. Mohammedans adopt the old Persian ideas concerning Angels with ethereal bodies formed of celestial fire. Each of the seven departments of Paradise is governed by one of these radiant beings. They appoint others to various offices; thus Gabriel is always sent with revelations; Azrael separates the souls and bodies of mortals at death; and Israfil will sound the trumpet to summon bodies from their graves, at the resurrection. Like the Persians and other ancient nations, they believe that every human being has two attendant angels from birth to death. One on his right hand notes down his good actions, and the other, on his left, records his evil deeds. The kindly angel has control over the other. When man does a good deed he writes it down, with delight, ten times; but when he commits any wickedness, he says to the angel on the left hand: "Wait seven hours before you write it down. Perhaps he may repent, and ask forgiveness." They say the dead are visited in their graves by two dark angels, who cause them to sit upright, while they question them concerning the unity of God and the mission of Mohammed. If their answers are satisfactory, they are left in peace to be refreshed by breezes from Paradise. Otherwise, they beat them with iron maces, and leave them to be stung by ninety-nine serpents, with seven heads each. This is believed so literally by many people, that it is a general custom to build tombs in such a manner that the dead can easily sit upright. Some sects reject the account altogether; others understand it allegorically; saying the serpents represent remorse for sins. The good and evil words and deeds of men, as recorded by their attendant Spirits, are said to be given to Gabriel, who weighs them in a balance, and dismisses souls to heaven or hell according to their merits. All are obliged to pass over a bridge called Al Sirat, "fine as the thread of a famished spider," with an edge sharp as a scimitar. Beneath this bridge roar the flames of hell,

and beyond it are the regions of Paradise. True believers are conveyed across like a flash of lightning; some will pass with difficulty; and others will slip into hell. Those who delight in spiritual interpretation, say this hair-breadth bridge signifies the narrow and difficult path of piety in this world. Some who are not good enough to pass directly into Paradise, are supposed to remain in a place partitioned off, until by acts of adoration they have more than balanced the evil they have done, or the worship they have omitted. He who has wronged another will be obliged to make over to the account of the injured party a proportionate quantity of his own good works. If he has no such treasury to draw upon, he must be accountable for an equal share of the sins of his victim. Moslems may have to wait in some place of expiation from nine hundred to seven thousand years, according to their degrees of guilt. But because they have believed in the true faith, they will all finally attain to Paradise, by help of their own prayers, and the continual intercession of Mohammed. Hindoos and Persians believed in seven ascending spheres of light and happiness, above which dwelt the Supreme; and in seven descending spheres of darkness and suffering. Mohammed also taught that there were seven hells. Commentators say the first is for sinful Moslems; the next is for Christians; the third for Jews; the fourth for Sabians and Fire-Worshippers; the sixth for all those who worship a plurality of gods, and have no Sacred Books; the seventh and deepest is reserved for hypocrites of *all* religions. All who disbelieve in Mohammed will be punished eternally, in degrees proportioned to their obstinacy in rejecting him. The tortures described are of various kinds. Excessive hunger and thirst, intolerable stench, stinging serpents, roasting over intense flames, and being shod with shoes of fire, which will make the brains boil. In Paradise all that delighted the soul or senses of man in this world will be increased and refined beyond human imagination. These joys are progressively multiplied and rendered more intense in the ascending regions of Paradise. Only martyrs

and great saints will attain to the pure spiritual bliss of daily communion with God which far transcends all other enjoyment. In the seventh and highest Paradise is the palace of Mohammed, and the Tree of Happiness. Immediately above this is the throne of the Most High.

On the subject of marriage and the forgiveness of injuries, the moral tone of Mohammedans is far below that of Christians. But they manifest more sincerity and earnestness in acting up to their standard. All travellers agree that they are remarkably characterized by honesty in their dealings; insomuch that at a distance from cities, it is a common custom to leave shops open without any person to tend them. Purchasers go in and take what goods they want, and leave on the counter the price marked on them. Exceeding liberality to the poor is another admirable trait; and in no Christian country are the chains of slavery so light, or so easily removed. The total abstinence from all intoxicating drink commanded by the Koran, is not unfrequently disobeyed; but devout believers never taste such liquors; they will neither buy nor sell them; nor will they consent to be supported with money obtained by such traffic. The estimate of women is very much lower than in Christian countries, but it is a mistake that they suppose them to have no souls. The Koran, and the Books of Traditions frequently allude to them as sharing the punishments of hell and the joys of Paradise. The majority of the people do not avail themselves of the license to marry four wives. The general tendency is to have but one. Friday, the ancient "Day of Assembly" among the Arabians, is the Mohammedan holy day. All go to the mosques to attend religious services, and when they have performed their devotions, they return to their customary business. They say creation was finished, and the resurrection will take place on that day. They call it the Prince of Days, and consider themselves peculiarly honoured, that God granted them the privilege of being the first to observe it. Some of the very strict consider it wrong to attend to worldly business during any

portion of the day. They have no priesthood. Reputable and learned men are appointed to read and explain the Koran and prayers, at prescribed seasons. The principal interpreter of the Koran, to whose decision doubtful questions are referred, is called the Imam in Persia, and the Grand Mufti in Turkey. They never make use of bells, but in every town a public crier, called Muezzin, summons the people to prayer, by proclaiming from the minarets or steeples of the mosques: "God is great! To prayer! To prayer!" This is repeated in a sort of chant consisting of a few simple tones, and travellers describe it as producing a very solemn effect. Though this is repeated five times a day, every conscientious Moslem, as soon as he hears it, washes himself and goes to the mosque to repeat a prayer. If that is inconvenient, he spreads a cloth, turns his face toward Mecca, and prostrates himself in the house, the workshop, or the street, wherever he may happen to be; for their Prophet said: "The whole world is a place of prayer." At day-break, the Muezzin reminds all the people that prayer is better than sleep, and at noon he tells them it is more salutary than food. They are as strict as the ancient Hindoos and Persians in performing ablution before worship. The spiritual class of commentators remind them that the requisite purification includes expunging evil thoughts from the mind, as well as cleansing the body from pollution. The Koran forbids believers ever to declare the intention of doing anything without first saying: "If it pleases God." To each chapter of the Koran is prefixed: "In the name of the most Merciful God;" and all Mohammedan books and writings copy this example. When they took the Sacred Books of Jews and Christians among the spoils of war, they never committed them to the flames; because they consider it impious to destroy anything on which the name of God is written. Omar, who ruled about twelve years after the Hegira, sent armies into various countries to extend the faith. There is a story that when Alexandria was taken, a question arose whether the royal library might be spared; and

Omar replied: "The Koran contains all that is necessary; therefore, if those books agree with it, they are not needed; and if they contain anything contrary to it, they ought to be destroyed." It is said they were used to kindle fires in the baths, and that it took six months to destroy them. The Alexandrian Library had been pillaged by Christians, in the time of Theodosius, so that the shelves were left entirely empty. How so many volumes were afterward collected is not accounted for; and the story concerning Omar has latterly been much doubted.

Their places of worship called mosques are held in great reverence. There is always a fountain near by in which they wash before they enter. They take off their slippers, and ornaments, deeming it more reverent to the deity to enter his presence in plain apparel. Women say their prayers at home; it being supposed that their presence would tend to disturb a devotional frame of mind. Religious observances mingle with all the affairs of life. "There is no God but Allah" is constantly heard from Moslem lips; even when they answer the watchmen, they add "Allah Akbar," "God is Great." Of course the same inconsistencies occur among them, as among Christians. Constantine and Clovis prayed diligently and built churches, while they murdered sons and relatives. Aurungzebe murdered his father and brothers, and erected a magnificent mosque at Delhi in token of gratitude to Allah for success in the civil war. "He acted as High Priest at the consecration, and was in the habit of worshipping there in the humble dress of a Fakeer. He raised one hand to God, while with the other he signed warrants for the death of his nearest relatives."

The mosques are generally in the Moorish style of architecture, surmounted with crescent-crowned minarets, which have a light and elegant appearance, and are often richly ornamented. A quadrangular area, sometimes of very great extent, is enclosed by files of columns, supporting double rows of galleries. They contain no altars, images, paintings, or scuts, except a chair for the Imam. In the

direction of Mecca there is always an alcove called the *Kebla*, that worshippers may turn toward the sacred city, when they prostrate themselves in prayer. A good deal is expended on lamps, which form almost the only ornament of the interior, except sentences of the Koran inlaid in the walls, with mother-of-pearl, or other beautiful substances, and often richly emblazoned. Like the Jews, they never allow people of other religions to pass beyond the outer enclosure of their places of worship. One of their most magnificent mosques was erected on the site of Solomon's temple, after they took possession of Jerusalem, which they visit as a holy city, next in importance to Mecca and Medina. In the heart of Mecca is a large area enclosed with columns and galleries, including several small chapels, and the ancient *Caaba* in the centre. The roof is covered with black damask embroidered with gold; an offering annually sent by the Sultan of Turkey. It is sustained by a double file of columns, with rows of silver lamps, quaintly ornamented, suspended between them in festoons. Within the *Caaba* is the celebrated black stone. Some suppose it was an aerolite, and thus acquired the reputation of having fallen from heaven. It is set in silver now, and devoutly kissed by every pilgrim. It is supposed that at the resurrection it will return to the angelic form it originally had, and will bear testimony in favour of all who have touched it in their pilgrimage. This sacred enclosure also contains Hagar's Fountain, now called *Zem Zem*; and a white stone believed to mark the grave of Ishmael, which receives water from the roof by a golden spout.

Until recently, Christian writers have generally manifested a very uncandid spirit toward Mohammedans. They said pigeons were sacred at Mecca because the Prophet put grains of wheat into his ear, and trained a pigeon to pick them out; pretending that it was the Holy Spirit whispering to him in the form of a dove. This, and several other similar stories, are now acknowledged to be false.

Moslems have an insurmountable prejudice against mar-

rying with uncircumcised families; but they inherit their Prophet's animosity to the Jews, whom they regard with much more aversion than they do Christians. In consideration of their being believers in a Sacred Book; both classes are allowed to retain their own places of worship in countries conquered by Mohammedans, provided they pay tribute, ring no bells, make no attempts at proselyting, and do nothing to prevent their relatives from becoming true believers. Contracts with them are subject to the same laws that regulate the business-intercourse between Moslems; but no promise or oath is binding, if made to people who do not believe in a Sacred Book. The testimony of Christians is not received against Moslems, they are not allowed to compete with them in their style of living, and in the street, they must make way for the meanest follower of the Prophet. A more kindly state of feeling begins to manifest itself between the rival religions. Christian writers have become more candid; and the Sultan of Turkey many years ago passed a law forbidding his subjects to continue their practice of calling Christians dogs. They both derive so much from Jewish fountains, that Lessing calls them "Two litigating sons of the same father."

The extension of Mohammedanism, though occasionally checked, has gradually increased ever since the Hegira. Its professors are now estimated at one hundred and eighty millions; nearly one-fifth of the whole human race.

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CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

"The word unto the Prophet spoken
Was writ on tablets yet unbroken;
The word by Seers or Sibyls told,
In groves of oak, or fanes of gold,
Still floats upon the morning wind,
Still whispers to the willing mind.
The heedless world hath never lost
One accent of the Holy Ghost."

R. W. EMERSON.

IN reviewing the contents of the preceding pages, every reflecting mind must be struck with the fact that "there have been but few voices in the world, and many echoes." How the same questionings, the same hopes, the same aspirations, have continually reappeared, in expressions varied by the climates and the ages! The same gamut, with infinite modifications of mode and time! In all ages and countries, the great souls of humanity have stood on the mountain peaks, alternately watching the clouds below, and the moonlight above, anxiously calling to each other: "Brethren, what of the night?" And to each and all an answer has returned, varying in distinctness: "Lo, the morning cometh."

If we would but look at the subject comprehensively, there is nothing in the history of man so interesting as the attempt to trace Infinite Wisdom making its way among the errors, the frailties, the passions, and the intense spiritual longings of finite souls. Everywhere the Divine Spirit takes form according to the capacity of reception. As this enlarges, old forms of thought and worship die, and the Spirit enters into new ones, which the previous growth has prepared. Thus is the Word of God forever incarnated,

and dwelleth among men. Therefore, the very nature of a Written Revelation involves the necessity of ceasing to be adequate to the wants of society, sooner or later; for a Revelation must necessarily be adapted to the then present state of the public mind, and consequently be, in some degree, a measure of that mind. If it were entirely above the comprehension of the epoch, it could not be a Revelation. When it has done its destined work, and helped onward to a higher plane of perception, the soul begins to outgrow the Revelation, and can no longer receive it as a sufficient standard. Declining faith in the external letter always produces a reaction. The reverential tendency of man strives to resuscitate decaying forms by the infusion of spiritual significance. Then come elaborate and far-fetched explanations and allegories, by means of which the new thought is found in the old words; all of which is a patching and stretching of the worn-out garment, to make it cover the increasing stature. This habit of conservatism is wisely impressed upon our nature, to prevent abrupt and dangerous changes. But when the new garment is entirely prepared, the old one *will* drop off; and the attempt to stretch it merely cracks it in pieces.

Such periods of the world's growth are always sad to souls which have devout feelings and a limited vision. They need to be reminded of what the Athenian philosopher said to his disciple: "He may bury my *body*; but let him not think he buries *Socrates*." No portion of truth ever did die, or ever can die. Its *spirit* is eternal, though its *forms* are ever changing. We cannot annul that law of our existence which forever makes the present a reproduction of all that was real in the past. Only inherited customs, in which men merely *seem* to believe, transmit no life. Every *genuine* belief helps to form future modes of thought; however absurd and fantastic the *form* of belief may appear to the future that looks back upon it.

Instead of considering our own religion the product of a gradual growth, to which the spiritual sunshine, air, and

rain of previous centuries have contributed, it is the common tendency to speak of it as a gift suddenly dropped down from Heaven, for a chosen few, and unlike anything the world had ever received. The beautiful Night-blooming Cereus, with a pure light radiating from its deep centre, seems to have no relationship with the long dry stem, and the little shaggy buds of tufted tow; but the regal loveliness of the blossom could never have been produced, had not the long stem, and the uncouth bud, day after day, and month after month, conveyed to it nourishment from all the surrounding atmosphere.

The same is true of the world's religious growth. Dreamy contemplations of devout mystics in the ancient forests of Hindostan; the vague sublimity of Egyptian thought, born of vast deserts, and the solemn dimness of subterranean temples; the radiant army of Spirits, which illuminated the soul of the Persian, when with loving reverence he kissed his hand to the stars; Hebrew proneness to the supernatural, combined with the practical wisdom and equalizing system of Moses; moonlighted glimpses of the infinite, revealed to Plato; the Gospel of love and forgiveness preached by Jesus; all these are fused into our present modes of thought. We are told that wise men came from far countries, and offered jewels to the infant Christ. Figuratively, it might signify how all the nations added some gems to his crown of righteousness. Jews brought their fixed idea of the unity of God, their abhorrence of idolatry, their habitual thoughtfulness for the poor. Grecians imparted their free spirit and intellectual culture, to protect spiritual growth from a narrow and binding fanaticism. Romans brought their civil law, to restrain the selfishness of Christian proselytes, and help their imperfect sense of justice. Teutonic tribes brought their reverence for "the form *containing* woman," to aid the fulfilment of the prophecy, that there would be "neither male nor female in Christ Jesus." Those who laid down these offerings at the feet of Christ, did it in reverence for his divine doctrines of complete forgiveness of injuries, the universal

brotherhood of man, and the all-pervading love of an ever-watchful Father.

This combination of goodness and truth, which we at the present time accept under the name of Christianity, resembles the threefold nature of man, described by ancient philosophers. The religious sentiment, reverential and humane, is the interior soul, in constant communication with God; intellectual culture, and powers of reflection, are the intermediate soul; and civil law is the material body. The soul forms the outline and expression of the body; but it is equally true that diseases of the body affect the state of the soul.

Preceding quotations from Greeks and Romans show the state of preparation existing in the Gentile world, previous to the ministry of Christ. The old Teutonic tribes, though comparatively rude in most respects, also imparted much that was valuable, in exchange for what they received. They had always been remarkable for the high consideration in which they held their women, and the respect with which they treated them. They were always allowed an equal share in religious ceremonies, and were habitually consulted in all the important affairs of war and government. Asiatic servitude and Roman profligacy were alike unknown to them. The best of the Romans acknowledged that, with regard to the dignity and purity of women, the sickly civilization of their own country was keenly rebuked by the more healthy tone of their barbarian conquerors. The introduction of this element had a very important influence on Christianity, in the Western portions of the world. The poor condition of churches in Asiatic countries, where Grecian culture, Roman law, and Teutonic intermixture, have *not* modified the growth of Christianity, indicates how much we owe to those collateral influences.

It is undeniable that with the good and the true from the past, there also came into Christianity much that was evil and false. But this is altogether inseparable from the imperfect condition of humanity. No man, not even the wisest, ever rises entirely above the opinions and customs

of the age in which he lives. The views of Socrates were so far above those of the populace, that they cost him his life. Yet one of his last acts was to enjoin the sacrifice of a cock to Æsculapius. That Plato had very elevated views, is shown by his placing *Goodness* above *Wisdom*, and both above *Power*, in his attributes of the Deity; also by his habit of regarding everything earthly as of little value, in comparison with the immutable and eternal. Yet even he would have had every one confined as a madman, who refused to conform to the popular worship of the Gods.

When a traveller is whirled along on the rail-road, if he toss a ball into the air, it returns again to his hand, though the cars have gone ahead of the place whence it was thrown; because it not only receives an upward tendency from the individual hand, but also a lateral impulse from the motion of the train. Spiritual laws are in correspondence with the natural. The highest aspirations of an individual are inevitably modified by the social atmosphere through which he is travelling; and the degree of impetus given to his thought is according to the progress of the age in which he is moving onward. If a Revelation were dropped down directly from Heaven, in all the languages of the world, at the end of a century it would be found to have produced quite different systems of thought, and modes of action; because from every community it would *take* quite as much as it would *give*. This modifying power of external influences over the interior aspirations of the soul, constitutes one of the centripetal forces, by which God regulates the spiritual condition of men.

If the Apostles had re-appeared in the sixth century, would they have recognized the then existing Christianity, as the doctrines *they* taught, and the worship *they* practised? Constantine's colossal statue of Apollo was a very appropriate representation of it. The body of a Grecian god, the head of the emperor, and rays of glory formed of nails said to be taken from the cross of Christ, was a true image of the Church at that period. Jewish converts had added to the

teaching of Jesus their own traditions, many of them drawn from Cabalistic sources; Grecian converts had breathed round it an atmosphere of Platonism; Gnostics mingled with it Persian and Buddhist theories, the tinge of which remained after Gnosticism itself had disappeared; and in them all was a pervading infusion of old Hindoo ideas, long ago transmitted through Egypt.

We are accustomed to speak of Christianity as entirely untinged with polytheistic notions; but *strictly* speaking, a purely monotheistic faith has never existed. Jews and Christians believed as distinctly in the active agency of Archangels, Angels, and Devils, as Grecians did in the numerous subordinate Spirits employed by Jove. Isis, the "Mother Goddess," was never more devoutly worshipped in Egypt, than is "The Mother of God," "The Queen of Heaven," by a large majority of Christians. The power almost universally attributed to Satan is quite equal to that which Persians ascribed to Arimanes. In the strict sense of the phrase, there are "Devil Worshippers" in all countries; that is, there are people, who, by prayers and ceremonies, seek to pacify a Powerful Spirit, whose vengeance they dread. In all religions, we find also a tendency to invest Deity with the feelings of human nature. This happens because no man can leap from his own shadow. In contrast with the intriguing, amorous gods of the lively, artistic Grecians, witness Tertullian's grim picture of the horrible games God would furnish at the Day of Judgment, for the triumph and delight of his faithful followers.

Among all people, except the Jews and Mohammedans, an intermediate object of worship, approaching nearer to human sympathies, has gradually superseded the more sublime and awful idea of the Supreme One. Thus Mithras eclipsed Ormuzd, and Crishna supplanted Brahma. The same craving for sympathy and mediation, led men to address more prayers to Christ, than to the Father; and eventually more to the Virgin Mary, than to either. Truly, it is somewhat discouraging to trace the progress of any

great truth among existing prejudices, and antecedent institutions. One is continually reminded of Jean Paul's remark: "The progress of Mankind toward the City of God is like the walking of certain pilgrims to Jerusalem, who moved backward after every step forward."

The Fathers did the best they could to arrange the incongruous elements around them into an harmonious whole; and their decisions became established authority, under the name of apostolic tradition. They could not help lapping over their own old opinions upon the new; nor could they avoid having their theology more or less subject to modification from Jews, Gnostics, and philosophers, with whom they were in perpetual controversy. For while zealously combatting one error, they generally roused into activity the opposite extreme, and were compelled to sail between the two, as the only practicable course, though it might by no means be the one they would have chosen, if they had not been subject to counter currents. In order to estimate candidly the difficulties of their position, it would be necessary to stand, as they did, at a point of time, where all the old religions of the world were breaking up, and the Spirit of God was brooding over chaos, to produce new forms. We may smile at their credulity, but if we had been there, we should have been credulous also. And if we had great truths to defend from so many enemies, open and insidious, perhaps we should be more prone to imitate their theological intolerance, and occasional indirect statements, than we should be to manifest their unflinching courage, fervent piety, active benevolence, and unflinching sympathy with the poor and the oppressed.

I confess that the most powerful *external* testimony to the superior excellence of Christ's teaching, seems to me to be found in the fact that good men, and great men, and reflecting men, were irresistibly attracted toward it, notwithstanding the corruptions that early gathered round it, and all that Christians themselves did to bring disgrace upon the name. The secret of this power lay within itself.

Diluted as Christianity was, by conformity to existing institutions, and changed in its character and purpose, by the amalgamation of old traditions with new truths, it contained within itself living and universal principles, which no perversity of man could stifle. Through all the din and dissonance of polemics, the gentle, sympathizing words of Jesus sounded for ever, like a silver bell above the howlings of the storm. Earnest souls listened reverently to the all-pervading tones, and received therefrom a more child-like trust in the Heavenly Father, more humanity toward suffering brethren, and more assured hopes of life beyond the grave.

The explanation of the rapid spread of Christianity is to be found in its adaptation to the masses of mankind. The priesthood in Hindostan and Egypt, and the philosophers of Greece and Rome, had deemed it necessary to conceal their highest truths from the people, lest they should become perverted and desecrated by ignorance and grossness. They did not perceive a truth greater than all they taught; that there ought not to be any ignorant people; that knowledge should be diffused like the air, which every man may inhale, and into which every man may breathe. Moses took a great step in advance, when he sought to make of the Israelites "a nation of priests;" and Ezra wisely carried out his liberal views, when he erected synagogues, where all the people could hear the Law and the Prophets thrice a week. Socrates taught in the market-place, and distributed gems of wisdom in the workshops of mechanics. But this, noble as it was, was merely dissemination of *knowledge*. While the soul of Jesus, dwelling in a region of holiness, above the intellectual, "had compassion on the multitude;" was filled, to overflowing, with *sympathy* for the indigent, the afflicted, and the erring. It was reserved for *him* to "heal the broken-hearted," to "preach a Gospel to the poor," to say, "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much." Nearly two thousand years have passed away, since those words of love and pity were uttered; yet when I read them, my eyes often fill with

tears. I thank thee, O Heavenly Father, for all the messengers thou hast sent to man; but above all, I thank thee for this, thy beloved son! Pure lily-blossom of the centuries, taking root deep in the muddy depths, and receiving the light and warmth of heaven into its golden heart! All that the pious have felt, all that poets have said, all that artists have done, with their manifold forms of beauty, to represent the ministry of Jesus, are but feeble expressions of the great debt we owe him, who is even now curing the lame, restoring sight to the blind, and raising the dead, in that *spiritual* sense in which all miracles are true. A friend writing to me, says: "That the nature of Jesus was gentle, affectionate, and feminine, is shown by his love for children, his tears for Lazarus, his shrinking from death. Yet, for the sake of substituting the good, the true, and the spiritual, for selfishness, falsehood, and formalism, he could live without genuine appreciation or sympathy, and calmly resign himself to an early and violent death. Theology and cant have half spoiled the Bible for us, so that I can scarcely make real to myself the spirit of Christ's words and life; but whenever I do so, I always find that it appeals powerfully to all that is deepest and best in my nature."

The few who possessed any knowledge had, for ages, trampled under their feet the ignorant multitude; either by laws of caste, as in Hindostan and Egypt, or by slavery, as in Greece and Rome. Among those generations of Egyptian peasants, there must have been many who gazed with mournful reverence at the star of Isis, and sometimes asked: "Why are the priests the only depositaries of thy mysteries? Why must we toil to build palaces for their dead bodies, while our own are so dishonoured while alive? Oh, Mother Goddess, if we are not of thy children, and may not learn thy laws, why hast thou sent us here, to labour, to suffer, and to die?" Yet most of those simple souls, after thus wrestling with the darkness that oppressed them, would go to the priests to seek atonement for the sin of their involuntary thoughts. And the poor Pariah,

catching glimpses of the sacred Banian Groves from afar, and looking upward, half afraid of the bright Spirits who dwelt among the stars, could he otherwise than reproach them, that he by birth was excluded from the paths that led to light, while Bramins ruled on earth, and went to dwell in palaces above? Millions of such groans ascended from the oppressed earth, and still the ages rolled heavily on, and while the prophets of all nations promised a Messiah, the people imploringly exclaimed: "When will the deliverer appear?"

In the times immediately preceding our era, individual souls began to feel their deprivations and wrongs more distinctly; though as yet they had not reasoned concerning them. There was a state of preparation for the advent of Christ; the dawn of All Souls' Day. At that warm bright flush in the east, well might poor shepherds hear the angels sing! Well might the Holy Spirit appear to the populace in the form of a dove! Well might fishermen forsake their nets, to proclaim the glad tidings to all people! None but poor men, in sympathy with the poor, *could* have preached such a religion as the times demanded. The best among the rich and the educated heard in it the utterings of their own half-revealed consciousness of existing wrong; while to the poor, it was like opening prison doors, and letting in the light from heaven. The previous state of spiritual hunger is indicated by the rapid diffusion of the doctrines. Some, who are prone to look merely on the outside of things, have said that Christianity was embraced principally by the indigent, because it supplied them with food and raiment. Doubtless such motives influenced considerable numbers; but that reason is altogether insufficient to account for the general enthusiasm, which soon pervaded all ranks. The real attraction was of a more interior character. Never before had there been a strong spiritual tie between the educated and the ignorant, the rich and the poor. In Christian communities, the labouring man felt that he was a member of a large affectionate family, who sympathised with his sorrows, and

rejoiced in his improvement. If beset with doubts or temptations, he could go to the church, as to a mother, who was ever ready to give him kindly counsel. If he had sinned, he could unburthen his heavy heart, and say : "Brethren, I have strayed from the right path. Help me to come into the fold again." Inexpressibly cheering and strengthening it must have been, to find it a recognized truth, that such as they had souls to be saved ; souls of priceless worth, compared with which all the wealth of the world was as dross.

The civil relations of men remained the same ; for there was a sincere reverence for government, as an institution ordained of God. Moreover, when the sect was comparatively pure it was too feeble to dictate to rulers. The democratic element *could* not take any other form than the religious. The church could control their own internal arrangements ; and certainly they might have abolished slavery within their own limits. But many slaves to Pagan masters belonged to their communities, and the complicated relation required prudent management. Where slaves belonged to their own members, they could, in the *early* days, trust to Christian character, which really did, in good earnest, abolish all distinctions. This *spiritual* equality satisfied the requisitions of conscience, in times of primitive sincerity ; and afterward, when professed Christians were often more selfish and tyrannical than many of the Pagans, the church had become too proud and politic to interfere with the wealthy, on any subject not connected with its own aggrandizement. Theological limitation also came in, to check expansive sympathy. To redeem only *Christians* from slavery, and of those only such as were in bondage to unbelieving masters, was merely an enlargement of the feeling which would lead a man to emancipate his own children, taken captive by strangers ; still it *was* an enlargement, to acknowledge an extensive spiritual relationship, in addition to the bonds of nature. It was something gained, that every slave could by conversion become an object of this fraternal sympathy ; that there

was nothing to hinder him from being a priest; and if he had sufficient talent or virtue, he might eventually become a bishop; as was the case with Onesimus. It was also something gained, to have such eloquent outbursts against the whole institution of slavery, as were proclaimed from the pulpit by Gregory of Nyssa, and John of the Golden Mouth. Never had Pagan eloquence occupied itself with a theme so morally grand! No wonder the lowly and the ignorant revered, even to excess, those men of learning and talent, who laid aside worldly honours, to instruct them, and plead their cause with the powerful; and who proved the sincerity of their sympathy, by giving all they possessed to found hospitals, and establish orphan asylums. Never before had there been a class of teachers, who imparted regular instruction to the ignorant, and made it the business of their lives to protect the weak against the strong. Never had the aged and the helpless, the widows and the orphans, been so tenderly provided for, as they were by the Christian churches. Never in the world's history had there been such an earnest and extensive effort to inculcate the brotherhood of man, and to exemplify it by practice. Even when the sect became sufficiently numerous and powerful, to induce ambitious men to be its leaders, it long remained a matter of policy, with the worldly ones among the bishops, to manifest sympathy for the poor, that the character already established by the church might not be injured in the eyes of Pagans; for the argument Moses urged upon the Lord was obviously ever present to their minds: "If the people die by the way, the Egyptians will hear of it." But while some were influenced by this low motive, there were always, especially in the villages, many meek and pious clergymen, who relieved the suffering, and vindicated the oppressed, from their exceeding love and reverence for Jesus, who had said: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Much of the preaching in those days would doubtless seem poor, if tried by our standard; but it was a great

advance in the condition of rude nations to have moral and religious instruction of any kind offered to the whole people; and the benign countenance of Christ could never be quite obscured by the clouds theology gathered round it. It is true, the brotherhood of man was very imperfectly acknowledged, or perceived. But good seed was sown in the rough soil of human hearts, and in its growth it gradually modified or abolished many a barbarous custom; such as the slaughter of prisoners taken in war, gladiatorial combats, and contests with wild beasts, for the amusement of the populace. It greatly aided previous influences, which had prepared the way for improvement in human affairs; especially in the condition of women. The Hebrew religion had always been very emphatic concerning personal purity; and though polygamy was allowed, the practice of it was an exception to the general rule. Teutonic tribes married but one wife, and fully acknowledged the equality of men and women, in church and state. Romans prohibited polygamy by law. How far they had advanced beyond Asiatic ideas on the subject, is indicated by a remark of Cato the Censor, who lived two hundred and thirty-two years before Christ. He was accustomed to say: "They who beat wives or children lay their sacrilegious hands on the most sacred things in the world. For myself, I prefer the character of a good husband, to that of a great senator." The gentle and compassionate character of Christ was peculiarly attractive to the feminine nature; therefore, the number of proselytes was always much greater among women than among men. The influence they exerted over relatives was a constant theme of complaint and sarcasm among the Pagans. The orator Libanius reproached the patricians of Antioch with being "governed by their wives, whom they ought to govern." He inquires: "Why are you not guided by Pythagoras and Plato, instead of appealing to your wives and mothers." By proving such efficient missionaries with husbands, sons and brothers, women acquired an importance in the church, which they had never possessed in connection with the old

not true!

worship. There was *spiritual* equality between slaves and patricians, between men and women. This religious sympathy and companionship greatly ennobled the idea of marriage. It does not appear that the wisest and best Pagan ever rose to such an elevated view of the subject, as Tertullian presents in his picture of a truly Christian union between the sexes.

The priesthood of Greece and Rome merely performed religious ceremonies to procure rain, preserve the crops, avert pestilence, and for other similar purposes. No such thing as moral teaching of the people was included in their office. Philosophers, who were the only preachers, appealed solely to reason, and systematically withdrew from the populace. Platonism, which was the most elevated form of philosophy, imparted a lunar light, beautiful but vague, and cold, because it came from intellect only. No roseate flush from the sentiments warmed its atmosphere. Plato preached a Gospel of Beauty, and endeavoured to form well-proportioned characters, like the harmonious structure of Grecian statues and temples. Hence, his constant allusions to music, as an essential element in education. But he did not embrace the poor and the ignorant within his sympathies. He had no word of strength or consolation to impart to sinful and contrite souls. The heaven he preached was only for those who "philosophized truly, and loved beautiful forms."

His followers, the New Platonists, taught that the Logos, who created the visible world, knew and loved only what was above him; and the Supreme, having no superior, knew and loved only himself. Such a God was not the Heavenly Father. And the future world could not have offered much that was palpable, even to the cultivated few, for whom it was partially unveiled in the Eleusinian Mysteries. The mind must have been bewildered in the long ascending and descending spiral of existences; the ever-evolving circles of manifested and reabsorbed spirit. In the eternal rotation of the infinite whole, an individual was

but as dust thrown from the chariot wheel, in its perpetual circuit through the "orbit of necessity."

On the contrary, the most prominent feature in Christianity was the value and importance of individual man. For *him* was the world created, and all inferior creatures made; for *him* was heaven prepared; for *his* redemption the Son of God had given his life; over *his* repentance the church on earth, and the angels above, rejoiced. The resurrection of the *body*, to live a thousand years on *this earth*, renovated in beauty and purged of evil, was a far more tangible idea than that of a Grecian shade, waiting his appointed term in an unknown Elysium; for in all ages, people are much better acquainted with their bodies, than they are with their souls. Another exceedingly strong attraction, which Christianity presented, was the prospect of becoming completely purified from sin, and made sure of salvation, by the administration of baptism and the eucharist.

The alliance between Platonic philosophy and the old externals of worship satisfied conservative minds, who infused some life into the ceremonies, by investing them with allegorical significance. Plutarch compares Grecian mythology to a rainbow in relation to the sun. He says the light which formed it was from heaven, though it was broken by the medium. The facility with which the mind of man, in all ages and countries, contrives to adapt itself to whatever is held traditional and sacred, is remarkable. Mackay says truly: "A large mass of error is easily embalmed and perpetuated by a little truth." But conservatives of that period, as of all other periods, kept up old forms, not so much for themselves, as for the common people. Philosophers conformed to popular language concerning the gods, and practised outward ceremonies, long after they had inwardly set them aside, or given them a higher meaning. Growth was not considered dangerous, so long as it was confined to the initiated few; but it was supposed the safety of the state required that the populace should continue to regard as sacred old ideas in their old

dress. We have no right to judge this very harshly, considering that the experience of revolving ages has not yet convinced mankind, that no dangers can possibly equal those arising from ignorance, and a suppression of the truth. But vain is the attempt to conserve a national faith in the hearts of the people, for any great length of time, after its hold upon thinking minds is weakened. A chain of unnoticed influences is always at work, by which the enlightened few affect the many, even when they do not intend it. Their zeal kindles others, and their coldness chills. The intermediate state between the old dying faith and the new birth has a paralyzing influence on the vitality of society, which manifests itself in religion, literature, and the Arts. All forms, that are kept up after they are felt to be empty, do in reality degenerate into image-worship, and greatly demoralize a people; whether it be nominal reverence for a mythology, or for days and seasons; for a statue, or a book. The early teachers of Christianity earnestly believed what they taught, and therefore they magnetized the multitude. New apple trees will not flourish where an old orchard has been. The Platonists taught much that was high and true, and furnished many noble examples. But they were offshoots from a decaying stock, which had drawn from the soil all the appropriate nourishment it had to impart; while Christianity was a fresh young tree, bearing different fruit, and deriving sustenance from other qualities of the earth.

If any one is disposed to doubt that Christianity contains within itself a vital element of progress, superior to any other spiritual influence by which God has yet guided the world, I think he will be convinced by comparing the practical results of different religious systems. All of them contain truth, all of them have produced, and are producing, greater or less degrees of good. But after making due deductions, on account of the iniquitous practices of Christendom, we are still compelled to admit that there only do we find sympathy, benevolence, and active exertion for the improvement of all mankind. Christianity is

the only form of religion which has warmed up whole nations, to sacrifice time, talent, and wealth, for the benefit of remote and degraded classes of people, from whom no return of advantages could be expected. One instance will suffice for illustration. Where the slave trade and slavery have been abolished, it has not been done by policy of government. It has been the expansive force of Christian sympathy, compelling cold reluctant statesmen to move in obedience to the mighty pulsation of the popular heart. There was no fire to create such propelling steam in the Pagan religions; and in the Asiatic, the celestial spark smoulders under the heavy pressure of belief in irresistible fate.

In the Retrospective Chapter, a brief parallel has already been drawn between Buddhism and Christianity. As the formulas of the Christian church became established, the resemblance grew more and more striking. Witness invocations of the dead; temporary purification by fire after death, the term of which might be shortened by alms to monks, and donations to churches, offered by the living; pilgrimages to holy shrines; adoration of relics; self-torture of devotees; and the use of rosaries. The monastic institution is too exact a copy to be mistaken. There is nothing in the New Testament, which bears the slightest resemblance to it; and there was nothing like it among the Hebrews, except the Egyptianized Jews called Therapeutæ, who lived in a land full of Hindoo customs. Buddhist countries have been little known to Europeans, until within the last century. As soon as they came in contact with each other, the close resemblance in many religious ideas, customs, and forms of worship, immediately attracted attention. Borri, a Jesuit missionary to Cochin China, says: "It looks as if the Devil had endeavoured among the Gentiles to represent the beauty and variety of religious orders in the Catholic church. The priests have chaplets and strings of beads about their necks. There are also among them persons resembling bishops, and abbots, and archbishops; and they use gilt staves, not unlike our

croziers. If any man came newly into that country, he might easily be persuaded there had been Christians there in former times; so nearly has the Devil attempted to imitate us." It has been a favourite theory that Nestorian Christians sent missionaries, some thousand years ago, to Tartary, Northern Thibet, and Northern China; and that the Buddhists borrowed many ideas and customs from the churches they planted there. But the same similarities are found in Cochin China, Tonquin, and Japan, far beyond the bounds of any Nestorian missions. Moreover, there is not found in the religion of Thibet any tradition, any name, or any token whatsoever, indicating connection with Christianity. All, who are acquainted with human affairs, will acknowledge that the old rarely borrows from the new; especially in religious forms; while a new worship almost unavoidably becomes mingled with many things previously consecrated to the minds of men. The great antiquity of the Buddhist religion is proved, beyond all doubt, by the existence of Buddha's image in very ancient rock-temples in Hindostan, and by the allusion to his sect in the sacred poem called the Ramayana, written more than a thousand years before Christ. The same poem, and other still more ancient Sacred Books of Hindostan, mention anchorites, whose modes of asceticism and self-torture appear to have been very closely imitated by the disciples of St. Anthony. The religious associations of Bramins, in the forests, whose time was devoted to contemplation, a routine of prayers, and the instruction of young priests, greatly resemble the Christian monasteries, which did not come into existence till more than a thousand years later. Whether some of the early Gnostics, and other Christian teachers, were brought into direct contact with wandering Hindoo devotees; or with the Buddhist missionaries, who spread themselves all over the East; or whether they imbibed similar ideas and customs from Egypt, where they existed from very ancient times, is uncertain. But that India, by some process, direct or indirect, exerted great

influence over early Christianity, appears too obvious to require argument.

All countries under European influences are subject to progression and change, from which even the most conservative states cannot entirely shield themselves. But in Asia, the depreciation of this visible world, and the universal belief in destiny, have produced an unchangeable lethargy. Therefore, those who visit Buddhist countries now, find them in very much the same condition that Christendom was before the Middle Ages. The Grand Lama is acknowledged as the central power of many nations, the same as the Pope was; monks with shaven heads are met everywhere, saying their prayers on rosaries; and crowds of pilgrims are constantly wending their way to the shrine of some celebrated relic, which they believe to be endowed with miraculous power to cure diseases, and bring good fortune. The account of Lamaseries in Thibet immediately suggests Mary Howitt's description of Christian Monasteries in the olden time:

"And there they kept, the pious monks,
 Within a garden small,
 All plants that had a healing power,
 All herbs medicinal.

And thither came the sick, the maimed,
 The moonstruck and the blind,
 For holy flower, for wort of power,
 For charmed root or rind."

Many resemblances in doctrine, and especially in forms of expression concerning Bouddha and Christ, will also strike every observing reader. It is expressly stated that Bouddha descended into the hells, to instruct and comfort the souls there. The same appears in the Apostles' Creed concerning Christ; but not until after the sixth century. In one sense, the followers of Bouddha regarded him as a redeemer. They viewed this world as a scene of illusions, in which men were kept enchanted, by reason of the soul's imprisonment in Matter. They saw no way of reconciling

a material existence with spiritual life. Men must get *out* of the body, in order to be one with God. But though constantly tempted, nay compelled to sin, *in* the body, each offence must be atoned for, by an equivalent amount of suffering by somebody. Bouddha, while on earth, was described as inflicting severe penances upon himself, for the benefit of others. In the form of a beautiful fox, he allowed himself to be skinned alive, to invite tormenting insects, that he might in that way help to expiate the sins of mankind.

Christians taught the inherent transmitted sinfulness of all mortals; though the doctrine was not based on the same idea. They received from Jews the Cabalistic theory, that the germ of all human souls was in Adam; consequently all became infected with his sin; for which atonement must be made. It was a common idea that Christ's extreme agony in the garden was owing to the fact that he suffered for all the sins of all mankind.

Klaproth, a distinguished German Professor of the Asiatic Languages, says: "Next to the Christian religion, no one has contributed more to ennoble the human race, than the religion of Bouddha." Candour also requires the admission that the progress of Buddhism, though far more extensive than Christianity, has been more peaceful. There is no record that it was ever established in any country by force, nor have I met with any account of hostile sects slaying each other by hundreds.

Kindness toward animals, inculcated in all the Sacred Books, and everywhere practised as a religious duty, forms a lovely feature in the Asiatic religions, which Christianity would do well to imitate. True, it is founded on sympathy, produced by belief in the transmigration of souls, and it sometimes degenerates into fantastic excesses. But a friendly relation between men and animals is beautiful and good; and though Christians do not believe the soul of an ancestor may have passed into a horse, they might practise humanity from a higher motive. Tenderness toward the dumb creatures of God would harmonize with

the spirit of the religion they profess; and to acquire it, they merely need to apply the first and most obvious rule of natural religion: "How should I like to be treated, if I were myself a horse?"

If Christians habitually looked at themselves, and at the followers of foreign religions, from the same point of view, there would be much less exultation over their own superiority. If the Koran declared that God said to Moham-med: "Smite Amalek. Destroy utterly all that they have, and spare them not; but slay man and woman, infant and suckling," the text would doubtless have been quoted thousands of times by theologians, to prove the cruelty of Moslems, and the improbability that such a command came by Divine inspiration.

The existence of caste in Hindostan has been a constant theme of disparaging comparison with Christianity. So far as relates to the teaching and example of Christ, such remarks are just; but in point of *practice*, the law of caste exists throughout Christendom. In most European countries, there is a caste, which derives its right to govern all the others from hereditary descent, without reference to talent or goodness. There is also a caste, who inherit high dignities, lucrative offices, and large landed estates, which cannot be sold to pay just debts to poor men. A member of this favoured caste sometimes possesses estates so extensive, that he could not ride over them in a week; while thousands of labourers cannot obtain land sufficient to raise food for their families. In the United States of America, there exists a degraded caste, amounting to more than four millions of people. They are taxed and punished by the laws, but are not allowed to vote for those who make them. They are confined to menial occupations; being excluded from all lucrative employments, all honourable offices, and from seminaries of education; except in a very few and recent instances. From cars, steamboats, and other public conveyances, they are either entirely excluded, or compelled to take the most unclean and uncomfortable places; by which the health of many is seri-

ously injured. No amount of intelligence, or honourable conduct, can save them from this general proscription, to which they are condemned by birth. Many of them are pious Christians; some of them preachers of the Gospel; but they are required to worship in buildings by themselves. Where the numbers are not sufficient to form an isolated congregation, they are sometimes admitted into churches with the higher classes, on condition of sitting by themselves, far apart from others, and of not receiving the eucharist until all others have been served. It is not respectable to intermarry with them, or to eat at the same table. Even the dead bodies of these Christian Pariahs are regarded as a contamination, and are not allowed to be buried in the same enclosure with bones of the privileged classes. Similar customs in Hindostan are sanctioned by their Sacred Books, which enjoin a demarcation of castes; but the New Testament of the Christians expressly teaches the equality and brotherhood of mankind. In one case there is moral darkness; in the other, there is wilful disobedience to acknowledged light.

As a general thing, Christians have manifested very little kindness, or candour, in their estimate of other religions; but the darkest blot on their history is their treatment of the Jews. This is the more singular, because we have so much in common with them. We worship the same God, under the same name; we reverence their Scriptures; we make pilgrimages to their Holy City. Christ, and his Mother, and his Apostles, were Jews, and appear to have conformed to the established worship of the country; which we consequently claim as our sacred land. That the crucifixion occurred there was the fault of very few of the people. Only two of the tribes ever returned to Jerusalem, and of them merely a remnant. Their descendants scattered all over the Roman empire. They spoke a different language from their forefathers, and had little intercourse with Palestine. Doubtless thousands of them never heard of Jesus, till they were brought into collision with his followers, who increased Roman prejudice against them,

by preaching the immediate establishment of the Messiah's kingdom on earth. It was not the benevolent and holy Jesus, consecrated to *our* hearts, whom *they* rejected. Palestine Jews described him to their brethren abroad, as the founder of an obscure sect, who was not strict in keeping the Sabbath, who associated with odious tax-gatherers and foreigners, who spoke disparagingly of their sacred traditions, called their men of prayer hypocrites, and was finally executed for attempting to make himself king. And even in Palestine, doubtless great numbers of the people never manifested any animosity toward him, and never in reality knew much about his character. His followers in Jerusalem, at the time of his death, numbered only one hundred and twenty; and the existence of so small a sect might easily be unknown in many parts of the country. Even those who were really his enemies acted with the blind bigotry so generally manifested by established churches toward non-conformists. The Christian Fathers themselves admit that the Jews were not *aware* of persecuting the Son of God; because both Christ and his Apostles sedulously *concealed* his divinity. But though so few were implicated in the cruel transaction, the Fathers were accustomed to speak of all Jews, in all parts of the world, as "murderers of Christ;" and they were everywhere hated and persecuted, as if each one of them had put him to death, knowing him to be the Son of God. For nearly two thousand years has this rancorous hostility been perpetuated, though it rests on such an unjust and irrational foundation. And men who branded all the Jews as outcasts, who plundered and slaughtered them, for an offence committed by a small number of their very remote ancestors, were accustomed to quote, as their standard, the prayer which Jesus offered for those who were the immediate causes of his death: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

Did a religion manifesting such a spirit offer anything lovely to the Jews, that they should be induced to embrace it? Do not noble souls naturally cling to ancient and con-

secrated usages, when men speak evil of them, and force is used to compel their relinquishment? If we looked at the subject candidly, I think we should acknowledge as heroic martyrs, those men and women, who resisted constant appeals to their fears and their selfishness, and at the cost of incredible sacrifices and sufferings, still set their faces steadfastly toward Jerusalem, and replied: "After this manner worship we the God of our fathers." Ever since I have reflected on the subject, I have never been able to do otherwise than reverence their firmness and their faith.

It has been the singular destiny of that extraordinary people to be objects of great exaggeration, both as ancients and moderns. When they were rude nomadic tribes, they had the narrowness and barbarity, which unavoidably characterize nations in that stage of civilization. But we regard them, at *that* time, as the only depositories of truth revealed by God to man; and the fragments of their barbarous history are quoted as sacred rules of life. The Jews of Rome and Alexandria, whom the Christian Fathers considered as deservedly accursed by men, and outcasts from God's mercy, were better, and far more enlightened, than those savage tribes of the desert, who went about slaughtering women and children, in the name of Jehovah, and who were nevertheless revered as the only people God had chosen for his own, on the face of the whole earth. Even on the borders of our own times, Moses Mendelssohn, the great and the good, would not have been allowed to purchase an acre of land in Christian countries, where Joshua is regarded as directly and constantly inspired by God, though he allured marauding tribes to conquer innocent people, by promises of "harvests they had not sowed, and vineyards they had not planted."

We owe the Jews an immense debt of gratitude, after deducting all exaggerations. Their great lawgiver cared for the poor, and instructed all the people; their prophets kept alive reverence for God, and abhorrence of idolatry; and their poets uttered solemn strains of penitence, through which contrite hearts have for ages poured out their sor-

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rows and supplications before the Lord. These things contributed very largely to form a basis on which to build Christianity. Their Scriptures are exceedingly valuable, as fragments of ancient history, which throw light on our own religion. Their solemn rebukes of sin, and their eloquent outbursts of devotional feeling, render them venerable and dear to all religious souls. But adapted, as some portions of them were, to savage tribes, and others to semi-barbarous ages, they become a positive obstacle to progress in humanity, when received literally, by civilized nations, as a rule of life. How can it be otherwise with books that authorize stoning people to death for picking up sticks on Saturday; scalding a man that scalds you; killing a son for disobedience; whipping slaves as much as is consistent with their living over two days; and cutting to pieces prisoners taken in battle? Every abominable practice in Christendom has by turns been sustained by arguments drawn from the Old Testament. True, other passages breathe a different spirit; but that is because the volume is made up of fragments, composed at different epochs, and, by men of totally different characters. The portion which may be made universally applicable to all times is very small. Up to a certain point, written Revelations aid the progress of nations; but after the state of society for which they were written has entirely passed away, they become a positive hindrance; because the *habit* of reverence remains after the *life* has gone. "It is only the *living*, who can bury the dead." The Code of Menu and the Pouranas are the greatest of all obstacles to the civilization of Hindostan; and the progress of the Jews has been much impeded by the Pentateuch and the Talmud. Men part slowly with old established opinions and forms. Mental resistance to change is as strong as the principle of inertia in mechanical science. When reason, in its manly growth, can no longer be satisfied with the food that sustained its infancy, imagination comes with a vase of ambrosial allegories. In this way, Philo found the poetic system of Plato within

the practical and circumstantial laws of Moses. Ram-mohun Roy permeated the Vedas with the same refining element. And Christian Fathers found all the inward warfare of their souls in the wanderings and battles of the Israelites. But this process is resorted to only by reflective minds. The great majority venerate a doctrine, a book, or an institution, merely because it has *long* been venerated; and as Thomas Carlyle says: "It is truly surprising how long a rotten post may stand, provided it be not shaken." Dr. Lardner, the well-known ecclesiastical writer says: "No religion can be so absurd and unreasonable, especially when it has been established, and of a long time, that it will not find men of good abilities, not only to palliate and excuse, but also to approve and justify, and recommend its greatest absurdities."

But though it is unwise to expend vain efforts in galvanizing the dead, the body that once had life should be treated reverently. And we ought never to forget that forms, which are dead to us, may have been very much alive to others; that things may seem absurd merely because the *idea* they originally conveyed is lost. We turn with contempt from representations of Egyptian priests kneeling before a golden beetle. But five thousand years hence, similar feelings may be excited by pictures of a Catholic priest kneeling before an altar, on which is a lamb with a cross; because the meaning of the emblem may be forgotten. It is impossible for us to tell what spiritual truth the golden beetle represented to Egyptian minds. If we could be enabled to perceive the idea precisely as it appeared to them, perhaps the symbol would fill us with veneration, as the embodiment of some great mystery, connected with God and the soul. If in the long lapse of ages, a time should ever arrive, when men know as little about the ceremonies of the Christian church, as we know concerning those of Chaldea and Egypt, how would it seem to them to find an inscription somewhere, which recorded that men and women were accustomed to assemble on stated occasions to eat small morsels of bread, and sip a

few drops of wine, which the priest had previously consecrated by a form of prayer; that some deemed them the veritable body and blood of God; and believed that the salvation of the soul depended upon partaking of them? If the significance of the ordinance were lost, how puerile would the form appear! We consider the ancient religions absurd; but if we should ever become angels and archangels, with a capacity of remembering our present views concerning God and the soul, they will appear far more external and childish, than do now those of the first Hebrews in their tents, or the first Grecians in their caves.

And after all, there is more similarity in the leading ideas of various ages and nations, than we have been accustomed to acknowledge. The seven Amshaspands of Persia, the "seven mighty Princes" before the throne of God, described by the Hebrew prophet, and the seven Archangels in whom Christians believe, are certainly very like each other. The Guardian Angels, so often pictured by Christian artists, bear great resemblance to the winged Archetype, which Grecians said every human being had in the world of Spirits; a kind of Heavenly Elder Brother, who was attracted toward him by the sympathy of spiritual relationship; who knew all his thoughts and actions, and at death accompanied him to the Judges of the Dead, and rendered an account of them. Certainly, Christians invested Angels with a much higher and purer *character*, than had belonged to Grecian Spirits. Thereby the progressive growth of the ages concerning Divine Natures was expressed, and much was gained for the future. But all human souls have been children of the same Father, travelling toward the same home as ourselves; and therefore we must needs have much in common.

The great similarity in the prophecies, traditions, and even emblems, of various ages and countries, will of course strike every reader. In all parts of the world we find traditions of a time when the earth was spontaneously fruitful, when men were innocent, and lived to an immense age. Everywhere, prophets have foretold that the Golden Age

would be restored by some holy and just man, or some incarnated deity, who would appear in the latter times. Everywhere, there have been predictions of the destruction of the world by fire, and accounts of its inundation by water. The Goddess Mother with her Child was pictured on Egyptian temples; veiled behind Chinese altars; consecrated in Druid groves; and glorified in Christian churches. People will explain these coincidences differently, according as the reverential or rational element prevails in character. Some will suppose that Hebrew Scriptures were the original source of all, and will consider everything a prophecy of Christ. Others will say that the same wants and aspirations in human nature produce similar manifestations in nations and times remote from each other; that the Past is always reproduced in the Present, and always prophesies the Future; as the child is prophetic of the man.

In the Retrospective Chapter, allusion was made to traces of animal magnetism among the ancients. Similar phenomena reappear in later times. Apollonius at Ephesus is described as perceiving things which happened at the same moment at Rome. Celsus speaks of it as a common thing for Egyptian magicians to make inanimate things move, as if they were alive, and so to influence uncultured men, as to produce in them whatever sights or sounds they pleased. Tertullian describes a Montanist woman, who cured diseases, perceived the thoughts of others, and held conversations with Spirits, which were taken down in writing, as inspired revelations. Hermits, reduced to a state of nervous excitability, by fasting and watchfulness, are said to have perceived the thoughts of people, to have cured diseases by laying on their hands, and even by transmitting written words to the invalid. The account of Theurgy among the New Platonists sounds like a modern description of clairvoyance. Early painters, in their pictures of the Virgin and saints curing diseases, sometimes represented streams of light radiating from their fingers.

With regard to the innumerable miracles recorded by all parties, there is doubtless very great allowance to be made for fabrication, exaggeration, and trickery; but after making all reasonable deductions from the accounts which have been handed down to us, it still seems likely that some remarkable things really did occur, and formed a basis for numerous reports. Perhaps some were unconsciously accomplished by means of that mysterious agency, which we call magnetism; and men finding themselves possessed of a power, which they could not explain, honestly supposed that some Spirit was working miracles through them. Whoever has been in the midst of a very excited crowd, has been aware of an influence which it is extremely difficult to resist; which seems to carry him out of himself, and renders it almost impossible to preserve the balance of his judgment. This sometimes happens even when there was originally little or no sympathy with the cause of excitement. What then must it be, where faith is at its highest pitch of exaltation, and the soul becomes a perfect medium of spiritual electricity? All earnestness is magnetic; and perhaps there never was a greater degree of enthusiasm, than pervaded early Christian assemblies; especially among the Montanists. How could it otherwise than operate powerfully on the nerves and imagination of an invalid, heated white-hot with the same fervour of faith? That diseases should actually be cured thereby, is no more incredible than the well known fact that the bed-ridden have been able to leap out of the windows, when their minds were excited to the highest degree, by a knowledge that the house was in flames. Lord Bacon says: "There has been very little inquiry, and not at all proportioned to the depth and importance of the subject, how far imagination, or thought, very fixed, and as it were exalted into a faith, can effect a change in the body of the imaginer."

At the present time, we begin to recognize the existence of laws connected with the relation of soul and body, and their action on each other; though as yet we have made no approach toward understanding them. But in those

early centuries, no man dreamed of the existence of such laws. Everything was attributed to the *direct* agency of God. St. Anthony, Hilarion, and Simeon Stylites, might have really cured diseases, they knew not how, by reason of their own half disembodied state, and the undoubting faith of others. The peculiarities which are *induced* by any particular state of the world, are, by the necessity of spiritual laws, *adapted* to that state. What inspires reverence at one period, excites ridicule at another; and when faith in it has gone, it loses its magnetic power, for good or evil.

No doubt, many imputed miracles were merely natural experiments, or scientific phenomena, disguised under religious formulas, with which they had no connection. When the lamps used for Easter were replenished with water from the river, it was believed to be miraculously converted into oil by prayers of the bishop, and because he who poured it had strong faith in the power of Christ; but it is not likely he did anything more than most housewives have done, when they wished to raise the oil in their lamps. The Gymnosophist, who caused a tree to speak to Apollonius, was probably a ventriloquist. Perhaps the expelled Devils, who audibly acknowledged themselves to be Jupiter or Apollo, received similar aid; in fact the idea is suggested by a remark I have quoted from Justin Martyr. When Maximus, the Platonic philosopher, caused all the lamps in the temple to blaze instantly, by a form of words, there was doubtless gas in his proceedings. The Catholics, who talked after their tongues were cut out, have had parallels in modern times. The Academy of Science, in Paris, published, early in the eighteenth century, an account of a girl born without a tongue, who yet talked distinctly and easily. The statement was made by an eminent physician, who had carefully examined her mouth. A similar account was attested by them concerning a boy, who had lost his tongue by an ulcer.

The existence of very pious feelings, in conjunction with intolerance, cruelty, and selfish policy, has never ceased to

surprise and perplex those who have viewed it calmly from a distance. Constantine, after he had manifested such zeal for bishops, and shown the greatest reliance on the efficacy of prayer, caused the death of his own son, and his sister's husband, and her son, from the fear that they might become formidable as rivals in the empire. Constantius, who was zealous for Christianity, pursued the same course with regard to his uncle and cousins. Theodosius, the most pious of them all, was relentless in his persecution of sects that differed in the slightest degree from the established church; and he ordered thousands of innocent people, including women and children, to be slaughtered, to gratify his resentment. From that time down to the present day, such instances abound; and it is common to explain them by the supposition of deliberate hypocrisy in religious professions. But I am convinced that piety toward God may be perfectly sincere in those who manifest great selfishness and violence toward their fellow creatures; because the two results proceed from different elements in man's nature, which must be harmoniously proportioned and combined to form a consistent religious character; but which, nevertheless, are often disproportioned, and even completely separated. Conscientiousness and reverence for the supernatural are distinct things; and either one or the other may predominate in character. I have known exceedingly conscientious and humane people, who would be uneasy for days, if they had struck a dog, or given a cent too little in change, or uttered an equivocation, who, nevertheless, could not be much impressed by the most solemn ceremonies of the church, or excited by the most fervent preaching. On the other hand, I have known extremely devotional people, who wept over the Bible, and could not live happily without frequent worship, who nevertheless abused animals, and dealt hardly with the poor, without being troubled by any degree of the remorse they would have felt, if they had fallen asleep for the night without uttering a prayer. John Newton was a memorable example to the point. He wrote in strains of the most

affecting piety, spent much of his time in reading of Christ, and praying to him, and thankfully recorded "sweet seasons of communion with God," while he was carrying on the slave-trade on the coast of Africa. Extreme results of a similar nature occur in Italy, where devotional feelings are very strong, and moral principles generally flexible. Hired assassins will not kill their victim with a dagger whose handle is in the form of a cross. A ferocious bandit, who for a long time had rendered himself formidable to the police, was at last taken by means of his own piety. It was discovered that he had made a vow to do injury to no creature on Saturday; which the church had taught him was the birth-day of the Virgin Mary. They attacked him on that day, and as he offered no resistance, he was taken and executed; dying with a prayer on his lips.

In all ages, such melancholy discrepancies have been greatly increased by the tendency of the priesthood to substitute theology for religion. This troubled the waters of Christianity very near the fountain. Paul was one of the greatest and best among the messengers, whom God has sent to guide the human race. But he was brought up at the feet of a learned Jewish Rabbi, and of course breathed a polemical atmosphere. His whole soul was seized by the teachings of Christ, and, in his earnestness, he would fain have imparted his own faith and hope to all the world. But obstacles came in his way. Gentiles demanded a reason for his faith, and Jews insisted that he should sustain his hope by proofs brought from their prophecies and traditions. Thus he was forced into perpetual arguments, often of a metaphysical character. Christ preached a religion; Paul taught theology. Religion does not consist in *knowing*; it is a state of *feeling*. It was not the power of *doctrines*, that brought the Fathers into the church. It was a deep interior consciousness of the holiness and beauty of Christ's example, and of his pure and gentle teaching. This they wished to embody in word and deed, and sow it widely in the seed-field of everlasting time. But theology encountered this devout consciousness, and piled up in its

path the antecedent doctrines of the world, with subtle and totally unanswerable questions, which, nevertheless, would pertinaciously insist upon being answered. Thus the Fathers, especially the later ones, were drawn aside from religion to theology. Then followed sectarian warfare, and stormy councils; until the dominant church, aided by civil power, petrified all thought into formulas, and when hungry souls asked for bread, gave them a stone. Men who laboured for this result, and exulted in its completion, were not necessarily guided by ambition, or selfish policy. They were strongly impressed with the idea that to do good extensively, the church must be established; and that in order to be established, it must be one and indivisible in doctrines. In the process, errors of faith came to be regarded as more sinful; than the greatest moral delinquencies. The same stringent rule was applied even to external ceremonies. All must observe Easter on the same day; and the Gregorian Chants must be the universal standard for church music. In those chants, every singer must utter the same tone, in the same key. *Unison* of voices was the highest idea *theology* could attain to; but when *religion* can utter itself freely, worshippers sing a *harmony* of many different parts, and thus make music more pleasing to the ear of God, and more according to the pattern by which he created the universe.

In all forms of worship, and in all individual souls, religion diminishes in the same proportion that theology increases; for inquisitive thought always has a tendency to separate from the affections, in pursuit of mental abstractions. Intellect, in religious matters, has always proved like the horses of the Sun under the guidance of Phæton; rushing wildly among the stars, always descending in its course, and finally shattering the chariot, and extinguishing its warm radiance in the waters of this earth. From this frequent example, some draw the inference that it is wisest and safest to receive with unquestioning faith the opinions others have established; forgetting that the warmth was chilled, and the light well nigh extinguished, in the

process of *becoming* established. There is another and a better lesson which the experience ought to teach; namely that religion does not consist in *doctrines* of any kind, but in *sentiments* of reverence toward God, and of justice and benevolence toward our fellow men.

It is impossible to exaggerate the evil work theology has done in the world. What destruction of the beautiful monuments of past ages, what waste of life, what disturbance of domestic and social happiness, what perverted feelings, what blighted hearts, have always marked its baneful progress! How the flowery meadow of childhood has been blasted by its lurid fires! Alas, what a world that was for infancy to open its wondering eyes upon, when exorcisms to cast out Devils were murmured over its innocent brow! When Pagan priests poured sacrificial wine into its tender stomach, and Christian deacons forced open its reluctant mouth, to pour in more wine, that the Devil might be expelled, which they supposed had taken possession of the poor little suffering lamb! What a spiritual atmosphere that was for childhood to breathe, when zealous mothers dragged their little ones, with hot haste, to the place of martyrdom, and taught them it was sinful to be attracted by birds and butterflies on the way! When monks scourged and nearly starved a little boy, to test whether his father had become sufficiently holy to witness their cruelty without any remains of human emotion!

Even if nothing worse than wasted mental effort could be laid to the charge of theology, that alone ought to be sufficient to banish it from the earth, as one of the worst enemies of mankind. What a vast amount of labour and learning has been expended, as uselessly as emptying shallow puddles into sieves! How much intellect has been employed mousing after texts, to sustain preconceived doctrines! Little or no progress toward truth is usually made, because passages of ancient books are taken up hundreds of years after they were written, and are used in a sense altogether foreign from the original intention, in

order to sustain some opinion, or tradition of the then present time. And the human mind is not left free to pursue even *this* distorting process; but colleges of supervisors are appointed to instruct the young in what light everything *ought* to be viewed. One college covers the eyes of all its students with red spectacles, so that every object seems on fire. Another insists that blue spectacles are the only proper medium; consequently its pupils maintain that all creation is ghastly pale. Whereupon red spectacles rush to battle with blue spectacles, to prove that the whole landscape is flame-coloured. If one who uses his natural eyesight comes between them, and says, ever so gently: "Nay, my friends, you are both mistaken. The meadows are of an emerald green, and the sunshine is golden," he is rudely shoved aside, as an heretic, or an infidel. One party calls out to him: "Did you ever look at the landscape through red spectacles?" Another shouts: "Did you ever examine it by the only right method, which is through blue spectacles?" And if he cannot answer in the affirmative, they both vociferate: "Then you had better keep silence; for you are altogether incapable of forming a correct opinion on the subject."

Alas, what millions of men have been thus employed, in all countries, ever since the world began! What a blooming paradise would the whole earth be, if the same amount of intellect, labour, and zeal, had been expended on science, agriculture, and the arts! Polemical controversy must necessarily be useless, even if it were nothing worse; because it is always striving to settle infinite questions by the exercise of finite faculties. In this stage of existence, our Heavenly Father obviously intends that we should know very little concerning the destiny of our own souls, and their relations with Him and the universe. This inevitable limitation of our vision should teach us a lesson of humility with regard to our own views, and of respectful tenderness toward those of others. It is our duty to wait with hope and faith for the withdrawal of the screen, and to be thankful, meanwhile, that there are bright edges

of light around the veil of the sanctuary, which give assurance of a glorious presence within.

Thousands of years ago, hermits in Hindostan inquired earnestly: "How does God exist? And whence came Evil?" And up to this day, there has been no approach made toward solving the problems. Here, we come up against the walls of limitation, with which the All Wise has circumscribed our vision. The answers to such queries are above finite comprehension. We cannot attain unto them; as the most sagacious elephant can never measure the distances of the stars, or calculate the return of the moon, though their solemn brightness may impress and overawe him, as vague conceptions of the Deity affect our own souls.

A wondrous want of faith in truth is constantly manifested by the jealous pains men take to regulate and control all inquiry into established formulas. The old writer Ludovicus Vives tells the story of a peasant who thought his donkey had drunk up the moon. Therefore, he killed the poor animal, in order to restore that luminary; thinking the world stood in much need of its light. Thus has bigotry, in its folly and madness, slain many a one, who was merely allaying spiritual thirst, by drinking from a pail of water, which reflected some beams of the moon, while the great planet itself serenely floated over all, and was reflected in a thousand streams. In the narrowness of our ignorance, we have been forever striving to limit the All Father's love. Hindoos thought themselves the sole depositaries of truth. Jews did the same. Christians, in their turn, denounced all but themselves, as "heathen," and "murderers of Christ," who must unavoidably burn in eternal fire. But while these successively asserted their exclusive claims, the Heavenly Father was lovingly and wisely guiding all, and renewing all. As no individual can monopolize sunshine, or water, so no nation, or sect, can appropriate to itself God's love or truth. If they think they have drunk up the sun, they are mistaken donkeys, who had but a dim reflection of it in their own small water-pail.

One of the most beautiful and sublime aspects of Divine Providence is the ethereal and infinite nature of all high truths and holy feelings. Religion, like music, cannot be compelled to express anything bad. Whatever words are appropriated to a tune, the tones preserve their purity. If there is evil done, the language must do it; the divine element of music has no share in the degrading office. A rough voice may mar its sweetness, a false ear may confuse the measure; but the true ear, that listens, perceives the inherent beauty, and the clear voice repeats it. In vain have theologians set rancorous words to a gentle tune. The *spirit* of Christ's teaching eludes their efforts; as he himself passed through the midst of those who would seize him, and went his way. Churches may anathematize each other; but above their discordant utterance, penitents hear the consoling voices of Mary Magdalen and the Prodigal Son, and the dying beggar smiles while he hears Lazarus call him to the gates of heaven.

It is true that mere theological tenets may do much and prolonged mischief. The abstract idea that Matter was the origin of Evil has produced an immense amount of physical and moral disease in the world. Thousands and thousands have starved and lacerated their bodies, and stifled the kindest emotions of human nature, in consequence of it. For centuries, it changed the entire social system, by banishing a very large proportion of men and women into convents. The influence of it to this day infects our ideas of love and marriage. A spiritual-minded woman once confessed to me she was greatly shocked by the news that Dr. Channing was about to be married; "because she had always considered him such a saint." The old Hindoo idea was lurking there, in the extremest form of Protestantism.

But even the most repulsive and fantastic forms of theology often embodied a high idea. The rage for celibacy which prevailed at one period of the world, was an excessive reaction from the tendency to bury the soul in material things; thus making the body a sepulchre instead of a

temple, or a pleasant house. Augustine's doctrine, that a Christian should be *willing* to be damned for the glory of God, was only a very extreme form of expressing the beautiful idea of self-renunciation. The complicated Gnostic theories concerning Christ's derivation from the Supreme Being, through successive emanations, were but the utterance of the heart, stammering its homage through the imperfect medium of the intellect. Their wild poetic myths about Ennoia and Sophia Achamoth are obviously intended to represent the human soul, aspiring after the beautiful and the true, but snared by the temptations of life, chained by its necessities, mournfully conscious of its own degradation, forever striving to raise its fettered wings, and imploring aid from Higher Powers, to soar toward pure spiritual regions. Al Sirat, the hair-breadth bridge over flames of hell, placed before the entrance of Paradise, conveys to spiritual-minded Moslems a true picture of our earthly pilgrimage, where all human souls need good angels to help them across narrow bridges over gulfs of fire.

Always there is a saving power at work to guard the inner life from destruction. We are told that when Job was delivered to Satan, God stipulated that he should spare his life. The same reservation is made with regard to human hearts when they are made over to theology to be tormented. Human affections were given up to monasteries, to deal with them as they would; but kill them utterly they could not. Some vestiges of natural feeling remained in monks, and took refuge behind their consecrated symbols. Pictures of the "Queen of Heaven" often glowed with the sunlight of woman's tenderness, and fragrant memories of mothers and sisters were breathed around them, mingled at times with gentle visions of a wife that might have been. With all their stern stifling of nature, I doubt whether they could have worshipped the image of a man with such tender reverence. Nuns also, however orthodox their belief concerning original sin, and the unholiness of marriage, were doubtless attracted toward infant innocence in those pictures, and loved the child in that

mother's aims, not always as an incarnated God, but as a human babe. In their visions of a spiritual bridegroom, nature sometimes mingled with grace, though the feeling lay concealed from their consciousness under a mystic veil. This is very observable in the ecstatic language of St. Theresa, concerning her union with Christ; portions of which would not have been altogether inappropriate, if addressed by Eloise to Abelard.

Even in the external observances and arbitrary power of the church there were many compensating influences. Images and pictures abounded, as they did in Pagan temples; but the *idea* they embodied was on a higher plane. Philosophers adored Beauty and Power in the statues of their gods. Christians venerated Purity, Gentleness, and Benevolence, in images of the Virgin and her Son. Whatever condition of things grows out of a certain state of society, must necessarily be in some degree best adapted to that state. Such a bishop as Ambrose could not rise up in England, or the United States. Obedience to such an one would be altogether a retrograde movement in society. But under the irresponsible despotism of Roman emperors, it was a positive blessing to mankind to have the civil power restrained by reverence for the ecclesiastical. The public penance imposed on the emperor Theodosius, for an act of barbarous injustice to the populace, was a salutary lesson to kings; and that a bishop was moved to do it, proved the increasing importance of the people's cause. The agents of Christianity, even when grasping at wealth and power, were employed by Providence to advance a democratic principle in the world, though they were generally unconscious agents. The universal custom of bequeathing large estates to the church did an immense amount of evil, in many ways. It encouraged men in the selfish and indolent idea of sinning while life and health lasted, and then purchasing salvation with money; it defrauded rightful heirs; and it rendered the church inordinately powerful, arrogant, and avaricious. But even this practice had some good results. To a considerable degree,

monks were conveyancers of the wealth of rich robbers to the defrauded poor; for monasteries were asylums for homeless orphans and wandering beggars, hospitals for indigent invalids, and resting places for travellers. The old barriers of rank were likewise broken down by monasticism. Chrysostom, urging people to embrace it, says: "Even the sons of peasants and artificers, who enter this state of life, become so revered, that the first of the land are not ashamed to visit their cells, and consider it an honour to converse with them."

To a liberal soul, it is pleasant to find indications that, in the midst of fiercest controversy, the spirit of Christianity had not departed from the churches, and was not confined to them; that some, of all classes, paid voluntary homage to the good and the true. It is consoling to read of Christians, who thought Socrates and Plato might have been inspired by a portion of the Logos; and of Platonists, who acknowledged Jesus was one of the divine messengers sent by God to men. It is a beautiful picture, that of Christians in Carthage, risking their lives to tend Pagans smitten with the pestilence; and of Christians in Nicomedia, throwing open their granaries in time of famine, to feed the hungry multitude of unbelievers. It is cheering to read of Pagan magistrates, who evaded the laws, or stretched them to the utmost, to avoid inflicting penalties, and who were accustomed to give secret warning to Christians in time of danger. It makes one in love with human nature, to find Roman citizens refusing to be bound by the laws, during Diocletian's persecution, and acting from a higher law in their own hearts, which led them to risk their own property and personal safety, rather than betray fugitives, who had taken refuge with them. It is encouraging to all who wish to break down partition walls, to hear the orator Libanius pleading so earnestly in behalf of persecuted Christians, who had shown moderation in their day of power. It is touching to hear the much-wronged Israelites uniting their voices with Christians in Psalms of lamentation, at the funerals of good bishops. These things

convey instructive lessons, which the world would do wisely to take to heart; for though nearly two thousand years have rolled away since the introduction of Christianity, men have not yet learned to view each other's religions with justice and candour.

While contending about the divinity of Christ's *person*, the divinity of his *example* has been comparatively neglected. The only real point of union for mankind, is in the acknowledgment of great moral principles. The *theology* of all religions is something extraneous and imperfect, which took shape from previous opinions, and peculiar circumstances of the time. It is, therefore, necessarily subject to change, and destined to pass away. But there is no occasion for alarm lest changes should come before the way is prepared for them. Conservatives may console themselves with Carlyle's wise remark: "The old skin never falls off, till a new one has formed under it." We may safely trust the preservation of truth to Him who guides the stars. Every particle of genuine life, contained within decaying forms of thought, will fall like ripe seed from a withered stem, and produce fresh plants, which will gradually develop with the progress of man, and ripen into spiritual flowers and fruit of more perfected varieties, than any the world has yet seen. The present *forms* of Christianity will vanish, and become traditional records, in the lapse of ages; but all that really makes it a *religion* will remain forever. As long as there are human souls, they will acknowledge Christ as a Son of God. Not because councils have decreed it; but because they will find in his example and precepts what they most desire to be, in their highest states of aspiration, when they are most filled with reverence for God, with compassion for the sufferings and faults of their fellow creatures, and with humility in view of their own deficiencies. Because Jesus taught mankind to cast out the Demon Penalty, by means of the Angel Attraction, therefore shall all the ages honour and bless him. His precepts will be more and more venerated, the more they are examined in their own pure light, the more

they are compared with other systems, and especially the more they are *practised*. Whether another great teacher will ever be sent to help us still further onward, it will be time enough to inquire when Christendom begins, in good earnest, to try the experiment of practical conformity to his religion. He has uttered the great diapason tone which would bring all discords into harmony. If only one nation would conscientiously obey his laws, in her internal and external regulations, she would be lifted up, and draw all the nations unto her. War and slavery, the gallows and prisons, would disappear from the earth. No miracles recorded in the wildest legends of the Middle Ages equal the power of Christian Faith to cast out Evil Spirits. No prophecies of a blissful future are too golden to describe the sunshine of universal Love.

On each individual soul devolves the duty of helping to produce this sublime result; and this can be done only by reverent obedience to inward convictions. God has not made conscience an infallible pope, to decide what is right or wrong, true or false; therefore, the most conscientious men may conform to a very imperfect, or even a wrong standard, on some subjects, while they adopt a very high standard with regard to others. This has been the case in all ages and countries, and under all forms of religion. It cannot be otherwise with beings who are formed by influences from two worlds. But it is an established law of our being that disobedience to our own consciences darkens the condition of our souls; while sincere reverence for that inward voice brings us gradually into greater and greater light. In this way, individuals who are true to their own convictions are always helping the public conscience to rise to a higher plane. A large majority of men, in all ages, are guided almost entirely by popular opinion; and that opinion derives its power of growth from individuals, who become mediums of Divine influence, by fearless obedience to their own internal light. The heroic old monk, who rushed into the amphitheatre to separate two gladiators, commanded to murder for the amusement of the

Roman populace, was put to death for obeying his own conscience, more enlightened than that of the people; but his voice afterward became the public voice, and gladiatorial combats were forbidden by law. Clarkson incurred much odium and persecution by denouncing a traffic, sanctioned by all the merchants of his time, licensed by the government, and not rebuked by the clergy; but eventually, the public conscience rose to his level, and Christian nations thenceforth branded the slave-trade as piracy. Once thoroughly impressed with the utter wickedness of the trade, he naturally came to the conclusion that a system originating in such monstrous violation of justice and humanity must also be wrong. His earnestness influenced other minds. Elizabeth Heyrick learned from them, and, with woman's spontaneous insight of the heart, added that if slavery was wrong, immediate and entire cessation from it was the only right way. The interior perceptions of these honest souls, fearlessly proclaimed, became the moral sentiment of the British nation; as they eventually will be of the whole world. In every village, there are a few individuals striving, on some subject or other, to live up to a standard higher than the community around them. Their truthful natures yield to a strong conviction that their own consciences ought to be obeyed, whatever men may say. Very often they see no further than this; and continue to labour, year after year, uncheered by hopes of changing the current of public opinion. But though they know it not, they are working for the ages. Each, in his own way, is a medium of the Holy Spirit.

While sincere and earnest individuals raise the standard of their own times, the age, improved by their efforts, educates other individuals, who, being thus raised to a higher point of view, can command a more extended vision than their predecessors. By obedience to a law within themselves, above the existing laws of society, such individuals help to raise the moral standard of succeeding ages to a plane still more elevated. By this mutual action and reaction between the public and private conscience, the world

is slowly rolled onward toward its long-promised Golden Age. It is a glorious privilege to help it forward, even the hundredth part of an inch. It is a fearful responsibility to retard it, even a hair's breadth. Every one of us can aid in the great work, if we always look inward for our guide, and follow the voice of conscience, which to each one of us is truly the law of God.

“Reverence for what's oldest, truest,
Friendly welcome to the newest;
Cheerful heart and purpose pure,
So our onward way is sure.”

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RELIGIOUS IDEAS.



—Gospel

THE
PROGRESS
OF
RELIGIOUS IDEAS,
Through Successive Ages.

BY
L. MARIA CHILD.

God sends his teachers unto every age,
To every clime, and every race of men,
With revelations fitted to their growth
And shape of mind, nor gives the realm of Truth
Into the selfish rule of one sole race:
Therefore each form of worship that hath swayed
The life of man, and given it to grasp
The master-key of knowledge, REVERENCE,
Enfolds some germs of goodness and of right.

J. R. LOWELL.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II



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PROGRESS

RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

JEWS AFTER THE EXILE.

"Judea's homeless hearts, that turn
From all earth's shrines to thee,
With their lone faith for ages borne
In sleepless memory."

THE captives in Babylon did not reside in a district by themselves, as their ancestors had done in Egypt. They were dispersed in all parts of the country, and effectually mixed with the inhabitants. Nebuchadnezzar gave orders that the handsomest and most intelligent lads belonging to the higher classes among them should be placed in the schools of the Magi, and instructed in all Chaldean learning. At these schools, which were very famous in their day, young Hebrews had an opportunity to study divination, for the interpretation of dreams; astrology, in connection with prophecy; astronomical calculations, in which were included the periodical destruction of the world; and chemical knowledge, made use of by priests, to resist ordeals by fire or poison. Daniel, and his kinsmen of the royal line of Judah, were educated at these schools. By

his skilful interpretation of a dream, he became a favourite with Nebuchadnezzar, who appointed him Chief of all the Magi, and the governor of a province, and bestowed upon him the name of Baaltasar, from Baal, the tutelary deity of Babylon. It seems marvellous that he could have been advanced to such high honours, especially to priestly dignity, without considerable conformity on his part to the established worship of the country. But the Sacred Books inform us that he clung to his religion with Hebrew tenacity, and even at the peril of his life turned his face toward Jerusalem and prayed publicly, three times a day, to the God of Israel.

The old prophecy of Nathan concerning the house of David sustained the hopes of pious exiles, who never allowed themselves to doubt that Israel would be restored to the promised land. When Cyrus the Great, of Persia, conquered Babylon, five hundred and thirty-six years before Christ, he likewise acquired possession of the land of Canaan. Hebrew prophets pointed toward him as a deliverer; and whether he was informed of that circumstance, as some have said, or whether he was merely influenced by good policy in having the soil cultivated by colonies warmly attached to it, certain it is, he gave the captives leave to return to their native land, and offered them many inducements. A large proportion, probably including the wealthiest, preferred to remain in the Persian empire, where they had acquired possessions, and formed connections in business. It was a common saying among themselves that only the bran returned to Jerusalem, while the fine flour was left in Babylon. For many ages after, the number of Jews in Chaldea, Assyria, and Persia, was thought greatly to exceed those of Palestine. A large multitude never returned.

Forty-two thousand men, with their families, accepted the permission of Cyrus to return to Jerusalem, and rebuild the temple. They belonged to Judah and Benjamin, with perhaps a few scattered individuals from other tribes. Judah, to whom pointed all the prophecies concerning a

future deliverer and prince, being by far the most numerous, gave their name to the whole people, who were thenceforth called Jews. A month after their return, as soon as they had provided shelter for their families, they assembled at Jerusalem, built an altar on Mount Moriah, and offered sacrifices to the God of Israel. But their plans for rebuilding the temple met with obstructions from an unexpected quarter.

The ten tribes which formed the kingdom of Israel had been carried captive into Assyria, two hundred years before the time of Cyrus. Salmanassar, their conqueror, not wishing to leave the soil uncultivated, when it might be productive of revenue, sent thither colonies of men from various nations, probably mixed with some fugitive Israelites. These new settlers found the country infested with lions; and, according to the prevailing ideas of that period, they supposed the tutelary god of the place was angry, because the worship to which he had been accustomed was neglected. They accordingly sent messengers to the king of Assyria, begging to be instructed how the God of the Hebrews was worshipped, that they might turn aside his wrath, and thus be relieved from the plague of the lions. The king sent them some priests from among the Israelitish captives. Thus the ritual of Moses was restored in Samaria, but became very much mixed with the worship of various foreign gods. When these Samaritans heard that Judah had returned from Babylon, with many privileges granted by Cyrus, they wished to strengthen themselves by friendly alliance with the new comers. Accordingly, they proposed to unite with them in rebuilding the temple, saying: "We worship your God in the same manner as ye do." But the elders of Judea scornfully replied that they were not descendants of Israel; that they were a mixed race of idolaters, and altogether unworthy to assist in rebuilding their temple. This was the beginning of a deadly enmity between Jews and Samaritans, which continued to the end of their history. As soon as the foundations of the temple were laid, the Samaritans

sent ambassadors into Persia to say that the Jews had always been a people greatly given to insurrections, and thereby troublesome to kings; that they were building a citadel under the name of a temple, and planning to set up a government for themselves. By these and similar representations, the active animosity of the Samaritans defeated the rebuilding of the temple during nine years; for which the priests and elders of Judea solemnly pronounced a public curse upon them. At last, in the reign of Darius, king of Persia, permission was obtained to complete the work. The Jews had contributed generously in the beginning, and laid the foundations with great joy; the priests blowing trumpets, and Levites singing Psalms of thanksgiving. But finding themselves unexpectedly impeded in the work, their zeal relaxed; and when the king of Persia allowed them to resume their labours, they neglected to do so, until famine came upon them. Then the prophet Haggai proclaimed in their ears the old doctrine of temporal rewards and punishments: "Thus saith the Lord, I called for a drought upon the land, and upon the mountains, and upon the corn, and upon the new wine, and upon the oil, and upon that which the ground bringeth forth, and upon men and upon cattle, and upon all the labour of the hands. Ye have sown much, and lo it came to little; and when ye brought it home, I did blow upon it. Because of mine house that is waste, and ye run every man to his own house. Go up to the mountain, and bring wood, and build the house; and I will take pleasure in it, and I will be glorified, saith the Lord."

Thus exhorted, the people applied themselves with renewed diligence. The workmen were obliged to go constantly armed, by reason of attacks from the Samaritans and other nations round them; but in seven years they completed a new temple where the old one had stood. It was of the same size and form, but much inferior in splendour, and the remembrance of more glorious days made aged men weep as they looked upon it. Cyrus had given orders that the sacred vessels carried away by Nebuchad-

nezzar should be restored. But it is supposed the Ark of the Covenant, the altar of incense, the golden table for show-bread, and the golden candlestick, were destroyed. They were never brought back from Babylon, and new ones, of similar pattern, were made for the second temple. The Shechinah did not again appear over the Mercy Seat, in a visible cloud, from which oracles were given. The Urim and Thummim were gone. The sacred fire had been extinguished when the old temple was demolished, and no flame descended from heaven to kindle sacrifices on the new altars of Judea. The holy oil, prepared and preserved by Moses, was wanting now; and the High Priest could not be consecrated by anointing, according to immemorial custom. However, they observed ancient rites with as much exactness as possible, and the people were satisfied. "The priests, and the Levites, and the rest of the children of the captivity, kept the dedication of this house of God with joy. They offered a hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs; and for a sin-offering for all Israel, twelve he-goats, according to the number of the tribes of Israel. And they set the priests in their divisions, and the Levites in their courses, as it is written in the book of Moses."

Henceforth, we hear no more of image-worship in Jewish history. Their aversion to that kind of idolatry remained strong and permanent. During their long years of exile, prophets constantly reminded them that they had been carried into captivity as a punishment for idolatry; that because they had avariciously neglected to give rest to their land, by observing the Sabbatical Year, as the Lord had commanded Moses, therefore their once fruitful fields and vineyards were resting in desolation; that the words of the old prophets would not fail; that a royal branch certainly would spring from the root of David, and restore prosperity to Israel, if they would turn to the Lord their God, and worship him only. And when a remnant were brought back to their holy land, as some of the prophets had predicted, they were again and again reminded that

the God of Israel was a very jealous god, and would not suffer his glory to be given to another. Moses had expressly ordained that all the people should be instructed in religious matters; but in the course of their many changes, this had often, and for long periods, been entirely neglected. After their restoration to the Promised Land, a regular and permanent system of public instruction was, for the first time, established; and strict injunctions against idolatry were repeated with redoubled diligence.

The restoration of the old ritual of worship devolved on Ezra, a priest, whose education and habits rendered him very likely to impress on the people a character of austere devotion, and rigid observance of ceremonials. He was a direct descendant from the High Priest who was slain by Nebuchadnezzar. He had probably been much occupied with sacerdotal studies during his residence in Babylon, for he is praised as "a ready scribe in the Law of Moses." The Jews held him in high estimation, and were wont to call him the second founder of their Law. It was a common saying among them, that "if the Law had not been given by Moses, Ezra was worthy it should have been declared by him." He talked with the aged people, who returned from captivity, and gathered all they remembered to have seen or heard concerning ancient usages. He collected the old writings of the nation, which he probably found in a dislocated and fragmentary state. To these he added what was necessary to connect and complete them, and caused copies to be made, one of which was kept in the temple, as an authentic record, by which others might be corrected. He was assisted in these labours by a council of one hundred and twenty learned elders, called the Great Synagogue. A series of these ecclesiastical councils continued, under the same name, down to the time of Alexander the Great. When the revised copy of the Law was ready for public use, Ezra called all the people together, and read it to them, from a high pulpit, while all stood up and listened; "men and women, and all that could hear with understanding." It was the more necessary that the

Ezra

Law of Moses should be well understood, because, like the Hindoo Code of Menu, it comprised both the religious and civil code of the country, and thus regulated all questions of trade or inheritance, as well as matters of worship.

Prayers three times a day, morning, noon, and evening, were prescribed in Hindoo Vedas, and scrupulously repeated in all Braminical colleges and Buddhist Lamaseries. It was believed that laws which kept the hierarchy of beings in order, and planets in their places, would be disturbed, if these ceremonials were neglected. The Hebrew king David said: "Morning, noon, and evening, will I pray." Three times every day prayers were offered in the temple. It was a general and devout feeling among the Jews that the universe would fall into disorder, if they stopped praying to Jehovah. After Ezra's time, places of worship called synagogues, were erected. Prayers were read there three times a day, and people assembled three times a week, the Sabbath included, to hear the Law of Moses read and expounded by learned teachers called Rabbis. It was not allowable to use the synagogues for any secular purposes, but the word Jehovah was never uttered there, that being reserved for the temple only.

Jewish rabbis greatly eulogize the zeal of Ezra in restoring the Mosaic ritual, even in the minutest particulars. They inform us that after the return from captivity, he burned a red heifer, with all the ceremonies ordained by God, that the people might have holy ashes to purify themselves whenever they had touched the dead, or passed over a grave. If the heifer had one single hair white or black, she was deemed unfit for this purpose.

The idea of atonement by blood, common in all ancient religions, remained prominent in the Jewish system, as renewed by Ezra. If a man was killed, and the murderer could be found, his blood must be shed as a compensation for the crime. But if the murderer could not be found, a heifer was beheaded; because it was supposed the sin would be imputed to the whole nation, and God would punish them for it, unless his wrath was pacified by blood.

The laws of Moses permitted and regulated polygamy, merely providing for the interests of children, by ordaining that a man should not set the son of a beloved wife above a first-born son by a wife that was hated. A previous contract was made with parents, and legal ceremonies performed. Poor women, who had no dowry, were taken as concubines, or inferior wives. Their children received such gifts as the father chose to bestow, but the children of his superior wives succeeded to the inheritance. Taking a concubine implied nothing disreputable to either party. Wives themselves often promoted such connections, when they had no children. Jacob married two sisters, and they gave him two of their servants for concubines. Abraham took Hagar at the request of his wife, though she afterward made the poor foreigner a victim of her jealousy. Gideon had many wives, and seventy sons. Samuel's father had two equal wives. Only one wife and one concubine is mentioned as belonging to Saul, the first king. But David had at least eight wives. Solomon had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines. Rehoboam had eighteen wives and sixty concubines. Rabbinical expounders of the Law limited the number of wives to four, by way of counsel. The general tendency was not to have more than one. The condition of Hebrew women, both married and unmarried, was, at all periods of their history, very honourable and free, compared with other nations where polygamy prevailed. Something of this might perhaps be owing to impressions Moses had received in Egypt. For the Egyptians married but one wife, and their customs awarded a singular degree of respect and freedom to women. The entire absence of voluptuous rites or customs in Hebrew worship was likewise favourable to the same result. In many countries, votaries gave women as donations to the temples, in the same spirit that they offered doves, or sheep, or golden vases; and the money obtained by a sale of their persons was put into the sacred treasury. But all such customs were excluded from Egyptian temples, and they were also an abomination unto the

Hebrews. It was expressly ordained by Moses: "There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel. Thou shalt not bring the hire of a whore into the house of the Lord thy God, for any vow." When the daughters of Zelophehad complained to Moses that their father's estate had passed away from his descendants, because he had died in the wilderness without sons, he immediately made a law: "If a man die and have no sons, then he shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter." Women never belonged to the priesthood, but they are often mentioned as prophets. Deborah was both a prophetess and a judge in Israel. Hulda the prophetess dwelt at the college in Jerusalem, and Anna the prophetess lived in the temple. Men and women always worshipped apart. Women had seats by themselves in the Synagogues, and an outer court provided for them at the temple.

Moses forbade the descendants of Israel to marry any woman out of their own tribes. The general violation of this law was a source of great grief to Ezra. He said sorrowfully: "The people, the priests, and the Levites have not separated themselves from the people of the lands. For they have taken of their daughters for themselves and for their sons; so that the holy seed have mingled themselves with the people of those lands. Yea, the hand of princes and rulers hath been chief in this trespass. And for our iniquities have we, our kings, and our priests, been delivered into the hand of the kings of the lands, to the sword and captivity." Ezra rent his garments and plucked the hair from his head and beard, and fell on his knees, and spread out his hands in prayer to God. And the people came to him and wept very sore, and offered to put away all their wives of foreign extraction, and all the children that had been born of them. He ratified a covenant with them to that effect. The foreign women were sent away with their children, and sacrifices were offered to the Lord for the trespass that had been committed.

Strangers were allowed to live within the gates of Jewish cities, without conforming to Mosaic ceremonies, provided

they renounced idolatry, and observed what were called the seven precepts of Noah, viz: "To worship one God; not blaspheme holy things; not murder; not steal; not commit adultery; to deal justly; and not to eat flesh with the blood in it;" by which they meant flesh cut from any living creature. Jews believed the observance of these moral precepts was all God required, except of their own nation. Therefore they allowed such to live among them, under the name of Sojourning Proselytes, or Proselytes of the Gate. Being uncircumcised, they were deemed unclean, and therefore not permitted to enter the temple, or to dwell in Jerusalem.

There was another class of foreigners, called Proselytes of Righteousness, who were thorough converts to the Jewish system, and regularly adopted among them by the initiatory rites of circumcision, baptism, and sacrifice. The proselyte was not deemed sufficiently purified, if any of his hair, or even the tip of his finger, remained unwashed. When he came out of the water, he recited a prayer that he might be clean from Gentile pollution, and become a sound member of the Jewish church. Children were likewise admitted by immersion in water, generally at the same time with their parents; but they had liberty to retract, if they chose, when they were old enough to judge for themselves. This class of proselytes were bound by the same obligations as Jews, and shared all their privileges, except that some of them were forever excluded from intermarrying with Israelites, and those of other nations were not permitted to intermarry for several generations.

When the promised land was divided among the children of Israel, descendants of Levi had no portion assigned them. They were set apart for religious services, and were scattered through all portions of the country to prevent each tribe from setting up an independent priesthood for itself. None of them were priests, except the families descended from Aaron. Descendants of all the other families of the tribe were called Levites, whose business it

was to attend upon the priests. They had forty-eight cities assigned them in different sections of the country, with the suburbs thereof for tillage, but they paid to the priests a portion of the increase of the fields adjoining those cities. The people supported them by tithes of their harvests and their flocks. Common Levites were often objects of charity. Moses said: "Take heed to thyself that thou forsake not the Levite, as long as thou livest upon the earth; for he hath no inheritance with thee. The Levite, the stranger, the fatherless and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come and eat and be satisfied." Levites carried the Tabernacle and the Ark whenever they were removed, guarded the temple, took charge of ecclesiastical funds, and performed the sacred music. Persons not of the tribe of Levi, if they were remarkably skilful, were permitted to join the instrumental bands, but only Levites were allowed to unite their voices in religious service. In David's time, there were thirty-eight thousand of them. They came in and went out of the temple by set numbers, in twenty-four courses; thus each course served but one week in twenty-four, except on great festivals. When exempted from temple-service they were employed as lawyers and judges to decide controversies, as scribes, or writers, to copy the Sacred Books, and keep exact genealogies of the tribes, and as teachers to instruct the people in moral, ceremonial, and judicial portions of the Law. They were required to read the whole Law once in seven years to the people. Sometimes they were counsellors of state, and generals of armies. Schools of the prophets were generally established on hills or mountains; for there was such a fixed habit of worshipping on high places, that it was deemed judicious to have holy men stationed at such localities, to instruct the people, and bless their sacrifices. These seminaries were under the government of Levites. Some prophet, venerable for age or piety, presided. The pupils, who were called sons of the prophets, sat at his feet, listened to his instructions, and wrote down his prophecies. They were generally

young Levites, of superior excellence and intelligence; but members of other tribes were sometimes admitted. If a Levite presumed to perform any of the functions appropriated to priests only, he was put to death. They were not allowed to enter the sanctuary, or touch the Ark, or handle any of the holy vessels. When such articles were removed, they were closely veiled by priests, and placed on poles; and Levites touched the poles only.

Priesthood conferred high rank, and was practically an order of nobility. During the reign of David, there are supposed to have been about six thousand priests. Four thousand two hundred and eighty-nine persons descended from Aaron were among those who returned from captivity. The slightest personal deformity excluded a man from the sacred office. Not only the blind and the lame were forbidden to minister at the altars, but even those who had one eye or ear larger than another, or the nose too much flattened, or the eyebrows meeting on the forehead. Any transient disease or blemish unfitted a man for the performance of sacerdotal duties, until it was cured. They wore mitres or bonnets made something in the fashion of a Turkish turban; white linen drawers, and a short linen robe, usually fastened by a girdle of divers colours; but on the holy Day of Expiation, the girdle also was of pure white linen. If there was the slightest impurity on the garments, even if an insect happened to get crushed in the folds, the priest was considered unclean, and his ministration was of no effect. If any one ventured to assist in divine service, knowing that he had in any respect neglected the purification required by law, the young priests thrust him out and killed him with billets of wood. They always bathed, and left their shoes behind them, when they entered the sanctuary; and they always retired from the apartment backward, that the face might never be turned away from the place where the Ark stood. Their clothes were never washed or mended, lest some pollution should be accidentally acquired in the process. When they became unfit to wear, they were ravelled to

make wicks for lamps in the temple. When a descendant of Aaron was consecrated, in order to enter upon the duties of his office, he sacrificed a ram, and priests put some of the blood upon the tip of his right ear, his right thumb, and great toe, upon his garments and upon the altar. During the time of their ministry, they were forbidden to taste of wine, or any intoxicating drink. Their courses at the altar were fixed by lot. Some were to blow on the silver trumpets, some to wave incense, some to feed the sacred fire, others to carry out the ashes. This was done, because, as their numbers increased, they overthrew each other, and created confusion by scrambling for the same employment. Every morning trumpets sounded from the temple, to give the Levites notice to come to their appointed tasks. It was deemed sacrilege for any but priests to blow on those instruments, or to burn incense before the Lord. When king Uzziah presumed, in the pride of his heart, to offer incense with his own hands, we are told that he was instantly struck with leprosy, and remained a leper to the day of his death. The people appropriated all the first-born of their flocks and herds, and a tenth of all their produce, to religious purposes. The oblations of wheat, bread, fruit, wine, and oil, were waved before the Lord, or a portion poured out as libations, and then divided among the priesthood. Of the animals sacrificed, a small portion was consumed, and priests and their attendants feasted on the remainder. Any money found when the streets of Jerusalem were swept belonged to the priests. They derived considerable revenue from the practice of paying five shekels for every first-born son; a law instituted by Moses, in lieu of human sacrifice. Voluntary vows were another source of profit. When people were in great distress, or when they had received any unexpected blessing, they often made a vow to dedicate a piece of land, or a house, or money, or jewels, or a certain number of animals, to sacred uses. The priests had likewise thirteen cities near Jerusalem allotted

to them. The criminal law was the same for priests and people.

The first-born of the oldest branch of the family descended from Aaron, was High Priest by lineal succession, provided he was free from physical blemishes. Hence it sometimes happened that the Pontiff was not religiously inclined above other men, or otherwise remarkably qualified for his office. If the candidate was healthy, and perfectly formed, but poor, his priestly brethren must make him the richest among them by donations. He was consecrated by being invested with the sacred garments, and having his forehead anointed with holy oil, in the form of a letter, or a cross. All priests were forbidden to marry a prostitute, or a divorced woman; but the High Priest was not allowed to marry a widow, or even a maiden who had been betrothed to another. His wife must be nobly born, though not necessarily of his own tribe. If she died, he might marry again; but if he took a second wife while the first was living, he must give one of them a bill of divorce before the great Day of Expiation; otherwise he was incapable of performing the holy offices, which then devolved upon him. He was polluted by the presence of a dead body, and must not even enter the house where his own father and mother lay dead. He had a dwelling within the precincts of the temple, called the High Priest's Parlour. He generally remained there during the day, and at night returned to the home of his family, which must be within the precincts of Jerusalem. Whenever he went abroad, or entered the temple, he was attended by other priests. It was deemed unsuitable for him to converse with the commonalty, or frequent public feasts or baths, where he could be too familiarly seen by the people. The holiest portions of divine worship were entrusted to him. He was considered the appointed mediator between God and man, to make atonement for the sins of the whole people. He alone was permitted to enter the holy of holies, to utter the name of Jehovah, and to ask counsel of God by Urim and Thummim. Nothing impor-

tant, in peace or war, could be undertaken without his sanction. Though the administration of justice was committed to particular judges, the last appeal was made to him in difficult cases, even in temporal affairs. His office continued for life; for the laws of Moses made no provision against a priest who should prove faithless to his trust. He was not obliged to testify in courts of justice, except in cases relating to the king; and even to that no one could compel him, except the Great Sanhedrim. In some respects he was on a level with other people. He might be witnessed against, and judged, as well as judge. If he committed an offence, which by law deserved whipping, the Sanhedrim whipped him, and then restored him to his dignity. The vestments of the High Priest were extremely rich. On his forehead was a golden semicircle, with "Holiness to the Lord" inscribed upon it in embossed characters. Over a tunic and loose trowsers of fine white linen, he wore a blue robe, woven in one piece, the edges richly embroidered with pomegranates, and the lower rim, which reached to his feet, hung with little bells of gold, which tinkled as he moved, and gave the people notice to fall to prayers, while he offered incense. Over the robe was a splendid garment, called the Ephod, which fell down the back, and in front, was fastened at the waist by a rich girdle. The Ephod was of blue, scarlet, and purple, interwoven with golden threads. It had two shoulder pieces, with large beryl-stones set in gold, on which were engraved the names of Jacob's sons, progenitors of the twelve tribes. From these, suspended by gold chains, hung a breastplate, formed of cloth of gold, in which twelve precious stones were set in rows, each stone engraved with the name of one of the tribes. In this breastplate were the images, or words, or symbols, called the Urim and Thummim. Moses, we are told, talked with God face to face, and received verbal instructions what the people were to do. But after his death, judges and kings were obliged to consult Deity through the agency of the High Priest. For this purpose, he presented himself in full priestly costume, before the

veil which separated the Holy of Holies from the Sanctuary. With face turned toward the Mercy Seat, he proposed whatever question he had been desired to ask of the Lord, while the king, judge, or general, who thus sought guidance, remained at a distance, reverentially waiting for the answer. How the oracular response was given, has been a subject of great controversy. It was a very ancient belief among the Jews, and is still a common opinion, that certain of the letters engraved on the priest's breastplate protruded and shone with peculiar lustre on such occasions; and he, being endowed with a spirit of prophecy, could spell out the answer from these radiant letters. Some commentators have maintained that an audible voice was heard to reply from the Shechinah, or visible cloud; because it is said, when Moses had gone into the Tabernacle to consult with God, "he heard the voice of one speaking to him from off the Mercy Seat, between the two cherubim." This process was called asking counsel of God by Urim and Thummim. It was not allowable for any private affairs, but only for such as related to the general interests of the nation. An ark was made to contain the breastplate with Urim and Thummim, and when Israel went to battle, it was carried with the army, on the shoulders of Levites, in the same manner as was the Ark of the Covenant. The High Priest either went with it himself to ask counsel of God, in cases of emergency, or he appointed a deputy for that purpose, who was called the Anointed for the Wars. On the verge of conflict, he blew a trumpet, and roused the courage of the people with the following speech: "Hear, O Israel! This day you approach unto battle against your enemies. Let not your hearts faint. Do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them; for the Lord your God goeth with you, against your enemies, to save you."

The power of the priesthood varied very much at different epochs. A priest anointed Solomon king; but the sacerdotal influence was subordinate to the royal; for Solomon discharged a priest and afterward restored him.

There is no account of a priest that attained much wealth or political influence until after the return from Babylon. The evils which result from investing a class of men with spiritual power over others were as conspicuous among the Jews, as in the priesthood of other nations. As early as the times of Eli, when pious people brought animals to be sacrificed to the Lord, priests seized the flesh by force, to gratify their own luxurious appetites. In the reign of Joash, they received, year after year, contributions to repair the temple, but totally neglected the work. Jeremiah says of his own times: "The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests rule by their means." The Levitical order became consolidated after the time of Ezra, and their ambition increased with their power. John the High Priest slew his brother Jesus in the temple, on account of a quarrel between them concerning the succession to office. Antiochus tried to apologize for his cruel persecution of the Jewish religion, by saying he was thoroughly disgusted with the avarice and political intriguing of their priests. The people, though strongly bound to their religious teachers by tradition and the force of habit, occasionally manifested diminished reverence. The payment of tithes was sometimes neglected until officers were sent to enforce it. Such a state of things at one time drove all the Levites and singers from the temple, to seek other employments. In the days when judges ruled the land, priests were very unceremoniously thrust in and out of office. In the turbulent times preceding the final destruction of Jerusalem, different factions chose the High Priest by lot. On one occasion, Josephus says they invested with the ephod and golden crown "a man who scarcely knew what the high priesthood was, such a mere rustic was he."

To express adoration Hebrews used a word which signified kissing; it being a general custom among ancient nations to kiss the hand, in token of reverence, to sun, stars, statues, and other sacred objects. Hebrews always prayed standing, with hands upon their breasts, in the attitude of servants before a master. To express deep humili-

ation, they sometimes prostrated themselves on the ground; but more generally bent the knees, or bowed the head low. If any priest prayed sitting, his ministry was vain; so likewise if the left hand was used instead of the right, in any of the ceremonies or sacrifices. When the priest blessed the congregation, he did not look upward to heaven, or toward the people, but turned his eyes to the ground. While he pronounced the benediction, his hands were raised to his forehead, the palms spread out, the thumbs and the forefingers joined together. On such occasions, all the people covered their faces, afraid to be struck blind if they looked up; because the Divine Majesty was supposed at that moment to rest on the hands of the priest. This Egyptian posture of praying with uplifted hands was as old as the time of Moses. Great importance seems to have been attached to the mere attitude, for when he wished to secure the blessing of God on a battle which lasted all day, Aaron and Hur held up his hands, when he became too weary to sustain them himself.

So far as we have any record of ancient usages, it was the custom of all nations to offer prayers and sacrifices to certain deities, on days appropriated to each; and having fulfilled that duty, the people went about their customary labours or amusements. Phoenicians, Babylonians, Arabians, and other nations where the Spirits of the Planets were worshipped, peculiarly observed the seventh day, because the number of the planets was seven, and the Sun, in their estimation, was king of the planets. Jews were peculiar for consecrating every seventh day so entirely to their God, that they refrained from any work, or recreation, themselves, their servants, and their cattle, from sunset to sunset. It came on the day which we call Saturday, and was named the Sabbath, signifying rest; because it was regarded as a memorial of God's resting from his labours, after he had completed the work of creation in six days. They were not allowed to light a lamp, or kindle fire to cook on the Sabbath. Food was prepared, and the table laid on Friday. On that day, at three o'clock in the

afternoon, began what was called the Vesper of the Sabbath, or Day of Preparation. After that time, it was not allowable to begin any journey, or undertake any business, even in courts of justice, unless it could be completed before sunset. All foreigners who were with them, all the slaves, and the cattle, rested from labour. All the people washed their hands and feet, and arrayed themselves in their best garments, as a preparatory purification. When the sun was on the point of setting, trumpets sounded from the temple, to give notice that it was time for candles to be lighted in all their houses. It was necessary to have them burn all night, it being a desecration of the holy time to kindle fire in any way, upon any emergency. Those who were too poor to buy oil, begged it from their neighbours. Morning and afternoon, people assembled in the synagogues, to hear the Law of Moses read, and prayers recited. In addition to the sacrifice offered every day in the temple, two young lambs were sacrificed, and twice as much wine and oil presented as oblations to the Lord. At sunset, each master of a house signified that the Sabbath was ended, by blessing a cup of wine and presenting it to every member of the family. This was considered the most holy of their religious observances, and any wilful profanation of it was punished with death.

As every seventh day was a Sabbath, so every seventh year was a Sabbatical year, during which they were commanded to let the land rest. It might not be sowed, tilled, or manured; no tree, or vine, might be pruned of dead branches; no smoke made under them to destroy insects. Whoever disobeyed these injunctions, was punished by scourging. If any grain sprang up from seed scattered the preceding year, the owner of the land was not allowed to gather it into his garner. He, in common with every person that passed, was at liberty to shake it out and eat it; and the same rule was observed with regard to fruit. Moses promised, in the name of the Lord, that the harvests of the sixth year should always be sufficiently abundant

to provide for the wants of the seventh. Whether the Hebrews found themselves disappointed in that respect, we are not told, but at some periods of their history, they generally neglected the prescribed regulations, from an unwillingness to relinquish so much of their agricultural profits. The Sabbatical Year was sometimes called The Lord's Release, because all who were Israelites, or Proselytes of Righteousness, were released from obligations to creditors. Only foreigners, or Proselytes of the Gate, could be compelled to pay their debts. At the close of the year, the Law of Moses was publicly read by the ruler of the land, in presence of all the people.

After seven weeks of years, that is, after seven times seven years, the fiftieth was a year of Jubilee. Trumpets were sounded in all the highways, with proclamation of "liberty to all the land and all the inhabitants thereof." Those whom poverty had compelled to part with their estates, had them restored to them or their heirs, even if they had meanwhile been sold a hundred times over. All prisoners and Hebrew servants were set free, and feasted and rejoiced, with garlands on their heads.

Jews had a tradition, which they believed originated with Elijah, that the world would continue six thousand years. They supposed it had existed two thousand years before the Law was given to Moses; that it would remain two thousand years under the Law, and two thousand under the government of the Messiah. At the end of that period, the world would be destroyed by fire, and there would be a thousand years of rest, before God renewed all things. Some scholars think their custom of observing Sabbaths was typical of this prophecy.

Moses ordained three annual festivals, when all the men of Israel were required to come up to the House of the Lord with offerings. The most important was the Pass-over, so called from a Hebrew word meaning to pass over; because the destroying angel, when he slew the first-born of Egypt, passed over the houses of the Israelites. Whoever was able to attend this festival and did not, was con-

demned to forfeit all his goods to the priests, for sacred uses. It occurred at a season of the year corresponding with our March. Every master of a family went up to Jerusalem, and carried a lamb or a kid to the temple. Each animal must be examined by priests, and pronounced perfectly unblemished. The lamb was then slaughtered in the court of the temple. A row of priests stood ready with gold and silver vials, into which some of the blood was poured and passed up to the altar; empty vials being continually passed down. The priest, who stood nearest to the altar, sprinkled the blood upon it. The fat of the inwards and the kidneys were consumed as a burnt-offering; and while they were burning, bands of Levites sang Psalms. Each master of a family caused the body of his lamb to be conveyed to the place where he intended to sup, and there it was roasted whole. When all were seated at the table, a vessel of red wine and water was prepared. The master of the feast pronounced a blessing over it, drank, and passed it round to each member of the company. Then they all washed their hands, saying: "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, who hast sanctified us with thy commandments, and hast commanded us concerning the washing of our hands." Then they ate bitter herbs, reminding each other that they did it in remembrance of their bitter bondage in Egypt. Psalms were sung by singers provided for the occasion. Then the master of the feast took two loaves of unleavened bread, brake them in pieces, ate a portion himself, and passed the remainder to all present. Before they parted, a Psalm was sung, beginning and ending with Hallelujah, which means Praise to the Lord. At the Feast of the Passover, it was customary to release some prisoner, who was under sentence of death.

The next day began the Feast of Unleavened Bread. It continued seven days, during which special sacrifices of animals were offered every day, in addition to the customary sacrifices. On the first day, every man was required to send a bullock, or other animal, to the temple for sacrifice. On the second day, they brought offerings

of the first fruits of their barley-harvest, which was ripe at that season. Each man cast a handful of barley into the fire on the altar, and the remainder was left for the priests. Until this ceremony had been performed, the people did not reap their harvests, or partake of them.

People from all the tribes of Israel came up to Jerusalem in their best attire, to attend this great festival of eight days, commencing with the Passover. Every master of a house came up to the temple with his Paschal lamb on his shoulder, or had it carried before him by servants. In the days of Jewish prosperity, a million of human beings often assembled there. All the environs of the city were covered with tents; for though the most unbounded hospitality prevailed, it was impossible to accommodate all the strangers in houses. The number of cattle brought from afar was so great, that the hills round Jerusalem were covered with them, and every blade of grass was devoured. Some preferred to buy animals on the spot, and this led to the establishment of a great cattle-market in the outer courts of the temple, from which priests and Levites obtained considerable revenue. There were likewise chests and tables for money-changers, who sat there to receive pay for things purchased to offer in the temple; likewise to take the redemption money, which every Israelite paid for the life of his first-born son. These Levites demanded a fee for changing money, which in process of time led to great extortion.

When seven times seven days had passed, after the wave-offerings from their barley-harvest, a festival of thanksgiving was held for the ripened wheat. It was called Pentecost, meaning the fiftieth, because it occurred fifty days after barley-harvest. It was instituted in commemoration of the promulgation of the Law on Mount Sinai. All the men of Israel were required to come up to the temple with loaves of bread and sheaves of wheat. These were waved before the Lord, and reserved for the priests. Bulls, rams, lambs, and kids, adorned with flowers and fillets, were brought for burnt-offerings. Priests

sprinkled the blood of these animals on the altar, waved the fat of the inwards before the Lord, toward the four winds of heaven, and then burnt them on the altar, while priests blowed on silver trumpets, and Levites sang Psalms. Certain portions of the meat were reserved for the priests, and the remainder made a feast for those who offered the sacrifice. This festival continued seven days, but the first was observed with most solemnity. The poor rejoiced at this season, for reapers were ordered not to glean the fields clean, and not to go back to pick up a sheaf they had dropped.

Six months after the Passover, a great festival was held in gratitude for the ripened grapes and olives. On this occasion, also, all Israel were required to come up to the temple. They came in long procession, bringing abundant offerings of fruit, leading a fat ox for sacrifice, with his horns gilded, and head crowned with a garland of olive leaves. Bands of singers and musicians preceded them. As they approached Jerusalem, workmen left their shops, and magistrates went forth to meet them, exclaiming: "O, our brethren, ye are welcome!" Every one, even the king, carried on his shoulder a basket of offerings up to the court of the temple. Turtle-doves, wreathed with flowers, were fastened to the baskets, to be offered in sacrifice. The fruits belonged to the courses of priests at that time in service. This festival was called the Feast of Tabernacles, because all the people dwelt in booths, or tabernacles, to commemorate the time when they lived in tents in the wilderness. The booths were made of green boughs, so slightly woven that the rain could descend through them, and sun or stars could be plainly seen. Here they ate, drank, and slept, during the whole festival; only invalids, women, and children, were exempted from the obligation. Some erected booths in the court-yards of their houses, or on the roofs. They tied palm-branches together, intertwined with threads of gold or silver, and carried them in their hands every day of the feast, whithersoever they went. They entered the court of the temple

daily, and waved their palm-branches toward the altar, shouting: "Hosanna! O Lord, send us prosperity." Meanwhile, the trumpets sounded. On the seventh day, called the Day of Psalms, they all walked seven times round the altar, waving their palm-branches, while trumpets sounded, and Levites sang "Hosanna!" Then priests brought a golden tankard filled with wine and water, and poured it out at the foot of the altar, a libation to the Lord. Again the people waved their branches, trumpets sounded, musicians played, and Levites joined in a chorus of hosannas. In the evening, the court of the temple was brilliantly lighted, Levites played on harps and cymbals, while the people, including doctors of the Law, members of the Sanhedrim, and other dignified officers, sang, danced, and leaped about, with lighted torches in their hands, till the night was far spent. When it was ended, the priests bore a testimony against Sun-worshippers, by passing out at the east gate of the temple, and turning toward the west, to repeat these words: "Our fathers, who were in this place, turned their faces toward the east, where the sun rises, and turned their backs upon the temple of the Lord. But as for us, we turn our faces toward God, and worship him." This festival continued eight days. The last was called the Feast of Ingathering; when they brought to the temple oblations of wine, and oil, and threshed wheat. When these were presented, Psalms of thanksgiving were sung in full chorus, with trumpets and bands of music. No man was allowed to require any work from his servants on that day. Moses enjoined that scattered fruit should not be picked up, and that bunches of grapes should be left hanging, for the benefit of those who had no vineyards of their own. Some were doubtless niggardly in their obedience; but it is probable there always existed many kind hearts, who delighted in this delicate mode of conferring obligation, without the embarrassment of receiving thanks. Moreover, the selfishness of devout believers urged them to the same result, for giving to the poor was regarded as one form of offering to the Lord; and Hebrew theology always

taught that God rewarded his worshippers with external prosperity, in proportion to their devotional zeal. During the Feast of Tabernacles, prayers were offered for all people in the world, and seventy bullocks were sacrificed for the seventy nations, which Jews supposed comprised all the inhabitants of the earth. They were designated by the common term Gentiles, which simply means the nations. From the time of Joshua to the captivity in Babylon, the people neglected to live in booths during this festival, though Moses expressly enjoined it; but after their return from exile, Ezra restored the ancient usage.

Jews, in common with most Asiatic nations, believed that the world was created in autumn; therefore they dated their year from that time. On the day of the first new moon of the year, they held a new year's festival, called the Feast of Trumpets. No man was allowed to require work from his labourers on that day; and the provisions for food were more abundant than usual. It was customary to serve up a ram's head, in memory of the ram slain instead of Isaac. At sunrise, they offered thanks, saying: "Blessed be God who has hitherto preserved us in life, and brought us unto this time." Then the priests began to blow trumpets, and continued blowing them by turns, until sunset.

Every new moon was observed as a festival. Men were stationed on all the heights and watch-towers, to announce when the moon began to show itself above the horizon. As soon as the high priest heard the tidings, he said: "The new moon is hallowed;" and the Sanhedrim, who were assembled for the occasion, replied: "It is hallowed." Fires were kindled on all the hills, and messengers sent in every direction, to remind people that the Feast of the New Moon must be celebrated. At such times, in addition to the sacrifices daily offered in the temple, they slaughtered two bulls, seven lambs, and a kid, for sin-offerings.

Nine days after the Festival of Trumpets, they observed a very severe national fast, called the Great Day of Expiation. During this interval of nine days, they prepared

for expiation by applying themselves to works of piety and alms-giving with uncommon diligence. The very devout often rose at midnight, and went to the synagogues to pray till morning dawned. Seven days previous to the fast, the High Priest was escorted to the temple by the Sanhedrim and a band of priests, that he might live there, apart from his wife, away from the world, and out of danger of contamination by anything unclean. He took a substitute with him, to be duly prepared, in case any sudden disease, or accident, should render him unfit for the holy office of atonement. Both of them were sprinkled with the ashes of the red heifer, lest they had in some way contracted pollution unawares. The High Priest watched all the night previous. When the day dawned, he laid aside the rich dress, which he wore in the sanctuary on all other occasions, performed prescribed ablutions, and clothed himself in pure white linen. The people assembled at the temple as soon as it was light, and a young bullock was brought to him, as a sin-offering for the descendants of Aaron. He laid his hands on the head of the beast, and said: "O Lord, I have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed before thee, I and my house. O Lord, expiate the sins, perversities, and transgressions, whereby I have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed, I and my house." Then two goats, of equal colour, size, and price, were brought to him as a sin-offering for all the people. One of them was to be sacrificed to the Lord, the other was for a scape-goat. The goat for the Lord was chosen by drawing lots from an urn. The bullock and the goat were sacrificed, and the blood sprinkled on the holy of holies, the altar, and the sanctuary. A long piece of scarlet was tied to the other goat. The High Priest laid his hands on the head of the animal, and said: "O Lord, thy people, the house of Israel, have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed before thee. I beseech thee, O Lord, to expiate the sins, perversities, and transgressions, which the house of Israel have sinned, done perversely, and transgressed before thee. As it is written in

the Law of Moses, thy servant: for on this day he will expiate for you, to purge you from all your sins, that you may be clean before Jehovah." This was the only occasion on which the name of Jehovah was ever uttered, and then only by the High Priest. As soon as the priests and people heard it, they prostrated themselves to the ground, saying: "Blessed be the name of his glorious kingdom for ever and ever." The goat was carried with all speed to a wilderness ten miles from Jerusalem, and being led to the top of a precipice, was thrown off, with all the sins of the people on his head. The men who performed this office were considered unclean for the remainder of the day, and went through ceremonies of purification before they approached any sacred place. When the sacrifices were finished, the High Priest took coals from the altar, placed incense upon them, and went into the holy of holies to burn incense before the Lord. This was the only day when he entered that apartment, which no other human foot was allowed to touch. He went in four times. Once to burn incense, once to sprinkle the blood of the bullock, once to sprinkle the blood of the goat, and a fourth time, to bring out the censer in which incense was burning. If he entered it a fifth time, Jewish writers say he died for his presumption. By his prayers and sacrifices on this important Day of Expiation, the whole nation believed God was reconciled to them, and all their sins forgiven.

There were innumerable other observances and ceremonies attending birth, marriage, death, and all the most interesting events of life. In addition to prescribed sacrifices and oblations, there were many voluntary ones, to avert calamities, or express gratitude for good fortune. In the Hebrew language the same word denoted peace and prosperity; therefore offerings of thanksgiving were called peace-offerings. When a man was too poor to offer beasts or birds, the priests accepted an oblation of flour, in lieu of more expensive donations.

The character and mission of the prophets differed essentially from that of the priests. The priesthood rarely

opposed the progress of any prevailing corruption. They were chiefly occupied in the mechanical routine, of lighting lamps, tending the sacred fire, replenishing the frankincense, changing the loaves of show-bread, and other similar ceremonies. They took care of the mere externals of religion, while the spirit and life of it seemed to dwell with the prophets, on whom, in degenerate times, devolved the task of preaching the ancient purity of the Law. They encouraged and threatened with promises of temporal rewards and punishments, as Moses had done. Thus Jeremiah, rebuking the people for their idolatry and impenitence, says: "There shall be no grapes on the vine, nor figs on the tree, and the leaf shall fade. Behold I will send serpents among you, which will not be charmed, and they shall bite you, saith the Lord." The power of prophets over the public mind was sustained by fervid faith in divine communication, by mysterious symbols, and by the inspiration of poetry and music. Prophecy, and the oracle of Urim and Thummim, were in fact the basis on which Hebrew theocracy, or God government, always rested. The populace did not regard Moses as their ruler. They believed Jehovah dwelt in the Holy of Holies, and told Moses, his prophet, just what he was to do. Afterward, judges, kings, and generals of armies, were supposed to be guided by God, through the prophetic voice of the High Priest, when he consulted the oracle; and likewise by a succession of inspired messengers called prophets, whom God perpetually raised up for the guidance of his people Israel. Through all their misfortunes, they constantly maintained the faith that they, above all other nations, were God's peculiar favourites, and that his word was constantly imparted to some holy men in their midst.

The priesthood was hereditary, but no man became a prophet by birth. He must have some special call to his mission. By what signs this special call was indicated, does not seem to have been certainly known; for false prophets were continually mistaken for true ones. Jeremiah constantly complains of those who are "prophets of

the deceit of their own heart; who prophesy false dreams, and cause the people to err by their lightness." "Behold I am against the prophets, saith the Lord, that use their tongues, and say, He saith; yet I sent them not, nor commanded them."

It has been common to reproach the Jews for not having believed the true prophets sent to warn and admonish them; but how kings or people could be enabled always to distinguish between false and true is not easily explained. In Hebrew Sacred Writings it is stated that God himself sent a false prophet, on purpose to deceive the king to his ruin. "The Lord said to the Spirits that stood around his throne, Who shall persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead? And one said on this manner, and another said on that manner. And there came forth a Spirit and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying Spirit in the mouth of all his prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also. Go forth and do so."

Moses told the children of Israel, if a prophet predicted anything and it did not come to pass, that was a sign the Lord had not spoken by him, but the prophet had spoken it presumptuously. This was the only criterion he gave. Of what value would prophecy be in difficult emergencies, if there could be no certainty of its truth until after the event? Moreover, the criterion itself was a moveable one; for Moses cautioned the people that prophets who believed in false gods might arise among them, and "give them a sign or a wonder, saying, Let us go after other gods;" and he adds: "If the sign or the wonder come to pass, thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet; for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart and all your soul. And that prophet shall be put to death." This admits that believers in the gods of the Gentiles might prophesy truly. That they were sometimes conscientious with regard to their prophetic mission,

is shown by the story of Balaam, a prophet of the Moabites, who could not be induced by offers of money or honours to please the king of Moab by speaking contrary to his own inspiration. Jewish Rabbins account for it, by saying that he prophesied in favour of the Israelites by will of their God, but did not understand what he prophesied.

The prophets themselves do not appear to have had any infallible method of ascertaining the truth of each other's inspiration. One of the Hebrew sacred writers describes a prophet of Judah sent by God to warn Jeroboam, king of Israel, concerning his idolatrous altars. An old prophet, who dwelt in Israel, hearing of this, followed the prophet from Judah, and invited him to go home with him, and eat bread. The traveller replied that he could not possibly do so, because God had expressly ordered him not to turn back in his way, and not to eat or drink in that place. The old men of Israel rejoined: "I also am a prophet, as thou art; and an angel spake unto me by the word of the Lord, saying: Bring him back with thee into thine house, that he may eat bread and drink water. But he lied unto him." It was customary for young prophets to treat the old prophets with reverence; and perhaps this habit caused the messenger from Judah to yield to the old man from Israel. He went back with him, and ate bread in his house, and drank water. While they sat at table, the word of the Lord came to the prophet who had lied to the traveller; and he began to reprove his guest, for having complied with the invitation, which he himself had given in the name of the Lord. He said: "Because thou camest back, and hast eaten bread and drank water, in the place of which the Lord did say to thee, 'Eat no bread and drink no water, therefore thy carcass shall not come unto the sepulchres of thy fathers.'" Accordingly, when the prophet from Judah departed, a lion met him by the way, and slew him. Messengers came and told this to the old prophet, who had induced the traveller to disobedience by lying to him. And he went and brought the carcass

back to the city, and laid it in his own grave; "and they mourned over him, and said, Alas, my brother!" And he said to his sons: "When I am dead, bury me in the sepulchre wherein the man of God is buried. Lay my bones beside his bones. For the saying which he cried by the word of the Lord against the altar in Bethel, and against all the houses of the high places in Samaria, shall surely come to pass."

If there was no way to test the truth of predictions, except by the event; if prophets of other gods could predict truly, and the God of Israel sometimes permitted them to do so, that he might test the faith of his people; and if even a true prophet, like the man from Judah, could be deceived by a lying message in the name of the Lord, how could kings and people be expected to avoid mistakes?

The popular idea was that a true prophet could bring down fire from heaven, as Moses had done. Hence when a man professed to have communication with God, the multitude were wont to say: "Show us a sign from heaven."

Jews always assigned to Moses the highest place among the prophets; because he alone is represented as "talking with God face to face, as a man talketh with his friend." "There arose afterward no prophet like unto him, who knew God face to face." Prophets who, in a state of ecstasy, sleeping or waking, saw visions, or heard a voice speaking to them, were estimated as the next highest in degree. The prophetic influx came upon such with greatest force, when they fasted and were in complete solitude. Sometimes they fell into a trance, during which the soul was entirely abstracted from external objects. Balaam is described as "the man who saw a vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance with his eyes open." That they were sometimes in a state of religious frenzy, seems to be implied by the fact that the same word in Hebrew means to prophesy, and to be mad. They were called prophets, from Greek words meaning to foretell; men of God; angels of God, which simply means messengers of

God; also seers, because they could see past and future. The lowest degree of divine influence, called inspiration of the Spirit, came to men when they were wide awake, and in full possession of their senses. They talked like other men, but felt the Divine Spirit resting upon them, suggesting words to be uttered concerning religious or civil affairs.

Music seems to have been frequently used to excite the prophetic state. In schools of the prophets they composed Psalms by its aid, and were sometimes transported above themselves by a kind of divine furor. Psalms composed in such states of mind were regarded as prophecy. Samuel said to Saul: "When thou shalt come to the hill of God, thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place, with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp, before them; and they shall prophesy. And the Spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou shalt prophesy with them." When the kings of Israel and Judah went together to consult Elisha, the prophet said: "Bring me a minstrel. And it came to pass when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him."

Men who believed themselves called to the prophetic vocation were usually distinguished by a peculiar dress. They wore cloth of hair next their skin, tied about the waist with a leathern girdle. Over the shoulders was thrown a lamb-skin, called the Prophetic Mantle. The prophets of Baal were wont "to cut themselves with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them." It would seem that Hebrew prophets had a similar custom; for we are told that "a certain man, of the sons of the prophets," wishing to prophesy to king Ahab, "said unto his neighbour, By the name of the Lord, smite me, I pray thee." When the man refused to do it, the prophet told him that a lion would meet him in the way and slay him, "because he had not obeyed the voice of the Lord." Accordingly, "when he departed, a lion found him and slew him." Then the prophet said to another man: "Smite

me, I pray thee. And the man smote him, so that he wounded him." The prophet then departed, and waited for the king. Zechariah speaks of "rough garments and wounds in the hands," as external signs of a prophet, assumed by those who wished to deceive.

Some customs of the prophets, called symbolic actions, strongly remind one of similar practices among the devotees of Hindostan. When Saul prophesied before Samuel, he lay down naked all day and all night. Apparently this was not an unusual proceeding, for it is mentioned without censure or surprise. Isaiah, by command of the Lord, walked naked and barefoot three years, "for a sign and a wonder upon Egypt and Ethiopia," to show that they should be led away captive by the king of Assyria, like him, "naked and barefoot, with their buttocks uncovered." Zedekiah wore horns of iron on his head, and thrust with them, to show that Israelites were to thrust down the Syrians. Jeremiah wore a yoke about his neck to show that Israel should come under the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar. God told Ezekiel to lie on his left side three hundred and ninety days, with a tile before him, on which was portrayed the city of Jerusalem besieged; and then to lie on his right side forty days more, during which he was to drink a small measure of water prescribed for each day, and eat a prescribed quantity of bread, baked with cow-dung for fuel. And the prophet did according to the word of the Lord, to foreshow what Jerusalem would suffer in time of siege. The Lord commanded Hosea to live with a prostitute, that he might thereby symbolize the continual fornications which the people committed by going after other gods. He said: "Go take unto thee a wife of whoredoms, and children of whoredoms; for the land hath committed great whoredom, departing from the Lord. Go love a woman beloved of her friend, yet an adulteress, according to the love of the Lord toward the children of Israel, who look to other gods." Hosea adds: "So I bought her to me for fifteen pieces of silver, and for an homer of barley, and an half homer of barley. And I said unto her, Thou shalt

abide for me many days. Thou shalt not play the harlot, and thou shalt not be for another man. So will I also be for thee."

All manner of miracles were attributed to prophets. When Moses stretched forth his hand, the waves of the Red Sea retired, and left a dry path for the Israelites. Joshua did the same with the river Jordan. We are likewise told that he caused the sun to stand still; a statement which shows that Hebrews received the mistaken idea of astronomy, prevailing among ancient nations, that the earth stood still, and the sun moved round it. The ass of Balaam is said to have been even more clairvoyant than his master; for he saw the angel who stood in the road, and spake with a human voice to inform his rider of the vision. Elijah brought down fire from heaven to consume his sacrifice; and, at another time, to burn up a hundred men, whom the king had sent to summon him. Ravens brought food to him in the wilderness, and angels were sent to bake cakes for him. He cured diseases, raised a dead child to life, and imparted to oil and meal such a miraculous power, that they reproduced themselves as fast as they were used. The waters of Jordan divided when he touched them with his mantle; and when he died, a whirlwind took him up to heaven in a chariot of fire with horses of fire. Divine power was imparted even to the clothes he had worn; for when Elisha picked up the mantle he dropped in ascending, he touched the waters with it, "and they parted hither and thither." Miraculous power seems to have been imputed to the staff on which a prophet leaned. The staff of Elisha was laid upon a dead child to restore him to life; and when the prophet went in and stretched himself upon the corpse, the eyes opened. He fed a hundred men with twenty barley loaves, caused iron to swim, and made the shadow on a sun-dial pass ten degrees backward. Even after death, his miracles did not cease; for a dead body, that was placed in his tomb, came to life merely by touching his bones. This prophet did not always make magnanimous use of his power. When some children amused

themselves concerning the baldness of his head, "he turned back and cursed them in the name of the Lord. And there came forth two she-bears out of the wood, and tare forty and two children of them."

In addition to these wonders, related in their Sacred Books, the Jews told many more, which were handed down by tradition. It was commonly said that Elijah was not a man, but an angel. When he was born, it was said that the golden calves set up by Jeroboam bellowed so loud they could be heard at Jerusalem. Upon which the High Priest consulted the Urim and Thummim, and found that a prophet was just born, who would destroy the idols. His father dreamed that men in white garments saluted the infant, covered him with flame, and made him swallow fire. He went to Jerusalem to consult the oracle at the temple, and was informed the dream signified his son should dwell in light, and judge Israel by fire and sword. Malachi declared: "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord." There was also a Rabbinical tradition that "when the Lord shall deliver Israel, three days before the coming of the Messiah, Elias shall come, and shall stand on the mountains of Israel, mourning and wailing concerning them. . . . After that he shall say unto them, Peace cometh to the world! As it is written, How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace." From these predictions there grew up a universal belief that Elijah had been carried bodily to heaven or to some far off terrestrial paradise; that he sent from thence a letter to king Jehoram, seven years after he ascended in the flaming chariot; that he was there occupied in writing the history of all ages; and that shortly before the coming of the Messiah he would reappear on earth in person.

It was also believed that Jeremiah would rise from the dead, at the coming of the Messiah, and lead the people to the mountain cave where he had hidden the Tabernacle

and the Ark, when the Temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar.

Prophets rose up among all classes of people. Some were uneducated, others were great poets and orators. Isaiah's parentage is not certainly known. Rabbins had a tradition that he was the son of a prophet. Elisha was an agriculturist. Jeremiah and Ezekiel were descendants of priests. Amos was a herdsman. It was customary for those who sought counsel of them to take with them offerings of bread, honey, oil, and other articles of food or clothing. The personal reverence paid to them was exceedingly great, and their power over the people rendered them very important to the government. No one was allowed to be buried in the holy city of Jerusalem, except prophets, and kings of the line of David. They were consulted in all emergencies, civil and ecclesiastical. When Ahab and Jehoshaphat entered into an alliance against the Syrians, they assembled all the prophets, four hundred in number, to advise with them. The monarchs sat in royal robes on a throne before the gate of Samaria, "and all the prophets prophesied before them." Ezekiel often speaks of the elders of Israel coming to consult with him. The important part they performed in political affairs is everywhere conspicuous. Ahijah the prophet stimulated the ten tribes to revolt from the house of David, under the command of Jeroboam. When Rehoboam proposed to fight them, his army dispersed because a man of God forbade the battle. Elisha treated the king of Israel very contemptuously, saying: "As the Lord liveth, if it were not that I regard the presence of Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, I would not look toward thee, nor see thee." The prophets appear almost continually hostile to the reigning power. Such a class of men, made bold by their great influence over the people, must have been a source of perplexity to kings, in times of danger or difficulty; especially as false prophets everywhere abounded, and the only test of truth was whether their predictions came to pass. Jeremiah said to king Zedekiah: "Bring your necks under the king of

Babylon, and serve him and his people ; for thus saith the Lord, I will punish with sword, famine, and pestilence, the nation and kingdom that will not serve Nebuchadnezzar." There was a political party who gave the same advice, deeming it safest to submit to Babylon without any attempts at resistance. Another party, who were in favor of seeking aid from Egypt to oppose the invader, had also a prophet, named Hananiah. He declared, in presence of all the people: "Thus saith the Lord, I will break the yoke of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, from the neck of all nations, within the space of two years." As a symbol that he spoke truly, "he took the yoke from off Jeremiah's neck, and brake it." To which Jeremiah replied: "Hear now, Hananiah. The Lord hath not sent thee; but thou makest this people to believe a lie. Thou hast broken the yokes of wood, but thou shalt make for them yokes of iron." The king imprisoned Jeremiah, because he persisted in saying: "The king of Babylon shall certainly come and destroy this land." Rulers were well aware that such prophecies, proclaimed in the ears of the people, would tend to destroy their courage, and thus produce their own fulfilment. In common with politicians of all nations, and all times, they felt the importance of trying human means. But prophets, burning with religious zeal, despised the assistance of foreign allies, and rebuked those who relied upon such aid, for their want of faith in Jehovah, the Lord of Hosts, the Great Leader of the armies of Israel. They said, "A horse is a vain thing," and spoke contemptuously of "those who put their trust in chariots."

Prophecies were by no means so clear and distinct in all cases, as were the declarations of Jeremiah and his opponent, in the court of king Zedekiah. Their language was generally indefinite; often couched in symbolic language, hard to be understood. Their predictions might be recalled. If judgments threatened by a prophet did not come to pass, it was said God was merciful, and had forgiven the people because they had repented. If they foretold good fortune, and the prediction failed, that did not

necessarily prove the messenger a false prophet; for the people might have forfeited their promised reward by some unworthiness.

Prophecies partook of the character of the times in which they were written. Micah lived at a time when the Assyrians were formidable enemies, and he prophesied of a Messiah who would deliver Israel from the Assyrians. Eze-kiel, who lived in the time of Babylonian captivity, prophesied of a new David, who was to gather Judah and Israel "from the heathen nations, whither they were gone." All prophesied of a time when the Messiah would come to destroy all nations that refused to conform to the Jewish religion. Jerusalem, restored to more than its ancient glory, would become henceforth and forever the political and spiritual centre of the world. Isaiah predicts that when the Lord comes "to plead with all flesh by fire and by his sword," the Gentile nations will bring back all the Hebrews that are sojourning among them. "They shall bring them for an offering unto the Lord, out of all nations, upon horses, and in chariots, and in litters, and upon mules, and upon swift beasts, to my holy mountain Jerusalem, saith the Lord, as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of the Lord. For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make shall remain before me, saith the Lord, so shall your seed remain." Zechariah says: "Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of Hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord. In those days it shall come to pass that ten men, out of all languages of the nations, shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you; for we have heard that God is with you."

Contradictions occasionally occur between the sacred prophecies of the Hebrews and their sacred history. Jeremiah foretold concerning Jehoiakim, son of Josiah: "He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem. His dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost; and he shall have none to sit upon the throne of

David." But in the annals of the Hebrew Kings it is recorded that "Jehoiakim slept with his fathers, (that is, in the royal sepulchres,) and Jehoiachin his son reigned in his stead." Jeremiah said of Zedekiah: "He shall surely be delivered into the hands of the Chaldeans. He shall go to Babylon. His eyes shall behold the eyes of the king of Babylon, and he shall speak with him mouth to mouth." But the history of Hebrew kings declares that Nebuchadnezzar's generals put out Zedekiah's eyes, before they carried him captive to Babylon. Ezekiel, who prophesied later than Jeremiah, said of the same monarch: "Thus saith the Lord, I will bring him to Babylon; yet shall he not see it, though he shall die there."

In some instances, the spirit of prophecy seems to have fallen upon men quite irrespective of any holiness of character. When Moses gathered the seventy elders round about the Tabernacle, "the Lord came down in a cloud and spoke to Moses, and took of the Spirit that was upon him, and gave it unto the seventy elders; and it came to pass, that when the Spirit rested upon them, they prophesied, and did not cease." "When Saul sent messengers to take David, and they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as appointed over them, the Spirit of God was upon the messengers of Saul, and they prophesied also. When it was told Saul, he sent other messengers, and they prophesied likewise. And Saul sent messengers again, the third time, and they prophesied also. Then went he to Ramah; and the Spirit of God was upon him also, and he prophesied. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?" The High Priest was supposed to be endowed with prophecy by virtue of his office; for thus was he enabled to decipher the oracle by Urim and Thummim. That prophetic inspiration was modified by individual character, is manifested by the contrast between Ezekiel's formal, circumstantial style, and the bold, fervid eloquence of Habakkuk, or the sublimity and power of Isaiah.

Private individuals often went to consult prophets con-

cerning their own affairs; and the time chosen was generally the Sabbath, or the New Moon. In time of drought great reliance was placed on their prayers for rain. On some occasions, people resorted to them as they would to fortune-tellers, to tell of goods lost or stolen. Saul's going to consult Samuel where to find the asses of Kish indicates a popular belief that seers were useful for such matters. By the laws of Moses, magical arts and divination were forbidden; and prophets in subsequent times often reproved the people for consulting "wizards that peep and mutter." But this tendency of the public mind was exceedingly strong, at all periods. One very common species of divination was by Teraphim; a kind of images, or household gods, supposed to have been consecrated by astrologers under certain aspects of the stars. Other arts were practised by people supposed to be familiar with Evil Spirits, from whom they obtained information concerning the future. "When Saul inquired of the Lord, and the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by prophets," he went to a woman at Endor, "who had a familiar spirit;" and it is recorded that she raised up the ghost of Samuel to answer his inquiries.

It was a common saying among Jews that God spake to men by Urim and Thummim during the days of the Tabernacle; that he spake by Prophets in the time of Solomon's temple; and when the temple was rebuilt, after the return from captivity, he spake by Bath Kol, which means the Daughter of a Voice. They applied this name to a voice from heaven, which they say succeeded the voice of God, that formerly proceeded from the Mercy Seat. Others say it derived its name from the fact that it came out of thunder; the thunder being heard first, and the Bath Kol afterward. The following story is told in illustration of this kind of prophecy. "Two Rabbins desiring to see the face of Rabbi Samuel, a Babylonish doctor, they said, Let us follow the hearing of Bath Kol. Passing by a school, they heard a boy reading, from the book of Samuel, the words, 'And Samuel died.' From this they inferred that the Rabbi

Samuel of Babylon was dead; and they afterward found that it was so." Many similar things are mentioned in the writings of Jews. It was very common with them to open their Sacred Writings, as they would consult an oracle; and whatever passage was glanced at first was considered prophetic. An imitation of the Urim and Thummim was made for the second temple, but no oracular answers were obtained from it. The prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, lived till forty years after the second temple was begun. With them, the spirit of prophecy departed; therefore, Malachi is called the "seal of the prophets."

Hebrew Sacred Writings abound with conflicts between true prophets and false ones, and are full of complaints concerning the consequent unbelief of rulers and people. On one occasion the altercation between two prophets proceeded to blows. Zedekiah and Micaiah, being called to prophesy before the kings of Israel and Judah, disagreed in their testimony. "And Zedekiah smote Micaiah on the cheek, and said, Which way went the Spirit of the Lord from me to speak unto thee?" It is not unlikely that such scenes as this had greatly diminished popular reverence for the prophetic character, before the time of Zechariah. That it had fallen into disrepute, from some cause or other, seems to be implied by his words: "Thus saith the Lord, I will cause the prophets and the unclean Spirit to depart out of the land. And it shall come to pass that when any shall yet prophesy, then his father and mother shall say to him, Thou shalt not live; for thou speakest lies in the name of the Lord. And it shall come to pass in that day that the prophets shall be ashamed every one of his vision when he hath prophesied; neither shall they wear a rough garment to deceive. But he shall say, I am no prophet; I am an husbandman; for men taught me to keep cattle from my youth."

After the prophets had departed, Rabbis say that revelations were sometimes made to individuals; but the Spirit was imparted in small measure. Of Hyrcanus, one of the latest rulers among the Jews, Josephus declares that "God

considered him worthy of the three greatest privileges; the government of his nation, the dignity of the high priesthood, and prophecy; for God was with him, and enabled him to know futurities." It was revealed to him in a dream that his two oldest sons would not succeed him, but that the youngest would inherit his kingdom. When his sons gained a victory, he announced it at the very moment, though he was at Jerusalem, two days' journey from the field of battle. They said it was told to him by Bath Kol. Josephus also assumes something of this gift for himself. He tells us that he "dreamed dreams in the night time, whereby God signified to him the future calamities of the Jews." He foretold on what day the city he was defending would be taken by the Romans, and himself made prisoner. He likewise predicted that Vespasian, who was then a general, would become emperor. Philo, the learned Alexandrian Jew, describes a prophet as being "a mere interpreter during the time he is under enthusiasm; being himself in ignorance, his reasoning faculties receding and withdrawing from the citadel of his mind, and the Divine Spirit coming upon and dwelling in him, impelling and directing the organism of his voice to a distinct manifestation of what the Spirit predicts."

The learned commentator De Wette remarks that "the miraculous diminishes in proportion as we approach historical times. In the earliest times, men have intercourse with angels; at a later period, angels appear as messengers between God and men; still later, the prophets perform the miraculous; in times after the exile, from which we have contemporary accounts, the miraculous ceases altogether."

It is evident that Hebrews, at all periods of their history, adopted the prevailing idea of subordinate Spirits employed by The Highest as mediums of communication with men. In the most ancient portion of their Sacred Writings, God is called E^lohim, which, being a plural word, necessarily implies more than one. The "Spirit of God" is likewise spoken of as "moving on the face of the

waters." God said: "Let us make man after our image. Man is become as one of us. Let us go down and confound their language." Jewish Rabbins explained these passages by saying that God addressed himself to his council of angels. Hindoo Sacred Books describe Gandharvas, beautiful "Spirits of Singing Stars," who rejoice together and sing, when any great or good work is accomplished by superior deities. Job also says: "When the foundations of the earth were fastened, and the cornerstone thereof was laid, the Morning Stars sang together, and all the Sons of God shouted for joy." In the Psalms it is promised, "He shall give his angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways." In the book of Kings, the Lord is described like an Asiatic monarch, "sitting on his throne, with all the host of heaven standing by him, on his right hand and on his left." Moses accused the people of sacrificing "unto Devils, not unto God." The Hebrew word used signifies Destroyers, Spirits delighting in mischief. "An Evil Spirit from the Lord" is said to have taken possession of Saul. Isaiah alludes to "Lucifer, son of the morning." The name signifies Bringer of Light, and was probably applied to the Spirit of the Morning Star. The author of the book of Job says: "The sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them." The captivity in Babylon greatly influenced Hebrew habits of thought, by making them familiar with Chaldean and Persian ideas. They had always believed in Evil Spirits employed by Jehovah to accomplish his own purposes; but not until the Babylonian captivity do they seem to have formed the idea of one great rebellious Spirit, in opposition to Deity, like the Persian Arimanes. Daniel, Ezekiel, and Zechariah, who wrote after that period, make frequent allusion to Spirits. Zechariah is the only one who mentions Satan. He describes him as the adversary of Jerusalem, standing before the angel of the Lord, to resist Joshua the High Priest. That each nation had its own guardian spirit, was the universal idea. Daniel alludes to the archangel Michal, as if

he believed him to be the peculiar protector of the Jewish nation. The author of the book of Tobit mentions Seven Spirits, which seem very like the Persian Amshaspanda. Raphael is represented as saying: "I am one of the seven holy angels, which present the prayers of the saints, and go in and out before the glory of the Holy One."

In order to state clearly some spiritual changes that took place among the Jews, it is necessary to glance at the progress of their external history. From the time of Cyrus, Judea remained more than two hundred years dependent on Persia; but their internal affairs were under the direction of High Priests and Elders, who governed according to the Mosaic constitution. This remnant of the children of Israel were more enterprising than their fathers had been. Commerce, which the old prophets had always stigmatized as "harlotry" with other nations, was continually on the increase; and as all Jews were obliged to make annual pilgrimages to the temple, and pay tithes of their revenue, more wealth was accumulated at Jerusalem than had been sent there even in the days of Solomon. When Alexander the Great conquered Persia, Palestine became tributary to him, and was involved in subsequent wars of his generals. One of these, Ptolemy, king of Egypt, besieged Jerusalem and took it. The place, being strongly fortified, both by nature and art, might perhaps have held out long against him, had he not been sufficiently cunning to attack it on the Sabbath, when he knew the inhabitants deemed it unlawful to do anything, even for the defence of their lives. The Jews did not suffer by this change of masters, for Ptolemy did not interfere with their internal government, or with any of their peculiar customs. The successors of Alexander the Great, who governed the Syrian portion of his empire, contended with those who governed the Egyptian portion; and Judea passed under the dominion of Syrio-Macedonian kings. One of these, Antiochus Fourth, issued a decree that all people under his government should conform to the religion of their king, and worship the same gods in the same



manner he did. This was doubtless aimed principally at the Jews; for the worship of other nations under his sway too much resembled his own, to provoke such a law. He sent overseers into all the provinces of his empire, to instruct people how to worship according to one model. Jews were forbidden to circumcise their children, to observe any of their religious festivals, or offer sacrifices to the God of Israel. They were ordered to eat the flesh of swine, and other animals, which their law pronounced unclean. Copies of the Law of Moses were hunted up, and destroyed wherever they could be found. The temple was robbed of its ornaments, and polluted by the introduction of things abhorrent to Jewish feeling. An image of Jupiter was set up in the inner court, with an altar for sacrifice before it. Statues and altars were placed in all the groves. People were commanded to worship them, and whoever disobeyed was put to death. Fear, and a desire to gain favour with the king, induced some to comply; but great numbers cheerfully sacrificed their lives, rather than prove false to their religion. Mattathias, a man of rank and character among the priests, was offered riches and honours if he would set the people an example in the worship of Jupiter. But with a loud voice, in hearing of all, he proclaimed that no commands, and no rewards, should ever induce him or his family to depart from the law of their God. When he saw one of the Jews approach the altar of Jupiter, to worship as the king had decreed, in the heat of his zeal he fell upon him and the royal commissioner and slew them. He then fled with his family to the mountains, whither many of the people followed him. The mountains and deserts of Judea were filled with fugitives from the persecution of Antiochus. A thousand of them being assembled in a cave near Jerusalem, military forces were sent out to reduce them to obedience. They were offered forgiveness for the past, if they would submit in future; but they all declared they had rather die than desert the faith of their fathers. Antiochus, being aware of their religious scruples, ordered

them to be attacked on the Sabbath; in consequence of which they were all cut off, men, women, and children. When Mattathias heard the sad tidings, he became alarmed lest all the faithful followers of Moses should be destroyed by the same stratagem. He and his adherents held a consultation, and came to the conclusion that laws were not strictly binding in cases of such extreme necessity. They unanimously resolved to defend their lives, if they were attacked on the Sabbath; and this rule was afterward adopted by all the Jews. Antiochus, meeting such obstinate resistance to his decree, went to Judea in person, and tried to enforce obedience by terrible severity. "Eleazar, one of the principal scribes, an aged man, and of a well-favoured countenance, was constrained to open his mouth and eat swine's flesh. But he, choosing rather to die gloriously, than to live stained with such an abomination, spit it forth." Some who were with him took him aside and begged him to substitute privately some other flesh, and pretend that he was obeying the royal command. But he said it did not become the honour of his gray head to dissemble, and thereby induce young persons to suppose that "Eleazar, being fourscore years old and ten, had now gone to a strange religion." He declared himself ready to die, rather than mislead others by such hypocrisy; adding, "Though for the present I should be delivered from the punishment of men, yet should I not escape the punishment of the Almighty, alive nor dead." And so the brave and true old man was scourged to death, saying with his last breath: "I am well content to suffer these things, because I fear the Lord." Afterward, a mother and her seven sons were tormented with whips to make them eat swine's flesh. The king, enraged by their refusal, mutilated the young men, one after another, before the eyes of their mother, and threw their limbs into the fire. They resolutely held forth their hands and tongues to be cut off, saying to their royal tormentor: "We suffer these things for having sinned against our God; therefore marvellous things are not done for us. Yet think not our

nation is forsaken of God; but abide awhile and behold his great power, how he will torment thee and thy seed. Though put to death by men, we have hope in God, to be raised up again by him. As for thee, thou shalt have no resurrection to life." When all were dead but the youngest, Antiochus offered him wealth and honours if he would submit, and he exhorted the mother thus to counsel her only surviving son. But she said to the youth: "Fear not this tormentor, be worthy of thy brethren, and take thy death; that I may receive thee in mercy with them again." The young man could scarcely wait for her to finish before he replied: "I will not obey the commandment of the king; but I will obey the Law given unto our fathers by Moses." They both died courageously, mother and son, under treatment more cruel than the others had suffered.

When Antiochus had left Judea, Mattathias, the priest, who had lain concealed with a band of followers in the mountains, came forth, and collected a small army of faithful Jews, resolved to fight to the last for liberty to worship God according to their own consciences. They went through the cities of Judea, collected all the copies of the Law, circumcised all the uncircumcised children, pulled down the foreign altars, cut off all apostates who fell into their hands, slaughtered their persecutors wherever they came, and caused religious service to be again performed in the synagogues. The aged Mattathias died in the midst of this campaign, and left his sons to carry on the war. The eldest, Judas Maccabæus, took command of the increasing army, bearing a standard on which was inscribed, "Who is like unto thee among the gods, O Jehovah?" He defeated the forces of the Syrian king, and took Jerusalem out of their hands, one hundred and sixty-five years before Christ. He purified the temple, and dedicated it anew to the God of Israel, with songs and citherns, harps and cymbals, oblations and sacrifices, for eight days. Rabbis say they found but one bottle of pure oil in the temple, sufficient for one day only; but by a miracle it

kept the lamps burning eight days. In commemoration of this joyful event, they ever after observed a festival of eight days, during which Hallelujahs were daily sung in the temple. It was called the Feast of Lights; because, in whatsoever country an Israelite happened to be on that occasion, he lighted his house with lamps, one for each member of the family, and kept them burning all night. If very poor, he was bound to beg oil for the purpose, or sell his garments to obtain it.

The first account of intercourse between Jews and Romans occurs in the time of Judas Maccabæus, who sent ambassadors to Rome, to strengthen his power by alliance. He and his brothers were successively invested with the dignity of High Priests and Rulers of the nation; and the dignity descended in the line of his family, called Asmonean, or the Illustrious. Civil war finally broke out between two brothers concerning succession to the throne; and the bitterness of these internal dissensions was greatly increased by the wrangling of two hostile sects, the Pharisees and Sadducees. One of the contending brothers called the Romans to his aid; and for three months Jerusalem was besieged. The Jews availed themselves of the precedent established by Mattathias, and no longer scrupled to defend their lives on the Sabbath. But they put such literal construction on his words, that they deemed it unlawful to exert themselves unless their lives were actually attacked. Any preparations for defence were considered a desecration of the holy time. Pompey, having ascertained this fact, ordered his troops not to assault them on the Sabbath, but to spend the whole day placing battering-rams against the walls of Jerusalem, and bringing up engines of war in readiness for the attack.

The Holy City was captured by the Romans, sixty-three years before Christ, on the very day kept as an anniversary fast, in commemoration of the destruction of the temple by Nebuchadnezzar. When the sacred building was seized by Roman soldiers, priests went on offering prayers and sacrifices, though in the general confusion their own blood

mingled freely with the blood of sacrifices. Pompey found much money, and valuable utensils of gold and silver; but he left them all to be applied to the sacred uses for which they were dedicated. He even ordered the temple to be cleansed, and worship to be performed there as usual. In this he acted according to the general policy of Romans, who always endeavoured to conciliate conquered nations by allowing them the free exercise of their religion. But he greatly offended the Jews by going into the Holy of Holies, which they deemed it profanation for any one, except their own High Priest, to do. That it should have been entered by a Gentile, seemed to them a more grievous calamity than anything which had happened during the siege; and all Pompey's subsequent misfortunes were by them attributed to this audacious offence against the God of Israel.

Hyrcanus, a descendant of Judas Maccabæus, was left at the head of affairs in Judea. Thenceforth, Roman governors and soldiers resided there, and the country paid tribute to its conquerors; but the people were unmolested in their peculiar customs, and ecclesiastical affairs were managed by their own priesthood. About thirty-five years before Christ, Herod the Great was appointed chief ruler. He was a Jew by birth, and married to a descendant of the illustrious house of Judas Maccabæus. But in order to ingratiate himself with the Romans, he devoted himself to their interests, and in many things acted contrary to Jewish laws; urging in excuse that he was compelled to do so. He dissolved the national council of elders, and appointed high priests and removed them, without any regard to the rules of succession. He built temples in Grecian style, placed statues in his palaces, and adopted many Roman customs. For these reasons, many of his subjects reproached him with being a half Jew. Yet he had a very strong party in his favour, and many believed him to be the promised Messiah, on account of his power and magnificence.

The temple built in Ezra's time had stood about five

hundred years. Being in the strongest part of Jerusalem, and well fortified, the inhabitants were accustomed to take refuge there in time of war. It had consequently suffered much by violence, as well as by gradual decay. Herod rebuilt it on a larger scale, and surrounded it by four courts rising above each other, like terraces. The lowest was called the Court of the Gentiles, because individuals of all nations were there admitted indiscriminately; but an inscription on the railing, both in Hebrew and Greek, warned them to proceed no further. The temple was of white marble, richly ornamented with gilding. It was constructed on a model similar to that of Solomon, but was much larger, and some say more magnificent. Forty-six years were expended in the completion of it.

The numerous historical changes, briefly alluded to in preceding pages, produced effects on the religious character and opinions of Jews, which it is necessary to explain. Before the captivity in Babylon, Hebrews had lived almost entirely apart from other nations, being insulated by their peculiar customs, their prejudice against commerce, and their total ignorance of foreign literature. But in Babylon they did not reside in a district by themselves, as they had done in Egypt, in the time of Joseph. They were scattered through the whole length and breadth of the land, and mixed with all classes of people for more than half a century. The devout among them doubtless adhered to Mosaic regulations with the tenacity characteristic of their race. But no efforts of the old could effectually guard rising generations from the new ideas with which they came in contact on every side. The strength of this foreign influence is implied by the fact that they lost their language in the process. The original dialect of Abraham was the Chaldean, spoken in Babylon. When he removed to Palestine, he was made familiar with the language of Canaanites, called by the Greeks Phœnician. This, with some modifications, became the vernacular tongue of his descendants, and from them called Hebrew. But when they were carried to Babylon fourteen hundred years after Abraham,

they heard the Chaldean language spoken all around them, and were obliged to use it in their daily intercourse with others. Thus the young people, who grew up in a foreign land, acquired a mixed language, called the Aramæan, with which they returned from exile. When Ezra copied their ancient writings, he wrote Hebrew words in Chaldean characters. The old language was understood by the aged, and by the learned; but when the Law of Moses was read in the synagogues, it was necessary for an interpreter to explain it to the populace in the new dialect. From that time henceforth Hebrew ceased to be spoken, and existed only as a written, or dead language.

The whole tendency of Hebrew teaching was to inculcate implicit faith in the laws and doctrines revealed by Moses. Intellect, having nothing to do, did not wake from its lethargy. On every subject there was but one question to be asked: *Has Moses so commanded?* Where there is no progress, there are no sects; accordingly there appears to have been no collision of opinions until after the return from exile; and even when minds began to exert a little freedom, they did it very timidly, covering their innovations with professions of allegiance to their lawgiver.

The first separation was between Jewish and Samaritan worshippers of the same God. Jews indignantly refused assistance from Samaritan neighbours, in building the second temple, because they were not Israelites by descent, and because their religion was mixed with many foreign adulterations. This occasioned a rancorous feeling, and induced the Samaritans to do all they could to hinder the building of the temple. They called Ezra an impostor, who was guilty of sacrilege in writing the Law of Moses in Chaldean letters, and of unjust partiality toward the descendants of David, in the books he compiled and wrote. But when Palestine submitted to Alexander the Great, they renewed their efforts to effect a civil and ecclesiastical alliance with Judea. For that purpose, the Governor of Samaria married his daughter to a brother of the Jewish High Priest. This matrimonial alliance out of their own tribes

so deeply offended the Jews, that they banished their priest's brother, and forever excluded him from the succession. The Governor of Samaria took the exile under his protection, built a magnificent temple on Mount Gerizim, similar to that at Jerusalem, and appointed him its High Priest. A powerful body of disaffected Jews went with him, and much care was taken to conform their doctrines and ritual of worship to the Law of Moses. They practised circumcision, and observed the Sabbath with even more strictness than Jews; for in whatever posture a person happened to be when the holy time commenced, so he was obliged to remain until it ended. They expected a great prophet to arise among them, a Messiah, who was to deliver them from calamity, and teach them all things. They insisted that Mount Gerizim was the place Moses intended to designate, when he told the people to offer oblations and sacrifices "in the place that God should choose out of all their tribes, to put his name there." To prove that it was the actual "hill of blessing," they asserted that it was the place where Abraham and Jacob built altars, and where Joshua erected an altar of twelve stones, on which he inscribed the Law of Moses. Jews considered them profane imitators of their religion, and would not admit that they had any part or lot in the God of Israel. A deadly enmity existed between them, which frequently broke out in open hostilities. Several sects arose among the Samaritans; one of them abstained from marriage, and tasted no animal food.

During the persecution of the Jewish religion by Antiochus, Samaritans, fearing to be involved therein, sent him a petition, stating that they were descended from Sidonians, Medes, and Persians, and were in no way related to the Jews. They admitted that they also sacrificed to a God without a name, and observed the same religious rites; but they alleged that it was merely because their fathers had introduced this worship in old times, to free the country from lions. They declared that their temple had as yet been dedicated to no especial deity, and begged that it might be

consecrated to Jupiter Xenios, the Protector of Strangers, because they were strangers in the land, and not of the race of Israel. Antiochus forbade his deputies to molest them, and while the persecution lasted, they paid homage to Jupiter. They were finally conquered by Jews, and their temple on Mount Gerizim was destroyed.

After the return from captivity, many changes took place among the Jews themselves in their customs and modes of thinking. When Ezra attempted to restore the Hebrew religion, he not only collected all the fragments he could find of old writings, but he likewise consulted aged people, and gleaned from their memories all that could be gained concerning ancient usages. This was assumed as a standard of practice, under the name of traditions. This Traditionary Law, which related to prayers, fastings, purifications, and other ceremonies of religion, came to be regarded by many as of equal authority with the Written Law. They said, when Moses waited upon God forty days on the mountain, he received a double law. One portion he was commanded to commit to writing. The other portion, likewise spoken to him by the mouth of God, contained a full explanation and detailed application of the more compendious Written Law. When Moses returned to his tent, he repeated this Oral Law, first to Aaron, then to his sons Ithamar and Eleazar, then to the seventy elders constituting the Sanhedrim, and lastly to all the people. Aaron, being always present, heard it four times repeated; and it was repeated again and again, until the whole congregation had heard it four times. Moses, on his death-bed, repeated it to Joshua; he repeated it to the elders; they repeated it to the prophets; the prophets repeated it to the wise men of the Great Synagogue; and the wise men carefully transmitted it to their successors. This succession of Fathers, whom they call Doctors, were regarded with extreme veneration. The accounts given of them abound with miracles. It is said they were often guided by Bath Kol; that they had power to restrain sorcerers, command devils, and speak with angels. Hebrews, from the infancy

of their nation, had always been taught to consider themselves the only people on earth to whom God revealed divine truth. When circumstances forced them to mix with foreigners, and their habits of thought unavoidably became modified by the process, they were extremely reluctant to acknowledge that they received any ideas, or customs, from others. Everything which commended itself to them as wise or good, they maintained must have been, somehow or other, communicated by God to Moses; because they honestly believed that no important religious truth had ever come into the world through any other medium. From Egypt, Babylon, and neighbouring nations of Syria, they imbibed many ideas concerning successive emanations from God, a hierarchy of Spirits, the transmigration and immortality of the soul, the infestation of devils, occasioning insanity and other diseases, the magic power of certain sacred formulas, and astronomical predictions concerning the destruction of the world. To acknowledge such notions to be of Gentile origin, would lay them open to condemnation at once. The written Law of Moses contained none of these things. Moreover, being framed for a rude nomadic people, it was in many respects ill adapted to the wants of Jews in later times; yet it was deemed sacrilege to add or alter a single word. Communications of which there was no standard copy, were more elastic in their nature. The Traditionary Law could be stretched to meet any emergency, and made to include everything under its veil of commentaries. But the process naturally gave rise to various sects. These all agreed in acknowledging themselves bound by the Law of Moses, all conformed to the established ceremonies of religion, all believed that divine revelations were confined solely to the Hebrews, and all expected that a great Deliverer would rise up among them, to restore their former glory, and give them dominion over other nations. Nevertheless, they were always disputing with each other. Their controversies never embraced general questions of literature, science, and philosophy, as did the discussions of Greek or Roman

scholars. They were peculiarly exclusive and Jewish in their character, chiefly relating to the comparative value of their written and traditionary Law, the importance of certain ceremonies, and the adaptation of ancient rules to present wants, by means of subtile distinctions and elaborate commentaries.

The most numerous and influential among the sects were the Pharisees, who are supposed to have become prominent about three hundred years before Christ. Their name signified The Separated; because they were separated from others by their peculiar sanctity. They were chiefly distinguished by their great reverence for the Traditionary Law. They likewise maintained that there was a double meaning in the Written Law; one relating merely to the external words, another to an inward mystical significance. From these two sources, they ingeniously derived arguments to sustain all new opinions and practices. From some source or other, they had received the old Hindoo idea, that a man might perform of meritorious works more than enough for justification with God; that he might lay up an additional fund, like stock in a bank, for future benefit. Hence they were profuse in alms-giving, repeated many more prayers than other men, and were much more scrupulous with regard to numerous washings, purifications, fasts, and other ceremonies. They never, under any circumstances, ate bread with unwashed hands. If there was not water enough to wash and drink, a devout Pharisee preferred to die with thirst, rather than not wash. They had hot controversies with other sects concerning what articles were subject to tithes. Of mint, anise, and cummin, others paid a hundredth part to the priests, but they paid a tenth. They wore their robes longer than common, so that the fringe, which was a peculiarity of Jewish costume, swept the ground. In these fringes they often fixed sharp thorns, to torment them as they walked. Moses had commanded the children of Israel to write certain sentences of his Law on their gates and door-posts, and to bind them upon their hands and between their eyes. These texts

were written on strips of parchment and placed in small cases, one bound on the forehead, the other on the left arm. They received the name of Phylacteries, from a Greek word, meaning, I watch, I guard. Pharisees wore these holy badges very large, and conspicuously placed. Some zealots among them always walked very close to the wall, and carefully avoided those that passed, lest they should contract pollution, by touching something morally, physically, or legally unclean. Some wore a deep cap, like a mortar, pulled down so far that they could see nothing but their own feet. Some walked with their eyes shut, lest they should be tempted by the sight of a woman. In this situation they often struck their heads against the wall. This sect believed that everything was predestined, and that man could do nothing without divine influence; but they maintained that they held this doctrine in a way not inconsistent with human freedom. They believed that every good work received its degree of reward, and every bad one its degree of punishment; and these rewards and punishments extended both to the body and the soul. Souls of the very wicked would be confined to a prison under the earth. Those who had been less criminal, were punished by being again sent into bodies, afflicted with disease. Therefore, if a man was born blind or deaf, they regarded it as a penalty for sin committed, either by his progenitors, or by himself, in some previous state of existence. They believed in the resurrection of the body, but confined it to Jews only. Other nations would remain in their graves. Many held the opinion that the soul died with the body, and would be raised with it. But the general belief was that the souls of pious Israelites were transferred at death to a region of Paradise, where they would remain waiting till the Messiah recalled them to their bodies, on the day of resurrection. It was a prevalent opinion, that the valley of Jehoshaphat would be the scene of this great rising; therefore many Jews wished to be buried there. This doctrine was tinged with the national exclusiveness which marked all their opinions. They maintained that

God created a certain number of Jewish souls, which would return on earth as long as Jews were to be found there. By way of penance for sin, they sometimes sojourned awhile in the bodies of animals; but at the day of resurrection they were all to be purified, and in the forms of just men revive on the soil of the promised land. Rabbinical writings show very plainly that their belief in the immortality of the soul involved the doctrine of transmigration. Josephus, who belonged to the sect of Pharisees, says: "All have mortal bodies, formed of corruptible matter; but the soul is immortal, being a portion of the Divinity inhabiting our bodies. Pure and obedient souls remain about to receive a most holy place in heaven, from whence, after the revolution of ages, they shall be again appointed to inhabit new bodies. But the souls of those who have madly laid violent hands on themselves shall be consigned to the darkest grave, or hell." In another place, he says: "What man of virtue is there, who does not know that those souls, which are severed from their fleshly bodies by the sword in battle, are received by ether, the purest of the elements, and joined to that company who are placed among the stars? That they become good demons, and propitious heroes, and show themselves as such to their posterity afterward? Those souls that wear away in and with their distempered bodies dissolve away to nothing in subterranean night, and a deep oblivion takes away all remembrance of them; even if they be clean from all spots and defilements of this world. So that, in this case, the soul comes, at the same time, to the utmost bounds of its life, its body, and its memorial also."

Pharisees adhered to the worship of One God, but believed in a multitude of Spirits, good and bad. The first of these Sons of the Supreme was with God from the beginning, and capable of manifesting himself on earth for benevolent purposes. It was a common opinion that Jehovah had placed the nations of the earth under the guidance of the Spirits of the Stars; each country having its own particular guardian; but that Hebrews were

solely under the direction of the One Supreme Being, and not subject to any of his subordinate ministers. Moses forbade them to lift their eyes in worship to the sun, moon, or stars, giving as a reason, "For the Lord thy God hath divided them unto all nations under the whole heaven; but he hath taken you to be unto him a people of inheritance."

Jews accounted prayer an inner sacrifice of the heart, and there was a general belief that it healed sickness, and drove away Evil Spirits. Pharisees were pre-eminently men of prayer, and the services of the most devout among them were often sought. It is recorded that the Rabbi Gamaliel sent to the Rabbi Chanina, begging prayers in behalf of his son, who was very ill. The messengers were requested to wait, while the pious man retired to the house-top, where the Alijah, or private apartment for prayer, was situated. When he returned, he assured them the young man had already recovered; and they found it had so occurred at the hour he had spoken.

The conspicuous charity and superior sanctity of the Pharisees gave them such hold on the popular mind, that the great found it good policy to court their favour. They were called pious men, by way of distinction above righteous or just men, who considered it sufficient to obey the Written Law. They were always prone to punish heretical opinions more severely than offences against morals. Zealots among them not unfrequently stoned to death, or otherwise destroyed, those whom they regarded as blasphemers, or as Sabbath-breakers. This sect continued to increase in numbers and power, and in the later days held chief sway in the Sanhedrim and synagogues. Relying upon popular veneration, they carried matters with so high a hand, that they did not fear to offend either magistrates or princes. Their zeal and pertinacity often produced civil dissensions, and were a constant source of vexation to the Roman government. It was a favourite theme with them that it was unlawful to pay tribute to Cæsar; because Moses had said: "Thou mayest not set a stranger over

thee, who is not thy brother." They greatly disliked Herod, because he manifested so little Jewish exclusiveness. They constantly reminded the people that Jehovah could not forsake the descendants of Israel; that he was bound by his own solemn promise to send a Messiah, who would free them from all foreign yokes, and bring them eternal prosperity.

One sect, called Galileans, adopted the doctrine of a fierce zealot, Judas of Galilee, who maintained that it was wrong to acknowledge allegiance to any government, except the direct government of God. This sect was soon suppressed, but it propagated a violent spirit of insurrection, which subsequently produced disastrous effects.

The prophets had frequently repeated that oblations and sacrifices did not atone for intentional sins, unless accompanied by sincere repentance. But the teaching of the Pharisees had such an effect on the popular mind, that the multitude expected temporal prosperity and future reward, in proportion to the number of their sacrifices, ablutions, and prayers. Some minds were offended by these views, and regarded them as altogether low and external. Among these, Antogonus Sochceus was conspicuous for his dislike of traditionary institutions, and pious works of supererogation. He insisted that men ought to serve God from pure disinterested principle, and not for the sake of hire. One of his disciples, named Sadoc, maintained that not merely promises of temporal prosperity, but the doctrine of future rewards, appealed to the selfish feelings in man; that a just person ought not to require or expect any compensation for his justice. He declared there would be no resurrection from the dead, and no future existence. From him the sect of Sadducees took their name. They were strongly attached to the Written Law of Moses, which they said contained nothing further than the literal signification of the words, without any hidden mystical meaning. They rejected, as mere human inventions, all laws and traditions not comprehended therein. They worshipped one God, who created the world and continually governed

it. They denied the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body, because the literal meaning of the Books of Moses conveyed no such ideas. They considered those doctrines as among the foreign additions to Judaism, which it was their wish to restore to its original simplicity. They did not believe that Spirits of any kind existed without the vestment of a mortal body. They consequently rejected the prevailing idea that diseases were occasioned by the infestation of Evil Spirits, who could be cast out by a form of sacred words. They denied predestination, and said God had made man master of his own actions, with freedom to choose between good and evil. This opinion led them to judge moral delinquencies with great austerity. They held the sanctified practices of Pharisees in great contempt, and Pharisees despised them as mere respectable moralists; but the two parties often united in the common cause of defending the Jewish religion. The Sadducees were a small sect, mostly composed of men of quality. They were less inclined to controversy than the Pharisees, and were satisfied to rest their claim to public respect on the propriety of their manners and actions. They often held honourable offices, and were sometimes even promoted to the highest sacerdotal dignity.

A third sect were called Karaites, which means Scripturists; because, like the Sadducees, they believed only in the Sacred Writings, and rejected traditions. They admitted that the Traditionary Law was of some value, as expressing the opinions of learned men on obscure passages of the Written Law; but they denied its claim to divine authority. They held the common belief concerning Jehovah, as the one uncreated God, who rewarded goodness and punished wickedness. They believed true repentance took away sin; that the human mind was subject to divine influence, but perfectly free in its volitions. They were strict observers of fasts and other ordinances of religion. They believed in the immortality of the soul; that spirits of the good ascended after death to a world of

bright and happy Intelligences, and wicked souls descended to places of suffering.

There were some classes of votaries among the Jews in whom the ascetic, or monastic, tendencies were exhibited in greater or less degrees. The Rechabites, or descendants of Rechab, were a distinct society by themselves. They strictly observed all the Hebrew rites, and were bound by additional vows made to their father, that they and their posterity would drink no wine, plant no vineyards, sow no fields, build no houses, but dwell forever in tents; that they might "live many days in the land."

Sometimes men dedicated themselves to the Lord by a voluntary vow to perform certain acts of religion over and above those prescribed by the Law. The term might be for months, for years, or for life. This was called the Great Vow, or Separation unto the Lord; and those who took it were termed Nazarites, which means separated or sanctified. If young women made this vow without permission of their fathers, or married women without consent of their husbands, their masters could cancel the obligation. But women free from the power of parents, or husbands, could become Nazarites whenever they were so inclined. This class of people must have existed from an early period; for Moses is represented as giving special laws for them. When they dedicated themselves, they offered sacrifices, and the priest shaved their heads. The hair that grew afterward, was sacred to the Lord, and must not be touched by razor or scissors during the whole period of the vow, even if it was for life. A Nazarite was not allowed to enter a house which contained a corpse, even if it were the body of his own father or mother. If a person died suddenly in his presence, he was polluted by the accidental vicinity of the dead body, and was obliged to renew his vow. The time he had previously consecrated was lost, "because his separation was defiled." It was necessary to shave his head again, offer sacrifices, perform ablutions, and be sprinkled with water containing ashes of the red heifer. Hair cut off under such circumstances was con-

sidered unholy, and could not be burned in sacrifice to God. But if he purely performed the whole period of his vow, the hair he had consecrated to Jehovah was cut off at the expiration of the term, and burnt as a sacrifice on the altar. Nazarites were forbidden to taste wine, or strong drinks, to eat grapes, either fresh or dried, or anything "made of the vine tree, from the kernels even to the husk." Some of them wore garments of hair, and dwelt apart from the multitude, either in the temple, or in solitary places. Sometimes parents vowed a child to the Lord before he was born; as was the case with Samson and Samuel. In that case, the mother was bound to observe, before his birth, the same restrictions that it would be necessary for himself to observe afterward. For fear of polluting herself by contact with the dead, or with anything unclean, she usually hid herself, or lived apart from company. It seems likely that the hair of the head, when thus consecrated, was supposed to protect the owner, or to be in some way endowed with supernatural power; for Samson told his mistress, "I have been a Nazarite unto God from my mother's womb. If I be shaven, then my strength will go from me, and I shall become weak, and be like any other man." When enemies cut off his hair, "the Lord departed from him," and he was completely in their power. But afterward, when it grew again, it is said his miraculous strength was renewed.

In the course of historical changes, other influences than Chaldean were brought to act powerfully on the Jewish mind. When Ptolemy, king of Egypt, conquered Jerusalem, about three hundred and twenty years before Christ, he induced many Jews to emigrate to Alexandria. It was good policy to attract enterprising and wealthy foreigners to the capital of his new empire; and for that purpose, he gave them great commercial advantages, and allowed free exercise of their national religion. Jews emigrated thither in great numbers, until they became about as numerous in Egypt as they were in Palestine. The basis of the population in Alexandria was Grecian. The language was

Greek, the customs were more after Grecian patterns than any other. But all nations congregated there, and teachers of all creeds were allowed to promulgate their doctrines. Jews in Egypt were zealous in their attachment to the Law of Moses. They built a temple to Jehovah, and established synagogues for the instruction of the people. But in process of time, they forgot the language of Palestine, called Aramæan, and spoke Greek only. As for the old Hebrew, in which their Sacred Books were written, it was rare to find a man among them who could read it. At last, the inconvenience became so great, it was necessary to translate the Law into Greek. Notwithstanding the habitual aversion of Jews to mingle with foreigners, it was impossible, under such circumstances, for their young men to resist the love of novelty, and the free spirit of inquiry which formed an atmosphere around them. They frequented Alexandrian schools, and acquired such a taste for Grecian philosophy, that some of their zealous priests thought it necessary to pronounce a solemn anathema upon any father who allowed his children to acquire such unhallowed learning. The emigrants were mainly devoted to commerce, and in pursuit of wealth they branched off through all the cities of the Roman empire. Wherever they went, they spoke Greek, which was the universal medium of communication at that period. They were generally called Hellenistic Jews, which means Grecian Jews. They observed all the ceremonies of the Mosaic Law as strictly as Jews of Palestine; but their brethren in the old country reckoned them inferior, because they inhabited Gentile lands, and spoke a Gentile tongue.

From intercourse with foreigners in Babylon, Egypt, Greece, and elsewhere, arose new habits and forms of opinion, which the learned cannot accurately trace to their source. It has been shown that the Hindoo, Egyptian, and Chaldean religions were exceedingly similar. Their doctrine concerning the evil nature of Matter was floating abroad extensively, and mixing with the theories of all nations. Its natural tendency was to produce anchorites,

and communities of hermits, whose principal object it was to free the soul from the thralldom of material laws, by subjugating or annihilating the body. It is not unlikely that the Jews, during their exile in Babylon, might become acquainted with associations of hermits, resembling those of ancient Hindostan. In the course of their numerous wars, overturns, and persecutions, they often fled to Egypt; and refugees, hiding in the mountains and deserts, would be almost sure to encounter devotees, who had there secreted themselves from the world. The theories of Pythagoras are obviously derived from ancient Egypt; and after his death, his persecuted disciples took refuge in the land where their master had learned the Mysteries. Exiled Jews might have become acquainted with such individuals, or communities, and have adopted some of their ideas and customs, while they still retained tenacious attachment to the Law of Moses. The tendency to monasticism, which began to manifest itself during the later centuries, might have grown out of the same principles of human nature, which produced it elsewhere; but, though modified more or less by old Hebrew ideas, it was mixed with doctrines of dissimilar character, and of opposite tendency, indicating a foreign origin.

Josephus says he lived three years with a hermit in the desert, who used no other clothing than what he obtained from trees, ate only such vegetable substances as grew of their own accord, and bathed himself with cold water frequently, night and day, in order to preserve his chastity. He also gives an account of peculiar associations of men called Essenes, who had long been an established sect, and in his time were scattered about in various parts of Palestine. About two hundred years before Christ, a band of pious men withdrew from the storms and temptations of the world, and took up their residence near the Dead sea. The name of Essenes is supposed to have been given them from a Chaldean word signifying physician; for they were reputed to have uncommon skill in medicine. They called themselves "physicians of the body and the

soul," and were generally so regarded by others. It is said they used various religious ceremonies, as a means of obtaining revelations concerning the nature of herbs, and the means of curing diseases. These ceremonies are supposed to have been prescribed in Sacred Books, which they kept secret. They were a very industrious people, principally employed as husbandmen and shepherds. They had an aversion to commerce, as tending to produce covetousness. No member of their community was allowed to manufacture military weapons, or deadly instruments of any kind. They totally disapproved of war, inculcated forgiveness of injuries, and expected the Messiah would come as a Prince of Peace, to establish righteousness upon the earth. They were remarkable for simplicity and directness of speech, and for conscientious regard to truth; insomuch that the simple yea and nay of an Essene was considered more reliable than the oaths of most men. They had an extreme aversion to oaths, as indicating a distrust, which ought not to exist among honest men. They were accustomed to say: "He who cannot be believed without swearing, is already condemned." The only occasion on which they allowed an oath to be used, was when a new member was admitted among them, with very solemn ceremonies. Their doctrines of morality might be comprised under two heads: reverence toward God, and love toward men. They said the Creator made all mankind equal, and it should be the effort of good men to restore that original state of things. They abhorred slavery, would have no class of servants among them, and made it a rule to wait upon each other mutually. They acknowledged no dominion, and would call no man master. They inculcated obedience to the civil authorities, but discountenanced participation in politics, as fatal to holiness. All the Jewish sects practised ablution, but none so frequently and carefully as the Essenes. Their diet was exceedingly simple, and in all their arrangements they moved with the regularity of clock-work. Therefore they were very healthy, and generally lived to a great age. They would die rather than taste of

food prepared by any person not of their own sect; probably from fear of the admixture of some articles which they deemed unholy. They admitted no women among them, and, contrary to the prevailing Jewish opinions, considered strict celibacy essential to holiness. They abjured all amusements, all elegancies, all pleasures of the senses. They generally dressed in white, and their garments were very plain. There was in all respects a perfect community of goods. They appointed a presiding elder, whose regulations they agreed to obey, but deeds of kindness each one was left to perform according to his own pleasure. They uttered no words, but those of prayer, before the rising of the sun. When that luminary appeared above the horizon, they turned toward the east and chanted ancient hymns, handed down by their sect, invoking the blessings of interior illumination, and purporting that his rays ought not to fall on anything impure. Five succeeding hours were employed in their various occupations. Then they bathed, put on clean white garments, and went into the dining-room, where each received his portion of food from the servitor in silence. They drank water only, and ate only bread and one kind of fruit, or vegetables. They supped in the same manner. A prayer was offered at the beginning and end of every meal. They spoke low, and were always grave and quiet in their manners. Each community was divided into four classes, according to the time they had lived under their regulations. If any of the seniors touched one of the newer members of the society, they purified themselves by ablution, as they were all accustomed to do when they touched any of the Gentile nations. Every Sabbath, they assembled in their synagogue, and the younger brethren listened, while elders interpreted the Law and the Prophets. They observed the day with even greater strictness than any other Jews; in-somuch, that they would not even remove a vessel, or kindle a fire. They revered the name of Moses next to that of God, and he who blasphemed it was punished with death. They fulfilled the obligation of Jewish citizens by sending

presents to the temple at Jerusalem, but they never went there to worship; probably on account of some usages which they supposed would render them impure. Some say they never offered animal sacrifices; but this is not certain. Sadducees valued only the words of the Law. Pharisees said it had a literal meaning and a spiritual sense, both of which were worthy of reverence. Essenes attached no value to the literal sense, which they said was devoid of all power; but the things expressed by the words were symbols of holy and celestial ideas. They studied this allegorical meaning very devoutly. They had also Sacred Books which they kept secret, from which it is said they learned certain mysterious methods of curing diseases, interpreting dreams, and foretelling future events. The use made of these volumes seems to indicate a Chaldean origin. Josephus says: "Some of this sect take it upon them to foretell things to come; being bred up from their childhood in the study of their Sacred Books, and the sayings of the Prophets, and also in the use of various purifications to qualify them for it; and it is very seldom found that they fail in what they foretell." "Many of the Essenes have, by their excellent virtues, been thought worthy of this knowledge of divine revelations."

They differed essentially from other Jews in their ideas concerning the soul. They believed that it had pre-existed in some high ethereal spheres, had been fatally attracted towards this earth, and drawn down into a material body, in which it must be imprisoned till released by death. They did not agree with Pharisees in their idea that God punished and rewarded both the body and the soul. They regarded the body as a mere mass of matter, a temporary prison, and considered the soul alone worthy to be susceptible of rewards or punishments. They denied the resurrection of the body, deeming that the soul would be rendered impure by reunion with it. They believed that souls who had lived worthily, were conducted after death to abodes of Paradise, where the sunlight was genial, mild breezes fanned the atmosphere, and everything contributed

to produce indescribable delight. Bad souls were carried to dark places resounding with never-ceasing lamentations. They believed that God employed successive gradations of Spirits as mediators between him and the souls of men, and that he foreordained all the events of human life, even the smallest. Josephus says: "The Essenes affirm that God's decree governs all things; and that nothing befalls man but what is according to its determination." They attached mystical significance to numbers, and had peculiar respect for the number seven.

They received many boys among them for education, and grown persons weary of life often joined them. When any person applied for admission, he was required to pass one year out of the society, under a system of preparatory discipline. If he conformed strictly to all their rules of temperance and chastity, he was admitted within the community, after having gone through certain ceremonial purifications by water. But he was still required to prove his constancy by two years of regular attendance on all their observances, before he was admitted to full membership. If he passed through this ordeal satisfactorily, he lodged his whole property in the common treasury, and became one of the brethren, after taking a very solemn oath that he would observe all their rules; that he would never conceal anything from his fellow members; that he would obey the magistrates, because no one ever arrived at power without permission of God; that he would act with piety toward God, and justice toward men; be scrupulous in speaking the truth; do no harm to any one, either of his own accord, or by command of others; guard the secrets of their Sacred Books, and never divulge their Mysteries, or the names of their Angels, not even to save his life. If a member committed any heinous offence, they expelled him from the society; and this was a terrible punishment, unless he broke his oath not to taste food prepared by any out of their own sect. If the offender showed himself ready to risk death, rather than violate his oath, they sometimes received him back.

Pliny the Elder describes the Essenes as "the only sort of men who live without money, and without women, subsisting on the fruit of the palm tree; and in this above all the world to be admired. They are daily supplied by the resort of new comers, equal to those they lose; many flocking to them whom ill fortune has made weary of the world, and forced to take shelter in their institutions. Thus, for several thousands of years this people is perpetually propagated, without any being born among them; so fruitful to them is the repentance of others as to their past lives."

They probably divided into sects, some of whom were less rigid than the original founders. Among one class of them marriage was allowed for the perpetuation of the species, though restrained by very strict regulations. They did not all live in solitary places; for Josephus speaks of them as scattered through towns and villages in his time, and sometimes consenting to serve as magistrates. When they travelled, they never took money, or change of garments; but when they entered a town, they inquired who in it was an Essene, and with him they abode. Josephus says: "In every city some of them dwell. They give reception to all travellers of their sect, who eat and drink with them as freely as of their own; going in unto them, though they never saw them before, in the same manner as if they had been of long acquaintance. Therefore, when they take a journey, they carry nothing with them, but arms for defence against thieves. In every city, they have one principal person of their society appointed procurator, to take care of all strangers of their sect, and provide them with whatever clothes or other necessaries they may be in want of. They never change their shoes or garments, till they are worn out and unfit for further use. They neither sell or buy anything among themselves, but every one gives of that which he hath to him that wanteth; and on like occasions, receives whatsoever the other hath that he stands in need of."

He computes their numbers in his time at about four thousand. Their inoffensive lives, their proverbial verac-

ity, their charity to the poor, and obedience to government, secured them from molestation, while sects who aimed at political power were in perpetual conflict. But during the war with the Romans, the Essenes, in common with other Jews, suffered much. Josephus says: "In these trials, they gave abundant evidence what great souls they possessed. Although they were burnt, and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme Moses, or to eat what was forbidden, yet could they not be made to do either; or once to flatter their tormentors, or shed a tear. They smiled in their pains, and cheerfully resigned their souls, believing they would live forever."

There were similar associations of Jews in Egypt, called Therapeutæ. The name is generally supposed to be derived from a Greek word signifying to heal. They were celebrated for medicinal knowledge of roots and herbs, and were much resorted to for the cure of diseases. Philo speaks of them as having been established long before his time. He supposed them to be a branch of the Essenes; but they were a distinct sect in many particulars, and it seems more likely that they were both derived from some common and ancient origin. Philo, speaking of such associations for religious meditation, says: "In many parts of the habitable earth such a class of people exists; for it is fitting that both Greeks and barbarians should share in the absolute good." The constant intercourse between India and Alexandria renders it highly probable that Philo had heard of the numerous associations of devotees among Hindoos and Buddhists. When Pliny speaks of the Essenes as having existed for thousands of years, it seems likely that he included with them other similar but more ancient associations. It has been already stated in the chapter on Egypt, that Grecian writers alluded to bands of Gymnosophists, or naked philosophers, on the banks of the Nile; by which they doubtless meant devotees, who carried their asceticism so far as to discard clothing.

The Therapeutæ were far less practical than the industrious Essenes. They spent nearly all their time in silent meditation and inward prayer. People who joined them transferred their property to relatives, or friends, took a vow of perpetual chastity and poverty, withdrew into solitary places, and devoted themselves entirely to contemplation on divine things. Women who had taken similar vows were admitted among them; but they were generally of an advanced age. A large company of them lived near Lake Mœris, about one hundred and twenty miles from Alexandria. An enclosure separated them from other inhabitants of the country. Each member had a little garden and a small cell, merely sufficient for shelter, including a private recess or closet, for devotional purposes. They performed no more labour than was necessary to furnish their very simple means of subsistence. They rejected slavery, as a thing discordant with the harmony of God's laws. They taught that men were created equal, and they practically illustrated it by serving one another. Officers were appointed to preside over various departments of the association. There were no external distinctions of rank, but the spiritually elder taught and guided the spiritually younger. They prayed every morning and evening. At the rising of the sun, they turned toward the east and prayed that God would give unto the day that true blessing whereby their minds might become illuminated with heavenly light. When the sun set, they prayed that during the hours of darkness, when the soul was disburdened of the senses, and of all external things, it might be able to retire within itself, and receive interior revelations of divine truth. They ate nothing until evening; for, regarding the body as a prison, they were ashamed to give it sustenance, and thereby acknowledge the necessities of the senses, in the presence of sunlight. Their diet was simply bread and water. Some of them, who aimed at a high degree of holiness, tasted food only once in three, or even six days. They wore only one linen garment in summer, to which they added a mantle

in winter. They passed six days of the week in solitude, composing hymns and psalms, studying the Law and the Prophets, and books written by elders of their sect, in which the Scriptures were allegorically interpreted. They believed that Hebrew Sacred Writings contained a body and a soul; the literal words being the body, and the spiritual sense the internal life. They offered no sacrifices; saying that a serious and devout mind was the sacrifice most acceptable to God. On the Jewish Sabbath, they all met together in the synagogue; the men and women being separated by a wall five or six feet high. They took their places according to seniority; each one sitting with his right hand on his breast, and the left at his side. One of the elders quietly stepped forward and uttered a grave discourse, usually an explanation of spiritual allegories. No one was allowed to whisper, or make the least noise. If they felt satisfaction while listening, they sometimes signified it by a low murmur of applause, when he finished. Then the speaker sang a hymn of praise, in the last verse of which all joined in chorus. The number seven being peculiarly sacred in their estimation, they held a solemn Sabbath Festival every seven weeks, when they all assembled, clothed in white garments. When they were ranged in order, all lifted up their hands in prayer for a blessing on the feast. Afterward they reclined on rush mats, leaning on their elbows, and preserving profound silence, while some elder slowly and distinctly expounded the Scriptures allegorically. When the speaker concluded, he began to sing, either some ancient psalm, or a new one composed by himself. The whole assembly joined in the chorus; and Philo says the high voices of the women and the deep tones of the men made a very pleasant concert. Young men, appointed for the purpose, brought in tables and spread a feast, consisting of leavened bread, salt, hyssop, and water. When they had eaten and returned thanks, a space was cleared in the middle of the hall; the men and women ranged themselves in two separate choirs, each conducted by the best singer. They sang

hymns of thanksgiving, sometimes in concert, sometimes in responses; expressing the spirit of the song by motion of their hands. This being finished, they all joined in a general dance, which continued till the sun rose. Then, facing the east, they uttered the usual prayer that the day might be blessed with spiritual illumination, and each retired to his cell to resume the customary routine of his life. This dance and choral hymn is said to have been in commemoration of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, and Miriam's song of rejoicing. But as they were accustomed to give spiritual significance to all the historical facts of Scripture, it is deemed likely that they also considered it symbolical of the soul's deliverance from the bondage of the senses.

Foreign theories mixed with the Jewish religion under another form, called the Cabala, from a Hebrew word, which means Tradition. It has already been said that all novelties were introduced as oral traditions from Moses; his sanction being absolutely necessary for the reception of ideas among a people who devoutly believed that God had revealed to him a knowledge of all truth. There has been much learned discussion concerning the source of the Cabalistic doctrines, and the date of their introduction into Palestine. The very obvious resemblance to Persian theories seems to indicate that they had their origin during the Babylonian exile.

There is positive historical trace of them about one hundred years before Christ, when a learned Jewish Rabbi, who had been banished to Alexandria for some political offence, was recalled to Palestine, and brought a number of disciples with him. They introduced the science of the Cabala into their fatherland, under the form of oral traditions, and allegorical interpretation of the Sacred Books; an arrangement which allowed some freedom to the mind, without the necessity of acknowledging a departure from ancient laws. Marvellous stories were told concerning the origin and preservation of this mysterious doctrine. They said while Adam was in Paradise, the angel Rasiel brought

him a book filled with heavenly wisdom. Angels came down and begged to look into it; but Adam refused, saying it was intrusted to him alone. After the Fall, this book was carried back to heaven; but Adam obtained it again, by prayers and tears, and left it as a legacy to his son Seth. In the degenerate age preceding the Deluge, the book was lost, and its mysteries nearly forgotten. They were restored to Abraham by special revelation from heaven, and he wrote them in the book *Jezirah*, concerning the Creation. Being again lost, it was again repeated by angels to Moses, during his retirement on Mount Sinai. It was again lost during the captivity in Babylon, and was again revealed to Ezra; since whose time it had been successively handed down by Children of Light.

According to Cabalistic doctrine, God was pure uncreated Light, existing by the necessity of its own nature, filling the immensity of space, and containing within itself the principles of life and motion. They called this Eternal Source *En-Soph*, The Infinite. The souls of all things were portions of him, and had always existed in him. All forms of being were merely manifestations of his eternal, indwelling ideas. The Wisdom of the Eternal they supposed to be a feminine deity, whom Hellenistic Jews named *Sophia*. The first emanation from them was *Adam Kadman*, the First Adam. Cabalistic writers called him "The First Begotten Son of God;" "The Express Image of God;" "The Primitive Man;" "The Creator and Preserver, by whom all things were produced and disposed;" "The Animating Principle of the World, having the three forces of Divinity within him, Light, Spirit, and Life, which he gives out, as he has received;" "The Mediator and Intercessor with God for the sins of the world." Some of them supposed he had dwelt in this world in the form of the earthly Adam, and of king David; and that he would again appear as the Messiah. The letters in the name were adduced as proof. They said *A* stood for Adam, *D* for David, and *M* for Messiah.

From *Adam Kadman* were evolved ten Spirits, called

Sephiroth, or Splendours. Next, four worlds, or degrees of being; the relative perfection of which was according to comparative distance from the abode of Primeval Light; everything in each world being a reflection of the ideas pre-existing in the mind of the angel who formed it, and consequently partaking of his character. The inhabitants of the first had ethereal, radiant forms, and existed without propagation. In the second, they had aërial forms, of surpassing beauty. In the third, they had immaterial forms, but less perfect. The fourth was our world of material bodies, subject to dissolution, and of both sexes.

Planets and Stars were animated by Spirits, endowed with intelligence and power of volition. They presided over countries, animals, plants, and minerals, and controlled all the forces of nature. They took an interest in human affairs, and could communicate to men a knowledge of future events. One of the most conspicuous of these angelic agents was called Metraton, the Mediator, who kept record of the good deeds of men. They supposed it was he who led the Israelites through the wilderness, and wrestled with Jacob. They made a mystery of his name, because the Hebrew letters forming Metraton and Shadai, if used as numerals, both signified three hundred and fourteen. Lower orders of Spirits were jealous of the high and pure Intelligences above them, and wished to become their equals. They constantly contended with them, strove to drag them downward, and to frustrate all their good purposes. They seduced Adam in the garden of Eden, and they were always enticing men to sin. They produced diseases, and provoked wars. Their chief was Belial. Each soul had two attendant Spirits, produced at the same time with itself; one good, the other evil. These two accompanied every mortal, from birth to death. One guarded him, and the other tempted him. They knew all his thoughts and actions, and after death they testified concerning them. Man was a three-fold being, having a rational soul, a sensitive soul, and a material body. The rational portion was endowed with power to contemplate things above it,

and could thus raise itself to the influence of superior Spirits. Souls rendered perfect by meditation, prayer, and virtue, when freed from the encumbrance of the body, would ascend above the angels, and be united with Esoph. Those less holy would dwell with good Spirits, in some of their resplendent realms of light. The impure must descend to earth again, to expiate their sins, and pass through new probations.

Cabalists supposed that all souls pre-existed in Adam, the same as everything in the universe pre-existed in the mind of God; therefore when Adam sinned all human souls became corrupted; and the inherent imperfection thus derived became an inlet for Evil Spirits.

When bad Spirits had brought the earth into the greatest disorder, and all seemed hastening to ruin, the Creator himself would come to redeem it. He would deliver Spirits, who had been dragged down and held captive by Matter; he would rekindle the divine light within men, and restore the primeval harmony of the universe. The most wicked Spirits had always been more or less attracted toward light; they would finally yield entirely to this attraction, and all would return to the Divine Source, whose splendour fills the universe.

The Cabalists had an ancient volume called Zohar, or the Book of Light. It is said to contain the following statement: "There are gods united in one, and yet they are three; and being three, they are only one. They form one by the most absolute union." Cabalistic writings abound with devout and rapturous expressions concerning this holy and mysterious Three, to each of which they ascribe personal actions, and divine properties. Those initiated into their mysteries they were accustomed to call Children of Light.

These doctrines were committed to writing in the second century of our era. A portion of them contained allegorical explanations of the Hebrew Sacred Books, constructing therefrom a system of spiritual philosophy. Another portion taught the art of curing diseases and performing mira-

cles, by the application of divine names, sentences from Sacred Writings, and certain symbolical arrangements of letters and words. Jews of all classes supposed that miraculous power resided in the name of Jehovah. The characters which represented that name were inscribed only in the holiest recess of their temple; and it was a popular idea that any person who obtained possession of them might thereby work miracles. The Cabalists, who attached mysterious significance to numbers, reckoned seventy-two names of the Deity, from which, by different arrangements in sevens, they produced seven hundred and twenty. The principal of these they disposed in a six-pointed star, called The Shield of David. They believed this would extinguish fires, preserve people from wounds and diseases, and perform many other miracles. All these things, and a vast many more of similar character, they contrived to reconcile to the Law of Moses, oral or written, to which they believed all the world would be finally converted, when their Messiah came to reign on earth.

It has been already said that educated Jews in Alexandria enlarged for themselves the old intellectual boundaries of Palestine, and were much attracted toward Grecian philosophy. The Cabalists mixed portions of it with the system of Zoroaster. But there was also a school of Hellenistic Jews, who infused the entire system of Plato into the old Hebrew religion. The Law of Moses, either written or traditionary, was believed to be the *only* source of truth; and this opinion was too firmly established to be braved with impunity by young minds captivated with foreign theories. Therefore, the ideas of Plato were transferred to Moses, as those of Zoroaster had been, under the elastic veil of allegorical interpretation. It would be unjust to suppose this was the result of timidity alone. Doubtless the assumption was often made with reverential sincerity; since men easily find in Sacred Writings whatever they are previously convinced ought to be there.

Aristobulus, an Alexandrian Jew, who lived one hundred and seventy years before Christ, was anxious to

defend his nation against the charge, frequently brought by Grecians and Romans, that the Hebrews were a barbarous people, who had made small progress in philosophy or literature. To prove this assertion untrue, he affirmed that all Plato's ideas were familiar to Moses; and he professed to find them all in his writings, by means of an allegorical system of interpretation. Grecians who entered into controversy with him were surprised and silenced by his thus producing, from Hebrew Sacred Books, precisely the ideas of their own best writers. But the zeal of Aristobulus carried him still farther. He himself composed verses under the names of Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod, and filled them with Jewish ideas; thus endeavouring to prove Hebrew superiority both by reference to their own Scriptures, and to the sacred literature of other nations. In his writings, and in those of later Hellenistic Jews, there is manifested a tendency to represent as *persons* what Plato seems to have intended merely as *attributes* of the Divine Being. He calls the first emanation from God "The Second Cause;" "The Wisdom of God;" "The Father of Lights." Other Jewish writers were accustomed to make a distinction between "Jehovah; The Word of Jehovah; and the Habitation of Jehovah." Before the time of Aristobulus, there were Jewish writers, who covertly described the Divine Word as the author of all wisdom, teaching men what they ought to be. Philo, a celebrated Jewish Platonist, born thirty or forty years before Christ, calls the Logos, or Word, "The most ancient Son of God;" "a Second God;" whom he represents as creating all things, according to patterns given him by the Father.

A Jew named Dositheus devoted himself to solitude and abstinence, and practised many austerities. He tried to convince his countrymen that he was the promised Messiah. Failing in this, he went over to the Samaritans, and endeavoured to persuade them he was the Prophet promised by Moses, who they expected would come and reveal all things. He had followers for a time; but little is known of his doctrines.

One of the most remarkable men of those times was John the son of Zacharias, who appeared among the Jews as a religious teacher of the people. He was a Nazarite, vowed to the service of the Lord before he was born. His parents both belonged to the priestly house of Aaron. While his father was ministering in the temple, we are told the angel Gabriel appeared to him and foretold that he should have a son, who would "be filled with the Holy Spirit, even from his mother's womb, and turn many of the children of Israel to the Lord their God." Accordingly, when the priest's wife became pregnant, she hid herself, as was customary for the mother of a Nazarite. Soon after he was born, his father "was filled with the Holy Ghost, and prophesied: Thou, child, shalt be called the Prophet of the Highest; for thou shalt go before the face of the Lord to prepare his way." He was never allowed to taste wine or strong drink. When he grew to manhood, he wore hair garments, tied with a leather girdle, and "fed on locusts and wild honey." He is represented as living in the wilderness; but we are not informed whether he was an anchorite, or a member of some such association as the Essenes. He called upon both Sadducees and Pharisees to reform; exhorted the tax gatherers to be just in their dealings; the soldiers to refrain from robbery and violence; and the people universally to impart liberally of their substance to the poor. Especially he urged men to repent of their sins speedily, because "the kingdom of heaven was at hand;" a phrase which to Jewish ears signified the immediate advent of the Messiah. This idea, always so interesting to the people, attracted crowds to listen to his preaching. It is recorded that "all the people counted him as a prophet;" that "all the land of Judea, and they of Jerusalem, went out unto him in the wilderness, and were baptized in the river Jordan, confessing their sins;" that "all men mused in their hearts whether he were the Messiah or not." It was the general conclusion that he was either the Messiah, or the prophet Elijah, who was to precede his coming, or Jeremiah, who was to come with

him, and show where he had hidden the Ark and the Tabernacle. His influence over the multitude was so great, that the rulers feared to deny he was a great prophet, lest the people should stone them. The civil authorities were alarmed, lest rebellion against the government should be concealed under these prophecies of a new kingdom about to be established. They sent a deputation to inquire of him who he professed to be. He declared that he was not the Messiah. When they asked: "Art thou Elias?" he answered No. "Art thou that prophet?" [meaning Jeremiah] he answered No. "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord."

John was surnamed the Baptist, because he required his disciples to be immersed in water. All Asiatic nations attributed sacredness to water, and all practised ablutions as an important part of their religion. Moses ordained ablutions; and foreign proselytes, who were received into full communion with the Hebrews, were always admitted by circumcision and baptism also. The Jews do not seem to have had holy rivers, whose waters were deemed peculiarly efficacious, as was the case with Hindoos, Egyptians, and Persians. But Elisha ordered Naaman to wash seven times in the river Jordan, in order to be cleansed of his leprosy; and we are told there was a pool in Jerusalem, called Bethesda, resorted to by great multitudes of the lame, the blind, and the withered, who at certain seasons of the year went into it and were cured of their diseases. The popular belief was, that an angel went down into the pool, stirred up the water, and imparted to it miraculous power of healing. From time immemorial, water was considered typical of purification from sins of the soul, as it was an external means of cleansing the body. The peculiarity of John, which gave him the surname of Baptist, seems to have been that he required not merely Gentile proselytes, but Jews also, to be baptized, in token of cleansing from former sins, and the purity of a renewed life, in preparation for the Messiah's kingdom. To the multitudes, who were led into the Jordan by him, he preached a still

higher baptism. Among Hindoos, Chaldeans, Persians, and Syrians, fire was deemed a type of more thorough purification than water; for which reason, they passed their children through fire, and devotees sometimes burned themselves to death, as the readiest means of ascending to the highest paradise. In allusion to this prevailing idea, John said: "I indeed baptize you with water; but he who cometh after me shall baptize you with the Holy Spirit and with fire." This prophet of the people was beheaded by order of Herod, on account of the boldness of his rebukes to that monarch, who was doubtless jealous concerning the new kingdom, which he predicted would come so speedily.

While he was preaching, a new sect was starting into existence. His mother's cousin, named Mary, had married Joseph, a carpenter, described as a just man, and a lineal descendant from King David. Mary gave birth to a son, whose Hebrew name was Joshua, which Jews who spoke the Greek language called Jesus. It is recorded that the angel Gabriel appeared to her, and announced that the child about to be born should be called the "Son of the Highest;" that "God would give him the throne of his father David, and he should reign over the house of Jacob for ever." An angel likewise appeared to Joseph in a dream, and told him that the child had no earthly father, but was conceived of the Holy Spirit. Mary soon after went up "into the hill country," to visit her cousin Elizabeth, and inform her of these glad tidings; and when they met, the unborn babe of Elizabeth recognized the divine presence of the promised Messiah, and "leaped for joy." When Jesus was born, at Bethlehem in Judea, a chorus of angels in the air sang: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good will to men." It is not known with certainty when this great event happened, but it is generally supposed to have been in the twelfth year of Augustus Cæsar. The season of the year is matter of conjecture. It is recorded that his birth took place at the time when "all the people went to be taxed, every one into his own city;" and that is said to have been in the Spring.

The statement that shepherds were watching their flocks in the open air all night indicates that the weather was mild. So great was the crowd going to Bethlehem to pay taxes to the Roman government, that there was no room at the inn for Joseph and Mary, and her babe, when born was laid in a manger. It was a common belief among the Rabbins that at the time of the Messiah's birth a new Star would appear in the East, and remain a long time visible. This was partly owing to the prevailing idea that stars were always forerunners of great events, and partly to Balaam's prophecy: "There shall come a star out of Jacob." When Jesus was born, it is stated that wise men came from the East and inquired: "Where is he that is born King of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and have come to worship him." The star went before them and guided them on their travels, and when it came to the manger, it stood still. Whereupon, "they rejoiced with exceeding joy; and when they saw the young child, they fell down and worshipped him, and presented unto him gifts; gold, and frankincense, and myrrh."

The social condition of Joseph and Mary is indicated by the fact that she offered "turtle doves and young pigeons;" for these were the customary offerings of the poor. As soon as the babe was brought into the temple, Simeon the prophet declared: "This child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel;" and Anna, a prophetess, likewise "spake of him to all that looked for redemption in Jerusalem." These prophecies of a wonderful destiny for the infant are said to have produced the same effect as did similar predictions concerning Krishna in Hindostan, and Moses in Egypt. When Herod the king heard of them, he ordered that all the young children in Bethlehem, and the neighbourhood thereof, should be slain. This piece of extraordinary and high-handed tyranny is mentioned only in the second chapter of a brief biography of Jesus, written by one of his disciples, named Matthew. It does not appear that it caused any appeal to the justice of the Roman government. Josephus, though he wrote much

concerning Herod, and seems very willing to record his crimes, appears not to have been aware of the transaction; and no cotemporary history makes any allusion to it.

When Jesus was twelve years old, he went up to Jerusalem with Joseph and Mary, to the feast of the Passover. He lingered after they had departed, and when they returned to seek for him, they found him in the temple, listening to learned expounders of the Law, and asking them questions. "And all that heard him were astonished at his understanding and answers." He returned with his mother, and nothing further is recorded of him till he appeared as a public teacher at thirty years of age. During the interim, it is supposed he worked with Joseph at his trade, for one of his biographers, named Mark, has recorded, that when he taught in the synagogue of his native city, the people were surprised, and inquired: "Is not this the carpenter? Whence has this man these things? And what wisdom is this which is given unto him?"

Before entering upon his public ministry, he went to his kinsman, John, to be baptized by him in the river Jordan. And John said to him: "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" As he went up out of the water, John saw the Holy Spirit descending upon him, in the form of a dove, and heard a voice from Heaven, saying: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." It is to be inferred from the narrative that none of the assembled multitude heard the voice, for no mention is made of any sensation produced by it. Up to this period, Jesus and his devout kinsman seem to have had little personal knowledge of each other. Though an angel from heaven had appeared to both their parents, and announced that one of the children would be the promised Messiah, and the other the forerunner to prepare the way before him, John did not recognize him, as he did before either of them were born. He says: "I knew him not: but he that sent me to baptize with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him, the same is he which baptizeth with the

Holy Ghost. And I saw, and bare record, that this is the Son of God." In consequence of this declaration, two of John's disciples followed Jesus, and became his disciples, saying: "We have found the Messiah." But even after the miracle at the baptism, John seems to have been doubtful concerning the claims of Jesus; for when he heard of his restoring a dead man to life, he sent two of his disciples to inquire of him: "Art thou he that should come? or look we for another?"

John had expressly declared of himself that he was not Elias. But Jesus said of him: "Verily, among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist. And this is Elias, which was to come."

It is recorded that Jesus made preparation for his ministry by retiring to a solitary place to fast and pray, according to the general Asiatic custom of those who devoted themselves to a religious mission. During the forty days thus spent, his biographers state that the devil appeared to him, and tried in vain to tempt him with an offer of all the kingdoms of the world, if he would worship him.

What spiritual teaching, or companionship, he had for the eighteen years, during which history is silent concerning him, is, of course, a matter of conjecture. He probably received the usual education of Jewish children, which was confined to expositions of their own laws, prophecies, and traditions. He is once mentioned as writing on the ground, but never as using parchment. His opinion of the Traditional Law is clearly implied by his accusing the Rabbins of "making the commandments of God of no effect by their traditions." He reprov'd, with great earnestness, the pride and scepticism of the Sadducees, and the hypocritical sanctity of the Pharisees; but he uttered no rebuke that could be fitly applied to the Essenes. From this circumstance, and many strong points of resemblance between his teaching and theirs, some have conjectured that he knew and favoured that sect; but there is no historical proof to sustain the supposition. He appears to have conformed to the established religion of his country, as did Jews of all

sects and opinions. He was circumcised at eight days old. He attended the synagogues, and observed the Passover. He often quoted the Law and the Prophets, and constantly averred that he did not come to do them away, but only to fulfil them. He severely rebuked the Pharisees for considering tithes of anise and cumin more important than deeds of justice and mercy, and for supposing that donations to the temple could absolve them from filial duties. But he expressed no disapprobation of customary offerings; merely instructing his disciples in what frame of mind they should carry their gifts to the altar.

In the early part of his mission, he seems to have considered himself a prophet to the Jews only. When he sent his twelve disciples forth to preach, he commanded them, saying: "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not. But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." When a Greek woman, "a Syro-Phœnician by nation," besought him to heal her daughter, he replied: "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Jews had so long been in the habit of calling all the Gentile nations "dogs," that the expression came to be synonymous with the word foreigner. When the woman persisted in her entreaties, he answered: "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to dogs." She replied: "Truth, Lord; yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table." To this meek response, he rejoined: "O woman, great is thy faith. Be it unto thee even as thou wilt. And her daughter was made whole from that very hour." The trusting humility of a Roman centurion impressed him so deeply, that he remarked to those around him, he had never found any faith equal to it among his own nation. The Jewish exclusiveness indicated in his first directions to his Apostles does not appear again in any of the records of his words or actions. On the contrary, his parting injunction to them was: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature."

By example and precept he inculcated obedience to the

civil authorities. When enemies sought to entangle him, by asking whether it were right to pay taxes to the Roman government, he answered: "Give unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's, and unto God that which is God's." He taught his disciples not to be called master, and to call no man on earth father, because all mankind were brethren, the children of one Father, who is in heaven. He himself washed their feet, in token that they ought to serve each other with all humility. The example he set up for their imitation was that of a little child. He often alluded to angels, and said that children had angels, who constantly saw "the face of their Father in heaven." He required purity of thought, as well as of deed. He taught that those who lived a holy life would rise from the dead in purified bodies, and become like the angels. He spoke of heaven as his "Father's house, containing many mansions;" and of hell as a place where "the worm died not, and the fire was not quenched." His habits were not ascetic, like those of John the Baptist; whose disciples came to him and said: "Why do we and the Pharisees fast oft, but thy disciples fast not?" He remarked to the Pharisees: "John came neither eating nor drinking, and ye say, He hath a devil. The Son of Man comes eating and drinking, and ye say, Behold a wine-bibber and a glutton, a friend of publicans and sinners." The Jews never had the ideas concerning marriage which characterized the devotees of many Asiatic countries. Even their High Priest was allowed to marry, and it was considered both a misfortune and a disgrace not to have children. Jesus attended a marriage feast, and several of his immediate disciples are said to have been married men. Though the law of Moses allowed polygamy, it was not the general custom, and the Roman law prohibited it. Jesus gave no specific directions on the subject, but his views are indicated by the incidental remark: "A man shall forsake father and mother, and cleave unto his wife, and they twain shall be one flesh." Women were constantly attendant upon his teaching, and included within the circle of

his friendships. He taught his disciples that the providence of God extended to the minutest things; so that not a sparrow fell to the ground without his knowledge, and every hair of a man's head was numbered. He told them to take no money, or change of garments when they travelled; but in every city to abide with whoever was worthy. He that had two garments was bound to impart to him that had none; and he who had food was to do the same. He charged them not to swear an oath, either by heaven, or by earth; but to let their communication be plain yea and nay. He taught the union of the soul with God by a life of holiness. He spoke of it as attained by himself, and attainable by his disciples. He said of himself: "I and my Father are one;" and for his disciples he prayed: "As thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, may they also be one in us, even as we are one." To them he said: "Be ye perfect, even as your Father, who is in heaven is perfect." He inculcated entire forgiveness of all insults and injuries, in these words: "If thy brother trespass against thee seven times in a day, and seven times in a day turn again to thee saying, I repent, thou shalt forgive him." "Do good to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute you." "If a man smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." This heavenly doctrine of always, under *all* circumstances, returning benefits for injury, and of overcoming evil *only* by goodness, was the distinguishing feature of his teaching, and elevated it far above all other systems of morality. The spirit of his precepts was as remote from Moses, as the times in which they lived; in fact, it was in many respects totally incompatible with the teaching of the Law and the Prophets. Moses ordained that he who shed man's blood should have his own blood shed; that he who knocked out another's tooth, should have his own knocked out; that he who destroyed another's eye, should have his own destroyed; "burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe." Samuel said the Lord commanded a whole tribe to be slaughtered, even the women and babes, for an

offence committed by their ancestors five hundred years before. David prayed to Jehovah: "Consume mine enemies in wrath; consume them that they may not be." Jesus declared: "It was said by them of old time, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, resist not evil. Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you." When the maxims of Moses were quoted, he expressed the consciousness of distance between their systems, by saying: "Moses suffered it, because of the hardness of your hearts."

Though educated in the midst of a people wedded to ceremonial routine, he was not scrupulous in the observance of forms. Pious Pharisees were offended by his want of strictness in keeping the Sabbath. When they reprov'd his disciples for gathering corn on that day, he answered: "The Sabbath is made for man, not man for the Sabbath." When they rebuked them for not performing the customary ablutions before they partook of food, he replied: "Laying aside the commandments of God, ye hold the traditions of men; as the washing of pots and cups; and many other such like things ye do. But rather give alms of such things as you have, and behold all things are clean unto you."

His moral precepts were comprehensive and universal; tending to raise the soul above external ceremonies and traditionary opinions and prejudices. Moses said: "Love your neighbour as yourself;" but he limited the term neighbour to the Hebrews only; and the Jews of later time would have been more unwilling to bestow the epithet upon the Samaritans, than upon any other people. But when Jesus was asked: "Who is my neighbour?" he told the story of a good Samaritan, who acted the part of a kind neighbour to a wounded traveller, while priests and Levites passed by, indifferent to his distress. When a woman of Samaria alluded to the bitter controversy between Jews and Samaritans, whether Mount Moriah or

Mount Gerizim was the place Jehovah had chosen for his worship, he replied: "The hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. God is a spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." He reprov'd the Pharisees for their long prayers, and taught his disciples this brief petition: "Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come; thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive those who trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen."

Many miracles are recorded of Jesus; most of them of a highly beneficent character. He made the deaf to hear, the blind to see, and the lame to walk. He raised the dead, and on one occasion restored a friend to life, who had been four days in the grave. He stilled tempests by a word, walked on the sea, and changed water into wine. He knew secret thoughts, and told a Samaritan woman all the past events of her life. When the devil tempted him in the wilderness, angels came and ministered to him. He expelled devils from those who were insane or diseased, and the devils knew him and called him by name. On one of these occasions, the Evil Spirits, being driven from a man, entered into swine, which, according to the prevailing belief of those days, was their favourite habitation. The Pharisees, who, in common with nearly all the world at that period, believed in magic, said he could perform miracles, because he was in league with Beelzebub, the prince of devils. That the power of dispossessing demons was not peculiar to himself is indicated by the reply of Jesus: "If I by Beelzebub cast out devils, by whom do your children cast them out? Therefore, they shall be your judges." On another occasion, his disciples told him they had seen men casting out devils by using his name, and he charged them not to forbid their doing it. Two miracles recorded of Jesus seem not to be in harmony with

his character. "As he returned to the city, he hungered. And when he saw a fig tree in the way, he came to it, if haply he might find anything thereon; and he found leaves only; for the time of figs was not yet. And he said unto it, Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward forever. And presently the fig tree withered away." When the tax-gatherers demanded tribute, he said to Peter: "Go thou to the sea, and cast an hook, and take up the fish that first cometh; and when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money; that take, and give unto them for thee and me."

His words, as well as his works, were generally characterized by exceeding tenderness; but his rebukes to formalists and hypocrites were bold and scorching. He called them "children of hell," who did the works of their "father the devil," and "whited sepulchres, full of all uncleanness." Armed with a whip, he drove from the temple the herds of cattle, for sacrifice, from the sale of which the priests derived a large revenue; and he indignantly overturned the tables of those who demanded an exorbitant fee for changing the money that people brought to redeem their first-born. Such an uncompromising reformer of established usages, springing up from the unlearned classes, was of course offensive to priests and magistrates. The leading men in the community, and the great majority of the nation, had no faith in his claim to be the promised Messiah. Even his own family were not among his adherents. When they heard of his casting out devils, and of the crowds of people who followed him, "they went out to lay hold on him; for they said, He is beside himself." "His mother and his brethren, standing without, sent unto him and called him." "For neither did his brethren believe in him." When he went to preach in Nazareth, his native place, he encountered nothing but scepticism. He said unto them: "A prophet is not without honour, but in his own country, and among his own kin, and in his own house. And he could do there no mighty work, save that he laid his hand on a few sick folk and healed them."

His gentle and sympathizing nature led him to be the companion of the poor, the afflicted, and the sinful. To those who listened to his words, he said: "When thou makest a dinner, or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, neither thy kinsmen, nor thy rich neighbours; lest they also bid thee again, and a recompense be made to thee. But when thou makest a feast, call the poor, the maimed, the lame, the blind, and thou shalt be blessed; for they cannot recompense thee." His disciples were from the labouring classes, and "the common people heard him gladly." Officers who were sent to arrest him, as a disturber of the peace, stopped to listen to him, and returned with their mission unfulfilled, excusing themselves by saying: "Never man spake like this man." So great was his popularity with the people, that on one occasion, when they heard he was approaching Jerusalem, a multitude of them "took branches of palm trees, and went forth to meet him, and cried, Hosanna! Blessed is the King of Israel, that cometh in the name of the Lord!"

His instructions were purely oral, and he taught at all times, and in all places, wheresoever an audience gathered. Sometimes he addressed the people at prescribed seasons in the synagogues; sometimes from the side of a mountain; at other times, he spoke from a ship to crowds on the shore. He accosted fishermen mending their nets, and discoursed with tax-gatherers whom he met in the streets, or at tables where he was invited to dine. While Rabbins were employed in elaborate commentaries on the Traditional Law, making distinctions too subtle to be understood, he conveyed great truths in significant parables, and drew his illustrations from familiar objects, the weeds in the wheat fields, the lost sheep of the flocks, water from the well, birds of the air, and lilies of the fields; a mode of teaching, which must have been as attractive as it was new among the Jews.

When he visited Nazareth, "where he had been brought up, he went into the synagogue on the Sabbath day, and stood up to read, as his custom was. And there was de-

livered to him the book of the prophet Isaiah. He found the place where it was written: 'The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted; to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.' And he closed the book, and gave it again to the minister, and sat down." The next line of the prophet was, "and the day of vengeance of our God;" but that he read not. His gentle soul confined itself to the mission of love and mercy. But when he began to say to his audience: "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears," they were "filled with wrath" at the implied assertion that he was the promised Messiah. "And they rose up, and would have thrust him out of the city." Jews were so suspicious of impostors on that subject, and the Roman government watched over it with such a jealous eye, that Jesus practised great caution. To those who first recognized him as the Messiah, he said: "See that ye tell no man." When asked, he did not directly answer the dangerous question, but referred them to his wonderful works, as proofs of a divine mission. Subsequently, he distinctly and repeatedly claimed to be the Messiah promised by the prophets. But he described the kingdom to be established on earth in a manner very different from the general expectation. There was no promise of victorious wars with other nations; of rank, and honour, and splendid apparel, and great feasts, and fields producing loaves of bread and gigantic grapes. On the contrary, he said: "Whoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall in no wise enter therein." "Whosoever will be great among you, shall be your minister. And whosoever of you will be chiefest, shall be servant of all." A willingness to sacrifice houses and lands, and every form of worldly comfort and prosperity, for the advancement of the truth, was the requisite preparation to enter his kingdom. But when he described his coming to reign on earth, the language was such as the

people had been accustomed to associate with the advent of their Messiah. He said: "In those days, the sun shall be darkened, the moon shall not give her light, and the stars of heaven shall fall. Then shall ye see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory. Then shall he send his angels, and shall gather together his elect from the uttermost parts of earth, to the uttermost parts of heaven." Concerning the time that these events might be expected, he said to his disciples: "Verily I say unto you this generation shall not pass away, till all these things be done." At another time, he said: "I tell you of a truth there be some standing here, who shall not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God come with power." On one occasion, he said of his most beloved apostle, John: "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?" In consequence of this, "the saying went abroad that that disciple should not die." So strongly were his followers impressed with the belief that his kingdom would be established on earth during their lifetime, that they disputed among themselves who should be greatest in that kingdom. Two of them made the explicit request: "Grant unto us that we may sit, one on thy right hand, and the other on thy left hand, in thy glory." Jesus rebuked such ambitious thoughts, by answering: "If any man desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and servant of all;" but he made no remark to discourage the expectation that his kingdom would soon be established on this earth. A belief in the transmigration of souls being common among the Jews, some of the populace accounted for his miracles by supposing that he was Elijah, or Jeremiah, or one of the old prophets, come back to this world again in a new body; but others shared the belief of his immediate disciples, and followed him shouting, "Hosanna, to the Son of David!" or "Hosanna to the King of Israel!" At that period, the Jews were more eager than ever in their expectation of a Messiah. Moses had prophesied: "Thou shalt rule over many nations, but other nations shall not rule over thee;" and God had

promised the prophet Nathan that the posterity of David should sit on the throne of Israel forever. The kings of Mesopotamia, of Moab, of Canaan, of Midian, of Ammon, of Egypt, of Assyria, and of Babylon, had by turns ruled over them. Their prophets told them all these things had happened because they worshipped idols; and if they would adore Jehovah only, a branch would certainly spring from the root of David, and fulfil the glorious prophecy. Thenceforth, they avoided the worship of images, and were strict in their observance of Mosaic ceremonies. But Persians, Macedonians, Egyptians, Syrians, and Romans, successively brought them under a foreign yoke. They became impatient for the fulfilment of the ever renewed promise. They were restless under the Roman government, always looking for their prince and deliverer. Moreover, many predictions were afloat that now the time was certainly nigh at hand. What is constantly called for usually comes, or appears to come. Men who claimed to be the Messiah were continually rising up, and deluding the Jews with false hopes. Romans watched this national tendency with a very suspicious eye. Had it involved merely a religious question, they would have taken little interest in it. But the word Messiah implied a King, because it signified The Anointed One. Translated into Greek, it became Christos, which we call Christ. Jesus Christ, in Hebrew, Joshua the Messiah, was said to be of the old royal stock, the very line in which it had always been predicted the Messiah would come. These circumstances, combined with the increasing number of his proselytes, excited the jealousy of priests and magistrates. He was consequently accused to the Roman government as a promoter of sedition, and a blasphemer, because he called himself the Son of God. Instigated by the powerful Jewish sects, who were offended by his rebukes, and alarmed by his popularity with the common people, they condemned him to death as a political offender, on the charge that he pretended to be King of the Jews. Some vestige of the idea of human sacrifice still remained; for

when the Roman Governor evinced a willingness to discharge Jesus, the High Priest declared: "It is expedient that one man should die for the people, that the whole nation perish not."

Jesus had long had a foreshadowing of his fate, and had tried to prepare the minds of his disciples by the most tender and solemn exhortations. Being in Jerusalem at the time of the Passover, he supped with them, and followed the custom observed by every master of a Jewish household at that festival. He blessed bread, brake it in pieces, and gave it to his disciples to eat. He blessed wine, and passed the cup to them to drink, saying: "Henceforth, I will not drink of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." Even at this last supper, there was a strife among them which should be the greatest in his kingdom. When he had renewed his exhortations that the chiefest among them should be willing to be as a servant, he added: "I appoint unto you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me; that ye may eat and drink at my table, in my kingdom, and sit on thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." He had previously indicated that one of the twelve, who were present with him, would betray him to his enemies. When they had sung a hymn, he went with them to the Mount of Olives, where he was accustomed to pray. There, in view of his approaching death, his spirit was "exceeding sorrowful." He prayed, "Father, all things are possible with thee. Take away this cup from me. Nevertheless, not my will but thine be done." Ever and anon he returned restlessly to his disciples, whom he found sleeping. "And being in an agony," he repeated the same prayer more earnestly, a second and a third time; "and his sweat was as great drops of blood falling down to the ground."

At this awful crisis, his companions manifested little courage or constancy. When the treacherous disciple, who had betrayed him for money, came with the chief priests and captains of the temple, to seize him, all the other dis-

principles "forsook him and fled." When one of them was subsequently accused of having been among his followers, "he began to curse and to swear, saying I know not the man;" but he soon repented of this, and "wept bitterly." The trial was accompanied with every species of insult; but the struggle had passed in the soul of Jesus, and he was calm, collected, and gentle. When the High Priest asked him: "Art thou the Christ?" He answered: "I am; and ye shall see the Son of Man, sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the clouds of heaven." Then the High Priest said: "Behold ye have heard his blasphemy!" In mockery, they put a crown of thorns upon his head, and placed over his cross the inscription: "King of the Jews," and crucified two thieves with him. His beloved disciple John, his mother, and two other women, who had been among his devoted followers, were with him at the place of execution. It is recorded by his biographers that while he was suspended on the cross, there was darkness over the whole earth for three hours; that there was a great earthquake, which shattered rocks, burst open tombs, and rent the vail of the temple; that numerous saints rose from their graves, and appeared to many in Jerusalem. After three hours of mortal agony, he died, praying: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." And truly they did not. Priests, having the sanction of centuries for regarding their office as holy, and trusting fully in the efficacy of ceremonial routine, naturally regarded him as a fanatical disturber of the peace. Ascetics, judging him by their own standard, thought he could not be a holy man, because he fasted less than they did, and allowed sinners to associate with him. Magistrates suspected he might be seeking political power, under the disguise of spirituality and meekness. None of them comprehended his character, or understood his mission.

The Law of Moses required that those who were hanged should be taken down and buried the same day. Moreover, as Jesus was crucified on Friday, the Sabbath would have been desecrated if his dead body had remained sus-

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pended in the Holy City until the next day. Prompt removal was therefore necessary; and when the executioners had decided that he was lifeless, his body was given to one of his followers, who deposited it in a new tomb. As he had predicted that he should rise on the third day, the Chief Priests urged the necessity of placing a large stone at the mouth of the sepulchre, and appointing men to watch it, lest his disciples should come by night and take the body away, and then make the people believe that he had risen from the dead. It was not allowable to do anything on the Jewish Sabbath; but very early in the morning, on the first day of the week, which we call Sunday, some of the women, who had stood by him at the cross, went, according to custom, to carry spices and ointments to his tomb. Matthew, in his biography of Jesus, informs us that "there was a great earthquake: for the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled back the stone from the door, and sat upon it. His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow. And for fear of him, the keepers did shake, and became as dead men." This heavenly messenger told the women not to be afraid, but to go and tell the disciples that their master had risen and gone into Galilee. They ran joyfully to impart the news. On the way, Jesus himself met them, and repeated the message they had received. When the eleven disciples heard the tidings, they "went away into Galilee, into a mountain where Jesus had appointed them. And when they saw him, they worshipped him; but some doubted."

Mark says he appeared first to Mary Magdalene, but when she told the disciples, they believed her not. Afterward, he appeared "in another form" to two of them as they walked in the country; but when they told it to the residue, their account was not believed. "Afterward he appeared to the eleven, as they sat at meat, and upbraided them with their unbelief."

Luke says that when Peter heard the account given by the women, he ran to the sepulchre and, stooping down,

perceived that the body was gone, and the grave-clothes wrapped together. He repeats the account of his appearing to two disciples as they walked: "but their eyes were holden that they should not know him;" and as soon as their eyes were opened, "he vanished out of their sight." Afterward, he appeared suddenly in the midst of the eleven, as they sat at supper in Jerusalem. When he saw that they were terrified, he said: "Behold my hands and my feet, that it is I myself. Handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." He asked for food, and ate of the broiled fish and honeycomb, which they gave him.

John says Mary Magdalene was first at the sepulchre, and finding the stone rolled away, she ran and told Peter and John, who went and found the tomb empty, and the linen clothes lying there wrapped together; but they had no expectation that he was to rise from the dead. Mary remained there weeping, after they were gone, and Jesus appeared before her, and asked her why she wept; but she mistook him for the gardener, until he pronounced her name. She told the disciples of this interview, and on the evening of the same day he appeared in the midst of them, in a room where they had assembled together, "the doors being shut." One of the disciples, named Thomas, was absent; and when he heard the account, he said he would not believe it, unless he could put his finger in the holes which the nails had made in the hands of Jesus. Eight days after, when they were all assembled, "the doors being shut," Jesus appeared in the midst, and said to Thomas: "Reach hither thy finger and examine my hands; and reach hither thy hand, and thrust it into my side."

Jesus did not show himself publicly, but it is recorded that during forty days he was seen at different places by his disciples; and by "above five hundred of the brethren at once." He had various conversations with them, and gave them many parting instructions. He promised that those who believed on his name should receive power to cast out devils, to speak all languages, to

heal the sick, to handle deadly serpents, and drink poison, unharmed. One of his biographers says that while he thus spoke with them: "He was received up into heaven, and sat at the right hand of God." Another says that while he blessed them he was parted from them: "a cloud received him and carried him out of their sight up into heaven;" and two angels appeared unto them saying: "This same Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven." One of his biographers says the Chief Priests bribed the watch to say that his disciples came by night and stole the body away while they slept, adding: "And this saying is commonly reported among the Jews, until this day."

Jesus left no written statement of his life or doctrines. All we know of him is gathered from the writings of his disciples and early followers; from whose evidence it is concluded that the period between his baptism and his death was three years, or less; though some say six. The Roman writers, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, and Suetonius, make brief allusions to him by name; and these are the only traces of him in the histories of that age.

Ideas concerning the Messiah varied much among different sects and classes. The most common expectation was that a great conqueror and prince would arise and go forth, "with garments rolled in blood," inflicting summary vengeance on all nations that oppressed the Jews. Some expected a legislator wiser than Moses; some a great moral reformer, a Prince of Peace. It was an old and prevailing idea that Adam existed with Jehovah, as an immortal Spirit, before a body was created for him on this earth; therefore, they were accustomed to call him "The Son of God," "The Lord from heaven." Many believed he had re-appeared in the form of Abraham, Moses, Jacob, and David, and that he would again re-appear in the form of the Messiah. It was in this sense they spoke of "the First Adam and the Second Adam; the Old Adam and the New Adam." Some thought the archangel Michael, the tutelary guardian of the Jews, would appear as their Messiah, and

would be visible only to Jehovah's chosen people. In the later times, two Messiahs, of different character, were predicted. One was to be persecuted, suffer, and die. Another was to succeed him, who was to conquer all hostile nations, restore the kingdom to Israel, and bring the whole world under subjection to the Law of Moses. During the exile in Babylon, the Hebrew mind had become familiar with the character and history of the Persian Arimanes. In the last centuries preceding Christ, we find a similar personage mixed with their predictions, under the name of the Anti Messiah, represented as a great enemy to the establishment of the kingdom of the true Messiah, with whom he would have many contests, and cause the Jews much suffering. But he would finally be vanquished, and the Lord's chosen people would be restored to their promised land, under the peaceful and prosperous reign of the true Anointed One.

The patient faith manifested under all their reverses of fortune is truly admirable. In the Hebrew Scriptures all is triumphant certainty on this point. The later writings of some of the Alexandrian Jews have a sadder and less sanguine tone. The author of the second book of Esdras says: "O Lord, behold these heathen, which have ever been reputed as nothing, have begun to be lords over us, and to devour us. But we thy people, whom thou hast called thy first-born, thy only begotten, and thy fervent lover, are given into their hands. If the world was made for our sakes, why do we not possess an inheritance with the world? How long shall this endure?"

Prophecies concerning the destruction of the world, and the renewal of all things, apparently founded on very ancient astronomical calculations in Chaldea and Egypt, pervaded all Asiatic countries. In the Jewish mind it became mixed with the advent of their Messiah, who they believed would reign over the renovated earth for a thousand years. Righteous Jews, whose souls were waiting in Paradise for the resurrection of their bodies, would be raised from the dead, and appointed "to judge the nations." The Tal-

mud says: "The righteous, whom the Lord shall raise from the dead, in the days of the Messiah, when they are restored to life shall not again return to their dust, neither in the days of the Messiah, nor in the following age; but their flesh shall remain upon them."

Jews had very great reverence for their Sacred Writings. They did not allow their Book of the Law to be written on parchment made of the hide of any unclean animal, or prepared by any but an Israelite. The very strings with which it was tied must be made of a substance deemed perfectly pure. When copied, they allowed no word to be written from memory, or without being first pronounced. Before they wrote the name of Deity, they always washed the pen. They never touched the book without washing their hands, and not then unless it was covered. For many centuries their Sacred Writings consisted solely of the Law, which tradition ascribed to Moses. There is not a line in the book of Genesis to indicate who was the author, nor a sentence to imply whence he obtained his information. The account of Creation, of the Deluge, of the Garden, the Tree, and the Serpent, bear a strong resemblance to the sacred traditions of other oriental nations; but the history of Creation is more concise and majestic than in any other Sacred Books, the knowledge of which is preserved. "God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light," has often been quoted as one of the most sublime sentences on record. The books ascribed to Moses were called by Romans *Liber Pentateuchus*, which means the Five Books; whence our word *Pentateuch* is derived. Among Hebrews, these books had no other name than the word with which each began; thus they called Genesis *Bereshith*, which means, *In the beginning*. At what period the compilation was made has been a subject of much controversy. Scholars say the language of the *Pentateuch* corresponds with the sacred historical books written a thousand years later; and such a thing was never known as the language of any people remaining unchanged during a thousand years. Expressions are often used which

betray that they were written after the time of Moses. Many cities and countries are called by names which they did not receive until long after that period. It is said "the children of Israel did eat manna forty years in the wilderness, till they came to the borders of Canaan;" and it is likewise said that Moses died before they came to the borders of Canaan. In recording some old transaction, it is often said: "the Canaanites then dwelt in the land;" and the Canaanites were not driven out till the time of Joshua. The phrase often occurs: "And so it is unto this day." There are descriptions of what happened "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel;" and no king of Israel existed until six hundred years after Moses. The death of Moses and the succession of Joshua is described, which plainly could not have been done by Moses himself. There is much internal evidence that the books were a compilation of ancient fragments. There are many repetitions and many omissions. Between Genesis and Exodus four hundred years are passed over. In some places, God is called Elohim, in others by the later title of Jehovah; as if the compiler had before him two documents, in one of which the more ancient name of Deity was used. Two accounts of the Creation follow each other. The story of Moses bringing water from the rock is twice told; so is the account of manna falling on the ground. There are two accounts of Noah's Ark. In one he is described as taking seven pair of all clean animals, and one pair of all unclean animals; the other represents him as taking two and two of all kinds. In the course of a few chapters, the same story is told of Abraham and of his son Isaac, each passing off his wife as his sister, to deceive the same king. The account of Isaac's parents laughing at the prospect of his birth is repeated three times in the course of five chapters. There is no account given of any other family on earth at the beginning, except that of Adam; yet it is said his son Cain went to the land of Nod, and took him a wife. Two sets of commandments are represented as given by God to Moses; the last far less occupied

with morality, and much more with ceremonials, than the first. The twentieth chapter of Exodus contains the following ten commandments:

"Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

"Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them.

"Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain.

"Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy. In it thou shalt not do any work; thou, nor thy son, nor thy daughter, thy man servant, nor thy maid servant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates.

"Honour thy father and thy mother.

"Thou shalt not kill.

"Thou shalt not commit adultery.

"Thou shalt not steal.

"Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

"Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house, his wife, his man servant, or maid servant, or ox, or ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's."

The tables of stone on which these were written were broken by Moses, in his anger at the idolatry of the people. He ascended Mount Sinai a second time, to commune with Jehovah. "And the Lord said, Hew thee two tables of stone like unto the first, and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables, which thou brakest." But the words, as recorded in the thirty-fourth chapter of Exodus, bear very little resemblance to the first set of commandments. They may be abridged as follows:

"Take heed to thyself lest thou make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land whither thou goest; lest it be for a snare in the midst of thee. But ye shall destroy their altars, break their images, and out down their groves. Thou shalt worship no other God; for the Lord, whose name is Jealous, is a jealous God.

"Thou shalt make thee no molten gods.

"The feast of unleavened bread thou shalt keep, and dedicate all firstlings unto me; but the first-born of thy sons thou shalt redeem. None shall appear before me empty.

"Six days shalt thou work, but on the seventh day thou shalt rest. In earing time and in harvest thou shalt rest.

"Thou shalt observe the Feast of Weeks, the First-fruits of Wheat-harvest, and the Feast of Ingathering, at the year's end.

"Thrice in the year shall all your males appear before the Lord Jehovah, the God of Israel.

"Thou shalt not offer the blood of my sacrifice with leaven.

"The sacrifice of the Feast of the Passover shall not be left to the morning.

"The first of the first-fruits of the land shalt thou bring into the house of Jehovah thy God.

"Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk."

This second set of commandments appear to have been those afterward so carefully preserved in the Ark.

Joshua is said to have written a copy of the Law of Moses on an altar made of twelve stones; which of course could not have been done unless it then existed in a much briefer form than it does at present. A Book of the Law is mentioned in the twenty-fourth chapter of Joshua; but the Pentateuch does not contain what it is said he wrote in *that* Book of the Law. Allusions are often made to a Book of the Law "laid up before the Lord;" but in what form those legal writings existed is not known. In all countries, ancient traditions floated about in the form of oral communications, or fragmentary scraps, long before they were reduced to established order. Moses, being educated in Egypt, a country where written laws and written records were in use many centuries before his time, probably committed some of his own laws to writing; but they must have been in brief form, as he probably had no better materials than wood or stone to write upon.

Whether these were preserved through the wanderings and manifold disasters of the Hebrews, and what changes they afterward encountered, are questions that cannot be answered. Samaritans had a copy of the Pentateuch written in the ancient Hebrew or Canaanitish characters; from which it has been inferred that it existed before the ten tribes revolted. The prevailing opinion of the learned is that after the return from Babylon, Ezra collected all the fragments he could find, and wove them together with such additions as he deemed necessary.

There were prophets from the very commencement of the Hebrew state, but in early times they do not appear to have written anything; probably because literature was not sufficiently advanced. The written oracles of the prophets began about eight hundred years before Christ. Some prophecies were written without having been previously communicated to the public; others were not written down till long after they had been orally delivered. Jeremiah is the only prophet who has given an account of his writings; and according to his statement, it appears that twenty-three years elapsed between the time when he began to prophesy, and the date of committing his oracles to writing. The Jews of Palestine did not number David and Daniel among the prophets; because they did not lead the life of prophets, but resided in courts. It was not permitted that prophecies should be written out of the Holy Land. Ezekiel and Daniel prophesied while they were in captivity in Babylon. The Talmud states that they did not write down their own oracles; but men of the Great Synagogue committed them to writing, after the return to Jerusalem. It says the same Assembly of Elders wrote down the twelve minor prophets, and likewise the short predictions of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. It likewise declares that the book of Ezekiel came very near being left out of the sacred canon, on the ground that it contained some things contrary to Moses; but a learned Rabbi having reconciled the apparent contradictions, they concluded to allow it to remain. The word Malachi in Hebrew

means an angel, or a messenger; therefore, some suppose it was not a name, but merely a title applied to some prophet; perhaps to Ezra. The writings of the prophets, like those of other men, vary according to their temperaments and modes of life. Isaiah is bold and strong, Jeremiah ever inclines to sadness. The rustic Amos is full of allusions to rural life. Daniel and Ezekiel who had lived long in Babylon, abound in Persian imagery. Many prophecies are undoubtedly lost. Some referred to by the disciples of Christ are not contained in the present copies of the Hebrew Scriptures; and the same is true of many quoted by Josephus.

The Pentateuch alone was read in the synagogues until after the time of the persecution by Antiochus. When he seized the copies of the Law, and forbade it to be read to the people, they substituted fifty-four sections out of the Prophets, instead of the fifty-four sections of the Law, from which they had been accustomed to read, one every Sabbath. Afterward, when Judas Maccabeus restored the Law, they read a section of it for the first lesson every Sabbath, and continued to read a section of the Prophets for a second lesson. From that time they were often spoken of together, as the Law and the Prophets.

All the other books were included under the title of Hagiographa, which means Sacred Writings. One of these, Hebrews called *Sepher Tephilim*, or Book of Praises. In the Greek tongue it was named Psalms, from a word which signifies "to touch sweetly;" because when these hymns were sung in the temple, musical instruments joined with the voices. The book is a miscellaneous collection of religious odes or poems, on various occasions of victory, thanksgiving, or humiliation. The forty-fifth Psalm seems to have been written for some royal marriage; perhaps in honour of the daughter of Pharaoh, when she was brought from her native land into the seraglio of Solomon. They were written at various times, and by various persons. Some are ascribed to Moses, others appear to have been written during the captivity. The Levites doubtless kept

copies for the service of the temple; but it is not likely that the collection was made until after the return from Babylon. That it was compiled from several smaller collections is proved by the repetition of almost entire Psalms, by the fact that those attributed to the same author are scattered about in different places; and by the doxologies, appropriately belonging to the end of a book, but now indiscriminately dispersed.

The book called by Hebrews the Song of Songs, or the Most Beautiful Song, is the only vestige of their amatory poetry. It has been generally attributed to Solomon, but traces of the Aramæan dialect have led some scholars to suppose that it was written after the captivity. Its language is passionate and glowing, and its literal sense has so little connection with religion, that the inquiry has often been made, why it was included in the canon of Sacred Writings. Jewish Rabbis permitted no one under thirty years of age to read this Song; and it was never publicly read or explained. In Latin it was called Canticles, which means Little Songs.

Ecclesiastes, or The Preacher, likewise attributed to Solomon, is far from spiritual in most of its teaching. The perpetually recurring idea is: "A man hath no better thing under the sun, than to eat, and drink, and be merry." Its counsel is: "Be not wicked over-much, neither be thou foolish. Why shouldst thou die before thy time?" "Be not righteous over-much, neither make thyself over-wise. Why shouldst thou destroy thyself? For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them. As the one dieth, so dieth the other. Yea they have all one breath; so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast; for all is vanity. All go unto one place. All are of the dust, and all turn to dust again." In another place, the writer says: "The dust shall return to the earth as it was, and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it;" which seems to imply the Oriental idea that human souls emanated from the Universal Soul, and are absorbed in it again. Rabbi Nathan says it was formerly

determined that the Proverbs of Solomon, the Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes, were apocryphal books, not to be reckoned with the Hagiographa; and for this reason they were kept concealed until the time of the Great Synagogue, when some of the learned Rabbis explained them.

It was the common custom for ancient nations to intrust to the priesthood their historical annals, and all other writings of importance, that they might be kept in the temples for safety. The kings of Israel had scribes to record the events of their reigns, and such writings would be invested with even more sacredness among the Jews than among other people, because they were perpetually taught to believe that God himself governed their nation, and that all which befell them, great or small, was done under his immediate supervision, and by his direct assistance. De Wette says: "According to Hebrew opinion, their theocracy is the centre and object of the whole history of the world. The ground of it they represent as laid immediately after the Creation, when the people of God were gradually separated from other people. The belief that they were the only favourites of Jehovah is as old as the nation itself; but it first received a steady direction from Moses." All their heroes, as well as prophets, appear only as instruments of Jehovah. In their eyes, Saul did not lose his power because Samuel, the powerful prophet, was alienated from him; or because David, the successful young hero, stole away the hearts of the people; but God repented that he had made Saul king, because he had ventured not to obey to the letter the divine command to slaughter every man, woman, babe, ox, and sheep, belonging to the Amalekites. If Samuel hewed a prisoner of war into pieces, it was not he who did it, but the Lord who commanded him. If a hostile army was scattered by a remarkable hail-storm, they said: "The Lord cast down great stones from heaven upon them." If they found an estimable substance exuding from plants in the wilderness, they supposed it came down from heaven on purpose to

sustain them. In fact, everything that happened in the world was presumed to be performed for their especial benefit, either to reward, or punish, or instruct them. A nation who considered themselves peculiarly protected by the Highest, while other nations were intrusted to inferior Spirits, mere subordinate ministers of their own Great King, must necessarily regard their own history as sacred above all other histories.

The historical books contain much internal evidence that they also were made up of fragments. In the book of Samuel it is said that Saul sent for David, the son of Jesse, because he was represented to him as "a cunning player on the harp;" that Saul became much attached to him, made him his armour-bearer, and sent to Jesse to ask that he might always remain in the royal household. When Goliath defied the armies of Israel, it was told the king that David had boldly inquired: "Who is this uncircumcised Philistine, that he should defy the armies of the living God?" Whereupon, Saul questioned the stripling, and finding him of undaunted courage and faith, he himself armed him with a coat of mail, and put a helmet of brass on his head, and sent him forth to fight Goliath. In the very next chapter we are told that when Saul saw a champion go forth against Goliath, he inquired, "Whose son is the youth?" and Abner answered: "I cannot tell." When David returned with the head of Goliath, Saul sent for him, to ask who he was; and he answered: "I am David, son of Jesse." De Wette says: "Such inconsistencies can only be explained on the supposition that the author drew from various sources, whose testimony was imperfect; often conflicting." The same stories are told in quite a different spirit in different books. In Samuel, we are told that God moved David to number Israel, because he was angry with them. The author of Chronicles says Satan moved him to do it. Chronicles were probably written by some descendant of Levi, and a strong partizan of the royal house of David; for there is a manifest tendency to glorify the priesthood, and strong prejudice in favour of the kingdom

of Judah, in comparison with the revolted kingdom of Israel. In the book of Kings it is implied that priests embezzled the money, which king Jehoshaphat devoted to repair the temple; but no allusion is made to that discreditable charge when the same story is told in Chronicles. Neither do they record that David obtained unlawful possession of Uriah's wife; or that he caused Saul's seven sons and grandsons to be murdered to satisfy the vengeance of the Gibeonites; or that Amnon ravished his own sister Tamar; or that Absalom rebelled against his father; and nothing is said of Solomon's idolatry, or of his seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines. The statements in Chronicles, compared with those in Kings, show a tendency to exaggerate numbers, and increase the miraculous.

It is not supposed that the Prophecies and the Hagiographa were collected and comprised within the canon of Sacred Scriptures until the time of Ezra. Elias, the Levite, distinctly speaks of the compilation as the work of the Great Synagogue. Many things must have been added after Ezra's time; for in Nehemiah mention is made of Darius Codomanus, who was king of Persia at least a hundred years later than the time of Ezra; and the days of Jaddua are spoken of as days past, though Jaddua outlived Alexander the Great two years. As this was more than two hundred years after Nehemiah's time, somebody must have made additions to his book. In the first book of Chronicles, records of genealogy are brought down so far, that they must have reached the epoch of Alexander the Great. It is not known with certainty when the canon closed; that is, when it was decided to be unlawful to add any more books. The word canon signifies a rule, a standard. According to Jewish tradition it was completed by Simon the Just, the last of the men of the Great Synagogue, and High Priest of the Jews, two hundred and ninety-two years before Christ. In addition to completing their Sacred Scriptures, he performed many other services to church and state. The author of Ecclesiasticus says:

"How he was honoured in the midst of the people in his coming out of the sanctuary! He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud, and as the moon at the full. As the sun shining upon the temple of the Most High, and as the rainbow giving light in the bright clouds. When he put on the robe of honour, and went up to the holy altar, he made the garment of holiness honourable."

Eichhorn, the learned commentator, says: "Soon after the return of Jews from Babylonian exile, a collection was made of all the extant writings of the nation, which were rendered sacred in the eyes of the new people, by their age, their character, or their authors. The library thus formed was deposited in the temple, and for a considerable time before Christ no further addition was made to it." De Wette says: "One thing is certain; the collection came gradually into existence, and acquired a sort of sanction, by force of custom and public use."

Until after the Christian era, the Sacred Books of Hebrews were mentioned under the general name of The Scriptures, which simply means The Writings; or, The Holy Scriptures; or O Biblos, a Greek word signifying The Book. The most ancient substance used to write on was the inner bark of a tree, called Biblos. Thence it happened that writings were called Biblos; pronounced Bible, in the English tongue.

The Pentateuch makes no mention of a future existence; and allusions to it are extremely vague in the Historical Books, the Prophecies, and the Psalms. Isaiah says: "The grave cannot praise thee; death cannot celebrate thee; they that go down into the pit, cannot hope for thy truth." One Psalmist says: "The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence." Another asks despondingly: "Shall the dead arise and praise thee? Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? And thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?" But another exclaims, with joyful confidence: "God will redeem my soul from the power of the grave; he shall receive me." And David says: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell,

neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption.* In the later prophets, Daniel and Ezekiel, are some distinct allusions to the immortality of the soul. But from the time of bondage in Egypt, till after the return from Babylonian exile, the Israelites seem to have been encouraged and restrained mainly by the prospect of temporal reward and punishment. The punishment was generally represented as immediate; but not always. Jehovah might delay retribution, but the evil would be suffered by descendants, down to distant generations, if the sinner himself escaped it. Frederic Von Raumer, a learned Prussian, in his Lectures on Ancient History, says: "In the traditions of no people do we find such frequent mention of the rewards and punishments of the present life, and so little satisfactory or animating allusion to a future state, as among the Jews."

Hebrew Sacred Books have that character of primitive simplicity, which belongs only to ancient times. Sexual allusions abound in them, as they do in all Asiatic documents. The stories of Judah and the harlot, and of Lot and his daughters, are told with a plainness of speech, which would scarcely be tolerated in modern records. God is perpetually described metaphorically as a jealous husband, and Israel as his bride. Every foreign deity is represented as a paramour, and to worship any of them is called "going a whoring after other gods."

The defects of these writings are such as must necessarily belong to the productions of a remote period, coming from a people originally ignorant and savage, and who were always arrogant and exclusive, by reason of their strong faith that they were the peculiar and only favourites of Heaven. But if the ignorance and credulity of the world's childhood has left its traces on these venerable documents, they are likewise marked by a child-like and trusting piety, by earnest and devout ideas, often clothed in grand and beautiful imagery. Humble dependence upon the deities for daily benefits was inculcated in all religions; but the Hebrew is peculiar and remarkable for its eloquent

outbursts of contrition for sin, its deep sense of human unworthiness before a pure God, "in whose sight the heavens themselves are not clean." No ancient religious writings, of which we have any knowledge, equal some portions of the Hebrew in spirituality, sublimity, and power. To the devout inquirer after truth they are peculiarly valuable, as showing how the doctrine of One Invisible God, supreme above all other gods, of whom no image was allowed to be made, was steadily proclaimed by the highest minds among them, forever struggling with the polytheistic tendencies of the people. De Wette says: "He who despises the relics of the Hebrews, because they proceed from a nation which had not reached a high degree of culture, and had made but a one-sided use of their powers of mind, must either be ungrateful for their great merit, or so unjust as to demand the full light of high noon from the first faint glimmering of morn. Much rather would every free, impartial reader, who has a taste for the writings of such early times, and of a country so foreign to us as Asia, be powerfully attracted to them by their contents, and their old and original spirit; and he will never lay them down without reverence and gratitude for the fortunate destiny which has preserved them. In them we find a rich collection of genuine poesies of nature, which every lover of the poetic art will hold in high esteem. Among them we discover kinds of poetry of which nothing of similar excellence has survived amid the far richer relics of Greek literature. Who would not exchange a part of Pindar's hymns of victory for his lost religious odes, since almost all Grecian songs of that character have perished? From the Hebrews we have primitive old temple-songs, in a solemn, devout, and highly original tone. These, and other kinds of Hebrew poetry, no man has ever read with poetic feelings, and with the power of recalling ancient times, without falling in love with the old Oriental spirit they breathe, and rejoicing, at the same time, that we have specimens of at least one Oriental nation, although they are so very imperfect."

Eichhorn, one of the most celebrated Oriental scholars

of Germany, speaking of the Hebrew Scriptures, says: "What variety in language and expression! Isaiah does not write like Moses, nor Jeremiah like Ezekiel; and between these and any of the minor prophets there is again a great diversity of style. The style of Moses is distinguished by its scrupulous grammatical correctness. The book of Judges is filled with provincialisms and barbarisms. In Isaiah, we meet with old words under new inflections. Jeremiah and Ezekiel have their Chaldaisms. In short, as we trace the succession of writers from the earlier to the later ages, we find in the language a gradual decline, till it finally sinks into a dialect of broad Chaldee. Then, too, what diversity in the march of ideas and range of imagery! In the hand of Moses and Isaiah, the lyre is deep and loud, but its tone is soft when touched by David. The muse of Solomon is decked in the splendours of a luxurious court, while her sister wanders with David in an artless dress, by streams and banks, through the fields and among flocks. One poet is original, like Isaiah, Joel, or Habbakuk; another is imitative like Ezekiel. Rays of learning beam from one, while his neighbour never emits a spark of literature. In the oldest writers, we see strong lines of Egyptian tint, which grow fainter and fainter on the canvass of their successors, and at last disappear. Finally in the manners, what a beautiful gradation! At first, all is simple and unaffected, as in the poems of Homer, and among the Bedouin Arabs, in this day. By degrees, this noble simplicity declines into luxury and effeminacy, and vanishes at last in the luxury of the court of Solomon."

Herder, the most celebrated writer among the Lutheran clergy of Germany, and a deeply religious man, says: "The best study of theology is the study of the Bible; and the best study of this divine book is that which regards it as human; I use the word human in its broadest compass and strictest meaning. The Bible must be thus read, for it is written by men, and for men. The language is human, the external means by which it was written, and has been preserved, are human."

There is a gradual improvement in the Hebrew Scriptures according to the period at which they were written; though, as numerous fragments are, in some cases, collected into one book, it is often impossible to decide upon the date of individual portions. In the time of the later Psalmists and Prophets, the character of their sacred literature was at its zenith. Throughout these writings, frequent allusions are made to books not now in the collection, and probably entirely lost. Among these are The Book of the Wars of Jehovah; The Book of Joshua, that is, the Righteous; The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel; The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah; The Prophecy of Ahijah; The Visions of Iddo; The Book of Nathan the Prophet; The Book of Gad the Seer.

The following Psalm, without the author's name affixed to it, is generally considered one of the sublimest specimens of Hebrew poetry:

"Bless the Lord, O my soul. O Lord my God thou art very great; thou art clothed with honour and majesty:

"Who coverest thyself with light as with a garment; who stretchest out the heavens like a curtain;

"Who layeth the beams of his chambers in the waters; who maketh the clouds his chariot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind;

"Who maketh his angels spirits; his ministers a flaming fire;

"Who laid the foundations of the earth, that it should not be removed for ever.

"Thou coveredst it with the deep as with a garment: the waters stood above the mountains.

"At thy rebuke they fled; at the voice of thy thunder they hasted away.

"They go up by the mountains; they go down by the valleys, unto the place which thou hast founded for them.

"Thou hast set a bound that they may not pass over, that they turn not again to cover the earth.

"He sendeth the springs into the valleys, which run among the hills.

"They give drink to every beast of the field: the wild asses quench their thirst.

"By them shall the fowls of the heaven have their habitation, which sing among the branches.

"He watereth the hills from his chambers: the earth is satisfied with the fruit of thy works.

"He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man, that he may bring forth food out of the earth;

"And wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine, and bread which strengtheneth man's heart.

"The trees of the Lord are full of sap: the cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted;

"Where the birds make their nests: as for the stork, the fir-trees are her house.

"The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats, and the rocks for the conies.

"He appointed the moon for seasons: the sun knoweth his going down.

"Thou makest darkness, and it is night, wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth.

"The young lions roar after their prey, and seek their meat from God.

"The sun ariseth, they gather themselves together, and lay them down in their dens.

"Man goeth forth unto his work, and to his labour, until the evening.

"O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all: the earth is full of thy riches;

"So is this great and wide sea, wherein are things creeping innumerable, both small and great beasts.

"There go the ships; there is that leviathan, whom thou hast made to play therein.

"These wait all upon thee, that thou mayest give them their meat in due season.

"That thou givest them, they gather: thou openest thine hand, they are filled with good.

"Thou hidest thy face, they are troubled; thou takest away their breath, they die, and return to their dust.

"Thou sendest forth thy spirit, they are created; and thou renewest the face of the earth.

"The glory of the Lord shall endure for ever: the Lord shall rejoice in his works.

"He looketh on the earth, and it trembleth; he toucheth the hills, and they smoke.

"I will sing unto the Lord as long as I live; I will sing praise to my God while I have my being.

"My meditation of him shall be sweet: I will be glad in the Lord.

"Let the sinners be consumed out of the earth, and let the wicked be no more. Bless thou the Lord, O my soul. Praise ye the Lord."

The following Psalm, by King David, is a sample of that devout contrition for sin, which peculiarly characterizes the Hebrew Sacred Scriptures:

"Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness; according unto the multitude of thy tender mercies blot out my transgressions.

"Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.

"For I acknowledge my transgressions; and my sin is ever before me.

"Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight; that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and be clear when thou judgest.

"Behold, I was shapen in iniquity; and in sin did my mother conceive me.

"Behold, thou desirest truth in the inward parts; and in the hidden part thou shalt make me to know wisdom.

"Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

"Make me to hear joy and gladness; that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice.

"Hide thy face from my sins, and blot out all mine iniquities.

Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me.

"Cast me not away from thy presence; and take not thy holy Spirit from me.

"Restore unto me the joy of thy salvation; and uphold me with thy free Spirit:

"Then will I teach transgressors thy ways; and sinners shall be converted unto thee.

"Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou God of my salvation; and my tongue shall sing aloud of thy righteousness.

"O Lord, open thou my lips; and my mouth shall show forth thy praise.

"For thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it: thou delightest not in burnt-offering.

"The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

"Do good in thy good pleasure unto Zion: build thou the walls of Jerusalem.

"Then shalt thou be pleased with the sacrifices of righteousness, with burnt-offering, and whole burnt-offering: then shall they offer bullocks upon thine altar."

Among the prophetic writings, few passages are considered more sublime than the prayer of Habakkuk:

"God came from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran. His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise.

"And his brightness was as the light; he had horns coming out of his hand: and there was the hiding of his power.

"Before him went the pestilence, and burning coals went forth at his feet.

"He stood and measured the earth; he beheld, and drove asunder the nations: and the everlasting mountains were scattered, the perpetual hills did bow: his ways are everlasting.

"I saw the tents of Cushan in affliction: and the curtains of the land of Midian did tremble.

"Was the Lord displeased against the rivers? was thine anger against the rivers? was thy wrath against the sea, that thou didst ride upon thine horses, and thy chariots of salvation?"

"Thy bow was made quite naked, according to the oaths of the tribes, even thy word. Thou didst cleave the earth with rivers.

"The mountains saw thee, and they trembled; the overflowing of the water passed by: the deep uttered his voice, and lifted up his hands on high.

"The sun and moon stood still in their habitation; at the light of thine arrows they went, and at the shining of thy glittering spear.

"Thou didst march through the land in indignation, thou didst thresh the heathen in anger.

"Thou wentest forth for the salvation of thy people, even for salvation with thine anointed; thou woundedst the head out of the house of the wicked, by discovering the foundation unto the neck.

"Thou didst strike through with his staves the head of his villages; they came out as a whirlwind to scatter me: their rejoicing was as to devour the poor secretly.

"Thou didst walk through the sea with thine horses, through the heap of great waters.

"When I heard, my belly trembled; my lips quivered at the voice: rottenness entered into my bones, and I trembled in myself, that I might rest in the day of trouble: when he cometh up unto the people, he will invade them with his troops.

"Although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls:

"Yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation."

The following are specimens of the high moral teaching of some of the prophets, and their bold rebuke of mere ceremonial routine:

"To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me? saith the Lord: I am full of the burnt-offerings of rams, and the fat of fed beasts; and I delight not in the blood of bullocks, or of lambs, or of he-goats.

"When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand to tread my courts?

"Bring no more vain oblations: incense is an abomination unto me; the new moons and sabbaths, the calling of assemblies, I cannot away with: it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting.

"Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth: they are a trouble unto me; I am weary to bear them.

"And when ye spread forth your hands I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when ye make many prayers I will not hear: your hands are full of blood.

"Wash you, make you clean; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes; cease to do evil.

"Learn to do well: seek judgment, relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow."

"Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near.

"Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts: and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him: and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon.

"For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord.

"For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts."

"Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt-offerings, with calves of a year old?

"Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul?

“He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?”

The following are the predictions most frequently quoted, as prophetic of the Messiah's kingdom. The blessing which Jacob gave to his son Judah was supposed to point to that event: “The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet until Shiloh come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.” Moses was supposed to foresee the same, when he said: “The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him ye shall hearken.” The prophecies in Isaiah have been more quoted than any other:

“For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.

“Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom, to order it, and to establish it with judgment and with justice, from henceforth even for ever. The zeal of the Lord of hosts will perform this.”

“And there shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his roots:

“And the Spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge, and of the fear of the Lord;

“And shall make him of quick understanding in the fear of the Lord: and he shall not judge after the sight of his eyes, neither reprove after the hearing of his ears:

“But with righteousness shall he judge the poor, and reprove with equity for the meek of the earth: and he shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked.

“The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf, and the

young lion, and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.

“And the cow and the bear shall feed; their young ones shall lie down together: and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.

“And the sucking child shall play on the hole of the asp, and the weaned child shall put his hand on the cockatrice’ den.

“They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain: for the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.

“And in that day there shall be a root of Jesse, which shall stand for an ensign of the people; to it shall the Gentiles seek: and his rest shall be glorious.”

“And in that day shall the deaf hear the words of the book, and the eyes of the blind shall see out of obscurity, and out of darkness.

“The meek also shall increase their joy in the Lord, and the poor among men shall rejoice in the Holy One of Israel.”

“Behold my servant, whom I uphold, mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles.

“He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street.

“A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench: he shall bring forth judgment unto truth.

“He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law.

“I the Lord have called thee in righteousness, and will hold thine hand, and will keep thee, and give thee for a covenant of the people, for a light of the Gentiles;

“To open the blind eyes, to bring out the prisoners from the prison, and them that sit in darkness out of the prison-house.”

“The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me; because the

Lord hath anointed me to preach good tidings unto the meek: he hath sent me to bind up the broken-hearted, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound;

“To proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord, and the day of vengeance of our God; to comfort all that mourn;

“To appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness: that they might be called Trees of Righteousness, The Planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified.”

“Behold, the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth.

“In his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely, and this is his name whereby he shall be called, The Lord our Righteousness.”

The prophet Micah says: “But thou, Bethlehem, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall come forth unto me that is to be Ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting. And this man shall be the peace when the Assyrian shall come into our land. And they shall waste the land of Assyria with the sword, and the land of Nimrod in the entrances thereof. Thus shall he deliver us from the Assyrian, when he cometh into our land, and when he treadeth within our borders. And the remnant of Jacob shall be among the Gentiles in the midst of many people as a lion among the beasts of the forest, as a young lion among the flocks of sheep.”

Until after the time of Alexander the Great, it seems most likely that the knowledge of Hebrew Scriptures was confined to the Jews. Prior to that period no extracts from them are found in the literature of other nations; no allusion to them is made by cotemporary historians. Oriental scholars have searched diligently to find some indications of their having formerly been known in India; but no such trace can be discovered. About three hundred

years before Christ, the numerous Jews in Egypt, having become accustomed to the Greek tongue, felt the inconvenience of having their Sacred Law in a language which few of them understood; and a translation into Greek was made for their convenience. Concerning this translation Josephus and other Jewish writers told marvellous stories, which were believed and copied for many centuries. They said that Ptolemy Philadelphus, when he was collecting the famous Library at Alexandria, intrusted the business to Demetrius Phalereus, a learned Athenian, with directions to procure from all nations whatever books of note existed among them. Demetrius being informed of the Laws of Moses, advised king Ptolemy to send to the High Priest at Jerusalem for a copy, and for seventy-two Jews, six out of each of the twelve tribes, to translate the book into Greek. Messengers were accordingly sent with offerings for the Jewish temple, consisting of gold and silver vessels adorned with precious stones, and money to the amount of nearly one hundred thousand dollars, to be expended for sacrifices. The High Priest having graciously received these presents, gave the messengers a true copy of the Law, in golden letters, and sent seventy-two learned elders to translate it. Ptolemy placed them in retirement on an island near Alexandria, where they completed the version in seventy-two days. It was called the Septuagint, which means The Seventy, on account of the number of translators. When they compared notes, it was said they found they had all rendered the sense precisely the same, and had not varied from each other even in a single word, or turn of expression; whence it was inferred that the translation must have been dictated by express inspiration of the Holy Spirit. When it was completed, it was read to a large audience, who remained standing all the time, out of respect to the Sacred Books; and then a solemn curse was pronounced on whoever should add to, or diminish from it. The king of Egypt, who had been among the listeners, expressed his surprise that no historian or poet had ever mentioned these wonderful writings of the Hebrews. De-

metrius Phalereus answered that the Hebrews, deeming their Law divine, had never dared to mix it with profane things; that a poet and a historian, who once ventured to allude to it in their works, had been punished, one with the loss of his senses, and the other with the loss of his sight. It is further related that the king sent the translators back to Jerusalem, each with a cup of massive gold, three rich garments, and the value of two thousand dollars in gold coin.

It is now the general opinion of scholars that this account is a mere romance, probably invented by some Jewish writer, to exaggerate the importance of his country, and afterward copied and embellished by others. The most natural supposition is that the Septuagint was made by Alexandrian Jews for their own convenience. Plutarch relates that Demetrius Phalereus advised king Ptolemy to place in his library the writings of lawgivers and statesmen of *all* nations. If he acted upon this suggestion, the natural result would be an application to the Jewish Sanhedrim for a copy of their law. The Talmud states that the work was done by five translators; and this is much more probable than the story of six out of each of the twelve tribes, when only two of the tribes were known to be in existence.

The Pentateuch alone was translated at first; but the other Sacred Books were gradually added, as it is supposed, at various times, and by various hands. Between the Samaritan copy of the Pentateuch, and the Hebrew copy, and the Greek copy, there are various discrepancies. The most important are with regard to chronology. The Samaritan text makes the period between the Deluge and the birth of Abraham longer by some centuries, than the Hebrew; and the Septuagint makes it longer, by some centuries, than the Samaritan. The Septuagint, or Greek version, places the creation of the world two thousand years farther back than the Hebrew version. These differences have never been satisfactorily explained.

Jews of Palestine at first regarded the Alexandrian

translation with strong disapprobation. The Talmud declares that a fast was appointed on the eighth day of the month Tebet, "because on that day, in the time of king Ptolemy, the five elders wrote the Law in Greek, and darkness came upon the world for three days. That was a sad day for Israel, like the day when the calf was made."

Familiarity with the Greek language induced a taste for literature among Hellenistic Jews. Histories, poems, and theological romances, sometimes written in Greek, sometimes translated into Greek, began to appear among them, and found many admirers. These books are now known under the title of Apocrypha. Some of them are puerile, others deserve to rank with the best portions of Hebrew literature. Several of them were inserted in copies of the Septuagint. The story of Susanna and the Elders, of Bel and the Dragon, and the Song of the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace, were added to their book of Daniel. Their version likewise contained three books of the history of the Maccabees. Jews of Palestine were more conservative. They generally regarded foreign literature with a distrustful eye, deeming its tendencies dangerous to the faith of Israel. Their reverence for books was very much influenced by the reputed age of the documents. They allowed none of these new books to be added to their canon; and some of them they would not even consent to read. It is not supposed that Hellenistic Jews set up a separate canon of their own, but they always manifested a great predilection for the newer writings. The oldest catalogue of the books deemed canonical by Jews is furnished by Josephus, who rejects all the later productions, because they were not written by prophets. His list is the same known to us in English translations. He says the Jews "did not dare to add to, or take from, or in any way to alter their Sacred Books; for it was implanted in all from their birth, to reverence them, and abide by them, and cheerfully to die for them if necessary." In this reverential allusion he included the Traditions handed down by the Rabbins. In the Preface to his History, called "Antiquities of the Jews,"

he says: "I shall accurately describe what is contained in our records, without adding anything to what is therein contained, or taking away anything therefrom." Afterward he says: "I have delivered every part of this history as I found it in the Sacred Books." But in his account are many things to be found only in the Traditions. He says all living creatures, animals, and men, spoke one language in the beginning; but God deprived the serpent of speech because his malicious disposition toward Adam had led him to use it for mischief; that the serpent had previously walked upon feet, but as a punishment he was afterward obliged to go rolling along, dragging himself on the ground. He assigns a reason for the great age which Hebrew records attribute to men before the Deluge. He says it took six hundred years to complete one great Astronomical Year; and it was necessary for men to live long enough to observe the position of the stars through all that period, in order that astronomical knowledge might have a basis. He says Adam predicted the world would be destroyed by water and fire. His son Seth erected two pillars, one of brick, the other of stone, to resist the action of water and fire; and on these he inscribed astronomical discoveries, that the world might not lose the benefit of his knowledge. Josephus adds: "Now this remains in the land of Siriad to this day." He relates marvellous prophecies about Moses before he was born; eulogizes his remarkable beauty; says the king of Egypt made him general of his army; that when he besieged the city of Meröe, the daughter of the Ethiopian king fell in love with him, and secretly offered to deliver the city into his hands if he would marry her; which was accordingly done. After describing his miraculous passage through the Red Sea, he adds: "Nor let any one wonder at the strangeness of the narration, whether it happened by the will of God, or whether it happened of its own accord; while for those that accompanied Alexander, king of Macedon, who lived comparatively little while ago, the Pamphylian Sea retired and afforded them a passage through itself, when they had no

other way to go. I mean when it was the will of God to destroy the monarchy of the Persians. This is confessed to be true by all who have written about Alexander."

In ancient times there were several books extant on the Creation, and other subjects, which Jews attributed to Adam, Abraham, and other patriarchs. The prophecy of Enoch was very famous in its day, and was by many considered an inspired and authentic book. It was for a long time supposed to be entirely lost; but some fragments were found and translated into Greek. They treat of the influence of the stars, and of a race of Giants produced by Angels of God, who descended to the earth and cohabited with women. There was likewise a Book attributed to Seth, which is still in existence in Asia. It contains predictions founded on the movements of the stars. These were supposed to have been originally written on stone, and saved from the waters of the Deluge.

Not only ancient relics, but all cotemporary science and wisdom were supposed by Jewish scholars to have been necessarily derived from some Hebrew source. They asserted that Zoroaster had been the servant of a Hebrew Prophet. Some said Elisha was his teacher, others Ezekiel, others Daniel, others Ezra. There were several centuries between the first and the last of these prophets; a looseness of chronology which indicates a somewhat unscrupulous desire to trace Zoroaster's wisdom to a Hebrew source. When they became interested in the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato, they affirmed that their ideas were borrowed from lost books written by Moses, who was master of astronomy, geometry, music, medicine, and occult philosophy. They excused their admiration of Aristotle, by asserting that he was a Jew, of the tribe of Benjamin, and that his doctrines were taken from the writings of Solomon. From the same source they said Stoics derived their ethics, and Hippocrates his knowledge of medicine. Josephus constantly betrays this tendency to magnify everything calculated to reflect honour on his own country. He says: "The sagacity and wisdom, which God

bestowed on Solomon, were so great that he exceeded the ancients; insomuch that he was no way inferior to the Egyptians, who are said to have been beyond all men in understanding. Nay indeed it is evident that their sagacity was very much inferior to the king's. He also excelled and distinguished himself in wisdom above those who were most eminent among the Hebrews at that time for shrewdness. He composed books of odes, and songs a thousand and five; of parables and similitudes, three thousand; for he spoke a parable upon every sort of tree, from the hyssop to the cedar. In like manner also about beasts, about all sorts of living creatures, whether upon the earth, or in the seas, or in the air. He was not unacquainted with any of their natures, nor omitted inquiries about them, but described them all like a philosopher. God also enabled him to learn that skill which expels demons; which is a science useful and sanative to men. He composed incantations also, by which distempers are alleviated. And he left behind him the manner of using exorcisms, by which they drive away demons, so that they never return. This method of cure is of great force unto this day. I have seen a certain man of my own country, whose name was Eleazar, releasing people that were demoniacal, in the presence of Vespasian, and his sons, and his captains, and the whole multitude of his soldiers. The manner of the cure was this: He put a ring that had a root of one of those sorts mentioned by Solomon, to the nostrils of the demoniac, after which he drew out the demon through his nostrils. The man fell down immediately, and he adjured the demon to return into him no more; still making mention of Solomon, and reciting the incantations which he composed. Eleazar, to demonstrate that he had such power, set a little way off a cup or basin full of water, and commanded the demon, as he went out of the man, to overturn it, and thereby let the spectators know that he had left the man. This was done, and the skill and wisdom of Solomon was shewed very manifestly."

Some carried Hebrew exclusiveness so far as to maintain

that the Apis of Egypt was worshipped in honour of the kine that appeared to Joseph in a dream; that the Greek fable of Phæton was founded on the miracle of the sun's standing still at the command of Joshua; and that the expedition of the Argonauts was a disguised version of the passage of the Israelites from Egypt to Palestine.

This self-complacency of the Jewish mind found little sustenance from sources foreign to their own nation. Of no other ancient people was less said by cotemporaries, so far as we moderns have means of judging. Many travellers have supposed they found traces of their history in the graven records of Egypt. But there is in reality no allusion to them, except on one monument at Karnac, which represents Rehoboam, the captive king of Judah, among sixty-three prisoners of war, presented by the god Amun to Shishak, king of Egypt. That there is no memorial of their early residence in Egypt is not surprising, in view of the fact that they belonged to a servile caste, even in the days of Joseph, and were subsequently in the obscure condition of bondmen, or slaves. Herodotus betrays no knowledge of the Jews; though some suppose he meant Jerusalem by Cadytas, a city in Syria, of which he makes incidental mention. It seems likely that they were very slightly known to any of the conspicuous nations, till after the time of Alexander the Great, when they mixed with Grecians and spoke their language. Josephus appears to have searched very diligently for traces of interest manifested in them by people of other countries, but the account he gives is rather meagre. Romans regarded the Jews as a singular and superstitious people, and had strong prejudices against them, because they found them such troublesome subjects. Juvenal, under the influence of this antipathy, ridicules them very severely in his satires; Cicero speaks alightingly of them, and Tacitus says: "While the East was in possession of Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, they were the most despised among the subject nations." This national obscurity may easily be accounted for, by the fact that scholars had no inducement to learn Hebrew; it being a

rude and scanty language, as must always be the case where there is no literature to express. Jews held religious opinions which prevented development of the Arts; and consequently they had no tasteful architecture, statues, or pictures, to attract the attention of travellers. Like the Hindoos, they were unwilling to eat or drink from vessels that had been used by foreigners; and the many articles of food which they regarded as unclean placed obstructions in the way of mixing socially with them. They considered themselves contaminated by intermarriage with other nations, and cherished an aversion to them, which excited aversion in return. The degree of arrogance induced by the long-cherished idea that they were the only people chosen by God, may be inferred from the following statement in the second book of Esdras: "O Lord, thou madest the world for our sakes. As for the other people, which also came of Adam, thou hast said that they are nothing, but be like unto spittle." Even the Hebrew religion, which is their crown of glory among the nations, was stern, lofty, and uncompromising in its character, little calculated to win the affection of strangers.

Romans, however, were tolerant of the religious customs of the Jews, as they were of all nations under their control. When Alexandrian Jews represented to the emperor Augustus that his Greek subjects interfered with their privileges, and defrauded them of public money appropriated to the uses of their temple, he gave orders that they should enjoy their own laws, and be free to send their offerings to Jerusalem; that whoever stole their Sacred Books, or their consecrated money, should be deemed guilty of sacrilege; and that they should not be compelled to appear in the courts, or attend to any public business, after the hour of preparation for their Sabbath had commenced. The very nature of polytheistic religions led to a feeling of good fellowship toward Spirits that presided over other nations, whose power, for aught they knew, might be equal, and possibly superior, to that of their own deities. The emperor Augustus manifested this feeling by ordering that

sacrifices should be offered for his prosperity in the temple of Jerusalem. Such a disposition led to general facility in mixing creeds, which Jews alone strenuously resisted. If one of their own magistrates had returned the Roman compliment, by asking to have sacrifices performed for him in the temple of Jupiter, he would probably have done it at the peril of his life, from the hands of his own countrymen. When Caligula ordered, under penalty of death, that his statue should be placed in their temple, as was the custom in other temples, they answered that he must first sacrifice the entire Jewish nation, who were ready to be put to death, with their wives and children, rather than submit to such desecration of holy things. Their historians record, that when King Agrippa heard the sacrilegious proposition, he fainted away, and did not recover his senses for three days.

Their steadfast faith in a conquering Messiah, who would certainly come and give them the empire of the earth, rendered them very turbulent subjects to a foreign yoke. Persons who thought themselves prophets, or professed to think so, were continually drawing the populace together, with promises that the kingdom of the Messiah was at hand, and God was about to show them signs of speedy deliverance. Disappointed again and again, the people were always convinced that it was on account of their sins, and they remained firm as ever in their patient enduring faith.

They had their own high priests and nominal kings; but the oppressive exactions of Roman governors and magistrates resident among them led to perpetual collisions. The restless hopes of the people broke out in frequent insurrections, sometimes accompanied by terrible massacres. In Cyrene, they killed twenty-two thousand Greeks; in Cyprus, two hundred and forty thousand; and in Egypt, a very great multitude. In their fury, they tore the bodies in pieces, and twisted the entrails for girdles. There were also continual dissensions among themselves, arising from the fierce altercation of sects, the competition

between Sadducees and Pharisees, and the recklessness of zealots, who set at naught the counsel of quiet citizens, and instigated the people to defy Roman power, at all hazards. Bands of robbers, taking advantage of the unsettled times, infested Jerusalem. High Priests were thrust in and out of office by lot; and when they offended the reigning faction, their houses were fired, and themselves murdered, even within the sacred precincts of the temple. Finally, there was a general rebellion against Rome, which ended in the total destruction of the Jewish state, seventy years after Christ; when Titus took Jerusalem by storm, and demolished both city and temple. On this occasion, a prophet made public proclamation in the city, that if the people would go up to the temple, they would there receive from God miraculous signs of deliverance. Many flocked thither in consequence, and were burned up in the flaming edifice. Josephus says these calamities were preceded by many disastrous omens. "A star resembling a sword [a comet] stood over the city a whole year." When crowds were in Jerusalem, at the Feast of Unleavened Bread, "at the ninth hour of the night, so great a light shone round the altar and the holy house, that it appeared to be bright day time; which light lasted for half an hour. At the same festival, a heifer, as she was led by the High Priest to be sacrificed, brought forth a lamb in the midst of the temple." The eastern gate of the inner court was made of brass armed with iron, and fastened deep into a solid floor of stone. It was immensely heavy, and moved with so much difficulty, that it took twenty men to open and shut it; but "at the sixth hour of the night, it was seen to open of its own accord." "Before sunset, chariots, and troops of soldiers in armour, were seen running about among the clouds." At the feast of Pentecost, when priests went in the night time to the inner court, to perform customary sacred offices, "they felt a quaking, and heard a great noise; after that, the sound as of a multitude, saying, Let us remove hence." A peasant, when he came up to Jerusalem to attend the sacred festivals, cried out: "A voice

from the east, a voice from the west, a voice from the four winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the Holy House." He began this cry four years before the war commenced, and he continued it night and day at the festivals, for three and a half years after. He was repeatedly scourged as a disturber of the peace, but still persisted in his lamentable cry. At last, as he was going round the walls, repeating: "Wo to Jerusalem and the Holy House," he added: "Wo to myself also;" and, at that moment, a stone from one of the engines killed him.

The older and more cautious of the citizens saw it was vain to contend with Roman power, and besought the people to accept terms of capitulation, repeatedly offered, and even urged upon them; but fanatical spirits prompted them to rely upon miraculous assistance. Some prophets said the light that shone in the Holy House was an omen of coming glory; and the spontaneous opening of the great gate foreshadowed that God was about to open for them a way to happiness. Those who favoured submission to Rome were treated as traitors. Zealots rushed upon them and slew them, even on the Mountain of the Lord's House, so that the precincts of the temple were often piled with dead bodies. Josephus quotes several prophecies not contained in the accepted version of Hebrew Scriptures. He says there was a prophecy in their Sacred Books, that "Jerusalem would be taken and the sanctuary burnt, by right of war, when Jews should begin to slay their own countrymen in the city, and with their own hands pollute the temple of God." Another prophecy declared that Jerusalem and the Holy House were to be taken, "when once their temple should become four square." Jews demolished a portion of the temple, to cut off the access of besieging Romans, and thus rendered the building four square. Ancient oracles were disregarded in the fury of the hour, and even "laughed at as the tricks of jugglers," when they interfered with the prosecution of plans for victory. But Josephus declares that a prophecy was the origin of this disastrous war; for their Sacred Records con-

tained an ambiguous oracle that there should one arise in Judea, who would obtain the empire of the world; and interpreters declared that the appointed time had then arrived. He says: "The Jews took this prediction to themselves in particular, and many wise men were thereby deceived. Now this oracle certainly related to Vespasian, who was chosen emperor while he was in Judea." This explanation was so acceptable to the emperor, that he liberated Josephus when he was taken prisoner of war, and assigned him an apartment in his own palace. The sufferings of the inhabitants, during their long and obstinate defence of Jerusalem, were terrible beyond description. One hundred and ten thousand perished, hundreds of captives were crucified by the Romans, and great numbers were sold into slavery. Many who escaped fled to Egypt and Babylon, where large numbers of their brethren had long resided. Others were scattered through various cities of the Roman empire, where they shared the same privileges as other citizens. A small remnant remained in desolated Palestine. The golden candlestick and the golden table for shew-bread, were transferred to the Temple of Peace at Rome. The Book of the Law, and the veils of the Sanctuary were placed in the emperor's palace. An arch in honour of Titus was erected at Rome, on which are still to be seen sculptured representations of vessels and ornaments taken from the Jewish temple.

The scattered exiles were forbidden to rebuild Jerusalem. About half a century after its destruction, the emperor Adrian built a new city, established a colony of Roman soldiers there, forbade any Jew to approach within sight of the precincts, and erected a temple to Jupiter on Mount Moriah. This appeared to the Jews to be the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place. In answer to their excited state of feeling appeared a man, who announced himself as the long-expected Messiah. He was called Bar-Cochebas, which signifies the Son of a Star; for Cabalists among the Jews, in common with Hindoos, Egyptians, and Chaldeans, believed that Spirits of the Stars

often assumed a human form on earth, for beneficent purposes. There was at that time a man of rank and learning, and a celebrated writer of Cabalistic books, named Akiba, whom Jews venerated so highly, that it was common to say God revealed to him what was concealed from Moses. Akiba declared that the prophecy of Balaam: "A Star shall rise out of Jacob," was fulfilled in Bar-Cochebas. He publicly anointed him King of the Jews, placed a diadem on his head, and followed him to battle, as his master of horse, at the head of twenty-four thousand disciples. They fortified themselves in Jerusalem, and for a time had rapid and brilliant success. Adrian despatched one of his ablest commanders, who, after a siege of two years, re-took the city, ploughed up the foundations, and sowed the ruins with salt. The severest penalties were imposed upon any Jew who should venture within sight of the precincts. Under the succeeding reign of the mild Antoninus Pius, Jews, though still excluded from Jerusalem, were in other respects restored to their old privileges. They were allowed to circumcise their own children, but not foreign proselytes. They were permitted to form establishments by themselves in various places, and enjoy municipal honours. They erected new synagogues in various cities of the empire, and publicly observed their fasts and festivals. It was not till three hundred years after Adrian's time, that they obtained leave to look at Jerusalem from the surrounding heights. At last, they purchased of Romans permission for pilgrims to go once a year, on the anniversary of its destruction, and weep over the ruins of their Holy City. According to the universal custom of erecting stones in sacred places, Jacob had set up a pillar at Bethel, as a memorial of the Lord's promise that he would never leave Israel, but would give them sure possession of Palestine. In after days of prosperity, this pillar had been removed to Jerusalem, where it was always held in great veneration. Pilgrims, on the occasion of their mournful anniversary, anointed it with oil, amid tears and supplications to the God of Israel.

Such frequent wars and dispersions were extremely unfavourable to the preservation of Sacred Writings. Driven from country to country, without a temple, a priesthood, or a civil government, Jews could not transmit, uncorrupted, either their skill in Hebrew, or the explanations of learned doctors concerning obscure passages of their Sacred Books. Not only their correctness, but their very existence depended on the care of private synagogues. That they were preserved at all, under such circumstances, is owing to Jewish reverence for ancient traditions, and remarkable perseverance in everything connected with their religion. In the time of Christ, Aramean Chaldee was universally spoken, and only the learned could understand Hebrew. It was not allowable to read from any written translations in the synagogues; but from Ezra's time, it was customary to read in Hebrew, and interpret it, portion by portion, to the people. Schools were established, and it was considered necessary for every well-educated Jew to understand the Sacred Scriptures of his country in their original language. After the destruction of Jerusalem, this knowledge was preserved in seminaries established in Palestine and Babylon.

In process of time, it was found that various errors had crept into the text of the Law, the Prophets, and the Hagiographa, in the course of numerous copyings. "Words had been mangled, and consonants removed and misplaced, in the most capricious manner." After their final dispersion, the Jews appointed learned men to prepare a revised and corrected copy, to serve as a standard. In this work, they were guided partly by the authority of tradition, partly by their own judgment. They compared copies, and where they found differences in the reading, they inserted one in the text, and put the other in the margin. With reverential anxiety to prevent future errors, they divided the books into verses, and numbered the verses; they marked the words which they believed to be changed, the letters they deemed superfluous, and the different significations of the same word. They counted how many

times the same word occurred at the beginning, or in the middle, or at the end of a verse. They even counted the letters, and recorded that the letter Nun [the Hebrew N] in the word Gehon, came precisely in the middle of the Pentateuch. This monument of human patience was called the Masora, and the learned doctors who compiled it were called Masorites. Notwithstanding all their care, the Masora was gradually brought into a state of great confusion, by successive additions and mistakes of transcribers.

How far back the Oral Traditions can be traced, it is impossible to ascertain; but the learned suppose that secret doctrines early existed among the Jews. They themselves trace them to Moses, and even to Adam. Whatever might have been the original source of these Sacred Traditions, they greatly increased in the course of centuries; and the Rabbis, whose duty it was to explain them, found it necessary to assist their recollection by committing them to writing, under distinct heads. Disciples meanwhile took notes of their Commentaries, which, in process of time, became very voluminous. This led to so much confusion, that it was found necessary to make a Compendium of the Traditionary Laws, with the Rabbinical Commentaries thereon. "Rabbi Judah, the Holy," one hundred and fifty years before our era, was particularly active in making this collection, which is said to have cost forty years of labour. It is called the First Talmud, from a Hebrew word, signifying He has learned; likewise The Mishna, or Second Law. It comprehends all the laws, institutions, and rules of life, which Jews feel bound to observe, in addition to those contained in the Law of Moses. It consists of sixty-three tracts, collected in six books. This not being found sufficient to meet all difficult questions, that arose in the regulation of ecclesiastical laws and usages, Commentaries were added, nearly a century later, under the title of Gemara, meaning The Completion. The Mishna, with Commentaries by Palestine Jews, is called the Jerusalem Talmud. After the synagogues of Palestine were almost entirely dispersed, Rabbis who resided in Babylon gradu-

ally composed new Commentaries, which were completed about five hundred years after our era, under the name of the Babylonian Talmud. It is more bulky than its predecessor, but more generally followed, because it is considered less obscure. There is but one treatise on moral subjects in the Talmud. It is principally taken up with traditionary stories, abstruse doctrines, subtle controversies, civil regulations, and ceremonial rules. It is regarded as authority for all the affairs of life, great and small. It disparages agriculture and the rearing of cattle, requires the strictest separation from other nations, and commits the government to the Rabbins. It contains many directions concerning marriage and divorce. One party of Rabbins allow it, if a woman burns her husband's soup; but another party require that some light conduct should be proved against her. It stipulates at what age of a tree the fruit may be eaten; how far apart vines should be planted; when and where the poor may glean in vineyards and fields. Many of their distinctions are extremely subtle. Some Rabbins require that the morning prayer should be read as soon as there is light enough to distinguish blue from white; others permit it to be delayed till the light is strong enough to distinguish blue from green. For the explanation of their Sacred Scriptures they have singular modes of interpretation, by which any theory might be maintained. For instance, they assert that manna had the taste of fish, flesh, or fowl, according to the desires of those who ate it; and they prove it by quoting the following text: "Through this great wilderness, these forty years, the Lord thy God hath been with thee, and thou hast *lacked nothing.*"

From the law of Moses they deduce six hundred and thirteen precepts, divided into two classes; two hundred and forty-eight affirmative, three hundred and sixty-five negative. Of the affirmative, only three were considered binding upon women. To fulfil perfectly any one law, even in the hour of death, is deemed sufficient to secure salvation; all that may be added to that is a stock laid up to increase felicity in a future life.

These writings describe seven ascending degrees of Paradise. Souls of the just made perfect inhabit delightful gardens, reaching the seventh region. Rivers of wine, milk, balsam, and honey, flow through these gardens. The inhabitants of the highest paradise perpetually contemplate the face of God. Hell, likewise, consists of seven apartments, where the wicked suffer from fire, serpents, and excessive cold. Those of the Hebrew faith remain in these dreadful regions only long enough to be purified from their sins, and are then released by the intercession of Abraham and the prophets. Some of their writers speak of a bridge over hell, no bigger than a thread.

In these writings, it is declared that Adam was created with a double body, male and female, facing opposite ways. Therefore, when God wished woman to exist separate, he had only to cut the bond that united them. Lilia was formed, like himself, out of earth; and by her he had devils for children. Afterward, he married Eve, who proceeded out of his head; and she was the mother of men.

The government of the world is represented as confided to seventy Angels; one for each of the seventy nations into which Jews supposed the world to be divided. Besides these, every department of the universe, fire, water, wind, thunder, hail, forest trees and fruit trees, wild animals and domestic animals, had each a presiding Angel. Every individual plant had a particular Genius to watch over its development. Not only every man, but every thought, feeling, and action of man, health, sleep, peace, war, love, hatred, had its director in the invisible world. The Spirit that guided the motions of the Sun had two hundred and ninety-six armies of angels subject to his orders. The angels who preside over each species of animals brought one of every kind to Noah in the Ark.

Some classes of Spirits were kindly and beneficent, others malicious and destructive. Evil Spirits were originally in a state of innocence, but fell from it, because they were envious of the privileges bestowed on man, and were thus induced to rebel against Jehovah. Belial was prince of the

infernal regions. Beelzebub was the demon who sent tormenting insects, and scattered pestilence with his breath. Samaël was the seducer and destroyer. Asmodeus was the demon of marriage. Asraël was the angel of death. He releases souls of the good with gentleness, and the wicked with violence. Afterward, he sits on the grave, causes the soul to enter the body again, and raises it on its feet. He then examines the deceased concerning his faith; after which, he strikes the body three times with a chain half iron and half fire. The third stroke reduces the body to ashes. All must undergo this "beating of the sepulchre," as they call it, except those who die on the eve of the Sabbath, or have dwelt in the land of Israel.

Insane persons, and those afflicted with fits, and other diseases, are said to owe their delusions and sufferings to Evil Spirits, who enter into their bodies and take possession of them. A kind of Genii are described, who were produced by marriage between Angels and the daughters of Lamach. They had wings, and foreknowledge of futurity, like angels; but they ate, drank, propagated and died, like men. Some of them were good, believers in the Law of Moses, others were infidel and bad.

According to the Talmud, the scape-goat used to be dashed to pieces in his fall over a precipice; but after the time of Simon the Just, he always escaped into Arabia, where he was eaten by Saracens. The piece of scarlet cloth appended to him always used to turn white when the High Priest had laid the sins of the people on his head; but after the time of Simon the Just, it was sometimes white, sometimes red. This idea is the origin of the saying that sins like scarlet become white as wool.

The belief, strongly impressed on Jewish minds, that the death of holy men serves as an expiation for the sins of others, is thus expressly stated in the Talmud: "Why did the sons of Aaron die on the Day of Atonement? That ye may learn that as the Day of Atonement makes expiation for Israel, so also doth the death of the righteous."

The resurrection of the dead to share the glory and hap-

piness of the Messiah's kingdom is distinctly taught, but with the usual tinge of national exclusiveness; for this resurrection is to be confined to the Jews only. The Mishna says: "All Israelites shall partake in the life to come, except those who disbelieve the resurrection of the dead, [the Sadducees] and those who deny that the Law came from Heaven." Rabbi Akiba added, "and those who read foreign books." Another Rabbi added, "and he who pronounces The Ineffable Name," [Jehovah].

The kingdom of the Messiah on earth is described by the Talmud in most excessive terms. It is asserted that the earth will then spontaneously bring forth garments and loaves of bread, so that there will be no need of labour; that the ears of corn will be of gigantic size, and one cluster of grapes will be large enough to load a wagon. On the top of a mountain, high as Sinai, Tabor, and Carmel piled on each other, there will be a New Jerusalem, adorned with gold, pearls, crystals, and precious stones. Such descriptions, repeating and exceeding the promises of the old prophets, greatly stimulated popular impatience to have the coming of the Messiah hastened.

A tendency to vastness and huge exaggeration is a common characteristic of Asiatic writings; but the Talmud seems to excel them all in this particular. One bird is described so large that his wings blotted out the sun. Another gigantic bird stands, up to the lower joint of his leg, in a river. Some mariners seeing him, supposed the water could not be very deep there, and were going in to bathe. But a voice from Heaven said: "Step not in there! For seven years ago, a carpenter dropped his axe there, and it has not yet reached the bottom." It is also stated that a Rabbin once saw in a desert a flock of geese so fat that their feathers fell off, and the rivers flowed with fat. Then said he to them, Shall we have part of you in the other world, when the Messiah shall come? And one of them lifted up a wing and another a leg, to signify these parts we should have. We Israelites shall be called to account touching these fat geese. It is our iniquities that

have delayed the coming of the Messiah; and these geese suffer greatly by reason of their excessive fat, which daily increases, and will increase, till the Messiah comes. Their sufferings are owing to us. We should otherwise have had all parts of these geese."

Marvellous accounts of Moses are contained in the Talmud. It is stated that he was born circumcised; that the daughter of Pharaoh was struck with leprosy when she touched his cradle; that at three years old, he seized the crown from her father's head and put it on his own; that while he tended the flocks of Jethro, he found a miraculous twig, which had been made on the sixth day of creation, and had inscribed upon it the holy characters which form the Tetragrammaton, by aid of which he performed all his miracles; that he married a princess of Ethiopia, and reigned over that country forty years. Stories of Solomon likewise abound. When the Queen of Sheba came to Jerusalem, attracted by the renown of the great king, she is said to have tried various experiments to test his celebrated wisdom. One day she approached the foot of his throne, holding in one hand a wreath of natural flowers, and in the other an artificial garland. The imitation was so perfect, that Solomon, viewing them from the top of his throne, was puzzled to distinguish between them. His courtiers began to look blank, lest their monarch should forfeit his great reputation for sagacity. But Solomon knowing there were bees hovering round, ordered a window to be opened, that they might come in. Many of them lighted on the natural wreath, but none on the artificial. Thus the Queen had another reason to admire the wisdom of Solomon.

These writings recommend that the following benediction should be recited whenever a Jew meets with a wise man of another nation: "Blessed be thou, O Lord our God, Ruler of the universe, who hast imparted of thy wisdom to all flesh and blood."

The Talmud is as unlike the ancient Scriptures, as the Pouranas of Hindostan are unlike the Vedas; therefore it

could not come into general use without in a great measure setting them aside. In point of fact, the **Traditionary Law** has for many centuries been placed above the **Law of Moses**. Rabbins are enthusiastic in their praises of the Talmud. They say the Law in the Pentateuch is defective, often obscure, and could not be a perfect rule for them, if there had not been a complete oral interpretation, which supplied all defects, and solved all difficulties. That "the words of the Law are sometimes weighty and sometimes light; but the words of the Scribes [who wrote down the Traditions] are all weighty; more lovely than the words of the Law, superior to the utterance of the Prophets. The Scriptures are like water, or like salt; but the Talmud is like wine and sweet spices." In these writings, Jehovah is often described as High Priest, or Chief Rabbi. They say he spends nine hours in reading the Talmud, where he spends three in reading the Law.

According to Rabbinical statements, there were four hundred and eighty synagogues in Jerusalem, each of which had a separate apartment for the Book of the Law, and another for the recorded Traditions.

Babylonian Jews had Chaldee paraphrases of their Sacred Scriptures, called Targums, which means The Most Excellent Versions. Of one of these translators the Talmud says: "Our Rabbins inform us that Hillel the Elder had eighty disciples, thirty of whom were worthy. The Shekinah dwelt above them, as it did above Moses, our teacher. Thirty were so worthy, that the sun might stay for them, as for Joshua, the son of Nun. The greatest of all was Jonathan, son of Uzziel. They say of him that when he was sitting down to work upon the Law, if a bird happened to fly over him, it was immediately burnt up. When he wrote his paraphrase on the Prophets, the land of Israel was shaken for four hundred parasangs. The voice of God came forth and said, Who is he that hath revealed my secrets to the sons of men? Jonathan the son of Uzziel, stood upon his feet and said, It is I, who have revealed thy secrets to the sons of men." These Targums

sometimes make additions to the original text. In describing the meeting of Jacob and Esau, it is said: "When Jacob fell upon Esau's neck and kissed him, Esau bit him severely. But Jacob's neck was changed to alabaster, and the fragments clung to the teeth of his treacherous brother."

As soon as the Jews had time to recover from the shock of their final dispersion, they gradually established a systematic connection with their brethren throughout the world. Those settled in Chaldea and Persia were called Eastern Jews. They had flourishing Rabinical schools in many cities. Until about seven hundred years ago they were governed by a ruler, chosen from among themselves, called Prince of the Captivity, who maintained a good deal of splendour in his court. Those in Palestine, Egypt, and various parts of Europe, were called Western Jews, and their head was known by the title of Patriarch. His office was abolished by Roman law, about four hundred and twenty-nine years after our era. The ecclesiastical affairs of Jews have since been governed by chiefs of their synagogues, called Primates. Their peculiar institutions with regard to food, and marriage, and the practice of circumcision, everywhere keep them a separate people from the nations among whom they dwell. They cannot expect the fulfilment of the glorious prophecies, in which they still firmly believe, unless they keep themselves pure and unmixed descendants of those to whom the promises were given. Those who intermarry with foreigners are no longer regarded as Jews. Remnants of the tribe of Judah are still in Spain and Portugal. They consider themselves of the ancient blood royal of David, in whose line the conquering Messiah must come. Therefore they will not intermarry with other Jews. If a Spanish Jew should marry a German Jewess, he would be expelled from the synagogue and deprived of ecclesiastical rights and privileges.

A very small sect of Samaritans still exist, and Jews regard them with the old feeling of abhorrence. The only book which they revere as divine authority is the Pentateuch. They can give no satisfactory account how they

came by a copy in the ancient Hebrew characters. Some traditions say it was brought to them by a wise and holy man named Nathaniel; others affirm that it came directly from God himself. They reject the Traditionary Law with great disdain.

A few of the sect of Karaites remain; principally in Russia and Turkey. Jews regard them with extreme aversion.

With the exception of this very small minority, modern Jews follow the doctrines of the Pharisees; though that name has long been dropped. Like them, they have the greatest reverence for the Traditionary Law, contained in the Talmud.

Many of their learned men consider the Cabala a sublime science, by the aid of which interior truths of their Sacred Scriptures can be discovered through the external shell of the literal sense. There are, of course, many variations and shadings of belief among Jews of various nations, educated under the different influences of Europe, Asia, and Africa. A brief general sketch of their popular theoretic tenets may be given as follows: They all conform to the ceremonial Law of Moses, as far as is practicable under existing circumstances; believing it to be immutable and eternal truth. All classes consider the Talmud an inspired book, and a divine rule of life; though some individuals have much more respect for it than others. They believe in One God, who created and sustains all things, who alone has been from all eternity, is, and for ever will be. He foresees and ordains all things; but evil is to be ascribed to the free will of man. In the name of Jehovah there is great power, and it is unlawful for any man to utter it, except the priest, when he pronounces the holy benediction. All souls were created at once, in the beginning of all things. Human souls existed in a happy state before they were sent down to inhabit bodies on earth. Two arch-angels rebelled against God, were cast out of heaven, and became the leaders of Evil Spirits. There are various classes of Spirits, good and bad. Some of them

cohabited with mortal women and produced giants and devils. Good angels have ethereal forms; the bad have bodies consisting of air and fire; they have influence on human affairs, and can communicate to men knowledge of future events. Rabbins affirm that they offer no worship to any of these Spirits, neither serve them as mediators. They suppose the fall of our first parents occasioned death and all calamities. Good works are entitled to reward, and the pardon of sins may be obtained by fastings, prayers, and bodily sufferings. The soul is immortal. After death, it wanders about for awhile, chiefly in the neighbourhood of its body, during which time it is tormented by demons, as a chastisement for its sins. After that, it passes into other forms, of men or animals. At the appointed time, there will be a resurrection of dead bodies, and a final judgment. The good will be sent to an eternal paradise; the bad to infernal regions. Jews will be tormented there long enough to purify them from their sins; but they will all be released, through intercession of Abraham and the Prophets. The wicked, who belonged to unbelieving nations, must remain in hell for ever. The world will be destroyed, but the materials of which it is composed will remain.

Jews, in common with all other people, yield more or less to the ameliorating influences of time and education. Six hundred years ago, their celebrated scholar Maimonides openly taught that if an idolator happened to fall into the water, a Jew ought not to save him from instant death. Yet this great teacher was a learned and humane man, though his nature was so far perverted by an exclusive theology. Five hundred years later, the wise and gentle Moses Mendelssohn, "an Israelite indeed, in whom there was no guile," wrote thus: "Our Rabbins unanimously teach that the written and oral laws, which conjointly form our revealed religion, are obligatory on our nation only. Those who regulate their lives according to the religion of nature and reason, are called virtuous men of other nations, and are deemed children of eternal salvation. He

who leads mankind to virtue in this world, I certainly believe cannot be damned in the next. If a Confucius or a Solon were among my contemporaries, I could love and admire the great man, consistently with my religious opinions. As he does not belong to the congregation of Jacob, my religious laws were not legislated for him; and on doctrines, we should soon come to an understanding. I count among my friends many a worthy man, who is not of my faith. We love each other sincerely, notwithstanding we differ widely in opinion. Never yet has my heart whispered, Alas for this excellent man's soul!"

In England, there are a numerous body of seceders, called Reformed Jews, who adhere exclusively to the Law of Moses, and deny the authority of the Talmud. Many circulars have been sent abroad, warning orthodox Jews against such innovations.

Through all changes, Jews have adhered to their ancient faith with remarkable tenacity, and zealously preserved a knowledge of the language in which their Sacred Books were written. To this day, they keep a Hebrew copy of the Law of Moses in all their synagogues. It is written on parchment, made of the skin of a clean unblemished animal. Nothing can exceed the correctness, equality, and beauty of the writing. The slightest mistake in transcribing is sufficient reason for rejecting the copy. No word must be written without a line first drawn; no letter must be joined to another; if the blank parchment cannot be seen all round each letter, the copy is deemed imperfect. These rolls are fastened on cylinders, covered with embroidered silk, and placed in a chest, or ark. A highly ornamented part of the synagogue is reserved for it, screened from the audience by a veil. It is brought out and carried back with great ceremony. The audience stand while it is read. Those who are near enough kiss it reverently, and hold up their children, who are taught to consider it a great privilege to touch it. Those of the assembly, who cannot approach very near, make an effort to reach it with their hand, which they afterward devoutly kiss.

The ancient rite of circumcision is still observed by Jews in all parts of the world. Prayers are said over the infant, and the blood, which flows in course of the operation, is mixed with wine, wherewith his lips are moistened three times. Children have sometimes died in consequence of this ceremony, but such an occurrence is very rare. If this happens to the first, second, or third son, children born afterward in the same family are excused; Rabbins having decided that the precept is not binding, if likely to occasion death. If a child dies before the eighth day, he is circumcised at the grave, and a sign is erected in memory of him, that God may have mercy upon him, and raise him at the day of resurrection. Because Elijah complained that the children of Israel had forsaken the covenant of circumcision, they call him the Angel of the Covenant. They believe God appointed him to be always present, and see that rite properly performed. Therefore, on such occasions, they place two seats, one for the godfather, and another for the prophet, supposed to be always an invisible spectator of the ceremony. Very devout parents sometimes lay their infant in the chair of Elijah, hoping it may be touched by him.

Having no temple, and no High Priest, the ceremony of the scape-goat cannot now be appropriately performed. But in some countries, they take a white hen, which they swing three times round the priest's head, saying: "This shall be a propitiation for me." The fowl is then killed, while they confess themselves worthy of death. The entrails are placed on the house-top, that some bird of prey may carry them into the wilderness, and their sins with them.

When Jewish fathers are dying, it is customary to call their children together, and pronounce a formal blessing upon each, according to the example of Jacob. At stated times, descendants of Aaron pronounce the appointed benediction on the assembled people, with hands raised as high as the forehead, palms outspread, and thumbs joined, according to the ancient custom.

They observe their religious festivals with as much ceremony as circumstances admit. They all feast at the Passover, and eat unleavened bread. At the Feast of Tabernacles they sit under green boughs. On fast days, they taste no food from daybreak till the stars appear. They never eat the flesh of any animal, unless it has been examined by a Rabbi, pronounced unblemished, and killed by one of their own faith. Pork they never taste, regarding swine as the most unclean of beasts. On account of these peculiarities, the Jews' market is always kept separate from other markets. They are scrupulous concerning the ancient customs of ablution, and never pray, or touch their Sacred Books, till they have washed their hands.

They sustain themselves with the belief that Jerusalem will be rebuilt, and become the centre of a mighty empire. To this day, no Jew will consent to pass under the arch of Titus, at Rome, which commemorates the downfall of their Holy City. They still expect a Messiah to come and restore the kingdom of Israel. With patient humility they acknowledge that their own sins are the only cause of his long delay; but they cheer themselves with the oft-repeated promise that God will not be angry with his chosen people forever. It is a common belief that when Nebuchadnezzar despoiled the Temple and carried the people away captive, Jeremiah caused the Tabernacle and the Ark to be conveyed to the top of Mount Sinai, where he hid them in a deep cave. And that the prophet declared they would remain there concealed till the Messiah came to restore Israel; then they would be discovered and brought forth, and the Shekinah and the cloud would appear in the new Temple, and the sacred fire, which was extinguished by Babylonian soldiers, would be rekindled directly from Heaven.

Every Sabbath, Jews, in all parts of the world, repeat in their synagogues the old prayers: "Convocate us together by the sound of the great trumpet, to the enjoyment of our liberty, and lift up thy ensign to call together all of the captivity from the four quarters of the earth, into our own

land. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who gatherest together the exiles of the people of Israel." "Dwell thou in the midst of Jerusalem, thy city, as thou hast promised. Build it with a building to last forever; and do this speedily, even in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who buildest Jerusalem." "Make the offspring of David thy servant speedily grow up, and flourish, and let our horn be exalted in thy salvation; for we hope for thy salvation every day. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest the horn of our salvation to flourish."

Those who are religious among the Jews are exceedingly devout. Three times a day they repeat the eighteen prayers which compose the most important part of their liturgy. They observe the Sabbath with very great strictness. They commence all books, or writings: "In the name of the Lord," or, "In the name of the Great God." They never destroy, or in any way desecrate, a piece of paper on which the name of Deity is inscribed. They repeat a prayer when they first rise in the morning, and whenever they eat or drink. At the close of every meal, they use a longer form of thanksgiving, praying at the same time that God would have mercy upon Jerusalem, and restore the throne to the house of David. In many of their dwellings is a small apartment especially dedicated to silent meditation and prayer. Their highest expression of adoration is to prostrate themselves, with foreheads touching the ground. While engaged in their devotions, either public or private, they turn their faces toward the place where Jerusalem once stood. They have no musical instruments in the service of the synagogues, deeming it unfitting to their condition as a broken and dispersed people. Men and women sit in different apartments of their places of worship, the same as in the olden time. Children are very early instructed in their Sacred Books, and in the expositions of them by learned Rabbins. All learn to read them in the language of the country in which they live; and those who have anything more than the common rudiments of education are expected to know Hebrew. In their

schools, boys are taught to repeat from the Talmud, laws concerning betrothal, divorce, legal damages, priestly functions, and many other things ill adapted to juvenile comprehension.

As a people, the Jews have never risen to a very high degree of intellectual culture; not from deficiency of talent, but because circumstances have discouraged a general attention to literature or science. Their forefathers disapproved of it, and some of the stricter sort even now question its lawfulness. Moreover, theological prejudice, that most hateful fiend of all the catalogue of Evil Spirits, has kept them continually under depressing influences, in the countries called Christian. Able men have risen among them, in all ages; but, with few exceptions, their freedom has been fettered, and their mental energy impaired, by perpetually walking in the tread-mill of their own traditions. They have expended an immense amount of labour and ingenuity on local controversies. Rabbins who might have made valuable discoveries in science, or been conspicuous in literature, if their attention had been thus directed, contented themselves with disputing about such questions as whether the pot of manna, and Aaron's rod, were laid up *in* the Ark, or *before* it. In modern times, however, literature has been much enriched by Jewish authors, several of whom have attained a brilliant reputation. King David's royal taste for harmonious sounds seems to have descended almost universally upon this people. They are everywhere distinguished as lovers of music, and several of the most eminent composers have risen among them.

While polytheistic worship prevailed in the world, Jews never suffered persecution merely for religion, except under the reign of Antiochus. But after the Star of Bethlehem, and the Crescent ascended, and Jupiter disappeared below the spiritual horizon, they suffered persecution, relentless, universal, and prolonged, beyond all precedent. Their constancy and fortitude equalled their unparalleled wrongs. They endured every form of deprivation, suffering, and

death, rather than abjure the faith consecrated to them by the teaching of ages. They were banished from realm to realm, though guilty of no offence. Their wealth was seized whenever it suited the convenience of rapacious monarchs or magistrates, and the laws which protected others afforded no redress to them. Even personal safety was purchased at a high price, and the pledge of security thus dearly bought, was often violated. Their most sacred feelings were outraged, and boys in the street were encouraged to hoot at men, whom a wiser education would have taught them, in many instances, to reverence. Even now, it cannot be said that enlightened Europe begins to do justice to the Jewish population; the best that can be said is, they are beginning to do less injustice.

Under circumstances more intolerable than ever depressed the energies of any nation, this remarkable people have contrived not only to exist, but to flourish. The concentrated earnestness and perseverance, which always characterized them, became only more observable when confined to few channels. Excluded from other kinds of greatness, they became princes in wealth, and all the nations have borrowed of them. If the fiery ordeal through which they have been passing for ages, has often driven them to artifice and cunning, let the shame rest on those who left their disinherited brethren no other defence against the rapacity and violence of the powerful. They are everywhere a peaceable, industrious, and enterprising class of citizens. They adjust differences among themselves, without troubling courts of justice, and are extremely charitable to the poor of their own communion. Their women have always been proverbial for a high sense of personal purity.

It is estimated that there are now about five millions of Jews in the world, scattered throughout Europe, Asia, Africa, and America.

RETROSPECTIVE VIEW.

'What education is for individual man, revelation is for the whole human race. Why are we not willing to consider all religions merely as progressive steps, by which the human understanding has developed itself in every time and place, and will still develop itself in the future? Why are we not willing to regard them thus, rather than ridicule or hate any of them?'—LASSINA.

THE preceding chapters plainly show that theories concerning God and the Soul, the Creation of the World, its Destruction and Renovation, a Golden Age of innocence long past, and a Golden Age of holiness to come in the far-off Future, were common among all the nations of antiquity. A general resemblance in ideas on these subjects might be expected, because human nature is everywhere the same, and in all ages has had the same wants and the same aspirations, and been liable to the same infirmities. But there is not only a general likeness in these ancient traditions, there is also a close similarity in details, indicating that they were all transmitted from one common source, and adopted by different nations, with such variations as naturally grow out of climate, temperament, and the social condition of the people.

According to the light we at present have on the subject, Hindoos, Chaldeans, and Egyptians, seem to have been the most ancient nations. Which of them has the priority, and is the primeval source of theories we call Oriental, I leave for the learned to determine, if they can. All I aim to show is, that these Oriental theories, from some spring in distant mountains, have floated down to us on the tide of time, like the little boats laden with flowers, and illuminated by a lamp, which South Sea Islanders set adrift on the waters, to be wafted to Spirits in other regions. These

flowers from the Past have scattered seed in our gardens, and scintillations from the little floating lamp have lighted the wax tapers on our altars, the chandeliers in our churches.

The Sacred Writings of Chaldea and Egypt are supposed to have perished utterly. Wherever the theories they contain may have originated, Hindostan is the place where the most ancient written record of them exists. Hindoos and Hebrews are the only nations of antiquity whose sacred literature has come down to our times in a tolerable state of preservation. In tracing the growth, extension, and intermixture of religious ideas, these two nations stand forth with peculiar prominence, as apparently the sources whence the world has derived most of its theological theories. The leading characteristics of the two religions are very different; but their history presents many striking points of resemblance. Both nations were remarkable for the reverential preservation of their Sacred Books, through all manner of dangers and difficulties. In both cases, the dates and authors of different portions are involved in obscurity. In both countries, these ancient and venerated fragments were collected and arranged by a compiler believed to be expressly inspired for the purpose; Vyasa among the Hindoos, and Ezra among the Hebrews. In both countries, these Sacred Books regulated the civil law, as well as the religious ceremonies. The growth and changes of society in both cases gave rise to innumerable commentaries, and the adoption of allegorical meanings, to enlarge the boundaries, when they were found to be too narrow. In both countries, the ancient Sacred Writings were practically superseded by newer ones, of degenerate character; the Pouranas among the Hindoos, the Talmud among the Jews. Both nations considered themselves exclusive depositories of divine truth, and therefore polluted by intermixture with other nations. In both countries, there arose, in process of time, a great religious teacher, who grievously offended the established priesthood, by encouraging men of low degree to become instructors of the people.

Both of these teachers displeased their exclusive countrymen by manifesting a disposition to raise foreigners to the same spiritual level with themselves. Both admitted women among their followers, and both were characterized by an unusual degree of gentleness and benevolence. Both conformed to religious institutions established in the countries where they were born. The disciples of both were persecuted and driven from their native land. Both made more proselytes everywhere among strangers, than they did at home. Both became the founders of a new religion, whose basis was the religion of their forefathers. The teachings of Bouddha spread very widely in the East; those of Christ spread nearly as widely in the West.

Both Hindoos and Hebrews were eminently conservative in their character, prone to rely upon authority, strongly chained to old usages. Greece and Rome had quite an opposite mission to perform, but not less important in aiding the world's spiritual growth. The missions were as different as the centrifugal force of planets is from the central attraction, which keeps them within their orbits. Hindoos, Egyptians, and Hebrews were in all respects bound by their Sacred Volumes; and they transmitted ideas to posterity solely on the authority of those holy traditions. Strictly speaking, the Greeks and Romans had no Sacred Books; for they had none, which they considered binding in any respect except the externals of worship. Philosophy, science, art, literature were all free from trammels; and the laws could change as fast as the changes of society required. There is a very observable difference in the growth of nations where the civil law is included in their Sacred Books, and where it is left free to adapt itself to the progressive development of man. Society *must* grow, and Sacred Books *cannot* grow. Therefore, the effort to keep society within such limits is like confining a child of ten years old in garments made for one of five. However elastic the clothing may be, there must eventually come a time when it is inconvenient to move in them, and impossible to grow. Hindoos and Hebrews were thus

impeded in their progress, while Greeks and Romans were comparatively free from limitations. The East received upon authority, and expended intellect in explaining and defining that authority. The West investigated the causes, the principles, and the relations of things, and judged them by the light of reason. It became a saying, "Jews require a sign, [that is, a miracle,] but Greeks seek after wisdom," [that is, philosophy.] The large credulity of the Jewish mind was so observable, that when any thing exceedingly incredible was told, it became a Roman proverb to say, "*Credat Judæus*," "Let the Jew believe that." Extremely reverential and extremely analytical tendencies of mind both have their dangers, but both are necessary and useful. It is the part of wisdom not to disparage either but to be thankful to God for both.

As the world moved on, East and West, with their opposite tendencies, came into contact by various successive changes of war and commerce. The nations acted and re-acted on each other. Old forms melted, and metals of various value tended to fusion, ready to be re-cast in any new image for which the mould might be providentially prepared. Meanwhile, society, by slow degrees, had been growing wiser and more humane. What degree of *moral* culture had been attained before the birth of Christ, may be seen by reviewing the sayings of Zoroaster among the Persians, of Confucius among the Chinese, of the Prophets and the Essenes among Jews, of Socrates, Plato, and Cicero among Greeks and Romans.

The *theological* ideas, which had become universal before our era, will be more clearly perceived by a reviewing glance at the most prominent. Every ancient nation, of which any historical records remain, believed in One Invisible Being, the Centre and Source of all things. Orientals conceived of him as inactive, serenely contemplating the glory of his own essence, radiating from himself all the vitality of the universe, by inherent necessity, not by any exercise of his will; having no superintendence over creation, no interest in the affairs of men. These views per-

happened originated partly in the prevailing Asiatic notions that anything like activity, or labour, was degrading to the character of a monarch. But a much stronger influence doubtless proceeded from the general idea that Evil was inherent in Matter. The human soul was unwilling to admit that the Supreme Being could be, in any way, connected with evil. Perceiving the material world to be full of apparent evils, men inferred that it could not have been produced by the One Pure Essence. Consequently, they imagined that a Great Spirit, or Power, emanated from the Eternal One, and by the agency of this Second God worlds were created. Hindoos named this first emanation Brahma; Egyptians, Amun; Persians, Ormuzd: all regarded him as the Creator.

The religion of the Hebrews differed from other prior and cotemporary systems in representing the One Source of Being as himself the Creator and Sustainer of all things, by his own direct agency, and the active exertion of his will. But in later times, after their captivity in Babylon, and their settlement in Alexandria, when Oriental, Egyptian, and Grecian theories became mixed with the written doctrines ascribed to Moses, they also taught that God created the world by the agency of a Second Power, whom their writers called "The First Adam," "The Lord of Heaven," "The Wisdom of God," "The Word of God," "The First Begotten Son of God," "Esteemed the same as God."

Hebrews and Persians are the only two ancient nations on record, whose religious laws forbade them to make images of Celestial Beings. Persians were taught to utter invocations to Spirits, as an important part of worship. But though Hebrews believed in a multitude of Spirits, they were required to adore Jehovah alone, and to consider him as the One, Eternal, Invisible, and Incomprehensible God. Whoever compares the two religions, will observe several points of resemblance. There are no means of ascertaining what the Jews borrowed from Zoroaster, or what Zoroaster borrowed from them. The two systems of

course came into close contact with each other, during the captivity in Babylon. Even if this were not admitted as the inevitable consequence of mixing two nations together, it would be sufficiently proved by the very Persian character, which pervades Hebrew writings and traditions subsequent to that period.

Some one has observed that "instead of saying God made man after his own image, it might be said man makes God after his own image;" and it is indeed an obvious truth that human beings give a reflection of their own characters in the estimate they form of Deity. Hindoos invested Brahm with their own love of contemplation and repose. The Chinese Chang-ti was exactly according to their pattern of a wise and beneficent emperor, passing humane and salutary laws to promote the virtue and increase the happiness of his subjects. The Jehovah of the Hebrews was jealous of his own pre-eminence, exclusive in his care of one nation, prompt to exterminate those who kept back from him the required offerings, or transferred the glory of his name to another. He was a Leader of Armies, great in the slaughter of Philistines, a stern but placable Father to his chosen people. The Greeks, lively and intellectual, conceived of Deity as an active, enterprising, intriguing, and amorous being. Philosophers among them thought of him abstractly, as the Mind of the Universe. Some, like Socrates and Plato, rose to the idea of a Universal Father.

In nearly all languages the name of the Supreme Being signified Prince, Lord, or Ruler; because in the first stages of human society, Power is naturally regarded as the highest attribute of the Divine Mind. The Chinese called Deity the Supreme Emperor. The word Jehovah is said to signify eternity of being: I am, was, and shall be. But this holy name was uttered only in the temple, by the High Priest. In the synagogues, it was read Adonai, which signifies Lord. Plato conceived of the Highest as The Good; and either from the prevalence of Platonism, or from some more ancient source, whence Platonism itself

came, the word God is probably derived. In the Saxon, Swedish, and Danish languages, good is written god; in Dutch, goed; in German, gut, pronounced goot; in Persian, chod. In Saxon and Dutch, the name for Deity is God; in Swedish and Danish, Gud; in German, Gott; in Persian, Choda, or Goda. It seems likely that the title of God and the Devil [D'Evil,] applied to the great contending Powers, supposed to sway the universe, originated in the old Persian ideas concerning Ormuzd, the Prince of the Good, and Arimanes of Evil.

Three was universally a sacred and mystical number, representing Deity in his completeness. One of the most ancient symbols in Hindostan and Egypt was a Triangle, with an Eye in the centre, to represent the All-Seeing. Hindoos represented their three great gods in one image. Egyptian deities were usually in Triads. Plato taught a Trinity of divine attributes; Goodness, Wisdom, and Pervading Life. Cabalists appear to have expressed the same ideas in Hebrew style, when they wrote of Jehovah, the Wisdom of Jehovah, and the Habitation of Jehovah. Hindoos, Egyptians, Platonists, and Cabalists, supposing man to be an image of God, all represented him as a tri-une being, consisting of a rational soul, a sensitive soul, and a material body. In all countries philosophers and mystics expressed more or less vaguely that the Deity was One in Three.

It was a very prevalent theory, conspicuous in various religions, that the ideas pre-existing in Deity took form by the utterance of a Word. In Persian and Hebrew Sacred Books, it is declared that God spoke, and light sprang into existence, followed successively by all the other objects of creation. Persians called this Word Honover, and invoked him as The Great Primal Spirit. Hebrews called the Word Memra, and regarded him as a representative of Jehovah to the mind of man. With Hindoos, the creative Word was Aum, called Om. They believed it included within itself all the qualities of Brahma, and revered it next to him. The general idea evidently was that the Word

existed with God from all eternity, and when spoken, became a glorious Form, the aggregate embodiment of all the Divine Ideas, including them all within itself, and thus by development becoming God's Great Agent in the work of Creation.

The first beings he produced dwelt in upper spheres, where they breathed the pure element of ether, as mortals breathe the air. Being nearest to the Source of Light, they received a larger infusion of his divinity, which was manifested in a greater portion of outward radiance. These qualities, interior and exterior, gradually diminished in degree, as the beings created were farther and farther removed from their Fountain of Life. The seven Spirits of the Planets, the first emanations from the Creator, were ethereal and resplendent, beautiful above all that succeeded them, endowed with a more comprehensive and pervading intellect. Each series of beings included the ideas which formed the next series below it; so that each descending sphere was an attenuated likeness of the one above it. This regular system was carried down even to the earthly Adam, in whom was supposed to pre-exist all the human souls that could forever after take form in human bodies; consequently, when he fell they all became infected with his sin.

It was the superior sphere of ethereal and luminous forms, the manifested Ideas of the Divine Mind, which Plato called the Intelligible World, or the World of Intelligences. Of each and every Idea in that region of light our material world was a grosser embodiment, a degenerate copy. But the Divine Idea, to which every material object owed its life, attended that object through its whole existence. Thus the sun, the moon, the stars, every stream and every tree, had its attendant Spirit, and so had the soul of every man and woman. I suppose this archetype is what Aristotle referred to, when he said that man, beside his threefold union of a rational soul, a spiritual body, and a material body, was said by some to have "another soul, luminous and star-like." This soul dwelt in the World of

Intelligences, but was spiritually present with its earthly copy, knew all his thoughts and actions, attended him when the soul parted from the body, and gave in a record of his deeds to the Judges of the Dead. In allusion to this, philosophers were accustomed to exhort a man not to offend his Genius. The emperor Marcus Aurelius says: "Those who live in harmony with Divine Natures, are ready on all occasions to obey the commands of that Genius, which the Gods have given to every one, for his guide and governor." This celestial companion was doubtless the "demon," to whom Socrates so often and so reverently alluded; and the same idea gave rise to the custom of swearing by the Genius of the Emperor.

The Infinite and Eternal God was so far removed from finite comprehension, and so incapable of contact with evil, that a Second God was supposed to be his agent. But still this Creator was too high above human sympathies; and the soul sought to connect itself with him by intermediate agents. Reverence for his high rank combined with the cravings of the heart to produce this result. Asiatics, accustomed to think it beneath the dignity of a king to transact the affairs of the empire in his own person, naturally attached the same idea to the Universal Ruler, and represented his government as administered by an infinite number of subordinate agents, of various gradations, endowed with intelligence in proportion to the importance of the functions they fulfilled. Hindoos, Persians, Hebrews, Greeks, all believed in a great company of Spirits, who mediated between man and the higher deities. They carried up the prayers of mortals, and brought down blessings in return. They taught men what religious ceremonies to use, and what atoning sacrifices to offer, in order to obtain remission of sins; and they interceded with the offended Powers to obtain propitiation. Generally, there was some one Spirit supposed to be pre-eminent in these kindly offices. Persians named Mithras "The Mediator." Cabalists called the angel Metraton "The Mediator between God and man." They said he led the children of Israel

through the wilderness, and gave the Law to Moses. Platonized Jews, in Alexandria, described the Logos, or Word as "The Mediator and Intercessor between God and man." They supposed he appeared, under various angelic forms, to the patriarchs, that he dictated to Moses, and inspired the prophets; for it had then become a universal idea that no man had seen God himself at any time.

The same tendencies which made men try to bring The Creator nearer to them, by the intervention of intermediate agents, naturally led them to worship the mediums in preference to the higher Deity, whom they represented and served. Thus Brahma gave place to Vishnu, in various forms; Osiris eclipsed Amun; Mithras superseded Ormuzd; and Apollo received much more worship than Jupiter.

Mortals, wandering in the dark, forever needing help, and craving sympathy from superior beings, took yet another step to link themselves with Divinity. They supposed that intermediate Spirits kept the higher Deities constantly informed concerning human affairs, and that those deities, except the Creator himself, occasionally assumed a mortal form, to assist mankind in great emergencies; either impelled by their own compassion, or acting in obedience to benevolent injunctions of the Creator. It was also believed that pious human souls changed to Spirits of a higher and higher degree, until some of the most perfect became one with God; in other words, became God. While thus transmigrating through higher spheres of existence, their uncompleted degree of goodness sometimes compelled them, by eternal laws of cause and effect, to return and serve a new probation on earth. In that case, their previous experiences in more exalted worlds made them men of larger intellect, quicker sympathies, and finer intuitions, than others. As repeated sojourners on earth, in various capacities, they became practically acquainted with all the sorrows and temptations of humanity, and could justly judge its sins, while they sympathized with its weakness and its sufferings. When they again became Spirits in higher regions, they remembered the lower forms

they had inhabited, and felt a lively interest in worlds where they had previously dwelt. They could penetrate even the secret thoughts of mortals, though men could not so much as perceive the outward forms of those heavenly guardians; according to the proverb: "The butterfly remembers the grub, but the grub knows nought of the butterfly." Having strong faith in all this, a belief naturally followed that Gods, and benevolent Spirits, with their all-embracing knowledge, and their tender interest in forms and places they had once inhabited, would sometimes voluntarily leave Paradise and descend to earth, on purpose to work, to suffer, and to die for mankind. Such was Crishna, an incarnation of the second person of the Hindoo Trinity. If a sinner, even at the hour of death, thought of him, and sincerely believed that he was Vishnu in a human form, it was deemed sufficient to insure salvation. The same mission of sacrifice for others was performed by a great and glorious Spirit, descended in the form of Bouddha. Having performed his labour of love on this earth, and descended to the lower regions, to instruct and encourage souls in prison there, he became one with God, by exceeding holiness, and ascended to the heavenly Paradise, without dying. Thenceforth, he was regarded as God himself, and prayers were deemed peculiarly availing if offered in his name. In Egypt, Osiris was a God, a human benefactor, and the judge of all who died. There is no parallel instance among the Greeks or Romans; but there also the idea of incarnation appeared under various forms. Gods descended visibly to the earth, and great men ascended to the stars, where they were supposed to exist as demi-gods, or Spirits half way between human beings and the higher deities.

As man the individual looks back lovingly to his childhood, and remembers only its pleasures, so mankind have ever reverted to the infancy of the world, as a period of innocence and freedom. All the ancient nations had traditions of a Paradise on earth, before evil came into the world. In that happy time, men were spontaneously good,

knew truth by intuition, lived in perfect equality, and had no need of laws, or labour. As the individual man is forever aspiring after happiness and perfection in some bright sphere beyond this existence, so mankind have always been uttering prophecies of a golden future for the world, when men would again live together as free, happy, and affectionate children of the same beneficent Father. Undefined longings to realize this glorious idea of human equality and brotherhood were expressed in numerous prophecies, and in various religious customs; such as the mingling of kings and peasants in Persia, and the exchange of places between masters and servants on the festival of Saturn in Rome. There is something touching in this proof that even in the youth of the world, the weight of humanity pressed so heavily on sympathising hearts, and its discords jarred so harshly on organizations delicately attuned. In most nations, a belief prevailed that the return of the Golden Age would be brought about by the advent of a just and holy man, through whose agency all discords, moral and physical, would be harmonized, and the world restored to order. Hindoos believed such a personage would appear among them, and bring all nations under guidance of the Bramins. Chinese expected a "holy one" would appear on their sacred mountain and bring all the world into subjection to the Chinese empire. Persians believed that such a deliverer was waiting to be summoned to their "land of light," and that when he appeared, he would convert the whole world to the religion of Zoroaster. But this expectation is peculiarly conspicuous in the history of Hebrews. They had the strongest assurance that a prince and deliverer would come in the royal line of King David, who would exterminate all nations and individuals, except those who adopted the Jewish religion, and gave themselves up willing subjects to his government. This belief was so deeply impressed on the popular mind that it affected the whole character and destiny of the people. It made them blindly rash in their defiance of Roman power, led to perpetual insurrec-

tions, and finally caused the utter destruction of their Holy City. Tacitus, Josephus, and Suetonius, have all recorded that about the time of the commencement of our era an expectation prevailed generally throughout the East that an extraordinary deliverer would soon appear.

From the remotest antiquity astronomical calculations were afloat in various nations concerning successive destructions of the world by water and fire, and its subsequent renovation. All people had traditions concerning a great Deluge. Hindoos, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Chinese, Persians, Hebrews, Druids, and Scandinavians, all had prophecies, apparently derived from a common source, concerning the destruction of the world by fire, and its restoration to primeval beauty. In connection with this, was a belief that the great deliverer of humanity would establish his kingdom of heavenly order on the earth thus purified and renovated for his reception.

All ancient nations believed in the immortality of the soul, always coupled with the idea of previous existence. Since all emanated from God, and was a portion of him, no soul could possibly die, not even the soul of animal or vegetable; because it participated in the eternal nature of the Being whence it proceeded. Men saw that bodies died continually, and from that they conceived an idea that the soul, for temporary purposes, passed from form to form, each more glorious than another, until it arrived at the radiant and ethereal beauty of Spirits of the Sun, endowed with intelligence so vast, that the universe was more completely open to their inspection, than the world was to mortals. As Spirits, by successive careers of virtue, ascended to higher and higher series of existence, they were supposed to pass from region to region of Paradise, each exceeding the other in marvellous beauty, adapted to the enlarged powers of its inhabitants. Royal residences being the most magnificent mortal eyes had seen, celestial abodes were naturally imagined to be of similar, though transcending splendour. Hence they were described full of palaces with golden columns and gates of pearl, surrounded by bloom-

ing gardens, and ever-flowing fountains of nectar. That such places really existed, and would hereafter be enjoyed by pious souls, was a subject of earnest and vital belief among the Hindoos; a fact sufficiently proved by the large numbers among them who, in all ages have eagerly sought death, in hopes of entering Paradise. It was natural that they should thus long for regions abounding with delicious fruit, flowing with milk, wine, and honey, inhabited by the wise and good, who there spent thousands or millions of years, according to their degrees of merit, enjoying all that was beautiful in sight or sound, singing praises to the Gods, and constantly increasing in knowledge. But it is not easy to imagine why men deprived themselves of all pleasure in this world, and tortured their poor bodies, with the hope of becoming absorbed in the Universal Soul, which of course involved annihilation of their own identity. Yet those who entered upon a saintly career regarded such absorption as a state of perfect beatitude, for the attainment of which it was wise to sacrifice every thing in this life. Egyptian monuments plainly indicate belief in ascending spheres of existence, through which the pure departed were led by starry Spirits, till they arrived at the realm of supernal glory; while the wicked passed through descending spheres of degradation and misery. There is reason to suppose that they also regarded union with the Supreme as the highest bliss. The Druids had such assured faith in a life beyond the grave, that they actually loaned money on the promise of repayment in another world; and the same thing is related of Buddhists. In Greece, the populace seem to have been almost entirely swayed by hopes and fears of a temporal nature. But they believed that the souls of departed ancestors were living somewhere, and took a sympathizing interest in human affairs; for they always invoked their aid in great emergencies. The beautiful conceptions of their poets concerning the Elysian Fields seem to have flitted, like graceful shadows, through the imagination, without taking strong hold upon their faith. Reflecting men among them expressed themselves

on the subject with timid uncertainty, often mingled with earnest hope, and lofty aspirations toward an infinite perfection of being. Pictures of a future existence formed no part of the sacred literature of Hebrews. There are no direct and positive allusions to it in the books ascribed to Moses. It was not until after the return from Babylon, when the Persian language and ideas were amalgamated with their own, that the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body became subjects of dispute between different sects. When the belief did prevail among them, it was coupled with the prevailing oriental theories of pre-existence and transmigration. The allusions to the subject, even in the later Prophets, are brief, incidental, and indefinite. The hope of immortality is so inherent in human nature, the heart has so universally clung to it, imagination has invested it with such wealth of beauty, that the apparent absence of it among a people so devout is a singular fact, of which I have never seen any satisfactory explanation. Bishop Warburton, in his "Divine Legation of Moses," acknowledges the fact, and attempts to account for it thus: The basis of his theory is that no people can be restrained from sin without the fear of future punishment, and the hope of future reward, unless by the miraculous interposition of Deity. The Jews, being under the perpetual and personal guidance of Jehovah, were intended to be a miraculous exception to this universal law. Therefore, whoever transgressed among them was sure to suffer the consequences of his sin in this life; or if he did not, his posterity could not escape from it; and this was done to prove to Jehovah's chosen people that he was always present with them, watching all their ways. Moses, knowing this was the Divine policy, purposely concealed his own faith in the immortality of the soul, and guided the people altogether by temporal inducements.

The inhabitants of Asiatic countries were greatly troubled with poisonous serpents; and when they imagined what torments would be inflicted on wicked souls, they naturally supposed that they dwelt in regions infested with stinging

serpents, and gnawing worms that never died. It was the general belief that these places of suffering were temporary abodes, merely intended to purify the soul from sin; that purpose being accomplished, it would return to earth to serve another probation, and perchance attain to Paradise. Fire, being the subtlest of the elements, and the least connected with Matter, was supposed to be the most effectual for purification. Some passed through fire in this life, or passed their children through fire, as a baptism, or even burned themselves to death, to avoid the necessity of such a cleansing process hereafter, when it would be all the more prolonged for not being voluntary. Of course, with such ideas, fire was a predominant feature in their conception of regions prepared for the wicked. Hindoos, Persians, Greeks, and Jews, all supposed sinners would be subjected to such purification. Persians believed that all Spirits, even the Devil himself, would finally do homage to goodness, and thus become happy. Jews supposed that the wicked of their own nation would be tormented with fire hereafter, but merely for purposes of purification. At the end of the world, they would be summoned to rise from the dead, and share in the bliss of the Messiah's kingdom. They generally supposed that other nations would have no resurrection.

Hindoos made an exact calculation of the amount of reward and punishment appropriate to every degree of sin. If a man did more than good enough to save himself from punishment, it was so much earned and invested in Paradise. Every additional prayer, every act of charity to pilgrims, or the poor, increased his stock. Therefore, the pious among them were greatly addicted to works of supererogation; and the same was the case with Pharisees among the Jews. Hindoos also believed that the prayers, offerings, and almsgiving of one man might be transferred for the benefit of another. Consequently, they prayed, and did penance, and made offerings to the gods, and gave donations to the Bramins, and alms to pilgrims, for the benefit of departed ancestors; believing that every such

act on their part helped to shorten their period of punishment in another world. Buddhists adopted these views, as they did most of the traditions of their native land.

As soon as men conceived of punishment for sin, they began to seek some mode of escape from it by proxy. Blood, being considered the principle of life, was deemed an appropriate expiation, peculiarly acceptable to deities. Large and noble animals were more highly esteemed for this purpose than smaller ones. Therefore superb horses were sacrificed to the beneficent Spirit of the Sun, who, in many countries, was the most popular object of worship. Man, being the noblest of all animals, was the highest kind of sacrifice, and his blood was supposed to atone for a greater amount of sins than the blood of horses or oxen. Consequently human victims were offered to atone for national sins, or to avert national calamities. Hence, when Jesus was crucified at the time of the Passover, when each family offered the blood of a Paschal Lamb as atonement for sin, the High Priest said it was "good that one man should die for all the people." The idea that men might be forcibly put to death for the offences of others grew into the belief that he who voluntarily sacrificed himself might thereby expiate the sins of his whole family, tribe, or nation. Thus the Hindoo widow, who voluntarily burned herself on the funeral pile of her husband, was supposed thereby to atone for all the transgressions of his family and her own. The higher and holier the victim, the more efficacious the blood, and the greater the amount of sins it could wash away. Even when the Jewish High Priest died in the course of nature, his death was supposed to atone for all the involuntary sins the people had committed since the annual Day of Atonement. In great emergencies, kings sacrificed their children, and sometimes offered their own blood, to expiate the sins of the whole nation, and avert the wrath of offended deities.

It has been already stated that the existence of Evil was ascribed to the imperfection of Matter. This sounds like a harmless abstract theory; but it formed the root of many

theological opinions, and has had an extensive and powerful influence on human character and destiny. At a very early period, it introduced civil war into the house of life, by teaching men to regard the body as an enemy to the soul. Passions and instincts given for usefulness, and for enjoyment, were considered spiritual snares. A healthy body and a good appetite were hindrances in the way of holiness; and to feel sexual attraction was yielding to the instigation of the Devil. In order to become angels, men tormented their poor material forms. They reduced themselves to skeletons, by midnight watchings and prolonged fasts; they scourged themselves till the blood flowed; they tore their flesh with hooks, and burned it with fire. They spent their wealth in sacrifices, and their time in prayers, to atone for the sin of having any bodily wants. From this horror of natural instincts arose the traditions of various nations that their holy teachers were born of virgins; that process being supposed necessary, in order to disconnect them with the alleged impurity of human passions.

With regard to Evil Spirits, the growth of ideas seems to have been very gradual. In the beginning, there was no distinct and defined separation between good and evil in the minds of men. In Hindoo theology, the same god destroyed and reproduced, and was not supposed to be impelled by wicked motives in his work of destruction, any more than Nature is. In Egypt, the two powers were divided, but the malignant Typho was twin brother of Osiris the good. Zoroaster taught the doctrine of one powerful Prince of Darkness, who headed a legion of wicked subordinates, in perpetual warfare with the God of Light. The idea of one representative of evil, named Satan, did not appear in Jewish writings till after their residence in Babylon. A host of inferior Evil Spirits swarmed in all religions, and were everywhere supposed to produce diseases by taking possession of human bodies. Sudden and violent attacks of illness, such as insanity, or fits, were peculiarly attributed to their agency. It was the general

belief that they could be expelled by invoking a Good Spirit, or uttering a holy name. In all the ancient nations, people were in the constant habit of resorting to priests and sanctified men to cast out demons, by reciting sacred words. And they nearly all had traditions concerning Spirits who rebelled against the highest Deity, were expelled from Paradise, and kept chained in lower regions.

Concerning miracles, oracles, and prophecies, a very singular mass of evidence is presented in the history of ancient nations. One feature common to them all was, that unpremeditated speech was prophetic. Men were deemed inspired when they were unconscious what they uttered, being impelled thereto by a power beyond themselves. Even the sudden exclamations of insane people, or idiots, were in some places deemed prophetic. In all countries a certain degree of madness was considered a favourable preparation; and it was a common thing to excite such frenzy by music. The Grecian Pythoness, before she uttered oracles, inhaled a kind of vapour, which put her into a nervous and bewildered state. Records from various and very different sources speak of men who prophesied in trances; who could read the interior thoughts of others; whose souls occasionally left their bodies for a while, and at such times could give information concerning the most distant places. Of the celebrated Sibyls, little or nothing is known with certainty. Their oracles were very ancient, and the reverence they excited for so many centuries would seem to imply something more than ordinary in their character. Heraclitus, who wrote five hundred years before Christ, says: "Their unadorned, earnest words, spoken with inspired mouth, reached through a thousand years."

It is worthy of note that the most exclusive of all nations admitted that miracles might be performed, and true predictions uttered, by worshippers of false gods. Balaam prophesied as truly as any prophet of Israel. Josephus declares that an Egyptian correctly foretold the birth and destiny of Moses. He also says that the sea retired for the

army of Alexander, a worshipper of Jupiter, as it did for Moses, a worshipper of Jehovah. The miracles said to have been performed by Egyptian Magi, in Pharaoh's presence, are nearly as wonderful, and quite as difficult of explanation, as those performed at the same time by Moses. Jews explained the difficulty, by saying that their own prophets and miracle-workers received power from Jehovah, while those of other nations received it from Evil Spirits; and believers in each and every religion solved the problem by a similar process. The Sacred Books of all nations abound with miracles, which are sincerely believed by the devout. Hindoo Pauranas declare that a crocodile swallowed Crishna, and cast him forth unhurt. Hebrew records affirm that a whale swallowed Jonah, and after retaining him three days, disgorged him safely on dry land. Hindoo Sacred Books tell of a fish that discoursed with Menu, and the Hebrew tell of a serpent that talked with Eve.

In the childhood of the world, men understood little, and believed much; the same as children do. The intermediate scientific causes of things were concealed from them, and therefore every unusual occurrence was regarded as a direct and marvellous intervention of the gods. If a hail storm dispersed their enemies, Hebrews said Jehovah "cast down great stones from heaven." If a man died from exposure to the sun, Greeks said, and verily believed, that Apollo had shot him with his golden arrow, in punishment for some offence. When any person was struck dead by lightning, Scandinavians believed that Thor, God of Thunder, was angry with him, and had hurled his hammer at his head.

De Wette remarks: "Miracles have their foundation partly in the narrowness of human knowledge, partly in the distance of time between the event itself and the written relation of it. Events, for a long time repeated orally, naturally become enlarged in the repetition." It may be justly observed of all nations, that in proportion as intellectual cultivation advances, and they are brought nearer to the

light of cotemporary history, miracles diminish, oracles are hushed, and prophets disappear.

The classification of human souls was an ultimate manifestation of the same religious ideas which formed a hierarchy of Spirits, of various ranks and degrees of intelligence. There are in human nature strong propensities to become merely animal, and it was the theory of caste that these propensities were realised and perpetuated in certain races of men. Human nature is also endowed with earnest aspirations to rise into fellowship with Divine Beings; and this superior tendency was likewise supposed to be manifested and transmitted by a peculiar race of men, who had received at creation a larger infusion of the Deity. It was a common and most devout belief, that the gods revealed their sublimer secrets only to the hereditary priesthood. Among this consecrated class were supposed to be some individuals, who stood higher above the plane of humanity than others; men who had been "twice born," or "thrice born;" who had become wise through experience of manifold forms of existence, and by prolonged residence in various regions of Paradise. Such were inspired poets and prophets, who uttered oracles, interpreted dreams, performed miracles, and received sacred laws directly from heaven. Their natures raised them nearer to the gods, than other mortals; and standing thus elevated, like mountain-tops above the earth, they received and reflected the first rays of celestial light, while all beneath them lay in shadow.

We do great injustice to those men of olden time, whether priests or prophets, to whatever nation they might belong, if we suppose that they generally intended to deceive the people by fabulous legends, and miracles of their own invention. They had a much more positive and distinct faith in the perpetual presence and active agency of Spirits, than we have. They found themselves surrounded with mysteries, which they did not seek to analyze, as we do, but, with child-like reverence, ascribed them to the direct influence of the gods. Had they witnessed the process

of taking a daguerreotype likeness, they would have believed that it was actually done by the Spirit of the Sun, and that he had illuminated the minds of men, so that they understood how to prepare the plate and concentrate the rays. Supposing that all knowledge was directly imparted to human souls by Superior Powers, when they conceived of laws wisely adapted to the condition of the people, they doubtless really and truly believed that some god inspired their thoughts. That such inspiration might flow into their minds undisturbed by outward obstructions, they retired to the solitude of a cave, as Numa did, or drew nearer to the Divine Presence, as they supposed, by ascending to the summit of mountains, as did Zoroaster and Moses. That which came to them in their hours of contemplation, they reverently regarded as a revelation from above. We may call it superstition, if we please; but did it not embody a great truth? In all that we think wisely, or do well, are we not guided and inspired? Ideas which have been imparted to devotional souls in all ages, are they not true in their essence, however various the forms they take?

We wake as from a sleep, and find ourselves on a suspended globe in the midst of the universe. Above and below, clouds enclose us. A magnificent phantasmagoria of ever-changing forms and colours circle round us. The tones of God's voice, by which the world was made, are echoed in the great mystery of music, forever suggesting what it never reveals. Perpetual whispers come to us from the unknown infinite. Processions march through our sleep in magic-lantern show, and we cannot understand what they are, or why they visit us. We are a miracle also to ourselves; not knowing whence we came, or whither we are travelling. But through all time, voices of invisible ones have been whispering to listening souls that we are of celestial origin, and shall return to a celestial home. Those who have given utterance to the aspirations thus kindled within them are called prophets, and men cherish their names with affectionate veneration. They are bright stars to illuminate and adorn the darkness around us.

Loving and solemn is their glance from afar; but of them also, as of ourselves, we know not the whence and the how. Thus environed by wonders, which intellect is helpless to explain, which science carries only a very few steps farther back toward the Primal Cause, can we marvel that men in the childhood of the world verily believed all things miraculous? They were like infants, who think a piece of paper moved by the wind is a living thing. We have outgrown that delusion, and have learned that paper is not alive, that it is manufactured from rags, and destined for a temporary use. But do we in reality know much better than they did what life is?

In the prophecies and miracles recorded in the preceding pages, observing readers will notice several indications of the presence of what we call animal magnetism. Some of the ancient devotees of Hindostan gained great celebrity by discerning the thoughts of those who came into their presence, and by bringing tidings from a great distance in an incredibly short time. Sir James Forbes, in his Oriental Memoirs, describes a Bramin in modern times, who was distinguished for the same faculty. He divined what an English lady, resident in India, was thinking of her son, whom she had left in his native land. He told her what the young man was doing, and predicted what he would do; and though it was quite different from her own anticipations, it proved as he had said. It is recorded of Egyptian priests that they cured the diseased by passing their hands over them. Balaam is said to have prophesied "in a trance, having his eyes open." Hyrcanus, the Jewish Prince and High Priest, told of a distant victory gained by his son, at the very moment that it occurred. Magicians and wizards were accused of travelling through the air, of being in two places at once, of telling the past and the future, and reading the thoughts of others. The soul of Hermetimus, the Greek philosopher, frequently left his body apparently lifeless, and wandered all over the earth, bringing tidings from remote regions, and foretelling futurity. The priestess of the Delphic oracle perceived

that Croesus was boiling flesh in a covered brass vessel, though the secret was known only to himself, and he was hundreds of miles distant. That these phenomena were noticed by the ancients seems to be indicated by their general theory that man was endowed with an intermediate substance between his rational soul and his body. They sometimes called it an ærial body, and sometimes a sensuous soul; and they described it as having *all* of sensation in each and every part of it; as "all eye, all ear, and all taste."

It seems to me that these facts help to solve the problem concerning oracles. The influence they retained over the minds of intelligent men, for so many ages, is difficult to reconcile with the idea that they were mere results of trickery. Women were generally chosen to deliver oracles, and some of the anecdotes concerning them imply that they were of nervous temperaments. It seems most likely that those women were sometimes clairvoyant; and that the priests, judging according to the spirit of those ages, really believed their mysterious utterance came from the gods. But clairvoyants were of rare occurrence, and the demand for oracles was continual. Tempted by the rich offerings which inquirers brought to the temples on such occasions, the priests doubtless resorted to counterfeits, when they could not find the reality. They constructed sentences studiously enigmatical, and spoke from within hollow statues what the god himself was supposed to utter. Hence, the oracles delivered were sometimes wonderfully true, at other times wholly false; more frequently than either, utterly incomprehensible. But the true oracles, though rare, sufficed to keep alive the general faith.

We misjudge our brethren of the older world, when we suppose that their systems of religion were cunningly devised by priests on purpose to enslave the people. Every form of religion that has swayed the minds of men originated in a sincere faith. They all began in earnest, taught much that was true, became sources of wealth and power,

and then degenerated. The learned Schlegel observes: "The more I investigate the ancient history of the world, the more I am convinced that the civilized nations started with a purer worship of the Supreme Being; that the magic power of Nature over the imagination of successive human races produced polytheism at a later period, and finally, in the popular belief, altogether obscured the more spiritual religious ideas; while the wise alone preserved the primeval secret within the sanctuary." He goes on to say that the *mythologies* of different countries were the most changeable and contradictory portions of religion; varying according to climate, soil, and other circumstances.

The wide separation between the views of priests and philosophers, and those of the people, which grew out of the maintenance of secret doctrines, had a disastrous effect on the character of nations. The most incoherent and disjointed traditions, the merest external ideas, the most degrading rites, existed in the same country side by side with the most sublime theories, and the most practical allegories. Hebrew Scriptures contain several indications that this exile of the people from all sources of spiritual truth in Egypt had made a deep impression on the great soul of Moses. He started with the noble project of making the Israelites "a nation of priests." Swayed by his superior nature, they promised to do all that the Lord commanded; but even during his short absence on the mountain, they returned to the animal worship of the Egyptian populace, in which his own brother encouraged them. They offered sacrifices to the image of the golden calf, a representative of Apis, and when the religious ceremonies were completed, they feasted on the animals sacrificed, and sang aloud, and danced naked, and made themselves merry, as was the custom at Egyptian festivals. The indignation and discouragement of Moses was shown by his breaking in pieces the table of moral laws, which he had brought down from the mountain, and ordering thousands of the people to be sacrificed as an atonement for their sin. He also made proclamation: "Thus saith

the Lord, I will send an Angel before thee; I will not go up in the midst of thee myself, lest I consume thee in the way; for thou art a stiff-necked people." The second time he went up the mountain to consult the Lord, he returned with another set of commandments, far more ceremonial in their character, as if made in adaptation to the external views of the people. Jeremiah seems to imply that Moses first tried to bring the people up to a higher standard than was afterward adopted; for he declared: "Thus saith the God of Israel, I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt. But this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people; and walk ye in all the ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you." Ezra returned to the great idea of teaching all the people, which had been conceived by Moses. Every village had its synagogue, where the Law and the Prophets were publicly read and expounded every Sabbath, to women as well as to men. This was a grand and peculiar feature in Hebrew history, and it deserves our reverence and gratitude.

Even when the Jewish religion became a mere mass of ceremonials, so that prophets declared the Lord was weary of their burnt offerings, some souls among them preserved a degree of interior life, while they strictly conformed to the established ritual, by regarding it all as symbolical of high ideas. The spiritual-minded in all ages, and all countries, find some way to reconcile the most external formalities of worship, and the wildest stories in their Sacred Books, with their own conceptions of what is holy and true. The mistake we make is in supposing that our own religion is the only one that so adapts itself. At the gate of *every* Paradise, God has placed these flaming cherubim, which turn every way, to guard the Tree of Life.

In order to do justice to ancient modes of thought, it is necessary always to bear in mind this proneness to invest

outward forms with spiritual significance. It was constantly manifested in the worship of various forces of Nature, especially of Light. In several countries, there were two deities of the Sun; one being the Divine Idea, from which the other was formed; thus it became the Attendant Ferver, or Guardian Angel of the lower form, and embodied a much higher idea. In Hindostan, Surya, who drove the golden chariot of day through the heavens, was a mere subaltern, compared with Crishna, God of the Sun, and Source of Truth. In Persia, Mithras, the Spirit of Intelligence, as well as of Light, was far superior to Korshid, the visible luminary. In Greece, Helios was merely the resplendent orb of day, but Apollo was King of Intellectual Light, whose gifts were poetry, prophecy, and knowledge of medicine. That poets and philosophers worshipped Truth under the symbol of Light is very evident from many expressions of Plato; from the morning prayer of the Therapeutæ in Egypt; and from the declaration of Hindoo commentators, that when they pray to the Sun, they meditate on the Supreme Internal Spirit of that heavenly orb, "who constantly directs the intellect of man toward the acquisition of virtue, wealth, and final beatitude." Doubtless the unreflecting crowd worshipped merely outward objects. But thinking minds everywhere raised their ideas to the souls within the objects. For the spirits who accompanied the Planets in their course, they had especial reverence; believing that they surrounded the throne of the Eternal One, and took friendly interest in the affairs of men; as we also think of archangels. Mortals everywhere crave mediums between their souls and the great inaccessible Father of All.

"Oh, never rudely will I blame their faith
 In the might of Stars and Angels! 'Tis not merely
 The human being's Pride that peoples space
 With life and mystical predominance;
 Since likewise for the stricken heart of Love
 This visible nature, and this common world
 Are all too narrow."

The symbols by which different orders of Spirits were represented were doubtless very significant to the ancients, though they have become unmeaning to us. It is likely that the winged lions, bulls, and serpents, so common in Hindoo, Chaldean, and Egyptian temples, had reference to powerful Spirits, supposed to preside over those constellations. Perhaps the cure of diseases, and the preservation of health might be regarded as peculiarly the mission of Spirits in the constellation of the Serpent. It seems otherwise difficult to explain how such an animal came to be the universal symbol of Immortality and Wisdom. A serpent was wreathed round the staff of *Æsculapius*, and came to be the common sign of physicians. The Egyptian Cross signified Life; but when twined with a Serpent it became the emblem of Immortal Life. In Hebrew, the same word meant a seraph and a serpent. To be wise as a seraph conveys a much clearer idea to the modern mind, than to be "wise as a serpent."

With regard to symbols and ceremonies now regarded as immodest, and which in fact became so, in process of time, it has already been suggested that they originated in the comparative simplicity and innocence of the human mind, and in that state excited genuine reverence. Benjamin Constant says, very wisely: "The bad influence of licentious fables begins when contempt and ridicule are poured upon them. It is the same with ceremonies. The most indecent rites can be practised by a religious people with great purity of heart. But when incredulity reaches the people, such rites become the cause and the pretext of the most revolting corruption."

From the evidence collected in preceding pages, it is evident that no monotheistic religion has ever existed, if the word be taken in its strictest meaning. The doctrine of One Supreme God was common, but all believed in a multitude of Spirits, who were his ministers. The Persian religion strongly inculcated the idea of One Supreme Being, but it prescribed invocations to numerous Spirits, regarded merely as delegates and portions of Him. The Hebrew

religion approached nearer to a pure monotheism; but angels abound everywhere in their history, and the seven "great princes," with Michael at their head, of whom Daniel writes, seem very like the seven Amshaspands of Persia. It was the universal idea that the other nations were governed by Spirits, subordinate to Jehovah. In the Psalms he is called "God of gods;" "Lord of lords;" "exalted above all gods;" "no other god can be compared with him."

It has been customary to speak of the Hebrew commonwealth as the only theocracy, or god-government; but the Ethiopian and Egyptian states were quite as decidedly theocracies. None of them ever undertook any important transaction without directions from the High Priest, which he gained by consulting the Deity in the temple, and receiving an oracular response. The name of Amun does not excite reverence in us, as does the name of Jehovah; but we must remember that it was otherwise with the Egyptians.

We have perpetually done injustice, by forgetting that the religions of other nations did not appear to them in the same light that they do to us, who see only the dried skeletons of what were once living forms. We constantly commit the error of judging past things by the light of our own times, and our own opinions. We do not consider how their whole aspect would have been changed, had we lived in a remoter age, and been educated by a totally different sort of culture. Hence, we approach our own sacred ideas and those of other nations from opposite points of view. What would otherwise be regarded as the puerile superstition of rude nomadic tribes, is magnified into allegory of high spiritual import when connected with our own religion. The ashes of the heifer burnt by Hindoos, how differently is it regarded from a similar custom among Hebrews! If the Song of Solomon were in the Pouranas, how different would be our commentaries upon it! Even human sacrifice, the most painful and revolting feature in the ancient religions, was softened and hallowed to their

minds by the light in which they viewed it. They supposed the victim expiated all his sins by being thus sacrificed, and that he went at once to Paradise; thus they persuaded themselves that they were in reality doing him good, though by a painful process.

Thomas Carlyle thus forcibly sums up all I would say on this subject: "We shall begin to have a chance of understanding Paganism, when we first admit that to its followers it was, at one time, earnestly true. Let us consider it very certain that men did believe in Paganism; men with open eyes, sound senses, men made altogether like ourselves; that we, had we been there, should have believed in it also."

The willingness, and even eagerness, to endure martyrdom, which is so conspicuous in the history of most religions, is of itself sufficient proof that men were in earnest. In all ages, and in all parts of the world, how many have fought, and suffered, and died all manner of dreadful deaths, rather than deny, or desecrate, what to them seemed holy! When the noble old Hebrew Eleazer was advised to save his life by appearing to eat pork, he replied: "It does not become the honour of my gray head to dissemble;" and he stedfastly declared himself "ready to die, rather than mislead others by such hypocrisy." Viewing the subject as we do, it seems a waste of life to die rather than taste of pork; but in his eyes, it was necessary, in order to preserve undegenerate a religion received from heaven, requiring obedience to every item, for the safety and prosperity of his nation. And ought we not to respect equally those devout Hindoos, who have suffered the lingering torture of martyrdom by hunger, rather than taste of beef?

All fragments of truth which we discover out of our own religion, we are prone to call the results of unassisted human reason. But reason, guided by humility and reverence, is *never* unassisted. "*Every* good gift cometh from above." All the religions of the world flowed from the faith and aspiration inherent in man's nature, and which God assuredly has not implanted in mockery of our weak-

ness. They have all emitted gleams of light, reflected from a heavenly source, and adapted to the powers of reception. God is not the Father of one nation only, or the author of one religion only. He has been gradually educating the whole world from the beginning, as a wise earthly father educates his son. That which can be imparted at five years old prepares the way for a greater degree of knowledge at ten. When he is twenty, ideas that helped his culture at ten are far removed from him; yet their effects remain, and form the basis of his manly mind. Truth does not change; but its manifestation to mortals is limited by their capacity of receiving. Dr. Johnson said: "Milton himself cannot teach a boy more than he can learn;" and the same is true of the Infinite Teacher of finite beings. But "the child is father of the man;" and we should not be what we are in the nineteenth century, had not Hindoos, Egyptians, Persians, Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, preceded us in the school of divine ideas. Let us then love and reverence them all, as elder brothers, who had fewer advantages than we have, and who all helped to procure us those advantages.

It will be perceived by these remarks that I differ from those who think God has imparted of his truth only to Jews and Christians. I differ also from those who consider all systems of religion as impostures. On the contrary, I regard the religious sentiment as always and everywhere sacred. In all its forms, I find much that is beautiful and true; in all, I find more or less of the alloy necessarily resulting from our imperfect nature and uncompleted growth.

"I can scorn nothing which a nation's heart
 Hath held, for ages, holy: for the heart
 Is alike holy in its strength and weakness:
 It ought not to be jested with, nor scorned.
 All things, to me, are sacred that have been.
 And though earth, like a river streaked with blood,
 Which tells a long and silent tale of death,
 May blush her history, and hide her eyes,
 The past is sacred. It is God's; not ours.
 Let her and us do better, if we can."

CHRISTIANITY.

"Genuine Christianity, founded on the immoveable foundations of eternal truth, far from having anything to fear from comparison with other systems of religion, or philosophy, can only gain in the esteem of enlightened man by the progress of the philosophic and religious history of the human race."—J. J. BOCHINGHA.

DAYS OF THE APOSTLES.

AT the outset, Christianity was merely a sect of Jewish reformers; Protestants against the corruptions of the priesthood of their day. The only doctrine to which assent was required was a belief that Jesus was the Messiah long promised by their prophets. This belief they sustained by his miracles, and by circumstances connected with his personal history. The prevailing Jewish doctrine concerning the resurrection of the body, they regarded as satisfactorily proved by his appearance among his disciples after his crucifixion; and they had undoubting faith that he would soon appear again on earth, to establish a holy kingdom, the centre of which would be the earthly Jerusalem.

Jesus had explicitly declared that he came not to do away the Law and the Prophets, but to fulfil them. He assigned the lowest place in the Messiah's kingdom to him who should violate even the least of the precepts of Moses. Accordingly, after his death, we find his disciples remaining strict adherents of the Mosaic Law. They went up to the Temple and prayed three times a day, at the customary hours; they observed the Passover, and other festivals; they ate the flesh of no animal which the Law pronounced unclean; and they considered the rite of circumcision essentially binding upon all worshippers of the true God.

At that period, Jews of all sects believed that the prophecies concerning their Messiah were soon to be fulfilled. When Jesus described the coming of "the Son of Man in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory," he said: "Verily I say unto you *this* generation shall not pass away, till all these things be done." The question: "Lord, wilt thou *at this time* restore the kingdom to Israel?" shows how near at hand his disciples deemed the fulfilment of the prophecy. At his last Passover supper with them, he declared that he should not taste wine again, until he drank it "new in the kingdom of God." After his death, the vacancy occasioned by the treachery of Judas was supplied by the election of a new disciple; it being necessary that there should be twelve, to "sit on thrones, and govern the twelve tribes of Israel," when their kingdom should be restored. There are many plain indications that they were constantly expecting Jesus to appear visibly in the clouds. They taught their proselytes that the destruction of the world was nigh, when the Messiah would come to judge the dead, and begin on earth a glorious reign with his saints. Thus Peter wrote to the converts in Asia: "The end of all things is at hand; be ye therefore sober, and watch unto prayer." "The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night; in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burnt up. Nevertheless, we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent, that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot and blameless."

The term apostles is derived from a Greek word, signifying to send. Those whom Jesus sent abroad to teach were simple, illiterate men, of humble origin, who gained their livelihood by fishing, and other laborious occupations. Among men of that class, a knowledge of writing was very rare at that period of the world, and those who resided in Judea would almost unavoidably be generally ignorant of

foreign languages. But when they, and others who believed on Jesus, assembled together, soon after his death, on the day of Pentecost, it is recorded that "there was a sound from heaven, as of a mighty rushing wind, and cloven tongues, like as of fire appeared and sat upon each of them." Whereupon, they immediately received the gift of speaking all languages; and Greeks, Persians, Egyptians, Arabians, who were present at Jerusalem, were astonished to hear those ignorant Galileans speaking to every man in his own tongue. Peter seized the occasion to urge this miracle as one of the promised precursors of the Messiah's kingdom, and a proof that it was nigh at hand. Jesus had said, during his lifetime, that he had many things to tell them, which they were not qualified to receive; and he had promised to send his Spirit, who would teach them all things. It was believed that this Holy Spirit descended upon them in the form of flaming tongues, and by the supernatural power thus imparted they were thenceforth perfect mediums of divine truth. The number of believers at that time were only one hundred and twenty; but this great miracle drew multitudes round them, and it is stated that three thousand converts were baptized in one day, in consequence of Peter's fervent exhortations. "The number of disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly, and a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." The rapid growth of a new sect, so poor and despised, naturally aroused the jealous animosity of old established sects. The wrath thus excited fell principally on Stephen, a preacher "full of faith and power, who did great wonders and miracles among the people." They accused him of speaking "blasphemous words against Moses and against God;" and doubtless it really appeared so to men educated in unquestioning reverence for old laws and traditions. A mob cast him out of Jerusalem, and stoned him to death. With his dying breath, he prayed to the Lord not to lay this sin to their charge. This sublime spirit of forgiveness attracted new proselytes. Persecution waxed hotter and hotter, and

the believers were scattered abroad, many of them into foreign cities.

Soon after this, the number of apostles was increased by the miraculous conversion of Paul, a learned Jew, of the tribe of Benjamin, who had been educated a strict Pharisee. When the heretical sect founded by Jesus began to emerge from obscurity, in consequence of increasing numbers, he was zealous in persecuting its teachers. He was hastening on such a mission, when he was struck blind by a sudden light from heaven, and heard the voice of Jesus remonstrating with him for the course he was pursuing. In consequence of this, he began to preach the new doctrine with extraordinary boldness and power. He encountered innumerable perils, but, like the other apostles, he was sustained through them all, by a strong belief in the immediate coming of Jesus, to establish the Messiah's kingdom. He expresses it thus unequivocally in a letter addressed to his converts: "The Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and with the trump of God. The dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we who are alive and remain, shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air."

The Oriental doctrine that Matter was the source of all evil never formed a part of Jewish theology; hence they do not appear to have held the body in such hatred and contempt, as did the devout of many other ancient nations. Their Sacred Books contain no eulogiums upon virginity; on the contrary, they indicate that a numerous family was always regarded as an honour and a blessing. Their High Priests married; and the only tendency to Oriental ideas on this subject is seen in the requisition that they should live apart from their wives while ministering in the temple, during the holiest seasons. Nothing approaching to asceticism on this subject is discoverable in the teaching of Jesus. His allusions to marriage are slight, but they imply approbation of that institution, and urge its sacredness. He and his mother are also mentioned as present at a wed-

ding, where he miraculously changed water into wine for the guests assembled to celebrate the event. A transition state of feeling on this subject is first indicated in the preaching of Paul, who seems to answer queries that had arisen, among his Gentile converts, whether a state of celibacy were essential to holiness. He leaves the question open; simply remarking that those who remained unmarried, like himself, did better than those who married. Both Matthew and Paul, in their writings, allude to Peter's wife; and, according to traditions of the early Christian Fathers, several of the apostles were married men. They say Peter, in his missionary travels, was accompanied by his wife and a beautiful daughter, named Petronilla; both of whom died martyrs to the Christian religion. Bartholomew, and Philip, are said to have been married; and several daughters of the latter are mentioned. It is also recorded that the apostle Jude had two grandsons.

The biographers of Jesus declare, that just before he ascended into heaven, he promised his disciples that they, and all others who believed on him, should be enabled to work miracles; that they should handle serpents and take poison without injury, heal the sick, cast out devils, and speak languages they never learned; and we find all these miracles recorded of them. They perceived the secret thoughts of men, healed those who were born lame, cast out devils, and restored the dead to life. When some of them were imprisoned, their dungeons were illuminated by angel visitors, who came and let them out by night. They passed the sentinels invisibly, and doors and gates opened of their own accord. When magistrates sent in the morning to bring them to trial, the doors were found locked, and the sentinels at their post, but the prisoners had vanished. When Paul and Barnabas landed on the island of Malta, venomous vipers fastened on their hands, and people expected to see them fall down dead. When they shook off the reptiles and remained unharmed, they believed them to be miracle-workers, and brought sick people to them, who were cured as soon as they laid their

hands upon them and prayed. The idea of Deities in human forms was so familiar to the popular mind, that when the inhabitants of Malta saw these wonderful works, they at once exclaimed that Barnabas was Jupiter, and Paul was Mercury. Priests came to worship them, bringing oxen and garlands; but they forbade it, assuring them that they were merely men. It is recorded that not only the apostles themselves, but their garments also were invested with miraculous power; so that the diseased were immediately healed, and devils departed from them, if a handkerchief was brought to them from Paul. The sick were placed on couches in the street, that they might be cured by the shadow of Peter falling on them as he passed. When Jewish exorcists attempted to expel devils by commanding them to depart in the name of Jesus, the Evil Spirits fell upon them and wounded them, exclaiming: "Jesus we know, and Paul we know; but who are ye?" When the apostles baptized converts, and laid their hands on them, the Holy Spirit was imparted to them by the process, so that they also could speak unknown languages, and perform other miracles.

The first converts to the new doctrine were Jews; some of them Palestine Jews, who spoke the Aramæan or Syro-Chaldean language; others were Western, or Hellenistic Jews, who were scattered through various provinces of the Roman empire, and spoke Greek. The latter class of converts were far more numerous than the former; because the necessity of mingling with foreign nations had already accustomed them to modify their ancient opinions. Nevertheless, in the beginning, Christianity was unavoidably somewhat national and exclusive in its character, being preached by Jews and addressed to Jews. The church at Jerusalem resisted changes much longer than other churches. But even those who became mixed with Gentile converts in Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria, Rome, and other foreign cities, found it very difficult to disembarrass themselves of the idea that the religion taught by their Messiah was for the house of Israel only; and that if

others wished to embrace it, they must first become Jews. Paul had far less of this feeling than any other of the earliest Christian teachers, having received a superior education, and associated more with foreigners. Yet even he, when he took Timothy with him to preach in regions where many Jews resided, deemed it prudent that he should be circumcised, because it was known that his father was a Greek. At the commencement of Paul's missionary labours, in all the cities he visited, he first attempted to teach in the synagogues, and a large majority of his hearers opposed him violently. Finding his efforts to convert the Jews at Corinth were nearly in vain, he said: "Your blood be upon your own heads. I am clean. Henceforth, I go unto the Gentiles." Afterward, when he went to Ephesus, still attracted toward his own countrymen, he taught three months in the synagogue. "But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he departed from them," and thenceforth argued "in the school of one Tyrannus."

It was the pliable nature of Polytheism to part more easily with old predilections. Simple and earnest souls among the Greeks and Romans were repelled by ceremonies of the Mosaic law, and by its intolerance toward foreigners, while they were powerfully attracted by the gentle and sympathising character of Christ, and by the assured hope of rising from the dead, based on his resurrection. Paul, finding a greater number of proselytes among them than among the Jews, made it an especial object to render the religion of Jesus acceptable to the Gentiles. This process necessarily involved the breaking down of many Jewish barriers. Accordingly, he boldly attacked the prejudices of his countrymen, by asking: "Is God the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also. It is one God who shall justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith." "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus." Forbidden

articles of food, which had occasioned so much separation between the Jews and other nations, were dismissed from further controversy, with the remark, "to him that esteemeth anything unclean, to him it is unclean." The custom of sacrificing a lamb at the Passover might be safely discontinued; Jesus being the lamb sacrificed once and for all time. Paul said: "He is one who needeth not daily to offer up sacrifice for his own sins, and then for the people's, like those High Priests; for this he did once, when he offered up himself." The strict observance of holy days and seasons among his countrymen was described by Paul as "bondage to the Law." He said: "One man esteemeth one day above another; another esteemeth every day alike; let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." "The Law was our schoolmaster, to bring us unto Christ; but now that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster." He taught that the ancient rite of circumcision might be observed or not, according to the dictates of individual conscience. The promulgation of such views excited peculiar animosity against Paul, not only among those of his nation who adhered to all their old opinions, but also among many who believed Jesus was their promised Messiah. Some reviled him as an apostate from the Law; others asserted that he was born of Gentile parents, and had no right to call himself a Jew. Perhaps these charges led him to dwell with so much emphasis on his Jewish birth and his strict education as a Pharisee.

Few of those who had been educated to consider the uncircumcised as dogs, could rise with his great soul to a height that overlooked local and temporary distinctions. The question of circumcision gave rise to so many disputes in the primitive churches, that it was finally agreed to refer it to an assembly of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem. There Paul, Barnabas, and Peter, strongly pleaded the miracles God had wrought among the Gentiles, and the impolicy of laying upon them a yoke that was too heavy for them to bear. When those at Jerusalem heard how many proselytes Paul had made, and how the Holy Spirit had been

imparted to them at baptism, whereby they, as well as Jewish converts, had received power to work miracles, they were convinced that God had appointed Paul an apostle of the Gentiles. They, therefore, agreed that foreign converts should merely be required to conform to Jewish customs so far as to refrain from eating blood, or things strangled, from the worship of idols, and from fornication. This last injunction was deemed peculiarly important, because it was a vice that had become connected with religious ceremonies, wherever the worship of Venus, and of other kindred goddesses, prevailed. The decision of this council at Jerusalem, held about seventeen years after the death of Christ, was the first step toward separating Christianity from Judaism, and thus enabling it to emerge from the narrow limitations of a Jewish sect to a new religion for the nations.

This progressive step seems to have been mainly accomplished by the agency of Paul, who from the beginning pursued a singularly independent course. After his miraculous conversion, he did not go to Jerusalem, or seek in any way to obtain information or advice from the Twelve Apostles. In his writings he professes to teach some things by "commandment," others by "permission." In some places, he declares that he does not speak from himself, but utters what "the Lord commands;" with regard to other things, he says, "to the rest speak I, not the Lord." This distinction appears to be founded on consciousness of internal guidance from above, or on some teaching of Christ, either written, or orally preserved, to which he referred as standard authority. When he was persecuting the church, he doubtless heard many accounts of Jesus from Christian prisoners, and being present at the death of Stephen, he could not have been otherwise than impressed by his forgiving spirit and undoubting faith. But he has left us no record how he acquired his knowledge of Christ, except two brief communications by a voice from heaven; once on his way to Damascus, the other while he was praying in the Temple. He says: "I

did not confer with flesh and blood. The gospel preached by me is not after man, nor was I taught it, but by revelation of Christ." He went to Damascus immediately after his conversion, and thence into Arabia. He says: "After three years, I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days; but other of the apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother." On that occasion, it is stated that the brethren in Jerusalem were afraid of him, and "believed not that he was a disciple." They knew that he had been a violent persecutor, and there being little intercourse between Damascus and Jerusalem, they had not heard of his conversion. But Barnabas, who had been a fellow student with him in his youth, and who knew how boldly he had been preaching Jesus, told them what wonders the Lord had done for him. Fourteen years afterward, when Paul went up to Jerusalem, to the council above mentioned, he does not speak of the leading apostles as if he were much acquainted with them. He says: "When James, Peter, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave unto me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that *we* should go unto the Gentiles, and *they* unto the circumcision."

Some time afterward, Barnabas wished to take his nephew Mark with them, as their minister, when they visited the churches they had planted in various cities; but Paul objected, because on a previous occasion Mark had left them, and had returned to Jerusalem, and "went not with them to the work." On this subject, the contention between Paul and Barnabas "was so sharp, that they departed asunder one from the other," and it does not appear that they ever met again.

The atmosphere of Jerusalem was not free enough for such a man as Paul. When he went thither in time of famine, with donations for his Christian brethren, from various churches he had established in foreign lands, he found James, and the other elders, rejoiced to hear how God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry;

but they added: "Thou seest, brother, how many thousands of Jews there are that believe; and they are all zealous for the Law. And they are informed of thee that thou teachest all the Jews, which are among the Gentiles, to forsake Moses; saying they ought not to circumcise their children." Before the people assembled together to hear Paul preach, they advised him to mollify their prejudices by purifying himself at the Temple, according to the Mosaic ritual, and by paying for four men, who wished to shave their heads in fulfilment of a vow; and Paul did as they advised. But when the Jews saw him, they began to excite fury against him, saying he taught contrary to the Law of Moses, and profaned the Temple by bringing Greeks into it. Paul delivered an address to the multitude, in which he told them the particulars of his miraculous conversion, and excused himself for preaching to foreigners by an account of a trance, which fell upon him while he was praying in the Temple, during which he saw a vision of Jesus, who said to him: "Get thee quickly out of Jerusalem, for they will not receive thy testimony concerning me. Depart; for I will send thee far hence unto the Gentiles." The people listened till he came to that word; then they cried out: "Away with such a fellow from the earth! for it is not fit that he should live." Such was the uproar, that Paul escaped scourging only by appealing to the protection of Roman law.

It required a special vision from heaven to prepare the way for Peter to visit a Roman centurion, though he was "a devout man, and one that feared God with all his house, and gave much alms to the people, and prayed to God always, and was of good report among all the nation of the Jews." Enlightened by a vision, and summoned by an angel, Peter went to him, saying: "Ye know that it is an unlawful thing for a man that is a Jew to keep company, or come unto one of another nation; but God hath showed me that I should not call any man common or unclean." After his scruples concerning unlawful food were thus done away by direct teaching from heaven, he

went to preach in the Syrian city of Antioch, where he associated freely with Gentiles and ate with them. But when some strict Jewish Christians arrived from Palestine, he "feared them which were of the circumcision," and withdrew from the Gentile converts. "Other Jews, who were with him, dissembled also." This excited the indignation of Paul, who says he "withstood him to the face before them all, because he was to be blamed."

But, notwithstanding these occasional differences, the early followers of Jesus were very closely bound together, not only by love and reverence for his memory, and by the dangers and sufferings they shared together, but also by the strong belief that they were chosen and set apart from the world, and that the hour of their deliverance was at hand. Sure of being sharers of his kingdom on the renovated earth, the world that was passing away under their eyes, and so soon to be destroyed, took small hold on their affections. They preached a Gospel of love and equality, and practised it also. While Paul was pursuing his missionary labours with so much energy and zeal, he made tents for a living, that he might not be an expense to others. There was community of property among them, and they called each other by the simple and endearing name of brethren. "The multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul: neither said any of them that aught of the things he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. As many as were possessors of lands or houses, sold them, and brought the price of things that were sold, and laid them down at the apostles' feet; and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need." Their resemblance to the Essenes in this, and in many other particulars, was so observable, that for a long time Philo's description of the Essenes was supposed to be an account of a Christian association. With the apostles, however, community of goods seems to have been resorted to merely as a temporary convenience, while so many of their members felt it a duty to travel and preach, and worldly occupations were of necessity fre-

quently suspended. The custom ceased during their lifetime, and in lieu thereof feasts were substituted, called Agape, from a Greek word meaning Love: in this application intended to express Christian affection, or charity. On certain days, they all met at a Feast of Charity, where the rich furnished provisions, and the poor were abundantly supplied. After the guests had eaten sufficiently, pieces of bread were passed round, and a cup of wine, in memory of the last Passover supper the disciples had partaken with Jesus. They then parted from each other with a kiss.

The early Christians, like the Essenes, inculcated passive obedience to the existing government. They simply endeavoured to infuse the spirit of their religion, as far as possible, into the civil institutions which they found already established. They exhorted masters to give unto their servants that which was "just and equal;" and they instructed servants to obey their masters "with all fear; not only the good and the gentle, but also the froward;" adding that those who suffered wrongfully with patience were acceptable with God. Within the Christian community itself there was practical equality. All were "the Lord's freemen," and all were servants of a "Master in heaven." Onesimus, a slave, who had left the service of a Christian, named Philemon, was afterward converted by the preaching of Paul. Whereupon, Paul sent him with a letter to his master, saying: "Dearly beloved, and fellow labourer, receive him not now as a servant, but as a brother beloved. Receive him as myself." Apparently the injunction was obeyed; for Onesimus was afterward employed as a missionary, and Ignatius alludes to him "as the good bishop of the church at Ephesus."

Women were among the most devoted friends of Christ, by whom they were always treated with respect and sympathy. The apostles also frequently make honourable mention of them; but old Asiatic habits of thought are strongly impressed upon their teachings on this subject. It being the universal custom for women in Asia to wear veils, on

account of their enslaved condition, and the predominance of sensual ideas, Paul speaks of it as shameful for a woman to pray, or prophesy, in Christian meetings, without being veiled. He says: "Every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head. A man indeed ought not to cover his head, for as much as he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man was not created for the woman, but the woman for the man." "Let your women keep silence in the churches; for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience; as also saith the Law. If they will learn anything, let them ask their husbands at home; for it is a shame for women to speak in the church."

In those primitive times, the ceremonies of worship were extremely simple. They met at each other's dwellings as frequently as possible, to pray, sing hymns, and repeat the sayings of Jesus. According to Jewish custom, they observed the Sabbath on Saturday; but they met together on the next day, to pray and sing, in joyful commemoration of the resurrection of Christ. They observed the Jewish festivals of the Passover and Pentecost, both of which were associated with the memory of Christ; one being the anniversary of his farewell Supper, the other commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit, in the form of flaming tongues. The Lord's Supper was a social meal, like the Jewish Passover; and like that, it was accompanied with the breaking of bread, and passing round a goblet of wine. The forty-sixth verse of the second chapter of Acts implies that this ceremony was observed every day by the first Christian church at Jerusalem. That it was preceded by a social meal at Corinth is evident from the writings of Paul, who thus rebukes the disorderly proceedings of the Christian church in that city: "Every one taketh his own supper before another; and one is hungry and another is drunken. This is not to eat the Lord's Supper. What! have ye not houses to eat and drink in? Or despise ye the church of God, and shame them that have not? My brethren, when ye

come together to eat, tarry one for another. And if any man hunger, let him eat at home; that ye come not together unto condemnation. For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death, till he come. Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord."

The government of the church at that period was as simple as their other habits. "Seven men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom," were appointed to distribute funds impartially among the widows and orphans. These were called deacons, from a Greek word signifying to serve, to minister. Women were appointed to the same office. It is likely that such portions of the business were assigned to them as were deemed improper, or imprudent, to entrust to the deacons. Paul gave directions that a woman elected as deaconess must be a widow, having been the wife of but one man, and not under sixty years old; "well reported of for good works; if she have brought up children, if she have lodged strangers, if she have washed the saints' feet, if she have relieved the afflicted, if she have diligently followed every good work." As the number of Christians increased, and they seceded entirely from the Jewish synagogues, it became necessary, for the preservation of order, to appoint elders or presbyters, men whose characters entitled them to reverence. How much such restraining influences were needed to guide and check young, ignorant, or enthusiastic converts, coming into the Christian church from all nations, and previously influenced by a great variety of customs and opinions, may be inferred from the expressions in Paul's letter to the church of Corinth: "How is it then, brethren? When ye come together, every one of you hath a Psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. If anything be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. For ye may all prophesy, one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted." It was very early the custom to appoint a Presiding Elder, or

Pastor, to whom the other presbyters could look for guidance, when questions arose concerning doctrines, or the regulation of church affairs. According to the testimony of the Fathers, the apostles appointed several such superintendents to take charge of the churches they had established. These spiritual directors were selected on account of their superior wisdom and piety, and were treated with deference on account of their years and character, though they claimed no preëminence in rank. The manner in which Paul defends himself, and expostulates with his brethren in Christian churches, shows that even his apostolic authority was far from being received with unquestioning submission.

That a class of people so unostentatious, so exemplary in their morals, and so benevolent to the poor, should be objects of hatred and persecution, seems surprising at the first glance; especially as they never interfered with civil or military affairs, and inculcated passive obedience to the government, in all matters not appertaining to religious faith. But if we try to look at the subject from the same point of view that the Jews must necessarily have done, we shall see that they could not do otherwise than regard with conscientious abhorrence men who ate and drank with foreigners, and thereby incurred the risk of touching something that had been connected with idolatry. Moreover, such a Messiah as the Christians said had come destroyed all their long-cherished hopes of conquest and universal dominion; and if the opinions of this originally obscure sect should come to prevail extensively among their countrymen, it would greatly tend to abate their zeal for resisting the Roman yoke. Although the followers of Christ increased with far less rapidity in Palestine, than they did in the Gentile world, still they were sufficiently numerous and bold to be very annoying to those who relied upon the old order of things. When Jews met in the synagogues, they were accustomed to repeat the following anathema in their prayers: "Send thy curse, O God, upon the Nazarenes." The following prayer was

added, by the Rabbi Gamaliel, to the eighteen prayers of Ezra: "Let there be no hope to them who apostatize from the true religion; and let heretics, how many soever there be, all perish as in a moment. And let the kingdom of pride [Rome] be speedily rooted out, and broken in our days. Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, who destroyest the wicked, and bringest down the proud." They sent emissaries from Jerusalem to synagogues in all parts of the world, warning them against an impious sect, despisers of the Law, who had lately risen up under one Jesus, a Galilean impostor. Their annoyance was increased by the fact that the Romans, who for a long time paid very little attention to the subject, confounded the Christians with the Jews, and whatever they disliked in one they attributed to the other. How much this was the case is indicated by the Roman historian, Suetonius, who says of the emperor Claudius: "He banished the Jews from Rome, who were continually making disturbances, at the instigation of one Christus." [Christ.] Under such circumstances, Jews were naturally predisposed to believe all rumours to the disadvantage of Christians, and prompt to bring accusations before the Roman magistrates, who readily listened to them, supposing them to be better qualified than foreigners could be to judge of disputed questions concerning their own doctrines. It was always the Roman policy to protect the worship of nations conquered by them. With the characteristic pliancy of polytheism, they had been very willing to acknowledge Jehovah as one of the national deities of the earth. But with them religion was a very important part in the machinery of state; and they considered it the duty of citizens everywhere to conform to the worship established in the nation to which they belonged: therefore, they had less respect for Christian teachers than they had for Jewish Rabbins; though they regarded both as different manifestations of the same strange superstition. Jews in general did not seek to proselyte. They considered the requirements of their Law, as well as its advantages and

rewards, intended for themselves only. Christians, on the contrary, had an unprecedented zeal for proselyting. They thus interfered not merely with old prejudices and sincere reverence for time-honoured institutions, but they assailed the worldly interests of various classes of men; from priests to the makers of images and shrines, and the vendors of cattle for sacrifice. All the nations, from time immemorial, had been accustomed to regard temples, statues, oracles, a consecrated priesthood, and sacrifices to the gods, as essential to religion; and as the followers of the lowly Jesus had none of these things, they regarded them as atheists. This prejudice was increased by the fact that Jews always spoke of the leader of the Nazarenes as a criminal condemned and executed by the laws of his country. Crucifixion was deemed by the Romans so peculiarly ignominious, that they never allowed any of their own citizens, not even the meanest and the worst, to be put to death in that manner. With minds thus pre-occupied, no wonder they accused Christians of worshipping "a dead malefactor," instead of the Immortal Spirits, which they were accustomed to adore.

The first Roman persecution under which they suffered was of short duration, and seems to have been a freak of imperial tyranny, directed toward them on account of their general unpopularity. Tacitus, the historian, describes the conflagration which destroyed a great portion of Rome, sixty-four years after the birth of Christ, and adds: "To suppress the common rumour that he had himself set fire to the city, Nero procured others to be accused, and inflicted exquisite punishments upon those people who were held in abhorrence for their crimes, commonly known by the name of Christians. They were thus called from Christus, who, in the reign of Tiberius, was put to death as a criminal, by the Procurator Pontius Pilate. This superstition, though checked for awhile, broke out again, and spread not only over Judea, the source of this evil, but reached the city [Rome] also, whither flow from all quarters all things vile and shameful, and where they find shelter and

encouragement. At first, those only were apprehended who confessed themselves of that sect; but they afterward disclosed the existence of a vast multitude, all of whom were condemned; not so much for the crime of burning the city, as by the enmity of mankind toward them. These executions were so contrived as to expose them to derision and contempt. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts, and torn to pieces by dogs; some were crucified; others, having been daubed over with combustible materials, were set up as lights in the night time." This terrible scene was in the gardens of Nero's palace, and while innocent human beings were consumed with slow agonies, horses were racing through the grounds, for the amusement of the populace, and the insane emperor guided his chariot among them, by that horrid light.

It has been suggested that attention might have been attracted toward the Christians at the time of the great conflagration, in consequence of their frequent descriptions of the destruction of the world by fire, and the establishment of a new kingdom upon earth. It is true these descriptions were as old as the Hindoos and Egyptians, that they figured largely in the writings of Zoroaster, and were mixed with the teaching of Stoic philosophers. But in the minds of Jews and Christians these ideas were inseparably connected with the kingdom of their Messiah; and as one class was very impatient under Roman dominion, and both detested Roman idolatry, their descriptions of the millenium were often mixed with glowing images of the burning of a proud and mighty city, with its palaces, temples, and images. Even as early as the time of Nero, it is not impossible that something of the kind, misunderstood and exaggerated, afforded a plausible pretext for the imperial cruelty.

Fortunately, the fierce persecution under Nero did not spread far beyond the city of Rome, though the magistrates were astonished to find the despised sect so numerous. A more extensive persecution prevailed in the time of Domitian, ninety-three years after the birth of Christ. The em-

peror's own cousin. Flavius Clemens, a quiet and gentle character, was put to death, on the charge of practices at variance with the established religion of the empire; and his wife, Domitilla, was exiled for the same offence. No wonder Domitian's anger was excited when the unpopular doctrines thus approached the threshold of his own palace. Many Christians were banished, or put to death, during this persecution, especially in Asia Minor. There is a tradition generally believed, but doubted by some learned men, that the title of King, frequently bestowed upon Jesus by the Christians, excited the jealousy of Domitian, and that he caused search to be made for his surviving relatives, in the line of David. At that time, the sceptre had long "departed from Judah," and been successively in the hands of other families. The old royal line was languishing in forgotten obscurity, and the Roman government certainly seemed to have nothing to fear from that quarter. According to traditions of the Christian Fathers, two grandsons of the apostle Jude were discovered and brought before the tribunals. They confessed that they were descendants of David, but in very humble circumstances; having only a small farm, which they cultivated with their own hands. Being asked concerning the Messiah, they replied that his kingdom was not of this earth; that he would reign in heaven until the time appointed for the destruction of the world, and then he would appear in glory, to judge both the living and the dead. The emperor, perceiving their simplicity, dismissed them as harmless.

The Christian Scriptures do not inform us concerning the death of any of the apostles, except James the Greater. The only other sources of information are the writings of Josephus, and traditions handed down by the Christian Fathers. The earliest of these writings allude only to James the Greater, and James the Less, to Peter and Paul, as martyrs. But as time passed on, and the founders of Christianity acquired more importance in the world, stories multiplied concerning their missionary travels in distant regions of the earth, and their perils by fire and sword;

insomuch, that John alone escaped martyrdom, and he by aid of a miracle. Whether many of the chosen Twelve did in reality ever leave Jerusalem cannot be ascertained. But certain it is, that the sufferings of those actively engaged in propagating Christianity could not be easily exaggerated. Nothing could be more affecting than the sad simplicity of Paul's statement: "I think God has set forth us the apostles as it were appointed unto death. Even unto this present hour, we hunger and thirst, and are naked and buffeted, and have no certain dwelling place, and labour, working with our own hands. Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it. We are made as the filth of the earth, and the offscouring of all things. Of the Jews, five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep. In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren. In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."

As Paul's own writings form a prominent portion of the Christian Scriptures, and as his adventures are also recorded by his friend and companion, Luke, more is known of his labours, than of any others among the first teachers of Christianity. Little is said concerning most of the Twelve, on whom the Holy Spirit descended at Pentecost. It is incidentally stated that after the death of Stephen, the church at Jerusalem were scattered abroad, "except the apostles;" and the Christian Scriptures are thenceforth silent concerning nearly all of them. Peter, who was often associated with Paul, is the only one of them who makes a prominent figure in the subsequent pages. The first council, held at Jerusalem, ordained that Paul should go as a missionary among the Gentiles, and Peter among the Jews. Large numbers of their countrymen remained in Persia, when a remnant of two tribes returned

to Judea with Ezra, and it seems likely that Peter went thither, to convert them to Christianity; for the last information the Scriptures give concerning him is contained in a letter written by himself, apparently from Babylon, and addressed to various churches in Asia. Traditions concerning him abound. Eusebius, the earliest Christian historian, relates that Peter's wife was put to death during a period of persecution, and was consoled and encouraged by her husband during her last moments. There was also a tradition which passed into general belief, that he was in Rome during the time of Nero's persecution, and that some of the Christian converts persuaded him to leave the city till the storm was over. When he had gone about two miles on the Appian Way, he met Jesus travelling toward Rome. Struck with astonishment, he exclaimed: "Lord, whither goest thou?" Jesus looked upon him with gentle sadness, and replied: "I go to Rome to be crucified a second time," and immediately vanished. Peter considered this a sign that he was doing wrong to avoid danger. He accordingly returned, and persisted in preaching and baptizing. It is related, on the same traditional authority, that both he and Paul were arrested during the last year of Nero's reign, and thrown into the Mamartine dungeons under the Capitol. There they still continued to preach, and many prisoners were converted by them; as were also two centurions appointed to guard them. There being no water to baptize them, Peter prayed, and a fountain gushed up through the stone floor. When condemned to be crucified, he chose to be suspended with his head downward, saying he was not worthy to die in the same position as his Lord. As Peter was a married man in the life time of Jesus, he must of course have been aged, if living, at the time of the conflagration of Rome.

It is recorded in the Acts of the Apostles that Paul was at Rome two years, during which "he dwelt in his own hired house, and received all that came in unto him, teaching those things which concern the Lord Jesus Christ, with all confidence, no man forbidding him." That he was

executed during a subsequent visit to that city is highly probable; for he wrote to Timothy, while a prisoner there, stating that he was awaiting a second trial, but expressing no hopes of release. His situation must have been extremely critical at that time, for he declares: "No man stood with me, but all men forsook me. I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge. I am ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Henceforth, there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but also to all them that love his appearing." There is a tradition that Paul, in the presence of Nero, healed a sick child, cast out devils from a woman who was diseased, and restored sight to a blind man. But the emperor was not convinced by these miracles. It is also said that his head made three bounds when it was cut off, and wherever it touched the ground a fountain sprang forth.

All traditions concerning the apostle John are in keeping with the gentle, affectionate disposition ascribed to him in Scripture. Though he fled, with the other timid disciples, in the hour of extreme peril, he soon returned to Jesus in the Judgment Hall, and remained with him through all the painful and insulting scenes of his trial and condemnation. He is the only disciple mentioned as present at the crucifixion, and he afterward received the mother of Jesus to his own home. He and Peter were arrested and imprisoned for preaching to the people, and when they were rebuked by the High Priest and Elders, they answered boldly: "Whether it be right to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye." John afterward travelled into Asia Minor, and established churches at Smyrna, Pergamus, Laodicea, and various other places; but he resided principally at Ephesus. There is a tradition that once, as he was approaching that city, he met a funeral procession and inquired whose it was. They told him it was Drusiana, a charitable and religious woman, at whose house he

had often dwelt. He requested them to set down the bier, and when he stretched his hands over it, and prayed earnestly that God would restore her life, she rose up, and he returned home with her. Clement of Alexandria relates that when John was about to leave the city for some time, he entrusted a young convert to the especial care of the Presiding Elder, saying: "Be to him a father; for, at my return, I shall require his soul at thy hands." But the young man was led into evil courses, and went from one excess to another, till he became the leader of a band of robbers in the adjacent mountains. When the apostle returned to Ephesus, he inquired of the Elder concerning "the precious deposit" he had left in his hands. With downcast eyes, he explained what had happened. Whereupon, John wept aloud, and said: "Alas, alas, to what a guardian have I trusted our brother!" He immediately rode to the mountains, and asked the robbers to bring him to their captain. As soon as the young man beheld his old instructor, he covered his face and would have fled. But John exclaimed: "Why dost thou fly from me, my son? from me, an old, unarmed man? I will pray for thee. If need be, I will die for thee." The robber burst into tears, and implored forgiveness. His right hand, which had been so criminally employed, he tried to conceal beneath the drapery of his robe. But John seized it, and kissed it, and bathed it with his tears; nor did he cease from his affectionate exhortations, mingled with earnest prayers, till the erring soul turned from its evil ways, and had hopes of reconciliation with God.

There is a tradition of the Fathers that the emperor Domitian caused John to be arrested on the charge of magic, and that he was plunged into a cauldron of boiling oil, from which he emerged as fresh and vigorous as if it had been a pleasant bath. Afterward, the same emperor banished him to the island of Patmos, where he is supposed to have written the book called Apocalypse, or Revelations. During the mild reign of Nerva, he was permitted to return to Ephesus, where he lived to be nearly a

hundred years old. When he was very aged, his friends used to lead him to church. Being too feeble to preach, he gave them the brief exhortation: "Little children, love one another." When asked why he always repeated the same thing, he answered: "Because that injunction comprises the whole duty of man to man." There was a floating tradition, believed by many, that John did not die, but was taken up into Paradise. According to another tradition, the good old apostle died without pain or change, and immediately rose again in bodily form, and ascended up into heaven to rejoin Christ. It is impossible to separate the true from the imaginary in these traditions; but concurrent testimony, from various quarters, proves that John lived to be a very aged man. He had a disciple, called John the Presbyter, to whom it is supposed that some things ought to be attributed, which are generally ascribed to the apostle John.

James the Greater, brother of John, was the first martyr among the apostles. He is supposed to have remained most of his time at Jerusalem, where he was put to death by the sword, about thirteen years after the crucifixion of Jesus. Herod Agrippa, grandson of Herod the Great, was king at that time, and being desirous to establish a reputation for strict Judaism, he was severe against those brought before his tribunal charged with heresy.

The other James was called the Younger, or the Less. He is supposed to have been the first Presiding Elder of the church of Jerusalem, and some asserted that he was appointed by Christ himself. The degree of his relationship to Jesus has been a subject of controversy. Paul calls him "the Lord's brother," and Eusebius, the ecclesiastical historian, gives him the same appellation. His integrity and holiness of character, during an administration of thirty years, obtained for him the surname of the Just. According to a statement found in the works of Josephus, his zealous preaching rendered him an object of animosity to the Jews, especially to the High Priest Ananus. When he stood on a terrace of the temple, addressing the

multitude assembled at the Passover, a tumult arose, he was hurled down, and one of the infuriated mob below dashed out his brains with a club.

A volume might be filled with the traditional stories, which gradually clustered round the memory of the apostles and their companions. Most of them were garlands woven by imagination, for love and faith; and from that point of view they are sacred. The marvellous abounds in them. It was believed that Thomas went to India, where he became acquainted with the Three Wise Men from the East and baptized them; and that he suffered martyrdom there, being transfixed with spears by the enraged Bramina. Matthew was supposed to have remained several years in Judea, preaching to his countrymen. He afterward travelled into Ethiopia, where he raised the king's son from the dead, and cured his daughter of leprosy. He also is said to have been put to death, by sword or spear.

The same tendency to the marvellous is observable among all nations, at that period. Among many extraordinary statements of that character, is the following, by Tacitus, the Roman historian, concerning Vespasian, who became emperor seventy years after the birth of Christ: "While Vespasian was in Alexandria, waiting for favourable weather, many miracles happened, manifesting that he was the favourite of Celestial Powers. A well known blind man, one of the lowest of the people, fell at his feet, beseeching him to touch his eyes with spittle and restore his sight; saying he was directed to do so by the oracle of Serapis. Another, who had a diseased hand, came in obedience to the same oracle, and intreated Vespasian to place his foot upon the hand. The emperor at first spurned these petitioners, and laughed at their requests. But they persisted in earnest supplications, and some of his courtiers sought to flatter him with the idea that he was the chosen of heaven, and could perform whatsoever he would. Vespasian, fearing to excite prejudice against himself by an appearance of presumption and vanity, still

hesitated. He summoned physicians and inquired whether such blindness and infirmity could be cured by human means. They replied that the power of sight was not destroyed, and might possibly be restored, if the external obstructions to the eye could be removed. That the hand had fallen into a diseased vicious condition, but could be cured, if the right healing power were applied. They said perhaps it was the pleasure of the gods that the emperor should perform that office. They reminded him that the glory of a cure would be his; but the ridicule of a failure would fall on the supplicants themselves. Vespasian, thus urged, and persuaded in his own mind that everything was possible to his good fortune, with a cheerful countenance did as he had been requested, while a multitude eagerly watched the result. Immediately the hand was restored to use, and the blind man saw daylight shine again. Persons who were present recount each of those miracles, even unto this day, when there is no longer any hope of reward for speaking falsely."

PROMINENT CHARACTERS COTEMPORARY WITH THE APOSTLES.

In order to understand more distinctly the influences which surrounded Christianity, when it first began to spread among the nations, it may be useful to glance at some individuals, cotemporary with the apostles, or nearly so, who attracted attention, and had influence on the opinions of men.

PHILO.—Philo Judæus was a remarkable man, born in Alexandria, about forty-one years before Christ. He belonged to an illustrious Jewish family, and was able to avail himself of the best opportunities for education in that city of inquisitive intellect. He was endowed with great learning, and apparently with genius also. Of course, he became intimately acquainted with Greek philosophy, which at that time formed a prominent part of education.

The mystical tendencies of his own character particularly attracted him toward the writings of Plato, while religious reverence, and all the associations of childhood bound him to the faith of his fathers. When Grecians outgrew their mythology, the best minds among them tried to harmonise habitual veneration for ancient writings and institutions with increasing intelligence and a higher standard of morality, by resorting to a system of allegorical interpretation. As the intellectual stature of the Jews increased, by acquaintance with the literature and philosophy of other nations, they resorted to the same process. It has been already remarked, in the chapter on the Jews, that Aristobulus found the doctrines of Plato in the writings of Moses, by means of allegorical interpretation. More than a hundred years afterward, Philo adopted the same system, and carried it out more fully. How much he enlarged Hebrew boundaries by this method may be inferred from a few examples. He says: "If Moses made only one tent for the worship of Jehovah, it was to typify that the whole world is only one Temple of the Supreme." He supposes that the three men who appeared to Abraham, and dined on a calf with him, were three angels, in the literal sense; but in the hidden allegorical sense, they represented "God accompanied by his two Powers; one was the Power that created the world, the other was the Power which guides and governs it." In the same way, he finds spiritual significance in the description which Moses gives of the High Priest. He says: "This High Priest does not mean a man, but the Word of God, [The Logos] free from all sin, voluntary or involuntary. When Moses commands him not to defile himself, on account of his father or his mother, I think that he must have parents incorruptible and holy; his father God, who is also Father of all, and his mother Sophia [Wisdom] by which everything was produced." He also considered the Logos, or Word of God, represented by the breast-plate of the High Priest, by the aid of which he prophesied. He says: "It was necessary that he who officiated as priest to the

Father of the world, should have his most perfect Son as an advocate."

He said God clothed the spirit of the Hebrew Sacred Books in an outward covering, in order to accommodate himself to the weak intelligence of his people; but he plainly implies that in some cases the literal sense was shocking to his own mind. He taught that a divine science, received by intuition, was necessary to penetrate the hidden meaning; and this was possessed only by the initiated. He who elevated his soul above the material world, by the practice of virtue, and the contemplation of spiritual things, was enabled to pierce through the outward letter to the interior idea. What seemed to the common reader a mere historical fact, a traditionary custom, a metaphor, a word, even a single letter, or a number, might enclose the most profound truth, which he alone could unlock, who had the key of true science. He says: "He who knows God only through his creation, knows Him merely by his shadow. But the pure and perfect spirit, initiated into the great mysteries, is not reduced to the necessity of learning the cause from the effects. He is raised above that which is created, and receives revelation from The Eternal; so that he knows Him in himself, in the Logos, [Word] and in his shadow, the world."

Philo is eloquent in his praises of the intuitive science, and in his cautions to guard it against all but the divinely illuminated ones. He gives some profoundly allegorical interpretations of texts in the Hebrew Scriptures, concerning women and children, and adds: "O ye initiated, ye whose ears are purified, receive this into your soul, as mysteries that never ought to escape from it. Never reveal it to any of the profane. Hide it within yourselves, as a treasure not corruptible, like silver or gold, but more precious than all other things, since it is the science of the Great Cause, of Virtue, and of that which is born of both."

He taught the existence of One Invisible God, ineffable and incomprehensible; Creator of the *spiritual types* of all things; from whom all Intelligences proceeded; diffused

throughout the universe, and active in all its parts; never cognizable to the sense of man; and known to mortals only through the medium of his Logos, by whom he created the outward world of *visible forms*. This Father of all Spirits dwelt in a region of supernal light, the spiritual archetype of all other light, which Philo describes as "that super-celestial star, the source of the visible stars, which may be called the universal splendour, from which the sun, moon, and stars, fixed and wandering, derive their respective splendours."

Philo agreed with the Cabalists in believing there was a Mother of the Universe, whom he calls Sophia, a Greek word meaning Wisdom. By union with the Supreme, but not after the manner of men, she conceived and gave birth to the Ideas, or Types, according to which the Logos formed the world. He says: "The Father of all things wished his most ancient Son to arise, whom he declared his First-born, and who, imitating his Father's ways, and looking to his archetypical patterns, clothed them in visible forms." "The Intelligible World [by which he means the World of Divine Types] is nothing else but the Word of God preparing himself to create the visible world; even as an intelligible city is nothing else but the reasoning of the architect, who designs to build a city according to a plan that he has formed of it in his own mind."

He calls the Logos "The Son of God;" "The Express Image of God;" "The Oldest of Intelligences, between whom and the Supreme there is no medium." He believed the Logos was always with Jehovah, and of course was always invisibly present in the inmost sanctuary of the Temple at Jerusalem. If he does not intend to represent him as a *person*, rather than an *attribute* of the Divine Mind, he at least uses language which distinctly conveys that idea. He says: "The Lord is called God of gods, not with relation to created Intelligences, whether seraphs, angels, or human beings; but in relation to his Two substantial Powers; which are not simple attributes, but eternal, uncreated, infinite principles of action, represented

by the two wings of the cherubim, that covered the tabernacle." He also says: "I have heard a doctrine from my soul, which is accustomed to be divinely inspired, and to utter oracles concerning things of which itself is ignorant. My soul said to me, With the One God, who possesses true being, are two highest and principal Powers: Goodness and Authority. By Goodness all things are made; by Authority all things are governed. In the midst is The Logos, which connects both, by which God both rules and is good." Again he says: "In the midst is The Father, he whom the Scriptures call I Am. On one side of Him is the Word, which created all things; on the other is the Providence, which governs all things." "God, between these two Powers, presents to an enlightened soul sometimes one image only, sometimes three. The soul, when purified by contemplation, raises itself above all numbers, and advances to that pure and simple idea, which is One, and independent of all others. The soul, not yet initiated into the mysteries of the first order, stops at the smaller; not being capable of comprehending Him, who is considered in himself, without any foreign aid, she conceives of Three of them, and seeks God in his several relations of Creator and King."

He maintained that no creature in existence resembled the Supreme Father. Human souls were created in the image of the Logos. As First and Chief of all Intelligences, he calls the Logos an archangel, and supposes him to possess all the attributes of God, and exercise all the power of God. As the Type of all Souls, he is called The Model Man, or the Primitive Man. Being, in this latter capacity, a representative of the human race, he is their protector, and the Mediator between them and the Father. He contends with the Spirits of Darkness; he radiates heavenly light into souls that turn towards him; and he prays for them to the Father of the Universe. The Logos is often represented as taking the form of an angel, for some temporary purpose. He thus appeared to Abraham, and gave the Law to Moses. Speaking of Ha-

gar, Philo says: "She was met by an angel, which was the Logos of God, advising her to return to her mistress." In allusion to the migrations of Abraham, he says: "He who follows God must of necessity make use of the attending Logoi [plural of Logos] commonly called Angels." The idea often re-appears in his writings that the Logos could assume temporary personality, and then return to the Divine Being again.

He considered the stars as intelligent beings, who "never did evil, and were incapable of doing it;" by which he intended to discountenance the sayings of astrologers concerning malignant conjunctions of the stars, producing diseases, and other disasters on earth. He says: "Those whom other philosophers call demons, Moses usually calls angels; but they are Spirits flying through the air. The whole world, in all its parts, must be animated by spiritual beings. Earth, air, fire, and water, have theirs; and so have the stars of heaven. These Spirits are wholly immortal and divine. The air is filled with living creatures, as invisible to us as the air itself. Some of these souls descend into bodies. Others disdain to be connected with the earth, and are employed by the Creator as agents and servants in administering the affairs of mortals. Those who descend into bodies are overwhelmed as in a whirlpool; but some of them, by struggling, emerge and fly back to their home in upper regions, [after death.] These are souls who, while in the body, were taught a sublime philosophy. Those who sink, are souls of men who neglect the wisdom that pertains to the mind, and give themselves to carnal things. By considering that angels, demons, and souls, are different names for the same beings, you will clear away much superstition from the subject."

In another place he says: "The ethereal regions are like a populous city, filled with immortal Spirits, as numerous as stars in the firmament. Those nearest to the earth, and attracted by its pleasures, descend into mortal forms. Some cherish their bodies, others seek to subdue them, that they may rise higher in the world to come. However,

some of these last are again drawn down upon the earth by terrestrial desires. Others, disgusted with its vanities, fly from the body, as from a sepulchre, and with light wings rush toward the ethereal regions, where they pass their existence. The purest and best, despising all that the world can offer, and guided by the holiest thoughts, become ministers of the Supreme God, the eyes and ears of the Great King, seeing all, and hearing all. These divine messengers transmit to the children the orders of the Father, and to the Father the prayers of his children. They descend to earth, and re-ascend to heaven. Not that He who knows all things has need of their reports, but because it is good for mortals to have mediators and interpreters, in order that they may reverence the more the Supreme Arbiter of their destinies."

He supposed that some Angels were attracted toward the earth by love for mortal women, and became the fathers of giants. He drew this inference from the Septuagint version of the Scriptures, which declared that "the angels of God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair."

He represents man as a threefold being, having a rational soul, an animal soul, and a body. The first is from the Supreme One, and is therefore capable of rising to contemplation of him, and a reception of his celestial light. The irrational soul is the seat of the passions, and comes from inferior Spirits, who are the protectors of men, but who are not capable of producing anything more perfect. The irrational soul, and the body formed of earth, are both offensive to God; and the rational soul is bound within them, like a captive in prison. Moreover, man made his condition far worse than it was in his original state; having made a deplorable fall, through voluptuousness, and thus immersed his soul more deeply in the thralldom of Matter. God allows evil to exist, that man may have freedom to choose. Man can rise from his degraded state, by contending against evil, and by following the guidance of Sophia, and the angels, whom God sends to his assistance. Souls who diligently purify themselves, by all the

aids thus given, will rise toward superior regions, and finally obtain perfect felicity. Those who persevere in evil must be condemned to pass from one body to another, filled with evil passions.

This idea of imprisonment in the body, and the consequent longing to release the spirit from its thralldom, produced the same effect on Philo that it had done ages before on the devotees of India. He strove to shut out the world, and devote himself entirely to meditation on divine things. He says: "Often I left kindred, friends, and country, and retired into the wilderness, that I might raise my thoughts to worthy contemplations; but I accomplished nothing so. My thoughts either scattered abroad, or, wounded by some impure impression, fell into the opposite current. But sometimes I find myself alone with my soul in the midst of thousands, when God dispels the tumult from my breast. And so He teaches me that it is not change of place that brings evil, or good; but all depends on that God who steers the ship of the soul in the direction he pleases."

The Oral Traditions of the Jews, both those which formed the Talmud, and others known under the name of the Cabala, were said to have been secretly handed down from Abraham and Moses, through successive series of wise men. Philo also taught some ideas to the initiated, which they were exhorted to guard carefully. But the Written Law was proclaimed to all the people, and from the time of Ezra, at least, was constantly repeated and explained to the public. Philo exults in this point of superiority over the populace of other nations, and compares it with the exclusive system observed by Greeks and Egyptians in their Sacred Mysteries. He says: "That which is the portion only of a few disciples of a truly genuine philosophy, the knowledge of the Highest, has become the inheritance of the whole Jewish people, by law and custom." He calls the Jews priests and prophets for all mankind. He says: "All mysteries, all parade, and trickery of that sort, Moses removed from the holy giving of the Law; for he did not wish those who were trained under such a form

of religious policy to be exposed, by having their minds dazzled with mysterious things, to neglect the truth, and to follow after that which belongs to night and darkness, disregarding what is worthy of the light and of the day. Hence no one of those that know Moses, and count themselves among his disciples, should allow himself to be initiated into such mysteries, or to initiate others; for both the learning and teaching of such mysteries are no trifling sins. If the things taught are beautiful and useful, why, O ye initiated, do ye shut yourselves up in profound darkness, and confer the benefit on two or three alone, when you might confer it on all, if you were willing to publish in the market-place what would be salutary for every one, and enable all to participate in a better and happier life?"

The Logos of Philo bears a striking similarity to the Adam Kadman, or First Adam, of the Cabalists in Palestine. Both were called "The First Born Son of God," and "The Express Image of God." Both were described as the Primal Man, or Model Man, because all souls were contained in them; and because human souls thus had part and portion in them, they both received the appellation of "Mediator," or "Intercessor" between God and mankind. The Logos contending with Spirits of Darkness, and radiating Light into souls that turned toward him, resembles Persian doctrines. In fact, Philo's system seems to be a mixture of Plato and Zoroaster, wearing Hebrew forms as a garment; but the Platonic element greatly predominates over the Persian; while the Cabalistic doctrines are decidedly Oriental in character.

But Philo, in common with all his countrymen, had a strong conviction that every religious truth floating round the world must have been derived from a Hebrew source. He believed that the children of Israel descended from a family, which had preserved in its purity the image of God imprinted upon man, and were therefore chosen as depositaries of his Law.

He scarcely alludes to a personal Messiah, and does not intimate that the Logos would assume that character. But

he draws eloquent pictures of the latter days, when the Lord's chosen people would be gathered together from the four winds of heaven, under the guidance of a Heavenly Spirit, visible to their eyes only. All the nations would come and pay voluntary homage to the moral superiority of the Jews, and receive from them full streams of knowledge and virtue. Ferocious animals, subdued by this holy influence, would become the gentle companions of man, and the fruitful earth would be clothed with beauty, beyond the power of imagination to conceive. Unlike most of his countrymen, he denied the destruction of the world by fire. The reader is left to infer that it would remain in perennial youth.

The morality of Philo was pure and elevated, leading to asceticism in its strictness. He says: "The true disciples of Moses exercise continence, frugality, and patience: they disregard wealth, pleasure, and glory; they use food merely to sustain life; they are ready to endure all hardships for virtue's sake; they are content with mean clothing, and esteem luxury a disgrace and a reproach; to them the grassy sod is a precious bed, with boughs and leaves for covering, and a stone for a pillow. The luxurious consider this a hard life, but the followers of virtue think it delightful." Such views inevitably grew out of his Oriental ideas concerning the sinfulness of Matter, and the degradation of inhabiting a body. To him God was all in all, and this world a mere fleeting shadow. He depreciated human learning, and maintained that all true knowledge came directly from God to the soul, by intuition, in exalted states of faith, or revealed in dreams, when the mind was quiescent.

His writings were extensively read by Hellenistic Jews, and had great influence over their opinions. This was especially true of those who resided in Egypt. He was also much read by the best educated of the early Christians. The stern image of the Hebrew Jehovah was rendered more mild and attractive thus reflected through the golden mist of Platonism.

After his death, a report was circulated that he became a Christian, during the reign of Claudius, and subsequently renounced his faith, on account of some mortifications it caused him. It was even said that in his old age he became an intimate friend of the apostle Peter. But it is now known that these accounts are unworthy of belief. He must have been about seventy years old when Christ died, and it is very doubtful whether he heard of him. He makes no allusion to Christianity in any part of his writings.

APOLLONIUS.—Apollonius, of Tyana, in Cappadocia, was born in the latter part of the reign of Augustus, about four years before Christ. He belonged to a wealthy Grecian family, and numbered several celebrated men among his ancestors. An old marine god, named Proteus, famous for his prophetic powers, is said to have appeared to his mother, previous to his birth, and informed her that he himself would be born of her. It is further related that she fell asleep in a meadow, while her maidens were gathering flowers, and dreamed that a circle of swans surrounded her. The noise of their singing, and the clapping of their wings, wakened her; and almost immediately afterward she gave birth to a son. The boy, who was thus ushered into the world by music from the birds consecrated to Apollo, god of prophecy, early attracted attention by extraordinary beauty of person, quickness of intellect, and tenacity of memory. At fourteen years of age, he was sent to Tarsus, to pursue his studies with an Epicurean philosopher. The prevailing extravagance in dress, the luxurious habits, and the fondness for shows, seemed to him unfavourable to philosophic pursuits, and he obtained his father's permission to remove to *Ægæ*, a famous resort for the learned men of that time. There he heard philosophers of various schools discuss their respective theories, and listened to them all, with a serious and wakeful mind. He always retained much personal affection for his teacher, but early manifested the independence of his character by

rejecting the doctrines and habits of Epicureans, and attaching himself with great zeal to those of Pythagoras. The tutor delighted in choice wines, beautiful women, and a luxurious style of living, which had no attractions for his sedate pupil. The father of Apollonius had purchased for him a house, with a beautiful garden and fountain. At sixteen years of age, the studious youth bestowed these on his Epicurean teacher, saying: "Live you in what manner you please. I shall live after the manner of Pythagoras." After that declaration, he subsisted entirely on fruit and vegetables, drank water only, went barefoot, let his hair grow, and wore linen all the year round, because every substance connected with animals was deemed by him impure.

When he was twenty years old, his father died, and a large fortune was divided between him and an elder brother, who was much addicted to wine, gambling, and other forms of dissipation. Wishing to gain influence over him, he divided his half of the inheritance with him, saying: "I need but little, while you want much. Our father, who used to advise us, is gone. Let us rely upon each other. If I seem to you to do wrong, I beg of you to tell me so; and if I think you are doing wrong, I hope you will also listen to me." By his affectionate, gentle manner, and his judicious counsels, he gained such influence over his elder brother, that he became completely reformed. He bestowed nearly all the remainder of his fortune upon poor relatives, reserving a very small income for himself, but sufficient to supply his simple wants.

Having thus settled his affairs in Tyana, he returned to *Ægæ*, and spent most of his time in the celebrated temple of *Æsculapius*. The fame of his wisdom began to spread widely, and such numbers resorted thither to hear him discourse, that the temple became a Lyceum. He attracted such crowds, that when any person was seen walking rapidly, it was common to say: "Whither go you so fast? to hear the young man?" This passed into a proverb, which remained in use for centuries. Many miraculous

cures were performed by *Æsculapius*, in his temple at *Ægæ*, and it was said that the god himself expressed to the priest his delight at having *Apollonius* present on such occasions. The priests instructed him in all their secrets, whether of science or magic, and he is said to have acquired remarkable power over the bodies and souls of men. He taught the people that bloody sacrifices ought not to be offered, "on account of the relationship between men and animals;" and that the only prayer suitable to be addressed to Divine Beings was: "O ye gods, grant whatever it is best for me to have." When reminded of the law of *Pythagoras*, that a man should have union with only one woman, he replied: "That was spoken for others. For myself, I have resolved never to marry, and to abstain altogether from the society of women." In order to devote himself more completely to divine things, he imposed upon himself a vow of silence, which he preserved unbroken for five years; and during that time he committed to memory a vast amount of reading. Though he never spoke, he sometimes communicated with others by writing, and he had an expressive way of answering questions, by graceful motions of his head and hands. He acknowledged that this long period of silence was irksome to him, being often oppressed by something he wished to say, and tried severely by the remarks of those who brought accusations against him. Unable to enter into explanations, he drilled himself to patience, by inwardly repeating: "Be quiet, heart and tongue." It is recorded that no one ever succeeded in disturbing the serenity of his temper. Say what they would, he was always placid and courteous. Having visited *Aspendus*, in *Asia Minor*, during his term of silence, he found women and children weeping for bread, and the enraged populace preparing to burn their governor, whom they would not allow to speak in his own defence. By earnest gestures, *Apollonius* signified to the people that the governor must be heard. His singular costume and majestic deportment arrested their attention, and they consented to listen to the magistrate, who succeeded in convin-

ing them that he had been guilty if it iniquitous: that the famine had been occasioned by certain men that had hoarded up all the grain. The populace then threatened to make a violent onset on the speculators, but Apollonius, by expressive gestures, persuaded them to leave the affair to him. He then wrote the following brief epistle: "Apollonius to the Monopolizers of Corn, greeting: The earth is the common mother of all men; for she is just. You are unjust: for you have made her the mother of yourselves only. If you do not desist from this course, I will not suffer you to remain upon the earth." The monopolizers, knowing that the exasperated populace had been restrained from violence solely by his power over their minds, immediately yielded to his admonition, and filled the markets with grain.

After his term of silence expired, he went to Antioch, where he was followed by a great concourse of people. Thence he travelled into India. At Nineveh, he became acquainted with an Assyrian named Damis, who became a very zealous disciple. Hearing of his intention to visit the Bramins, he exclaimed: "O Apollonius, let us travel together; thou following the gods, and I following thee." He then enumerated many languages of Asia, with which he was familiar. Apollonius replied: "I know them all myself, though I never learned them. Do not be surprised at this; for I can perceive even the thoughts of men, though they do not utter them." When Damis heard that, "he adored him, believing him to be an Immortal Spirit." He followed him everywhere, during the remainder of his life, and occupied himself with recording all his sayings and doings. To some who accused him of thus seeking to perpetuate things too trivial to be remembered, he replied: "If the gods give feasts, they have servitors, whose duty it is to take care that no particle of ambrosia be lost."

According to his account, the fame of Apollonius had preceded him to Babylon; the king's brother having previously seen him at Antioch, and brought home such a description as induced them to treat him with great defer-

ence. The king, who was partial to Greeks, and well versed in their literature, was rejoiced at the arrival of the famous Pythagorean philosopher, and offered him apartments in the palace. Apollonius replied: "Were I to live in a house above my condition in life, I should be uncomfortable. Every sort of excess is irksome to philosophers, as the absence of it is to you, who are the great ones of the earth. For this reason, I prefer living with some private man, whose fortune does not exceed my own." Afterward, the king, being much captivated by his conversation and manners, sent a messenger to offer him ten boons of his own choosing; particularly requesting that he would ask nothing of mean value. Not far distant from Babylon, there was a colony descended from Greeks, who had been taken captive by Darius. These poor exiles were at that time greatly harassed by inroads upon their lands, so that they found it difficult to raise a sufficient supply of food. Apollonius besought the king to redress their grievances, and see that they were justly and generously treated. The monarch readily promised this, and inquired what were the other nine boons he wished to have conferred upon him. He replied: "That which you have granted, I prize more than many tens of gifts." "But is there nothing you yourself stand in need of?" said the king. "Merely a little bread and fruit," replied the philosopher.

Having remained a year and a half with this hospitable prince, improving daily opportunities to converse with the most learned of the Magi, he departed for India, well provided with camels, provisions, and letters of introduction. This journey is described by his disciple Damis, with all the credulity that marked that period of the world. He records wonderful stories about the resurrection of the phoenix from her ashes, and golden treasures guarded by griffins. The principal object of Apollonius was to converse with the Bramins; whom he describes in a mysterious way, as "men who dwell on the earth, and not on the earth;" "possessing nothing, yet having everything." He mentions one of them, who restored sight to the blind,

renovated a hand long withered, and cured a cripple, by simply touching his hip bone. His biographer states that in subsequent years "he was perpetually praising the sages of India." Not being aware that the ancient religion and philosophy of Egypt were nearly identical with systems prevailing in the East, he was surprised to find many of the deities in India, and many of the religious ceremonies, so very similar to those established by Grecians, who borrowed most of their ideas from Egypt.

He returned from India, after an absence of five years. In Bœotia he entered the celebrated Cave of Trophonius, and remained there seven days, asking questions, and writing the answers of the oracle in a book, which he carried everywhere with him. He visited Antioch, Ephesus, Athens, Alexandria, Rome, and many other cities; everywhere drawing crowds after him by the renown of his wisdom, the beauty of his person, and the singularity of his dress. He was constantly occupied with discussions on his favourite topics of religion and morality, and never failed to rebuke extravagance, dissipation and frivolity, wherever he witnessed them. The leading object of his life was to restore the old Grecian religion on a Pythagorean basis; purifying it from the fables, which he said poets had introduced, and restoring to its ceremonies the allegorical meaning, which he believed they originally possessed. When asked concerning the nature of the wisdom with which he was endowed, he answered: "It is a divine instinct, which teaches me what prayers and sacrifices are most proper to be offered to the gods."

He taught that there was One God, the Father of all, and that the numerous deities who were objects of popular worship, were intermediate Spirits, employed as agents. He invoked these Spirits, and burned frankincense and odoriferous wood upon their altars; believing that they were the appointed mediators between God and man. He always addressed prayers and hymns to the rising sun. He abhorred all bloody sacrifices; and when exhorted to offer such, by priests in various countries, he formed some

fragrant substance into the images of animals, and burned them on the altar. To the Supreme Being he offered no sacrifices at all; deeming all material objects, even fire, impure in his sight. He even thought that prayer to Him was polluted by human breath, and should therefore ascend silently from the sanctuary of the soul. In his work on Offerings he says: "A man may worship the Deity far more truly than other mortals, though he neither sacrifice animals, nor kindle fires, nor consecrate any outward thing to that God, whom we call The First; who is One, and apart from all, and by whom only we can know anything of the other deities. He needs nothing, even of what could be given him by natures far more exalted than ours. There is no animal that breathes the air, no plant the earth nourishes, nothing the world produces, that, in comparison with Him, is not impure. The only appropriate offering to Him is the homage of our superior reason. I mean that which cannot be expressed by the lips: the silent, inner word of the Spirit. From the Most Glorious of all beings, we should seek for blessings by offering that which is most glorious in ourselves. Pure spirit, the most beautiful portion of our being, has no need of external organs to make itself understood by The Omnipresent Essence."

He placed great reliance upon dreams and omens, and believed that he was often divinely guided by such agencies, particularly by those connected with the sun and fire. Hence, when he burned offerings on the altars, he always carefully observed the shapes assumed by the flame. To one of the Egyptian priests, he said: "If you knew the wisdom which is latent in fire, you would be able to discover many prognostics in the orb of the sun at rising." He was universally regarded as a prophet, and a worker of miracles. The power to do these wonderful things was supposed to have been derived from some supernatural knowledge obtained in the East; for the belief in magic, which took its name from the Persian Magi, was at that time almost universal, both with the learned and the un-

learned. Oracles in various places declared that he was endowed with a portion of Apollo's power to cure diseases and foresee the future: and those who were afflicted were commanded to apply to him. The priests of Ionia made over the diseased to his care, and his cures were considered so remarkable, that it is said divine honours were decreed to him. At Olympia also the young men wished to worship him as a god: but he forbade them: "fearing it might give rise to rivalries and jealousies." Embassies were frequently sent to him from princes or magistrates, who wished to hear him discourse, or to obtain his aid in some emergency. When he approached cities, processions of the citizens often came forth to meet him. He might have amassed wealth, if he had chosen to accept the gifts that were offered to him; but these he constantly refused, as unnecessary to his simple mode of life. His habitual prayer was: "O ye gods, grant me to have few things, and to stand in need of none."

At Ephesus, finding the people much occupied with dancing, pantomimes, and other shows, he exhorted them to leave such frivolous pleasures and devote themselves to the pursuit of wisdom. He warned them that a terrible pestilence was soon coming: but though they saw him visiting all the temples, offering prayers to avert the impending calamity, they paid no attention to his prediction, and rushed on as madly as ever in the pursuit of pleasure. Leaving them in that state of mind, he went to Smyrna, where a concourse of citizens came forth to meet him, and all the people thronged to hear his discourses. While there, ambassadors came from Ephesus, begging him to return to that city, where a terrible plague was raging, as he had prophesied. He went immediately, and as soon as he arrived, he said to the Ephesians: "Be not dejected. I will this day put a stop to the disease." The people followed him to the theatre, where they saw an old ragged beggar, with a wallet of crusts, who winked his eyes in a remarkable manner. As soon as Apollonius glanced at him, he commanded the people to stone him. They were

reluctant to do it, because the man was old and poor, and was appealing to their compassion. But as Apollonius insisted that it was necessary, they at last obeyed him. As soon as they began to stone the beggar, his winking eyes flamed with fury. Then the Ephesians took him to be a wicked demon, and pelted him so zealously, that he was soon covered with a pile of stones. Apollonius commanded them to remove the stones; and in lieu of the beggar, they found a fierce dog, large as a lion, his mouth covered with foam. It is not recorded whether he took any other means to cure the plague; but the pestilence was stayed, and the people erected a statue to Apollonius in token of gratitude.

At Athens, the philosophers received him with great joy; but the High Priest would not admit him to the Mysteries, saying it was contrary to law to initiate a magician. He was, however, subsequently admitted. When invited to attend the gladiatorial shows, he reprobated the Athenians for patronizing such cruel sports, and told them he marvelled that Minerva continued to protect a city where so much blood was shed. There was one of the dissipated young citizens, who laughed and cried by turns, and talked and sung to himself, without apparent cause. His friends supposed these habits were the effects of early intemperance; but Apollonius told him he was possessed by a demon; and "as soon as he fixed his eyes upon him, the demon broke out into all those horrid violent expressions used by people on the rack, and then swore he would depart out of the youth, and never enter another." Apollonius required him to give some visible sign of his departure. He said: "I will make that statue tumble;" and immediately a statue in the portico began to totter, and presently fell. The young man had not been previously aware that he was possessed by a devil; but from that moment, his wild disturbed looks changed, he became very temperate, and assumed the garb and habits of a Pythagorean philosopher.

Apollonius subsequently went to Rome, and arrived just

at a time when Nero had passed very severe laws against magicians, who were suspected of using their art to aid political conspiracies. A philosopher, who met him on the way, advised him to turn back; saying that all who wore the philosopher's garb were in danger of being arrested as magicians. This so intimidated his disciples, that of thirty-six only eight accompanied him to Rome. He spent most of his time passing from temple to temple, discoursing concerning religious worship. When asked for what he prayed, he answered: "That justice may prevail, that the laws may be obeyed, that wise men may be poor, and the rest of mankind rich, though not by fraud." The singularity of his dress attracted attention whenever he appeared in the street, and whatever temple he entered was soon crowded with spectators, who thought his presence would secure to them greater favours from the gods. All who came to him he treated with courtesy, but he visited no one, and paid no court to the rich or powerful. He was prudently silent concerning Nero, but he could not be induced to praise his verses, or his public singing, on which the emperor especially prided himself, and which it was considered treason not to applaud. He became an object of suspicion, and was closely watched. Seeing the temples crowded with flatterers of Nero, praying for his recovery from a hoarseness which impeded his singing, he sought to restrain the indignation of one of his companions by saying: "The gods must be forgiven, if they take pleasure in the company of buffoons and jesters." These words caused his arrest; but when his accuser appeared before the tribunal and unrolled the parchment on which the charges against him had been written, he found that all the characters had disappeared. Apollonius made such an impression on the magistrate by the bold tone he assumed, that he was allowed to go where he pleased. Of the miracles he is said to have performed at Rome, the most memorable is that of having restored a dead maiden to life. She belonged to a family of rank, and was just about to be married, when she died suddenly. Apollonius

met the procession that was conveying her body to the tomb. He asked them to set down the bier, saying to her betrothed: "I will dry up the tears you are shedding for this maiden." They supposed he was going to pronounce a funeral oration; but he merely took her hand, bent over her, and uttered a few words in a low tone. She opened her eyes, and began to speak, and was carried back alive and well to her father's house. Her grateful relatives sent him a large sum of money, which he bestowed on her as a dowry. His biographer says it rained at the time, which caused a vapour to rise from the maiden's face; and it was difficult for those present to ascertain whether he restored the dead to life, or whether he perceived what others did not, that the vital spark was not quite extinct.

Not long after, he accepted an invitation to visit Alexandria, where his arrival produced a great sensation. A pompous procession came to escort him, and "while he was passing from the harbour to the town, all made way for him in the narrow streets, as was done for those who carried the sacred symbols of the gods." On his way, he met twelve men, who were led to execution, on the charge of robbery. He pointed to one of them, and said: "That man has made a false confession." Then turning to the executioners, he added: "Take care to have that man reserved till the last; for he is not guilty of the crime for which he has been condemned. You will be wise not to put him to death at all." Contrary to his usual custom of speaking briefly, he now prolonged the conversation, in order to detain them. Soon after, a courier arrived in hot haste at the place of execution, crying out: "Spare Phorion! It is proved that he is innocent, and that a false confession was extorted from him by torture." The man was saved, and the Egyptians were lost in wonder at the foresight of Apollonius.

He was said to have remarkable power over animals, and to understand their language, like his great pattern Pythagoras. There was a man in Alexandria who had a tame lion, which he led about with a string, like a dog.

This noble animal was allowed to enter the temples, but he would never lick the blood, or touch the flesh of victims. He delighted in bread, and cakes of honey, and would caress the spectators, to obtain them. One day, when Apollonius was in the temple, he fawned on him more than on any other person. People supposed he did it to get something to eat; but Apollonius said: "This lion asks me to inform you whose soul it is that animates him. It is the soul of Amasis, an ancient king of Egypt." As soon as the lion heard this, he roared piteously, bent on his knees, and burst into tears. Apollonius caressed him, and told his owner it was not becoming for a great king, transformed into the most royal of beasts, to wander up and down the world like a mendicant. Accordingly the priests took him, dressed him with collars and garlands, offered sacrifice to him, and sent him to the district where king Amasis formerly resided, accompanied by a procession playing on flutes, and singing hymns composed for the occasion.

What principally attracted Apollonius to Egypt was a desire to converse with the Gymnosophists; communities of philosophers, or devotees, who lived in solitary places, went without clothing, and had their own peculiar ways of worshipping. He wished to ascertain whether they were equal to the Bramins, whom they were said to resemble. One of their young candidates told him that he had resigned his patrimony and joined these naked philosophers, in hopes of learning the wisdom of India; because his father, who commanded a vessel and traded with that country, told him "their sages were the wisest of mortals; and that the Ethiopians were a colony from India, who trod very nearly in the wise steps of their forefathers." Another of the Gymnosophists said to Apollonius: "We are naked. Here the earth spreads no carpet under our feet. It affords us no milk, no wine. We are humble people. We live on the earth, and partake of whatever things it supplies us with, of its own free will, without labour, and unaided by any magical influence. It is enough for a wise

man that he is pure in whatever he eats, that he touches nothing which has had life, that he subdues all those irregular desires which make their approaches through the eyes, and that he removes far from him envy, a fruitful source of injustice." Their jealousy was somewhat excited by the well-known reverence in which the Bramins were held by Apollonius. Therefore, the speaker pointed to an elm near by, and said: "I will prove to you that we are able to perform things as wonderful, as can be done by the sages of India. O tree, salute the wise Apollonius!" As soon as the words were uttered, "the tree saluted him, speaking in an articulate voice, resembling that of a woman." Nevertheless, Apollonius told his disciples that the Gymnosophists were inferior to the Bramins, because on certain occasions he found that they failed to foresee the future, and to read his interior thoughts.

In Egypt, as elsewhere, he frequented the temples, and rebuked the people for their quarrelsome disposition, their love of horse-races, and gladiatorial combats. His enthusiastic biographer says that while he was thus employed, "a beauty shone in his face, and the words he uttered were divine." The emperor Vespasian arrived while he was in Alexandria, and immediately inquired for the celebrated Tyanean. He formed a great friendship for him, delighted to hear him recount his adventures in India, and was accustomed to consult him as an oracle in political affairs. He frequently urged him to accept large sums of money, which were uniformly refused. Vespasian afterward passed laws, which oppressed some of the Grecian cities. Having invited Apollonius to visit him again, he replied: "Apollonius to the Emperor Vespasian, health: You who, in anger, have reduced free people to slavery, what need have you of my conversation. Farewell."

Passing through Tarsus, in his travels, they pointed out to him a young man bitten, thirty days before, by a mad dog, and who was then running on all fours, barking and howling. Apollonius, having obtained a description of the dog, said: "He is now standing near the fountain,

wishing to drink, but afraid of the water. Go bring him hither. You have only to say that I want him." He then went on to say that Telephus was cured by the same spear that wounded him; that his soul had transmigrated into the rabid youth, who was subject to the same destiny. Accordingly, when the dog was brought, he patted him, and induced him to lick the place he had bitten. Whereupon, the young man was soon restored to his right mind. Then Apollonius offered up prayers for the diseased animal, and put him into the river; saying that water was medicinal for mad dogs, as soon as they were able to endure it. The dog swam the stream, shook himself on the other side, wagged his tail, and ran off cured.

Apollonius was intimate with Nerva; and the emperor Titus, during his short reign, frequently asked his advice. For these reasons, he became an object of jealousy to Domitian, who feared that conspiracies might be aided by his magical powers. Accordingly, when he revisited Rome, and his appearance in the streets as usual "excited admiration, which bordered on something divine," that emperor caused him to be arrested, on charge of allowing himself to be worshipped, speaking against the reigning powers, pretending that his words were inspired by the gods, predicting that Nerva would succeed to the throne, and sacrificing a child in some magical ceremonies to bring about that event. He was summoned to the palace, where he denied the charges against him, and declared that Nerva was a mild, excellent man, little inclined to meddle with affairs of state. Domitian, in a rage, ordered him to be loaded with irons, and cast into prison. "I have bound you," said he, "and you will not escape me, unless by your magical arts you change yourself into water, or a wild beast, or a tree." The prisoner replied that if he was an enchanter he would not use his power to escape, lest by so doing he should injure those who were implicated in his accusation.

His steadfast disciple Damis was in despair, and spent his time in praying to the gods to deliver them from their

perilous situation. One day visiting his master in prison, he asked him when he thought he should recover his liberty. He answered: "This instant, if it depended on myself." And drawing his legs out of the shackles, he added: "Keep up your spirits. You see the freedom I enjoy." Damis says he was then convinced that his nature was something more than human. He was brought to trial not long after, and so defended himself, that the emperor was induced to acquit him, but forbade him to leave Rome. The philosopher thanked him, and spoke some bold words concerning the miserable state of the empire under his suspicious administration; adding: "Listen to me, if you will. If not, send persons to take my body. It is impossible to take my soul. You cannot kill me, because I am not mortal." As soon as he had uttered these words, "he vanished from the tribunal." How he disappeared is not explained. It is recorded that "after he departed, Domitian behaved like a man under a divine influence, in a way not easy to be explained, being totally different from the expectations of those best acquainted with the tyrant."

Damis had been previously sent away from Rome, with the promise that his master would soon rejoin him. Apollonius vanished from the presence of the emperor at noon. On the evening of the same day, he suddenly appeared before Damis and some other friends, who were at Puteoli, more than a hundred miles from Rome. They started, being doubtful whether or not it was his spirit. But he stretched out his hand, saying: "Take it; and if I escape from you, regard me as an apparition." When he told them he had made his defence in Rome, only a few hours before, they marvelled how he could have performed the journey so rapidly. He said they must "ascribe it to a god."

He afterward travelled to various parts of Greece, but resided principally at Ephesus, where he established a school of Pythagorean philosophy, occupying himself with questions of morality, rather than of science. One day,

when a multitude were listening to him in groves near the city, his voice suddenly fell, as if he were alarmed by something. He lost the thread of his discourse, and finally became silent. Then suddenly advancing three or four steps, he cried aloud: "Strike the tyrant! Strike him!" Turning to the audience, he said: "Rejoice, Ephesians! The tyrant is killed. This very moment the deed is done. The news will soon be here. Meanwhile, I will go and return thanks to the gods for what I have seen." A courier afterward arrived, bringing tidings that Domitian had been stabbed at Rome; and it was ascertained that the murder took place at the moment Apollonius had spoken. This circumstance of course greatly increased his reputation for prophecy.

He is supposed to have lived more than a century. When Nerva succeeded to the throne, ninety-six years after our era, it is said the aged philosopher was still vigorous in mind and agreeable in person. The emperor invited him to come and assist him with his wise counsels. He replied: "We shall live together a long time, during which we shall not command others, nor will others command us." It was afterward supposed that he knew he was about to die, and that the reign of Nerva would be a short one. He never spoke on the subject to Damis. He sent him to Rome with a letter, and said at parting: "Whenever you are alone, and your whole soul given up to philosophy, think of me." When the disciple returned, he could find no traces of his beloved teacher. Some say he died at Ephesus; others that his last days were spent in Crete. There was a temple of Diana in that place, containing rich treasures, guarded by furious dogs. Apollonius frequented the temple whenever he chose, at all hours of the day and night. The dogs did not bark at him, but fawned upon him with the utmost affection. Once, after he had entered the temple at midnight, the priests heard sweet voices singing: "Leave the earth, and come to heaven! Come! Come!" Apollonius returned no more. This story induced many to believe that he was carried to the gods,

without dying. Philostratus, his biographer, says: "I do not remember ever to have seen any tomb, or cenotaph, raised in honour of him; though I have gone over most parts of the known world, and in all countries met men who told wonderful things of him." He elsewhere plainly implies doubts whether he ever died.

A young man, who did not believe in the immortality of the soul, visited Tyana, and during ten months prayed to the departed Apollonius that his spirit would become visible, and thus resolve his doubts. At last he grew weary, and said jestingly to his fellow students: "He, poor man, is so dead that he cannot hear me; or he would appear, in answer to my prayers, to prove that he is immortal." Five days after, he chanced to fall into a sound sleep in the midst of the same companions, some of whom were reading, others tracing geometrical figures in the sand. Suddenly he started up in a perspiration, exclaiming: "I believe you, now." When asked what he meant, he replied: "Don't you see Apollonius there, listening to our disputations? Haven't you heard him saying wonderful things about the soul?" They said they did not; though they would give the richest earthly possessions in exchange for such a sight. The youth then concluded that the vision was sent solely to enlighten him.

The fame of Apollonius long survived him, and many honours were paid to his memory. The emperor Adrian made a collection of his letters, which he preserved in his palace at Antium. Among them was the book of oracular answers brought from the cave of Trophonius. The emperor Caracalla ordered a temple to be erected, and dedicated to his memory. The emperor Alexander Severus caused his statue to be placed in the imperial chapel, together with those of Abraham, Orpheus, and Christ. When the emperor Aurelian took Tyana, he treated the inhabitants with great lenity, because it was the birth-place of Apollonius, and therefore regarded by many as a sacred city. The Tyanians, proud of their distinguished countryman, declared that he was a son of Jupiter; but he al-

ways said he was the son of Apollonius, whose name he bore. It was a common tradition among them that a flash of lightning descended to the earth, then rose suddenly, and vanished in the heavens, at the moment he was born.

The record of his life, by his disciple Damis, was written in an unpleasing style, and was therefore not sought by those who copied books for sale. But the empress Julia, wife of Alexander Severus, was so much interested in its contents, that she requested Flavius Philostratus, an Athenian author of reputation, to collect, from that and other sources, all that was known of Apollonius, and write an account of him in more attractive style. He did this more than one hundred years after the death of Apollonius, when many traditions concerning him were about. His book is often referred to by cotemporary writers. The early Christian Fathers, in alluding to it, do not deny the miracles it recounts, but attribute them to the aid of Evil Spirits, procured by magical arts. Philostratus himself expresses his belief that a man could learn the language of animals by eating the liver of a dragon; and this remark merely indicates the universal credulity of his time. Nothing in the volume implies that either Apollonius or his biographer was at all acquainted with the history or doctrines of Christ.

SIMON MAGUS.—Simon, the Samaritan, produced marked effects on the times succeeding him; being the progenitor of a large class of sects, which long troubled the Christian church. He is therefore entitled to a passing notice. A knowledge of magic had spread from Central Asia into Syria, by means of the return of the Jews from Babylone, and had afterward extended widely through the mixing of nations, produced by Alexander's conquests. In Simon's time, it was almost universally believed that men could foretell events, cure diseases, and obtain control over the forces of nature, by the aid of Spirits, if they knew how to invoke them. It was Simon's proficiency in this occult

science, which gained him the surname of Magus, or Magician.

The Christian Scriptures informs us that when Philip went into Samaria to preach Christ, he found "a certain man called Simon, who had used sorcery and bewitched the people, giving out that he himself was some great one; to whom they all gave heed, from the least to the greatest, saying: This man is the Great Power of God." When Simon saw Philip performing miracles, he was baptized by him; perhaps thereby expecting to receive the Holy Spirit, because he had heard that it descended on Jesus at baptism. Afterward, when Peter and John went into Samaria to preach, and "Simon saw by laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying: Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost." He probably asked this because he had been accustomed to pay for instruction in magical arts, of which he supposed that the power of the apostles was only a new manifestation. Peter indignantly replied: "Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money. Repent, therefore, of this wickedness, and pray to God if perhaps the thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee." A reverent willingness to believe in all marvellous power is implied by Simon's meek response: "Pray ye to the Lord for me, that none of these things which ye have spoken come upon me."

Desire to obtain an increase of magical power, was probably all that attracted him toward the teachers of Christianity; for the Scriptures make no further allusion to him, and subsequent traditions represent him as acting in opposition to them. His doctrines seem to have been a mixture of Persian and Hindoo ideas, with variations of his own. He taught that the Source of all Good dwelt in plenitude of Light. From him emanated three successive couples of united beings, masculine and feminine. The first feminine emanation, he called Ennoia, which means Interior Thought. From her proceeded Spirits of greater

or less degree of perfection. By their assistance, she created the world, and entrusted them with the government of it. He supposed that Matter was a dark, chaotic mass, co-eternal with God. Moral and physical disorders were mere perversities occasioned by the soul's contact with it, and were observable only in the inferior world. He accounted for the ascendancy of evil in a manner peculiarly his own. According to him, the Spirits employed by Ennoia to create the world, and afterward to govern it, became jealous of her superiority. They felt humiliated in performing the part of simple agents, and resolved to combine together to enfranchise themselves. They accordingly seized her and held her captive. They detached the inferior world, of which they were masters, from the superior world, of which they were subjects; and to be free from any fear that Ennoia would return to her former dominion, they exiled her into a human body. From that time, evil triumphed over good in the world. To impede its progress, emanations from the Supreme had appeared to various nations, with instructions adapted to their wants. In an especial manner, God had spoken by his Holy Spirit to the Greeks. But Ennoia still languished far from her native sphere, subject to transmigration, and enslaved by material laws. She became the victim of a manner of abuse and ignominy, and sunk into the depths of degradation. Hindoo Vedas, Pythagoras, Plato, and Cabalists, all represented mortals as souls fallen from spheres of light, imprisoned in bodies, and striving to return whence they came. But the fall was always by their own fault; while Ennoia was an innocent victim, dragged down by others, and forever longing to be restored to the heavenly home, from which she had been forcibly withdrawn.

At last, the Wisdom of the Supreme, corresponding to the Logos, weary of these disorders, descended in the form of Simon Magus, to rescue her, and redeem the world from evil. Simon said he found the exiled Ennoia in the form of a beautiful Tyrian slave, named Helen, who was leading

a very impure life. He purchased her, and she became his inseparable companion. He travelled about preaching, and made many proselytes. He professed to be "The Wisdom of God," "The Word of God," "The Paraclete, or Comforter," "The Image of the Eternal Father, manifested in the flesh," in order to subdue demons. Helen being the incarnation of Ennoia, he called her "Mother of the Universe," sometimes "The Virgin of God," or "The Spouse of God." It is said some of his Greek proselytes worshipped them, under the name of Jupiter and Minerva.

Simon did not consider the Jehovah of the Jews as the Supreme Being, but as leader of the Spirits who created the world and were entrusted with its government. Of course, the Hebrew Books inspired by Jehovah could not be regarded by him as a perfect guide for men. He did not change their character by allegorical interpretation, as Philo had done, but unscrupulously condemned the text. Of course, those who acknowledged his supernatural claims, placed him far above Moses and the Prophets. They believed he was the First Born of the Supreme, sent on earth to free men from the imperfect laws given by Jehovah, who was one of the rebelling Spirits.

Simon denied the resurrection of the body, on the ground that pure souls would be polluted by re-union with flesh. He supposed the wicked would transmigrate into inferior forms, as an expiation of their sins. Holy souls would ascend to the realms of light whence they came. His followers often called God "The Root of the Universe." All their aspirations were to become like him, that they might be re-united to the Source whence all beings proceeded. They produced a Gospel, called The Four Corners of the World. Simon also composed some works, of which slight fragments remain. That he made a lively impression on his cotemporaries is indicated by the subsequent extension of his doctrines, under varied forms, by the wonderful stories which the Christian Fathers relate of him, and by the strong dislike they manifest toward him.

According to their accounts, he could make his appearance wherever he pleased to be at any moment; could poise himself on the air; make inanimate things move, without visible assistance; produce trees from the earth suddenly; cause a sickle to reap without hands; change himself into the likeness of any other person, or even into the forms of animals; fling himself from high precipices unhurt; walk through the streets accompanied by spirits of the dead; create a man from the atmosphere; and animate statues, so that they seemed to be alive. They say that when he found the Apostles of Christ excelled him in miraculous power, he quitted Samaria, flung his magical books into the Dead Sea, and went to Rome, where he became a favourite with the emperor Claudius, and afterward with Nero. In about two years, Peter and Paul followed him to the imperial city. Hearing that he gave himself out to be an incarnated Spirit of God, and asserted that he could raise the dead, they challenged him to a public trial of his skill. He accordingly attempted to restore a dead young man to life, and after he had failed in the attempt, Peter and Paul succeeded. He next attempted to fly in presence of the emperor and a multitude of people. Crowned with laurel, he flung himself from a high tree, and floated awhile in the air. But Peter knelt down in prayer, and commanded the Evil Spirits, who held him up, to let go their hold; and immediately he fell to the ground and was dashed to pieces.

Those who believed in Simon Magus thought he performed wonderful things because he was the Great Power of God. His Christian opponents did not deny the marvels, but attributed them to the agency of Evil Spirits. Whatever might be the real foundation for the extraordinary stories related of him, the theories he taught afterward re-appeared in various forms, to the great annoyance of the Christian church. Irenæus, one of the earliest of the Christian Fathers, says: "All who in any way corrupt the truth, or mar the preaching of the church, are disciples and successors of Simon, the Samaritan magician."

CERINTHUS.—Cerinthus, who was born in Judea, and had a Jewish education, followed very soon after. He resided in Alexandria when Christianity was first beginning to be taught there. He professed to believe in Jesus, but having imbibed oriental ideas concerning the degradation of Matter, he was unwilling to suppose that a Son of God could be born of woman, and clothed with human flesh. He, therefore, concluded that the Christ was a Spirit, who dwelt with God before the world was made, but that Jesus was a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary. By his justice, wisdom, prudence, and benevolence, he was powerful above other men, and became worthy to receive from the Supreme Being the communication of the Christ, who entered his soul at baptism, and continued allied to him through his mortal life. By this union, Jesus was enabled to work miracles, and was exalted above all the Spirits who govern this world. He was also thus introduced into perfect acquaintance with the Supreme Being, of whom he, in common with all the Jews, was ignorant, until the time of his baptism. The important revelation then received, it was his mission to communicate to mankind. The Christ left Jesus before his crucifixion, and ascended to Heaven, whence he came; but at the resurrection of the dead, he would be again united with him, and establish in Jerusalem a kingdom of perfect felicity, which would continue a thousand years.

Cerinthus was well acquainted with the allegorical school of Philo, and wished to retain many of the Mosaic rites, as significant spiritual types. He also thought some portions of the Law were worthy of observance, but taught his followers to regulate their lives mainly by the precepts of Christ. He regarded Jehovah as merely the delegated Creator and Ruler of this world: a subaltern Spirit, unacquainted with the character and purposes of the Supreme One, and incapable of appreciating them. He admitted that there were many good things in the Hebrew Sacred Books; but he considered them revelations from an inferior order of Spirits. He said an Angel instructed Moses in legisla-

tion, and other Angels of a lower rank had instructed the Prophets. His followers had a Gospel concerning Jesus, which is described as nearly resembling the Gospel by Matthew; but of course it did not contain the account of the miraculous conception, which was directly at variance with the doctrines he taught. They rejected the other Christian Scriptures, and had an Apocalypse peculiar to themselves, which they said was written by the Apostles. It contained glowing descriptions of Christ's reign on earth, ornamented with Jewish imagery of the wealth and grandeur of Jerusalem.

The claims of Cerinthus were less ambitious than those of Simon Magus. He did not assume to be a Power of God, or the Messiah, or a Prophet. He merely said that he received some of his revelations from angels. He went to Ephesus to teach; and it was a tradition among the early Fathers, that the Apostle John encountered him there. Irenæus says John inserted in his Gospel that "the Word was made flesh and dwelt among men," for the express purpose of refuting Cerinthus. He is likewise supposed to allude to him in his Epistles, where he says: "Who is a liar, but he that denieth Jesus is the Christ? Many deceivers are entered into the world, who confess not that Christ has come in the *flesh*. This is a deceiver and an antichrist. Receive him not into your house, neither bid him God speed." The Apostle considered such teachers as an additional proof that the expected millennium was nigh at hand. He says: "Little children, it is the last time. Ye have heard that antichrist shall come. Even now there are many antichrists; whereby we know that it is the last time." Irenæus states that Polycarp, who was personally acquainted with John, was accustomed to tell the following anecdote of him: One day the Apostle entered a bath in Ephesus, and seeing Cerinthus there, he turned away hastily, saying to his own companions: "Let us escape, lest the building should fall upon our heads while Cerinthus is within." Some suppose this is one of the things which

ought to be attributed to John the Presbyter, a disciple of the Apostle.

COURSE OF THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT TOWARD
CHRISTIANITY.

While these influences from old religions and philosophies were floating toward the small stream of Christianity, the persecution of the government, after brief suspension, was renewed. Trajan, one of the wisest and best of the Roman emperors, who came to the throne ninety-eight years after the birth of Christ, received numerous complaints from the officers of his empire, that the Christians blasphemed the gods, and refused to pay the customary homage to his statue. Events during the thirty years preceding Trajan had greatly tended to increase animosity between Jews and Romans. Roman governors had greatly oppressed the Jews, and Vespasian had required them to pay taxes to rebuild the Temple of Jupiter, at Jerusalem, which had been destroyed during their civil wars. The Jews had at last broken out into furious rebellion, and Titus, in quelling the tumult, had destroyed their city and temple. In consequence of these events, the Jews were more than ever regarded as obstinate and incorrigible subjects. Christians, being generally confounded with their ancestral nation, were involved in the prejudice against them. On the other hand, Jews incurred additional odium in consequence of the proceedings of Christians; and they disliked them so heartily, that they were always eager to circulate reports to their disadvantage. They continued to say, as in the times of Paul: "These men do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar; saying there is another king, one Jesus." The accusation of intending to subvert the religion and overthrow the government of Rome, and to establish a new kingdom upon the ruins, was apparently sustained by the habitual expressions of Christians concerning the speedy coming of their king. Public rumour, always ready to assail the unpopular, also charged them

with shameful vices; such as indiscriminate licentiousness at their midnight assemblies, and the eating of human flesh at one of their religious ceremonies. Though these monstrous charges originated in confounding the meetings and usages of Christians with the nocturnal assemblies of other sects and associations, they were generally believed.

In consequence of the complaints made to Trajan he issued an edict against secret societies, and forbade the Christians to hold meetings. He, however, manifested his moderation by appointing Pliny the Younger, an intelligent and conscientious man, Governor of Bithynia, where the new sect were numerous, and had many enemies. He moreover instructed him not to search for any Christians, and not to listen to any anonymous charges against them. If brought before his tribunal by a regular accuser, they were to be strictly examined. If found guilty of being Christians, they were to be put to death, unless they retracted, and offered sacrifice to the gods of the empire.

Pliny found himself in an embarrassing position between his humane feelings as a man, and what he thought was his duty as a Roman magistrate. It was on this occasion that he wrote the following memorable letter to the emperor: "I have never been present at any trial of the Christians, so that I know not well why, or how much, they are punished, or prosecuted; whether a pardon should be granted to those who recant, and whether the name itself, without criminal actions, is to be punished. I have interrogated those who have been accused before me as Christians. If they confessed it, I questioned them a second and a third time, and threatened them with death. If they persisted, I ordered them to execution: for I did not doubt, whatever principles they might profess, they deserved punishment for their pertinacity and indelible obstinacy. An anonymous list was sent to me containing the names of many, who, upon examination, denied that they were, or had been Christians. In obedience to my orders, they invoked the gods, and sacrificed with wine and incense before your image, which I had ordered to be set

before them with the statues of the deities. They also reviled Christ; and it is said the genuine Christian cannot be induced to do any of these things. Others were named by informers, who at first confessed themselves Christians, but afterward denied it. Some said they had belonged to the community, but had since left it; some three years, some longer; and one or two above twenty years. They all worshipped your image, and the statues of the gods; and they also reviled Christ. They affirmed that the whole of their fault, or error lay in this: that they were wont to meet together on a stated day, before it was light, and sing among themselves, alternately, a hymn to Christ, as to God, and bind themselves by an oath, not to commit any wickedness, but to refrain from theft, robbery, and adultery; never to falsify their word, nor to deny a pledge committed to them, when called upon to return it. When these things were performed, it was their custom to separate, and then meet together again at a meal, which they ate in common, without any disorder. [This was probably the Lord's Supper.] But they said they had discontinued this, since the publication of my edict forbidding associations, by your command. After receiving this account, I judged it the more necessary to examine, and that by torture, two maid-servants, who were called ministers; but I have discovered nothing except a bad and excessive superstition. Therefore, I have suspended all judicial proceedings, and apply to you for advice. It appears to me a matter highly deserving of consideration; especially upon account of the great number of persons, who are in danger of suffering; for many people, of all ages, of every rank, and of both sexes, are accused, and will be accused. The contagion has seized not cities only, but lesser towns also, and the open country. Nevertheless, it seems to me that it may be restrained and corrected. It is certain that the temples which were once almost deserted, now begin to be more frequented; and the sacred solemnities, after a long intermission, are revived. Victims likewise are everywhere bought up; whereas for a time they had few pur-

chasers. Whence it may be inferred what numbers of men might be reclaimed, if opportunity were granted them for repentance."

The two maid-servants, mentioned as ministers, were probably deaconesses; for it would have been contrary to the instructions of Paul to allow women to become teachers. That servants were intrusted with such an honourable and responsible office indicates the democratic ideas of rank, which prevailed among primitive Christians.

Though Trajan and Pliny were eminent for justice and moderation, yet reverence for the religious forms in which they had been educated, and which they considered essential to the preservation of the state, led them to sanction acts of great cruelty toward those humble non-conformists. But though some were intimidated and abjured their faith for a time, a far greater number preferred martyrdom. The governor of Palestine wrote to Trajan: "I am quite tired out with punishing and destroying the Galileans, according to your commands; and yet they cease not to offer themselves to be slain. Though I have laboured, both by threatening and persuasion, to make them avoid being known as Christians, yet can I not stave them off from being persecuted."

Adrian, who succeeded Trajan, one hundred and seventeen years after Christ, received complaints from magistrates in various parts of his empire, concerning difficulties connected with the Christians, who were frequently assailed by mobs, on one pretext or another. There were many causes in the then existing state of things to produce this general unpopularity. Christians were not only obliged by their conscientious scruples to refrain from sacrifices and prayers to the acknowledged gods of the country, but they could not be civil officers, or attend public festivals, or social feasts, or the marriages or funerals of friends or acquaintances, who were not Christians, because all such occasions were more or less mingled with ceremonies in honour of the gods. The Roman senate was held in a temple, or some other consecrated place, and before proceeding

to business, each senator poured wine to the gods, or dropped frankincense on their altars. The garlands worn at weddings, the libations poured at feasts, the holy water from the temples, sprinkled for purification at funerals, were all representative of a worship connected with idolatry, and therefore odious to the Christian mind. This induced habits of separation, which made them appear morose and unsocial. Many were grieved, or vexed, by having wives or daughters, sons or brothers, converted to a faith which ruined their worldly prospects, and endangered their personal safety. Their increasing numbers began to make a great difference in the sale of animals for sacrifice, and in various other articles of trade connected with the established religion. Moreover, the fears of the people were really alarmed by the progress of the innovation. They sincerely believed that the fruitfulness of a field was affected by the offerings laid on the altar of Ceres; that health was endangered by any disrespect to *Æsculapius*; that their friends would be shipwrecked, if the worship of Neptune was neglected; and that bad luck would follow a city or village, if the Temple of Fortune was deserted. Philosophers privately smiled at the literal sense in which these things were understood, and satisfied their own intellect by either regarding them as poetic fables, or adopting them as significant allegories. But to the populace, the literal story and the outward form were realities. They had the fullest faith that the gods needed sacrifices and prayers from mortals, as men needed their foresight and protection. Perfumes and music were supposed to be agreeable to divine beings, and the odour of consuming sacrifice to be a kind of sustenance suited to their ethereal nature. It was by no means an uncommon idea that an unbelieving age might actually starve the gods, on whom public and private prosperity depended. Having these views strongly fixed in their minds by the education of centuries, it was natural that the timid and reverent, as well as the selfish and violent, should regard Christians as atheists, and enemies to the state. If a long time passed without rain on the earth,

if a building was struck by lightning, if many were observed to be absent from the religious festivals, it needed but one exciting word to set the populace furiously upon the Christians, and to cause them to be dragged before the intimidated magistrates, with the clamorous outcry: "Send them to the lions!" In such scenes, the persecuted sect suffered much and continually, both in person and property. Adrian, whose policy was pacific and humane, when not provoked by rebellions, issued an edict to protect them from such outbursts of popular fury; commanding the magistrates to proceed carefully according to the laws, and never to yield to the clamour of the multitude.

His successor was the gentle Antoninus Pius, who came to the throne one hundred and thirty-eight years after our era. The policy of his government was indicated by his saying: "I had rather save the life of a single citizen, than cause the death of a thousand enemies." An unusual number of public calamities occurred during his reign. There were earthquakes, famine, inundation of the Tiber, and destructive fires at Rome, Antioch, and Carthage. The populace attributed these misfortunes to the impiety of the Christians, and made violent attacks upon them in many places. The emperor did not repeal existing laws on the subject, being himself a devout worshipper of the gods; but he wrote to the provincial governors, expressing strong disapprobation of such persecution, and forbidding any illegal or excessive severities. The Christians had then become numerous, and were constantly acquiring increased influence by the accession of intelligent and learned men, attracted by the pure morality of their doctrines, and their undoubting faith in a blissful existence hereafter. They now ventured to address the throne; and though it was in the form of an Apology, they asserted the moral superiority of the religion they professed, and claimed their right to freedom of conscience. Communities were growing up in all parts of the empire, independent to a certain degree, being internally regulated by their own bishops and presbyters, and proceeding with open non-conformity to the

established laws concerning religion. These small scattered republics were in constant communication with each other by epistles, and interchange of visits among the bishops, while they were all very closely bound together by their proscribed faith, and the many sufferings it had caused them.

During forty years, the afflicted churches, though sometimes objects of local violence, enjoyed general quiet, and had time for peaceful growth. But when Marcus Aurelius came to the throne, one hundred and sixty-one years after Christ, the scene changed. He was a man of Stoic virtue, of devout tendencies, and reverently attached to the religion of his ancestors. That he was sincere and conscientious in his faith, there can be no doubt. He humbly thanks the gods for the virtuous example of his father, and the pious instructions of his mother. He says: "I owe these, and all other good things to the bounty of the gods. So far as it depended on their aids and suggestions, I might have already attained to a life in harmony with nature. That I fall short of this mark is my own fault, and should be ascribed to my neglect of following the admonitions, I might almost say the express instructions, of the gods." In answer to the question often asked by Christians: "How do you know the existence of the gods, that you so reverence them?" he answered: "In the first place, they sometimes make themselves visible to the eye. Moreover, I respect my own soul, though I have never seen it; so also I know the existence of the gods by constantly experiencing the effects of their power; therefore, I reverence them." He believed that those who honoured the Deities often received revelations in dreams, to assist them in emergencies, and that he himself had been several times cured of diseases, by remedies thus made known to him. He took cheerful views of the friendliness of Divine Natures, and passed a law that those should be banished, who did anything likely to produce fear of the Deity in excitable minds. He considered all public calamities as the consequence of neglected worship. Accordingly, when a pesti-

lence raged in Italy, he tried to avert the evil by summoning priests from all quarters of the empire, celebrating religious solemnities, and carefully restoring every minute particular of the ancient ritual. With these views, he of course regarded the Christians with an unfavourable eye. The dislike they excited in his mind, by their abhorrence of the established worship, was increased by his watchful jealousy of associations, always objects of suspicion to the Roman government. Moreover, some Christian zealots were very imprudent in their prophecies; and some of these predictions were all the more likely to influence the people and provoke the rulers, because they purported to have been uttered by the revered Sibyls of the Roman religion. One of these pretended Sibylline Prophecies, really written by Christians, announced the downfall of Rome, and distinctly declared that only three emperors should reign after Adrian; that Christ would then come, and establish his throne on the ruin of empires. Such descriptions as the following were very likely to be misunderstood by Roman politicians: "O haughty Rome, the just chastisement of heaven shall come down upon thee from on high. Thou shalt stoop thy neck, and be levelled with the ground. Destroyed to thy very foundations, fire shall consume thee, and all thy wealth shall perish. Wolves and foxes shall dwell among thy ruins, and thou shalt be as if thou hadst never been. Sit silent in thy sorrow, O guilty and luxurious city! The Vestal Virgins shall no longer watch the sacred fire. Thy house is desolate." A description of the emperor Adrian is followed by this prediction: "After him shall reign three, whose times shall be *the last*. O king of Rome, thou shalt mourn, disrobed of thy purple and clad in sackcloth. For there shall be confusion over the whole earth, when the Almighty Ruler comes, and, seated upon his throne, judges the living and the dead of the whole world."

The earthquakes, insurrections, and pestilence, which occurred during this and the preceding reign, were regarded by Christians as omens of Christ's second coming. The

Roman people attributed them to the displeasure of the gods, on account of their neglected worship. In their terror, they redoubled their prayers and sacrifices with a kind of frantic zeal. Christians would not assist in any of these modes of expiation, and it was moreover generally believed that their irreverence toward the protecting deities of the country had originally caused these calamities. Latent hostility was roused into violent activity; and the emperor, who viewed the subject in the same light as his people, sanctioned the most terrible persecutions. Some poor slaves, being tortured beyond their powers of endurance, confessed that the Christians ate human flesh at their meetings, and were guilty of indiscriminate licentiousness, even with their own mothers and sisters. These extorted confessions increased the sanguinary prejudice already existing. Many innocent victims had their limbs dislocated, or their flesh bound with red hot plates of iron. Others perished by suffocation in dungeons too noisome to be described. A few, under the agony of extreme torture, escaped from it by confessions of guilt, and promises to abjure their errors. Neither the tenderness of youth nor the feebleness of age was spared. Pothinus, Bishop of Lyons, nearly ninety years old, was dragged before the tribunal. When the legate asked: "Who is the God of the Christians?" he answered, with calm dignity: "You shall come to the knowledge of him, when you show yourself worthy of it." Whereupon, the surrounding crowd attacked him with such fury, that the breath of life scarcely remained within him. But though his feeble body failed, his mind remained firm to the last. When half killed by a series of brutalities, he was thrown into a dungeon, where he survived but two days. Some who renounced their faith during the first examination were smitten with remorse, publicly acknowledged themselves Christians, and were put to death. By far the greater part were steadfast and firm through all the tortures that could be inflicted on them. Survivors, who described these scenes, in letters to the churches, say: "It was manifested how they were bedewed

and invigorated by the spring of living water, that flows from the heart of Christ; how nothing is dreadful where love of the Father dwells; nothing painful, where the glory of Christ prevails."

Ponticus, a youth of fifteen, and Blandina, a young female slave, were brought out together to be thrown to the wild beasts. They first tried to intimidate them by compelling them to witness the sufferings of others; and finding that ineffectual, they resorted to torture. The mistress of Blandina, who was in prison, under the same condemnation, was fearful that the extremity of suffering might tempt the poor young creature to deny her faith. But she remained strong and patient under all the torments they could inflict. While suspended to a stake, her prayers strengthened and cheered two other martyrs, who were waiting the attack of lions. She was brought into the amphitheatre three successive times, and tortured in a variety of ways; her tormentors being perhaps exasperated to find their efforts thus baffled by the fortitude of a woman, and a slave. She prayed tranquilly, while they were breaking her body in pieces, and by her exhortations strengthened the courage of Ponticus, who was dying near her, under the same cruel inflictions. During all this dreadful trial of their faith, they manifested extreme humility. When, from the scene of their sufferings, they were brought back to prison, sympathizing brethren hailed them as martyrs; but they replied: "That name belongs only to those whose testimony Christ has sealed by their constancy to the end. We are but poor humble confessors;" and then with tears they would beseech the brethren to pray for them, that their strength might endure to the last. Some of their fellow prisoners recanted, under the influence of terror. They always received such with extreme kindness, wept over them, and prayed that the Lord would restore those dead ones to life. They never manifested any resentment toward their persecutors, but often prayed to God to forgive them. To all their insulting questions, Blandina meekly replied: "I am a Christian, and there is no wick-

edness practised among us." After being scourged, suspended enclosed in a net, and tossed by a wild bull, she was at last released by the stroke of a sword. The bodies of these two martyrs, after being exposed unburied for a time, were at last thrown into the river, with the remark: "We will see whether they will rise from the dead, as they expected; whether their God can deliver them out of our hands."

An illustrious Roman matron, named Felicitas, educated seven sons in the Christian faith. Her excellent character, and the exemplary conduct of her family, exerted great influence, and caused the conversion of many. This, of course, exasperated the enemies of Christianity, and her wealth rendered her more likely to be accused by those who were desirous of sharing the spoils. When she was brought before the tribunal, the prefect of the city mildly and respectfully exhorted her to sacrifice to the gods of her country, and thus avert the impending danger. When she steadfastly refused, he said: "If thou hast no regard for thyself, at least have compassion on thy sons, and induce them to yield to the law." She replied: "My sons know how to choose between everlasting death and everlasting life." The prefect called them, one after another, and commanded them to deny Christ, on pain of death. But their mother said: "My sons, be strong in heart, and look up to heaven, where Christ and all his saints await your coming. Defy this tyrant boldly, and the King of Glory will reward you greatly." The enraged magistrate ordered the executioner to strike her on the mouth; but she still continued to exhort her sons to remain firm. They were tortured in various ways, before her eyes; and at last one was scourged to death, another killed with clubs, another thrown from a precipice, and the others beheaded. Their heroic mother comforted and encouraged them to the last; and when they were all dead, she blessed God, who had given her seven sons worthy to be saints in heaven. She suffered the prolonged cruelty of four months' imprisonment; but her spirit did not yield, even under that slow, dull martyrdom. She

steadily rejected all offers to procure release by renouncing her faith; saying she asked for no other mercy but permission to follow her murdered children. She was finally beheaded.

The glory of martyrdom was so coveted, that bishops were sometimes obliged to check the zeal of their people; so eager were they to be accused and brought before the tribunals. A governor of Palestine offered some Christians the choice to jump into a deep furnace of lime and fire, or to burn a sprig of the frankincense which was heaped up round it. Three hundred men jumped into the flames, without a moment's hesitation. In some instances, influential men, who had escaped proscription, came forward boldly to plead for their Christian brethren, representing them as blameless men and good citizens; and they suffered martyrdom themselves for their courageous humanity. Wives wept over husbands, who manifested any weakness in the hour of trial, and mothers called out to their children, on the way to execution: "Be stedfast, my son! keep the living God in thy heart! To-day, thy life is not taken from thee, but transfigured to a better."

These scenes excited the wonder of Greeks and Romans; for there was nothing in their religion to render earth so worthless to the soul, in view of the opening heaven. The stoic writer Arrian inquires: "Whether by insight of reason into the laws which govern the universe, it might not be possible to acquire the same intrepidity in view of death, which the Galileans attain to by mad fanaticism and custom?"

In the first ages, those who quietly avoided martyrdom, as long as they could do so, without denying their principles, were thought to act in obedience to Christ, who had said to his disciples: "When men persecute you in one city, flee unto another." Polycarp followed this injunction, and was commended for it. Clement of Alexandria pronounced it to be a kind of suicide not to flee from the malice of powerful enemies, if opportunity offered. But the stern Tertullian declared that those words of Christ

were addressed to the Apostles only; that they were applicable to their situation, but not to succeeding times. He said: "It is base in private Christians to fly; much more so in bishops and pastors. A good shepherd will lay down his life for his flock; but a bad one flies at the sight of the wolf, and leaves his flock to be torn in pieces. It is an affront to God to redeem by money those whom Christ has redeemed by his blood; to make private bargains with informers, soldiers, and magistrates, for the life of a Christian, as if he were a thief." This view of the subject gained ground, until it came to be considered extremely disgraceful to evade martyrdom, and multitudes rushed upon it needlessly with frantic zeal.

Every force, earthly and spiritual, combined to nerve the souls of Christians to an extraordinary degree of courage. The faith in immediate transition from suffering to Paradise was very strong. Those who endured martyrdom were believed to take the highest rank in Christ's kingdom, both on earth and in heaven, and to be powerful intercessors with him for the souls of others. Cyprian says: "Who would not strive, with all his might, to arrive at so great a glory? to be a friend of God, to enter into present joy with Christ, and after earthly torments to receive heavenly rewards? If it be glorious for worldly soldiers to return to their country, after conquering an enemy, how much greater glory is it, after having vanquished the Devil, to return into Paradise, whence Adam was expelled, and there to erect trophies over the very enemy who expelled him? to accompany God, when he comes to take vengeance on his enemies; to be placed at his side when he sits in judgment; to be made co-heirs with Christ, and equal with the angels; and, together with the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, to rejoice in the possession of an heavenly kingdom?"

On the contrary, those whom timidity induced to sacrifice to the gods feared to incur both present and future danger. There were many stories extant of those who were struck dumb the moment they had denied Christ, or

had died of violent convulsions after eating of the food offered in sacrifice. Delinquents, who had been induced to do these things secretly, were afraid to conceal it from their bishop. For if they dared to partake of the Lord's Supper with the church, without having confessed, done penance, and received absolution, they feared the bread and wine would turn to poison in their stomachs, and either kill them instantly, or subject them to dreadful diseases. If they ventured to taste the consecrated bread privately, at home, they dreaded similar results. And if they neglected to partake of it, they supposed they rendered themselves liable to the infestation of Evil Spirits. Even if they escaped signal punishments in this life, they were oppressed with the idea that they had consigned their souls to everlasting torments in the world to come. Human minds are generally strongly influenced by the public opinion of their sect; and the universal voice of the Christian churches required of their members complete separation from polytheistic worship, and unhesitating readiness for martyrdom. Those converts who accompanied unbelieving relatives or friends to the temples, on the occasion of any of the great popular Festivals, were not allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper for a long time afterward, even if they could prove that they had neither tasted or touched anything offered to idols; and to die without having recently received the consecrated bread and wine was deemed highly dangerous. Those whom the dread of torture induced to sacrifice, generally did it with pale, averted faces, and trembling hands, as if conscious of saving their bodies at the expense of the eternal welfare of their souls. Some of them afterward died of remorse, and anxiety of mind. Those who lived, crept about dishonoured, having lost caste with both the old and the new religion. The tender-hearted among Christians mourned over such apostates as if they had died disgracefully, and the more rigid avoided them with pious horror. The memory of martyrs, on the contrary, was almost deified. The anniversaries of their death were observed with the utmost

solemnity; their names were mentioned with the greatest reverence; the garments they had worn, and the articles they had touched, were not only preserved with affectionate veneration, but were supposed to be invested with miraculous power to cure diseases, and guard from evil. Those who were imprisoned and tortured, and afterward released, without making concessions to their tormentors, were honoured as Confessors of the Faith, who had suffered in its defence, though not unto death. They took rank next to the Martyrs, both in this world and the next. People of all ranks, especially devout women, crowded round them to kiss their fetters, and the wounds they had received. A blessing from their lips was courted as an honour and a safeguard; their persons were deemed holy; their advice was consulted on all important occasions, and their opinions received with the utmost deference. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that so many rushed upon martyrdom; nor is it singular that some, who were vain by nature, became exceedingly puffed up with spiritual pride, and others were tempted to make licentious use of their great power.

Though Christians had suffered so terribly under Marcus Aurelius, who was virtuous, and generally just, they were protected by Commodus, his base and cruel successor, because Marcia, his favourite mistress, was, for some unexplained reason, kindly disposed toward them.

Septimius Severus, who began to reign one hundred and ninety-four years after our era, took into favour a Christian, who had been so fortunate as to cure him of some disease by anointing him with oil. This predilection led to bestowing several offices of his household upon Christians. He even employed them to nurse and instruct his young son. The governors of provinces, taking their tone from the Sovereign, generally tried to avoid carrying the existing laws against Christians into effect, when they were denounced for no other crime than rejection of the popular deities. They themselves suggested various means of evasion, and often gave timely warning of danger. In some

provinces, the churches paid tribute to the magistrates, during the Saturnalia, and thereby secured their favour. Tertullian, and many other zealous Christians, strongly disapproved of this concession, and considered it peculiarly disgraceful, because gamblers, tavern-keepers, and the exhibitors of shows, obtained licenses by paying tribute at the same Festival.

In the latter part of the reign of Septimius Severus, the governors of some provinces, particularly in Africa, influenced by local causes, persecuted the Christians by authority of former edicts, which remained unrepealed. Tertullian, of Carthage, stood forth as the apologist of Christianity, in this emergency. The bold tone he assumed not only indicated the fiery temperament of the man, but the increasing strength of the new religion. He speaks with the utmost contempt of the gods of Rome, calls them Evil Demons, and announces the determination of Christians to destroy their worship utterly. He warns the magistrates to be careful how they offend the majesty of the Christian God, and dwells thus exulting upon the rapid increase of proselytes: "We are but of yesterday, and we have already filled your cities, your islands, and your armies. We have penetrated into your senate, your palaces, and your courts of justice. We have left you only your temples free from our presence. If your threats are fulfilled, what will you do with so many men and women, of all ages and conditions, as will freely offer themselves? In that multitude, every man will find his kindred, his intimate friends, his equals in rank. What is Carthage itself likely to suffer, if thus decimated?"

It was not far from this period, that one of the most interesting martyrdoms on record occurred in Africa; probably in Carthage. Five young converts were arrested, and among them a married woman, of honourable family, named Vivia Perpetua. She was about twenty-two years old, and a few months previous had given birth to an infant. Her mother was a Christian, and her two brothers were candidates for baptism. Her father was the only one

of the family who remained unconverted. The story is told in the Acts of the Martyrs, and is said to have been written by herself. She says: "When we were in the hands of the persecutors, my father, in his tender affection, persevered in efforts to cast me down from the faith. I said: 'Is not this a pitcher, and can we call it by any other name?' When he replied: 'Certainly not,' I answered: 'Neither can I call myself by any other name than that of a Christian.' My father looked as if he could have plucked my eyes out; but he only harassed me, and departed, persuaded by the arguments of the Devil. Then, after being a few days without seeing him, I was enabled to give thanks to God, and his absence was tempered to my spirit. After a few days, we were baptized, and the waters seemed to give power of endurance to my body. The Spirit bade me pray for nothing at my baptism, but patience. Again a few days, and we were cast into prison. I was terrified; for I had never before seen such total darkness. O dreadful day! the excessive heat, occasioned by a multitude of prisoners crowded together, the rough treatment we received from the soldiers, and anxiety for my babe, made me miserable. But two of our deacons, by the payment of money, obtained our removal, for some hours of the day, to a more open part of the prison. Each of the captives then pursued his usual occupation; but I sat and suckled my infant, who was wasting away with hunger. In my anxiety, I addressed and consoled my mother, and commended my child to my brother; and I began to pine away, at seeing them pining away on my account. For many days I suffered this anxiety, and accustomed my babe to remain in the prison with me; and immediately I recovered my strength, and was relieved from my toil and trouble about my infant, and the prison became to me like a palace. I was happier there than I should have been anywhere else. My brother said to me: 'Perpetua, you are so exalted, that you may pray for a vision, and it will be shown to you whether our doom is martyrdom, or release.' "

Accordingly, a vision was given to her excited mind. Supernatural gifts were supposed to be imparted to those who partook of the Lord's Supper, and the account she gives shows the importance which she reverently attached to that institution. It likewise indicates that she belonged to a sect of the Montanists, who were accustomed to receive morsels of cheese at the Communion, and to drink wine from cups ornamented with pictures of the Good Shepherd. In her vision, she saw a golden ladder that ascended up into heaven. Swords and lances were around it, and a great dragon lay at the foot, to prevent those that would ascend. But she was beckoned upward by a martyr, who controlled the dragon, in the name of Christ. She ascended, and found herself in a spacious garden, where a shepherd with white hair was milking his sheep. She says: "He welcomed me, and offered me a morsel of cheese. I received it with folded hands, and ate it; and all the saints around exclaimed, Amen! At the sound, I awoke, with the sweet taste in my mouth. I related it to my brother, and we knew that our martyrdom was at hand, and we began to have no hope in this world." "After a few days, there was a rumour that we were to be heard. And my father came from the city, wasted away with anxiety. He said: 'O, my daughter, have compassion on the gray hairs of thy father, if he is worthy of the name of father. If I have brought thee up to the flower of thine age, if I have preferred thee to all thy brothers, do not expose me to this disgrace. Look on thy mother, thy brother, and thine aunt. Look on thy babe, who, if thou diest, cannot long survive. Let that lofty spirit give way, lest thou plunge us all into ruin. For, if thou diest thus, not one of us will ever again have courage to speak a free word.' Thus spake my father, weeping and kissing my hands in his fondness, and throwing himself at my feet. And I was grieved for the gray hairs of my father, because he alone, of all our family, did not rejoice in my martyrdom. I consoled him, saying: 'What shall happen when I come before the tribunal depends on the will of God. We stand,

not by our own strength, but only by the power of God.' And he went away sorrowing."

When they were carried before the tribunal, she says: "We were placed at the bar. The rest were interrogated, and made their confession. When it came to my turn, my father instantly appeared with my child, and drew me down the step, and said in a beseeching tone: 'Take pity on thy babe!' And the magistrate, who had the power of life and death, said: 'Have compassion on the gray hairs of thy father, and on thy helpless infant. Consent to offer sacrifice for the welfare of the emperor.' I answered: 'That I cannot do.' 'Art thou a Christian?' said he. I replied: 'I am a Christian.' And while my father stood there to persuade me, the magistrate ordered him to be thrust down and beaten with rods. And I was as much grieved for my old father, as if I had been scourged myself. Then sentence was passed on us all, and we were condemned to the wild beasts; and we went back in cheerfulness to the prison. And because I was accustomed to keep my infant with me to suckle it, I sent the deacon to seek it from my father; but he would not send it. By the will of God, the child no longer desired the breast, and I suffered no uneasiness lest at such a time I should be afflicted by the sufferings of my child, or by pains in my breasts."

In the interval between her sentence and execution, she was in a very exalted state, and had many visions. Her mind being troubled about a little brother, who died without being baptized, she saw him in a very dark place, where there was a pool of water, which he could not reach, on account of his small stature. But the pool rose up and touched him, and he drank of the water, and ran away to play. She says: "Then I awoke, and I knew that he was translated from the place of punishment."

The keeper, impressed by the constancy and faith of his prisoners, allowed many of the Christian brethren to visit and console them. She says: "As the day of the Games approached, my father entered, worn out with affliction, and began to pluck his beard, and to throw himself down

with his face upon the ground, and to wish that he could die, and to speak words that might have moved any living creature; and I was grieved for the sorrows of his old age."

One of her sister martyrs, named Felicitas, gave birth to a daughter in prison. Some of her companions, seeing her sufferings, said: "If you cannot bear these pains, how will you endure exposure to the wild beasts?" She replied: "Now I bear my own sufferings; but then there will be one within me, who will bear them for me, because I suffer for his sake."

It was an ancient Carthaginian custom, in the time of human sacrifices, to dress the victims in priestly garments. This practice still continued; and it was proposed, in the present case, that the men should be dressed as priests of Saturn, and the women as priestesses of Ceres. But the prisoners resisted, saying: "We came here of our own will, rather than suffer our freedom to be taken from us. We have given up our lives that we may not be forced to such abominations." The justice of their plea was admitted, and the custom was set aside.

When Perpetua was brought out to die, she came forward singing Psalms. The men were exposed to leopards and bears. The women were placed naked in nets, to be gored by furious bulls; but the populace cried out against it, and they were led away to be clad in loose robes. When Perpetua was tossed by the wild animal, and her garments rent, she was more careful to cover her person modestly, than she was mindful of her pains. In the intervals of torment, she quietly bound up her hair, thinking a martyr ought not to appear with disordered tresses, which were considered a token of grief. She raised up the fainting Felicitas, and consoled her with encouraging words. When they were led from the arena to rest awhile, she seemed to be in an ecstatic state, unconscious of what had passed. Waking as from a dream, she inquired when she was to be exposed to the wild beasts. After a succession of tortures, her courageous spirit was at length released. With

her last words, she tenderly exhorted her brother to remain steadfast in the faith.

This company of martyrs were generally calm and meek; but some of them spoke with defiance to their persecutors. To the gazing crowd they said: "Mark well our countenances, that you may know them again at the day of judgment." To the magistrate they said: "Thou hast judged us, but God will judge thee."

The heroism manifested by Christians, and the dignity with which it invested them, led their persecutors to resort to a more humiliating process. Women who could not be intimidated by the prospect of death, were carried to evil houses, and subjected to insults from the basest of mankind. Tertullian reminded them that they complimented the modesty of Christian women, by thus admitting that contamination was more dreadful to them than death.

After the local persecutions, which occurred in the time of Septimius Severus, the Christians enjoyed a calm interval of more than thirty years. Alexander Severus, who became emperor two hundred and twenty-two years after our era, was a devout man, disposed to reverence everything connected with religion. Like most philosophers of that time, he was prone to extract whatever he could find good and true in all systems; but he did what other minds of the same tendency had not done, he admitted Christianity into his circle of ethics. He paid the customary homage to Roman gods, but likewise held Isis and Serapis in great respect. In his private chapel, he had statues of Abraham, Orpheus, Apollonius, and Christ, all of whom he regarded as wise instructors of mankind. It is even said that he wished to add Christ to the list of Roman deities. He caused the words: "As ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them," to be engraved on the walls of his palace, and on public monuments. The Chinese Confucius, and the Grecian Pittacus, had both expressed the same sentiment, and it could not therefore be regarded as the distinguishing feature of Christianity; but the adoption of the motto at that time

indicated a decided friendliness toward the rising religion, which was also manifested in many other ways. During his reign, Christian bishops were admitted at court in their official character. Hitherto, the unpopular sect had held their meetings in private houses, or sequestered groves; but now they were allowed to purchase land and erect churches.

But with the rapid succession of emperors after his time, the policy of government was often changing. Decius, who came to the throne two hundred and forty-nine years after our era, was hostile to Christians, partly because his predecessor Philip, whom he had supplanted and slain, was favourably disposed toward them. During his brief reign, they were universally and rigorously persecuted; every expedient of terror and persuasion was tried to induce them to deny their faith, and if they remained firm, the most horrible tortures were inflicted. The persecution was aimed principally against bishops, several of whom were put to death. That the Christian church was not in a state to meet the storm so bravely as in former days is acknowledged by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, in the following terms: "Because the divinely prescribed regimen of life had been disturbed in the long season of peace, a divine judgment was sent to re-establish our fallen, I might almost say, slumbering faith. Our sins deserve more. Forgetting what believers did in time of the apostles, and what they should always be doing, Christians have laboured, with insatiable desire, to increase their earthly possessions. There has been no true devotion in the priests, no sound faith in the deacons; no benevolence in their works, no discipline in their manners. Men have stained their hair and beard, and women have destroyed the comeliness of their faces with paint. The simple have been deluded, and the brethren circumvented by fraud and cunning. It has been common to contract marriages with unbelievers, and to prostitute the members of Christ to the Gentiles; to swear not only rashly but falsely; to contemn their rulers with insolent pride; to speak against them with spite and rancour; and to quarrel among them-

selves with obstinate hatred. Many of the bishops, who ought to have guided others by precept and example, have neglected their divine stewardship to engage in the management of worldly concerns; rambling about into other people's provinces, seeking out markets for traffic and gain; instead of relieving their hungry brethren in the church, eager only to heap up money; to seize people's lands by treachery and fraud; and to increase their wealth by exorbitant usury."

To account for such a state of things, it is only necessary to remember that the time had come when large numbers of the Christians received their faith as an inheritance from their forefathers, and zeal was consequently less fervid and concentrated than it had been among those who yielded old prejudices to the irresistible force of conviction. Several bishops left their flocks, and hid themselves till the storm was over. Some said they had received express commands from heaven to pursue that course. Many of the citizens, especially of the wealthy class, did not wait to be accused, but publicly conformed to the established worship of their own accord. Some went so far as to deny that they had ever been Christians. Avaricious magistrates sold certificates testifying that the receivers had duly sacrificed to the gods; and some who were afraid of the vengeance of God if they did sacrifice, and of the vengeance of the emperor if they did not sacrifice, gladly availed themselves of that subterfuge. In other cases, merciful magistrates gave the accused timely notice to save themselves by flight, and some of the more moderate and prudent bishops advised that opportunities thus kindly offered should not be lost. The sterner class of minds regarded all such expedients with contempt and abhorrence. The crisis was all the more terrible because it came suddenly, after a long interval of peace and security. No wonder that multitudes renounced their faith. But though many wavered, there were also many who suffered all the tortures tyranny could inflict, and remained firm unto death, rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer for the

truth. Some who were imprisoned in Rome more than a year, enduring hunger and thirst, the scourge, and the rack, wrote to the bishop of Carthage: "What more glorious and blessed lot can fall to man, by God's grace, than to confess the Lord amid tortures and the fear of death? Pray for us, beloved Cyprian, that the Lord may daily confirm and strengthen each one of us more and more, with the power of his might."

Decius increased the severity of his measures, and the numbers who were driven back to the old worship, at the point of the sword, excited hopes of completely extirpating the new religion. But his career ended in two years, and Christianity was too deeply rooted to be destroyed.

After his death, there was a brief respite, and many of the exiled bishops returned. But unfortunately a pestilence spread through various parts of the empire, and made dreadful ravages. Again the popular outcry arose that the Christians had caused this disaster, by their neglect of the gods; and bishops retorted by saying their God had sent it as a judgment for their cruel persecution of unoffending citizens. An imperial edict was issued commanding all Roman subjects to offer prayers and sacrifices to the gods, that the empire might be delivered from this great calamity. The multitude who refrained from taking part in the prescribed solemnities proved that Christians were still very numerous. Persecution raged again. Bishops who courageously remained with their churches suffered martyrdom. Women and children were dragged to the altars, by husbands and relatives, and compelled to sacrifice, pale and shuddering, expecting to drop down dead, or be stricken with some dreadful disease, or to suffer the torments of eternal fire, for such an idolatrous act. Sometimes a husband held his wife's hand, and forced it to drop frankincense on the altar. One woman freed herself from participation in the deed, by exclaiming: "It was not I who did it. You did it;" and she received the mild punishment of banishment, when she had reason to expect death.

With the pestilence, the persecution subsided, and there

were four or five years of tranquillity. But in the year two hundred and fifty-seven, the emperor Valerian was induced to make fresh efforts to arrest the progress of Christianity, lest the old religion of the state should perish. He began by banishing the bishops and clergy, thinking the people would be easily reclaimed, if they could be separated from their teachers. Finding they still continued to meet for worship, he passed a law forbidding Christians to assemble in any place whatsoever. This edict was continually evaded, and constant communication by letters was kept up between the churches and their exiled bishops. New churches sprang up round them, in their places of banishment, and increased the spread of Christianity. The emperor, finding himself thus frustrated, resorted to more severe measures. Bishops and clergy, who were detected in communication with their people, were put to death by the sword. Christians of the higher classes, who met at the tombs of martyrs, or elsewhere for religious worship, forfeited their rank and property. The common people, men, women, and children, were imprisoned and scourged, sold into slavery, or sent to labour in the mines. This state of things continued two years; but when Valerian's son ascended the throne, he granted the Christians free exercise of their religion, and restored their lands and churches.

As soon as persecution abated, the greater part of those who had been terrified into a denial of their faith flocked back to the churches and implored forgiveness. After due examination, if there was reason to trust their sincerity, they were again received into communion, after passing through some probationary discipline. In many cases, those who had been weak during one season of peril proved strong in the next.

The arrogance of many of the confessors proved a source of great trouble. Elated by the deference with which all classes of Christians regarded them, many of them were puffed up with spiritual pride to such a degree that they undertook to grant absolution for misconduct, and to give certificates of church fellowship without examination; as

if it required their word only to restore the fallen. Cyprian complains that thousands of such certificates were issued daily. He altogether denied the validity of such absolution, saying: "The Lord alone can bestow forgiveness of the sins committed against him. The servant may not forgive a crime committed against his master." But delinquents who had been absolved by the confessors often refused to be examined, and were impatient of the least delay in being restored to communion with their churches.

These men, who had acquired half the glory of martyrdom, were sometimes unworthy of their high spiritual rank. Cyprian says: "The greater part of them are made better by the honour of their confession, and preserve their glory by a quiet, inoffensive manner. But some disgrace the name of confessors, by their evil conversation, being drunken, lascivious, and swollen with pride; by promiscuous lewdness defiling their bodies, the temples of God, sanctified by their confession. I am grieved when I hear how many of them run about wickedly and insolently, sowing discord, and polluting the members of Christ."

When Diocletian came to the throne, two hundred and eighty-four years after our era, Christianity had long been acknowledged as one of the legally existing corporations of the empire. Christians held many responsible offices in the provinces, the army, and even in the imperial household. Even local and transient persecutions had been rare for a long time, and churches had so multiplied, that there were forty in the single city of Rome. The empress and her daughter were said to be secretly inclined toward the new doctrines. The emperor was generally beloved for his amiable disposition; and every thing seemed to promise continued tranquillity. But Galerius, who had married the daughter of Diocletian, and was associated with him in the government, was bitterly opposed to the new religion. His mother was a zealous votary of Cybele, and was exasperated against all who refused to attend her numerous festivals in honour of that ancient goddess. Galerius omitted no opportunity to prejudice the emperor's mind; but

for some time he failed to produce any very decided effect.

There were at that time a multitude of Christians in the army; and so long as they did their duty as soldiers, their neglect of the customary worship appears to have been overlooked, either from policy, or from military indifference to such matters. Every Christian would have resisted swearing by the Genius of the emperor, because by his Genius was meant his tutelary deity, which we should call guardian angel. The church likewise required all its members, on pain of excommunication, not to sacrifice to the gods, not to invoke them for success on the approach of battle, or to do homage to the standards, which bore their images, or symbols. But these things seem to have constituted the whole of Christian objections to military service. Those who had conscientious scruples concerning war itself appear to have been rare exceptions. One such is recorded as having occurred in the year two hundred and ninety-five. A young Numidian, twenty-one years of age, named Maximilianus, was required to serve in the army. He replied: "It is wrong, and I cannot do it. I am a Christian." The proconsul, disregarding this remark, offered him the badge, saying: "Take it, and be a soldier." He replied: "I will take no such badge. I already wear the badge of Christ, my God." The magistrate answered: "Then I shall soon send you to your Christ." "Would you but do that," rejoined the youth, "you would bestow on me the highest honour." When they tried to fasten the military badge upon him, he thrust it aside, saying: "I cannot wear the livery of this world, after having received the saving token of my Lord Jesus Christ, whom you know not, but who has suffered for our salvation." His father would not try to persuade him to do anything contrary to the dictates of his conscience; but the magistrate reasoned with him, and explained that he could be a soldier, and still remain a Christian; that there were many of that faith in the army everywhere. But the young man refused to be guided by their example. He was accordingly condemned to death; not on the charge of being a Christian,

but for refusing to perform military service. He received the sentence with thanks to God; and when he was led away to execution, he said to the Christians round him: "Dearest brethren, strive with all your power to attain to the vision of the Lord, that he may bestow on you also such a crown." With a cheerful countenance, he asked his father to give the military dress, intended for himself, to the soldier who was to behead him. And his father returned home joyfully, blessing God for having bestowed upon him such a pious son.

Galerius, in common with all devotees of the old religion, believed that the sign of the Cross was hateful to the gods, and prevented them from manifesting themselves, when sacrifices were offered and their aid invoked. The Christian Fathers record that the augurs complained they could not receive any favourable omens, when they performed their customary rites, if a person was present with a Cross on his forehead. These complaints of priests concerning profane persons present at the sacred rites, often excited to fury those emperors who placed great reliance on the auspices. This had always been one of the prominent causes of persecution; and it acted powerfully on the mind of Galerius, who had been educated to have undoubting faith in sacrifices and auguries. In order to banish the unlucky sign of the Cross from his army, he ordained that every soldier should be required to sacrifice to the gods. Whereupon, many officers resigned their commissions, and many soldiers quitted the service. But few of these were sentenced to death, and those on the charge of treasonable expressions. During the celebration of some great festival, there was a banquet for the army, accompanied with the usual sacrifices and libations. A centurion, named Marcellus, rose up from the table, and throwing down his sword and official belt, said aloud: "From this moment, I cease to serve the emperor as a soldier. I despise the worship of your deaf and dumb gods, idols of wood or stone. Since the service involves the necessity of sacrificing to them, and to the emperor, I throw down my staff and belt. I will be a

soldier no longer." He was beheaded on the charge of refusing to perform military service, and speaking irreverently of the gods.

After the edict concerning the army, it was several years before Diocletian could be induced to proceed any further in persecution. To all propositions of that kind, he replied that Christianity was now a lawfully existing institution in all parts of the empire, and that its destruction would involve a vast amount of bloodshed. But he had it much at heart to restore the declining greatness of the Roman empire, and his son-in-law was always urging upon him that this could be done only by propitiating the gods with a strict observance of all the ancient rites. At last, in the year three hundred and three, when Galerius visited Diocletian in his palace at Nicomedia, he succeeded in inducing him to pass severe laws against the Christians. The spirit in which he did it, is indicated by the following passage in one of his laws: "The immortal gods have, by their providence, arranged and established what is right. No new religion must presume to censure the old; since it is the greatest of crimes to overturn what has been established by our ancestors, and what has supremacy in the state."

As Valerian had hoped to exterminate Christianity by separating the people from their bishops, Diocletian thought to accomplish it by universal destruction of their Sacred Writings. On the morning of a great Festival, called Terminalia, a magnificent Christian church in Nicomedia was burst open, the copies of the Scriptures found in it were burned, everything of value was pillaged, and the building destroyed. This was followed by an edict forbidding Christians throughout the empire to hold meetings for worship. Orders were issued for a general demolition of churches, and the burning of all Sacred Writings. Christians who held honourable offices were required to renounce their faith, or be degraded; people of all ranks might be subjected to torture, according to the discretion of magistrates; the common classes of citizens, who refused

to sacrifice, were sold, or sent to labour in the mines. Slaves who remained Christians were forever deprived of the hope of freedom.

At this terrible crisis, some voluntarily brought forth their Scriptures to be burned in the market-place. These were ever after called by zealous Christians, *Traditores*, which signifies traitors. Others, especially in fiery-hearted Africa, defied the magistrates to do their worst; proclaimed themselves Christians without being asked, and boldly announced that they had copies of the Bible, but would not surrender them. Others pursued a quiet middle course. They concealed their Sacred Writings, allowed the writings of heretical sects to be taken and burned in their stead, and said nothing, until they were summoned to speak. Some magistrates were rigorous and violent in their measures: others, more humane, tried to execute the imperial decrees with as much lenity as possible; even going so far as to suggest evasions; inquiring of those who had refused to give up their Sacred Scriptures: "Cannot you give us some useless writings?"

In a town of Numidia a band of Christians were seized in a private house, where they had assembled to listen to the Scriptures and partake of the Lord's Supper. They were carried to Carthage for trial, singing hymns all the way. Among them was a young maiden and a boy. The fiercest tortures were tried upon them in vain. Even the boy, when threatened, persisted in saying: "Do to me what you please, I am a Christian." In the midst of their bodily agonies, they called out: "You are wrong, O unhappy men! You are lacerating the innocent." "Help, O Christ! Preserve my soul, that it fall not into shame. O, give me strength to endure!" "O Lord, deliver thy servants out of the prison of this world, into glory! The imperishable kingdom appears! I thank the God of the kingdom!" The man in whose house the meeting was held, being told that he ought to have obeyed the emperor, replied, under the rack: "I could not do otherwise than receive my brethren. God is greater than the emperor."

Being asked whether he had any Sacred Writings, he answered: "Such I have; but they are in my heart."

It happened, unfortunately, that the imperial palace at Nicomedia took fire soon after the persecution began. The cause of it was never ascertained; but it was immediately imputed to the Christians, and increased the hostility toward them. Their habitual expressions were again misunderstood. There were at that time four rulers in the Roman empire; and because Christians were accustomed to speak of one king, whose will ought to be obeyed, above all other authority, they were supposed to be plotting insurrection against the government. Jerusalem being always described as the seat of Christ's kingdom on earth, a rumour went abroad that the Christians had founded a great city in the East, where they were to assemble, and commence treasonable operations. It being naturally supposed that the clergy were the leaders, an order was issued to chain and imprison them all. The most cruel tortures were inflicted to extort confessions. The prisons were crowded, and multitudes were burned, drowned, and beheaded.

Amid so many painful scenes, it is pleasant to find it recorded by Athanasius that many adherents of the old worship did their utmost to protect the persecuted. At Alexandria many of them concealed the accused in their houses, and chose rather to sacrifice their own property and liberty, than to betray the fugitives who had taken refuge with them.

This fierce persecution, while it terrified many into submission or evasion, kindled the zeal of others to such a fiery height, that they needlessly provoked their fate. Eusebius tells of a young man in the same house with him at Cæsarea, who slipped out unobserved, when the public crier summoned all men to sacrifice to the gods. He rushed to the appointed place, and just as the prefect of the city was about to sacrifice, he grasped his hand so hard, that he was compelled to let fall the offering he held. Whereupon, the soldiers seized him with fury, and after torturing him in many ways, threw him half dead into the river.

According to Augustine, some who were indebted to the public treasury, or whose reputation had been injured by misconduct, eagerly sought martyrdom, either as a release from life, or as an expiation of their sins, or because they were greedy of the gifts liberally bestowed by Christian brethren upon those who were in prison, or because they hoped that the glory of the martyr's crown would so dazzle the eyes of men, that they would take no notice of their misdemeanours.

At last, the storm subsided. Diocletian retired from the government, and Galerius his successor was smitten with a most loathsome and painful disease, in the year three hundred and eleven. He consulted the oracles in vain. The medicine prescribed at the temple of Apollo increased his agony. Perhaps this severe visitation softened his hard nature; or it might be that the same character of mind, which rendered him so zealous to propitiate the favour of old Deities, induced him to fear the Christian's God, lest he should prove, as they said he was, more powerful than all other gods. Whatever may have been his motive, he published, a few days before his death, an edict permitting the free exercise of the Christian religion. He acknowledged the failure of all his efforts to suppress it, and added: "Let them now, therefore, after experiencing this proof of our indulgence, pray to their God for our prosperity, for the well being of the state, and for their own; that the state may continue to be well maintained, and they themselves may be enabled to live quietly in their own homes."

Maximinus, his nephew and successor, who became master of the Eastern portion of the empire, in the year three hundred and eleven, was bitterly opposed to Christianity. But, at the commencement of his reign, he announced his determination not to molest the Christians, "inasmuch as it would involve so many in danger. It having been made evident, by the experience of so long a period, that they could in no way be induced to desist from their own wilful determination." Crowds of Christians who had been banished, or sent to labour in the mines, returned

joyfully to their homes, and the highways resounded with their psalms of thanksgiving. Churches were rapidly rebuilt, and the Festivals were crowded. But they remained undisturbed scarcely half a year. The multitudes who attended the new worship, and the enthusiastic throngs that gathered at the tombs of martyrs, on the anniversaries of their death, began to excite jealousy and alarm. In several cities, adherents of the old worship petitioned the emperor that no enemy of the gods might be permitted to practise their impious rites within their walls. Maximinus, though strongly attached to the old forms, delayed granting such petitions. Actuated either by justice or policy, he told the deputies that he wished to leave every man free to follow his own convictions. But such requests became more numerous; and at last he was informed that the statue of Jupiter, at Antioch, had spoken aloud, and commanded that his enemies should be expelled from the city and territory. Not daring to resist this mandate, he relinquished the effort to be impartial, and said: "If they persist in their accursed folly, let them be banished, as you demand." In the same proclamation, he described the pestilence, and other calamities, which afflicted the empire under previous reigns, and added: "These things happened in consequence of the pernicious error of those reckless men, when it had taken possession of their souls, and covered almost the whole world with disgrace." Documents, called Trials before Pilate, representing Jesus as a malefactor, were diligently distributed in the schools of city and country, that the minds of young people might be seasonably impressed. Much zeal was manifested to keep up the splendour of the temples, and of the old Festivals; and all such exertions were approved and liberally rewarded by the emperor. But notwithstanding all this homage to the gods, the harvests failed, and famine came on. The Christians in Nicomedia collected the starving people and distributed bread; whereupon, the impressible populace began to praise the Christians' God, and to pronounce them the only truly pious men. However, in

various parts of the East, individuals conspicuous for zeal, or influence, incurred the animosity of magistrates, and suffered martyrdom. But this was the last persecution, outside of their own churches, to which the Christians were subjected.

Having thus rapidly traced the course of the government toward Christianity, I will now glance backward, and introduce a number of individuals and sects, who, during the times I have described, were intimately connected with its history.

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

CLEMENT.—Those supposed to be personally acquainted with the Apostles, have received the title of Apostolic Fathers. Clement, an educated man, said to have descended from a noble family in Rome, is classed among them, because he is supposed to be the one to whom Paul alluded, when he spoke of "Clement and other fellow labourers, whose names are in the Book of Life;" also, because there was a tradition that Peter himself ordained him bishop of Rome. He wrote two Epistles to the church at Corinth, fragments of which remain.

APOLLINARIS.—Apollinaris, the first bishop of Ravenna, is said, in the ancient traditions of the church, to have accompanied the apostle Peter from Antioch, and to have been for some time his companion and assistant at Rome. But, after a while, Peter, having laid his hands on him, and thereby communicated the gifts of the Holy Ghost, sent him to preach on the eastern coast of Italy. Wherever he went, he silenced the oracles in the Roman temples, and caused the deceiving Spirits that dwelt in the statues to go out of them. His preaching and his miracles soon gathered round him a large congregation in Ravenna. It is related that he once saw a poor boy, who was born blind, washing his rags outside of the city; and being moved with compassion, he made the sign of the cross on his eyes, whereupon he instantly received his sight. The father of the boy was a

Roman soldier; and he, with all his family, was converted by the miracle. A Roman gentleman, who had been many years dumb, tried various means to recover his speech. At last, hearing the fame of Apollinaris, he sent for him, and was cured instantly. In the same family, he cast out a devil that had for some time possessed one of the servants. The whole family were thereby converted to the religion of Jesus, and five hundred people beside. On another occasion, he said to a patrician lady, who was grievously ill: "Daughter, arise, in the name of Jesus!" She rose up at once, and exclaimed: "The God of Apollinaris is the only true God." More than three hundred people were converted by this miracle. His success excited the enmity of those who trusted in the old worship: they threw him into prison, but he escaped by assistance of the jailor, and fled from the city, by the gate which leads to Rimini. His enemies pursued him, and having overtaken him about three miles from the gate, they beat him, and pierced him with many wounds; so that when his disciples found him soon afterward, he died in their arms. This happened in the last year of the emperor *Vespasian*, seventy eight years after the birth of Christ. Five hundred years afterward, a magnificent church was built on the spot where he fell. This ancient building is still standing. It bears the name of Apollinaris, and contains a Mosaic picture of him, in bishop's robes, with his hands outstretched over a flock of sheep, intended to represent his congregation.

IGNATIUS.—Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, is said to have been a disciple of the Apostle John. It is recorded of him that his youth was so innocent he could hear the angels sing; and afterward, when he became bishop, he introduced into his church the practice of singing in responses, just as he had heard the heavenly choirs. Probably this simplicity and guilelessness of character gave rise to the tradition that he was one of the little children, whom Jesus took in his arms and blessed. The following account of

his death is from ancient sources, and has been generally received; but learned men suppose it to be a good deal interpolated. It is said that Trajan visited Antioch, in the year one hundred and twelve, and summoned the bishop before him. After having reproached him for seducing people from their ancient faith, he offered him large rewards, if he would sacrifice to the gods of Rome. Ignatius replied: "O Cæsar, should you offer me all the treasures of your empire, I would not cease to adore the only true and living God." Trajan contemptuously rejoined: "What talkest thou of a living God? Thy God died on the cross; but our gods reign on Olympus." Ignatius answered: "Your gods were vicious mortals, and died as such. Your Jupiter was buried in Candia; your Venus lies in the island of Paphos; your Æsculapius was shot with an arrow; your Hercules burned himself in a great fire, because he could not endure pain. These be your gods, O, emperor!" These words kindled the anger of Trajan. He exclaimed: "What! is our religion to be treated as senseless? Are the gods, on whom we rely for assistance against our enemies, to be treated with scorn?" When Ignatius would have spoken further, he commanded his mouth to be stopped, and ordered him to be conveyed to a dungeon. He was afterward sent to Rome, to be exposed to lions in the amphitheatre, for the amusement of the populace. He exulted exceedingly over this sentence. On his journey, he was continually exclaiming: "O that I might come to those wild beasts they are preparing for me! I would invite them to devour me; I would encourage them not to be afraid to set upon me, as has sometimes been the case. I am concerned for nothing, seen or unseen, but to be with Christ. Let them rack my limbs, break my bones, bruise my whole body, hang me on the cross, burn me with fire, throw me into the jaws of furious beasts. I care not for all the punishments the devil can invent, so I may but enjoy Christ."

Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, had long been his intimate friend. When he passed through that city in chains, the

bishop, and other Christian friends, eagerly sought an interview. He affectionately recommended to them the care of his church. Polycarp said: "Would to God, I also might be found worthy to die for this cause." Ignatius replied: "Doubt not, my brother, thy time will come; but, for the present, the church hath need of thee." They all embraced him and wept; kissing his hands, his garments, and his chains, and rejoicing in his courage.

In the course of his journey, he is said to have written six epistles to churches in Asia Minor, and one to his friend Polycarp. In a letter to the Christians at Rome, he begged them not to intercede with the emperor in his behalf. He says: "I beseech you not to show an unseasonable good will toward me. I am willing to die for God. Suffer me to be food for the wild beasts, by whom I shall attain unto him. I am the wheat of God, and must be ground by their teeth, that I may become the pure bread of Christ." After he arrived in Rome, he spent the time previous to his execution in exhorting the brethren to be bold in the faith. When led into the amphitheatre to die, he thus addressed the assembled crowd: "Men and Romans, know that I am not brought here for any crime, but for the glory of the God I worship." He had scarcely uttered these words, when two furious lions seized him, and left nothing of his body but a few bones, which were gathered by his friends and carried back to Antioch to be deposited. On the anniversary of his martyrdom, the church assembled at his tomb, and performed religious ceremonies.

POLYCARP.—Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, is said to have been of Eastern origin, and sold into slavery when he was a little boy. Callisto, a wealthy and charitable lady, one of the earliest Christian converts in Smyrna, is said to have redeemed him from bondage, in consequence of a dream, which greatly impressed her mind. He was educated at her expense, and early acquired a character for gravity, self-denial, and diligence in his studies. He listened to the preaching of the Apostle John, and is said to have been

appointed by him to preside over the church in Smyrna. He is reputed to have filled the office with great integrity, and to have uniformly placed before his people the example of a blameless and holy life. He converted many to the Christian faith by his traditions concerning the Apostle John. The zeal and learning he displayed in controversies with Jews, philosophers, and those deemed heretics, gave him great popularity with the Christian Fathers, who speak of him as "the most eminent man in all proconsular Asia." Being thus distinguished, he of course became an object of animosity to those whose feelings and interests were intertwined with the old forms of religion. In the year one hundred and sixty-seven, during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, the people clamoured for his death. He heard their shouts, and intended quietly to abide the issue; but in compliance with the urgent intreaties of his church, he retired to a neighbouring village. His friends, hearing that officers had been informed of his place of retreat, removed him to another village, where he spent his time with them praying day and night for all the Christian churches. While thus occupied, he saw, in a vision, his pillow all on fire, and exclaimed: "I shall certainly be burnt alive!" These words were regarded as prophetic. Three days afterward, two slaves who were acquainted with his hiding-place, were forced to confess it, by excruciating torture. The approach of the officers was seen by his friends, and they might have effected his escape. But in answer to their persuasions, he merely replied: "The will of God be done." He ordered food to be prepared for those who came to arrest him, and asked them to allow him time for prayer, while they refreshed themselves. He spent two hours at his devotions, and so humble and resigned were his expressions, so forgiving toward his enemies, so full of faith and hope, that the hearts of the officers were touched, and they waited patiently till he was ready to accompany them. He was placed on a jackass and conducted toward the city, through a concourse of people, who were abroad that day, on some public occasion. Being met on the way

by one of the magistrates, he respectfully took the venerable prisoner into his own carriage, and tried hard to persuade him to consent to sacrifice to the gods. Finding his efforts unavailing, he became angry, and turned him out of his chariot so rudely that he injured one of his limbs. The old man took no notice of the violence, and quietly proceeded on his way.

The news of his arrest spread like wildfire. The amphitheatre was crowded with an excited multitude—a vast concourse of Jews, Greeks, and Romans, eager for his condemnation, and a small band of sorrowing Christians, many of whom would gladly have saved the life of their good bishop by the sacrifice of their own. When the aged prisoner entered, a loud, clear voice, was heard to say: "Polycarp, be firm!" and his friends believed that it came from heaven. The populace shouted with frantic joy. But the governor, touched by his venerable and benign appearance, tried to induce him to swear by the Genius of the emperor, and say: "Away with the godless!" He meant the Christians; but the old man gave another construction to the words. Looking mournfully round upon the fierce, un pitying countenances of that vast multitude, which filled the benches of the amphitheatre, he raised his eyes to heaven, and repeated: "Away with the godless!" The governor, encouraged by this apparent concession, said: "Swear by the Genius of the emperor, and denounce Christ, and I will release thee." The old bishop calmly replied: "Eighty and six years have I served Christ, and he has done me nothing but good. How can I denounce my King and my Saviour?" Being still urged, he replied: "If you would know what I am, I tell you frankly that I am a Christian. If you wish to know what are the doctrines of Christianity, appoint an hour and hear me." The compassionate governor, who feared the excited populace, said: "Do but persuade the people." Polycarp answered: "To you I am bound to give an account of myself; for our religion teaches us to pay due honour to the powers ordained of God, so far as it can be done without prejudice

to our salvation. But I do not regard those as worthy of hearing me defend myself before them." The governor reminded him that he was incurring the danger of exposure to wild beasts. He replied: "It is well for me to be speedily released from this miserable life." When threatened with being burned, he answered: "I fear not the fire which burns for a moment. Thou knowest not of that which burns forever and ever." The impatient crowd began to shout: "This is the blasphemer, who has taught so many not to sacrifice to the gods! Set the lions upon him!" When the President of the Games reminded them that the combats with wild beasts were over for that day, then they cried out that he must be burned. Jews and Romans eagerly vied with each other in bringing logs and faggots for his funeral pile. During this scene, his countenance remained serene and cheerful. When they unrobed him, and attempted to fasten him to the stake, he put them gently aside, and said: "Let me remain as I am. He who enables me to brave the fire, will strengthen me to stand at the stake without fastenings, unmoved in the midst of its fierceness."

Before the fire was lighted, he offered the following prayer: "O Lord God Almighty, Father of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received from thee the knowledge of thyself; God of Angels, Powers, and of every creature; of the human race, and of the just who live in thy presence; I thank thee that thou hast graciously thought me worthy of this hour, that I may take part in the number of thy witnesses, and share the cup of thy Christ."

The flames soon kindled, but a high wind drove them on one side, so that they played harmlessly round the old man, in the shape of a swelling sail, emitting fragrance as they burned. Seeing this, an executioner was sent to run him through the body with a sword. So much blood flowed from the wound, that it extinguished the flames immediately round him. One of the accounts affirms that his soul visibly ascended from the pile, in the form of a white dove.

His death satisfied popular fury for the time, and his church had rest from persecution. The governor instituted no further search for Christians, and seemed resolved not to know that any existed. The calm heroism and trusting piety of the good old man made all the deeper impression, because he had not sought death with any vain-glorious boasting. His church, writing an account of it to their brethren of other churches, say: "He waited to be delivered up; imitating our Lord in this respect, and leaving an example for us to follow; so that we should not look to that alone which may conduce to our own salvation, but also to that which may be serviceable to our neighbour. For this is the nature of true charity, to seek not merely our own salvation, but the salvation of all the brethren."

His friends were permitted to bury his remains, and they always assembled at his grave on the anniversary of his death. When unbelieving neighbours accused them of worshipping dead men, they replied: "We took up his bones, which are more precious than gold and jewels, and laid them in the proper place. God will grant that we may assemble there in joy and gladness, and celebrate the festival of his martyrdom, in memory of departed champions, and to prepare those who are still awaiting the struggle. You do not know that we can never worship any other than Christ, who has suffered for all the saved, and whom we worship as the Son of God. But the martyrs we venerate as they deserve, on account of their unparalleled love to our Lord and King."

The account of his death was written in an epistle from the church in Smyrna to the church in Philadelphia, which is still extant, and believed to be authentic. In this narrative, he is styled "a prophetic teacher, whose every word has either been fulfilled, or will be fulfilled." Of his writings there remains only one short Epistle to the Philippians.

IRENÆUS.—Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, is supposed to have been a native of Smyrna, born some time between one hundred twenty and forty. His name signifies The Peaceable, and is said to have been indicative of his character. This disposition led him to be greatly troubled with those who disturbed the unity of the church by differences of opinion. He says: "God will judge those who excite divisions; who for slight and frivolous reasons, rend, and, so far as in them lies, destroy the great and glorious body of Christ; straining at a gnat, and swallowing a camel. All the good they can do can never compensate for the evil of schism." In early youth, he heard Polycarp preach, and always cherished the greatest reverence for his memory. In his old age, he declared: "I remember what happened then, better than what happens now. What we have heard in childhood grows along with the soul, and becomes one with it. I can describe the place in which the blessed Polycarp sat and spoke; his going in and out; his manner of life, and the shape of his person; the discourses he delivered to the congregation; how he told of his intercourse with John, and with the rest, who had seen the Lord; how he reported their sayings, and what he had heard from them respecting the Lord, his miracles, and his doctrine. These things, by virtue of the grace of God imparted to me, I listened to, even then, with eagerness, and wrote them down not on paper, but in my heart; and, by the grace of God, I constantly bring them up again fresh before my memory."

Irenæus was the disciple of Papias, who presided over the church at Hierapolis. He describes this teacher as "an ancient man, a disciple of John the Apostle, and the companion of Polycarp;" but others of the Fathers suppose he was a disciple of John the Presbyter, not of the Apostle. Papias was a diligent collector of floating traditions. He says: "As often as I met any one who had conversed with the ancients, I inquired diligently after their sayings and doctrines; what Andrew, Peter, Philip, John, and the rest of the Lord's Apostles used to teach; for I

was persuaded that I could not profit so much by books, as by the voice of living witnesses."

He made a collection of all these unwritten sayings and doings of Christ and his Apostles, from which many of the current traditions are supposed to have been derived. Irenæus probably received from him many of the stories which he has handed down; though he informs us that he was himself acquainted with several who had conversed familiarly with the Apostles. He was also a zealous collector of traditions, which he gathered from all quarters with a child-like eagerness and credulity. He was accustomed to boast that he could enumerate all the bishops appointed by the Apostles and their successors, down to his own time. He was a man of considerable learning, which he zealously employed in defence of Christianity. He was first presbyter, and afterward bishop in Gaul. The earnestness of his preaching made many converts. He had strong faith that the second coming of Christ was nigh at hand, and drew luxurious pictures of the felicity of his kingdom on earth. He was fervent and energetic in the discharge of his pastoral duties, but none had cause to accuse him of arrogance; and he was so sincerely devout, that he was called Irenæus the Divine.

JUSTIN MARTYR.—Flavius Justinus, commonly called Justin, was born in Samaria, of Grecian parentage. He is the first of the Christian Fathers, on record, in whose mind Christianity mingled with Grecian culture; and especially with the Platonic philosophy. His youth was zealously devoted to the study of Zeno and Aristotle; but not finding in their writings the satisfaction he expected, he turned to the doctrines of Plato, in which he was for a while completely absorbed. Alluding to Plato's doctrine that the soul by contemplation on divinè things might be so lifted up as clearly to perceive spiritual realities, he says: "I foolishly hoped that I should soon behold the Deity." In this state of mind, he sought frequent opportunities for solitary meditation. Walking alone by the sea-shore one day, he

met a venerable old man, who spoke to him of Jesus Christ, and advised him to study the Hebrew Prophets, who had foretold his coming. This conversation, and the heroism with which he had seen some Christian martyrs suffer death, led to his conversion, about the year one hundred and thirty-three. But he carried into his new faith a strong attachment to many of the Platonic ideas. He believed in One Supreme Being, from whom emanated the Logos, [Word] who created the world. He supposed the Logos was a substantial ray of divine light internally communicated to the souls of men, by aid of which all truth was perceived. After his conversion to Christianity, he thought his own mind was supernaturally illuminated to discern that Christ was the Logos; and that it was he to whom God was represented as saying: "Let us make man in our image." He also deemed that the author of Proverbs represented Christ the Logos as saying: "I Wisdom was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was. The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his ways, before the works of old. When he prepared the heavens, I was there. When he gave to the sea his decree that the waters should not pass his commandment; when he appointed the foundations of the earth, I was by him as one brought up with him; and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him." Justin was the first of the Christian Fathers, who exalted the dignity of Christ by identifying him with the Logos.

Like Philo, he declared that no one had ever seen God the Father, at any time. He says: "It was our Christ who spake to Moses from the bush, in the form of fire, and said, Put off thy shoes." He believed the Logos had often appeared to the Patriarchs in the form of a man; that he dwelt in Jesus Christ, enabling him to work miracles, and reveal his Father unto men. Explaining Christian views, in an apology addressed to the princes of the empire, he says: "Next after God we adore and love that Logos which is derived from the ineffable and unbegotten God. Who alone is properly called his Son; the Logos, who was with

him, and begotten by him, before the creatures." "The Logos of God is sometimes called his Son; sometimes Wisdom; sometimes an Angel; sometimes the Lord; sometimes one sent by another. Hence, it was said, He that heareth me, heareth him that sent me." "The Logos of the underived and ineffable Deity, is Christ, of whom the whole human race partakes; who, for our sakes became man, that, sharing our infirmities, he might heal our diseases."

In the course of his investigations, Justin probably became acquainted with the writings of Philo. He might have received from him, or from other Jews, or from Jewish Christians, the idea, which was strongly impressed on his mind, that all knowledge of divine things had been originally revealed to Moses, and transmitted from him. He maintained that all truth ever perceived by men, in any part of the world, was by inspiration of the Logos; to this idea of Philo, and the Platonists, he added the doctrine that Christ was the Logos; therefore, the direct inference was that all gleams of truth, wheresoever found, might be justly claimed as Christian. He says: "All writers, through the seed of the Logos sown within them, are able obscurely to discern those things which have a real existence." He deemed that Plato far surpassed all other philosophers; and assuming that his wisdom came from the Logos, either by direct inspiration to his own soul, or indirectly, through what had been revealed to Moses, he came to the conclusion that whatever was valuable in his writings, as well as in those of the Hebrew Lawgiver, and Prophets, might be justly claimed as revelations from Christ, and as such incorporated with Christianity. The tendency thus introduced is conspicuous, under various modifications, in the after-growth of opinions.

But though Justin revered the truth he found in Grecian philosophy, and though he perceived its resemblance to Christianity, in many points, its cold intellectual light did not satisfy his religious nature; and this deficiency he endeavoured to point out in writings addressed to those

who still remained satisfied with philosophy. In the course of his argument addressed to such minds, he says: "The power of the Logos does not produce poets; does not create philosophers, or able orators; but, by forming mortal men anew, it makes them immortal; converts mortals into gods. It transports us from the earth, beyond the limits of Olympus. Come and submit yourselves to its influence. Become as I am; for I, too, was as you are. This has conquered me; the divinity of the doctrine, the power of the Logos. As a master serpent-charmer lures out and frightens away the hideous reptile from his den, so the Word drives the fearful passions of our sensual nature from the most secret recesses of the soul. The cravings of lust having once been banished, the soul becomes calm and serene; and, delivered from the evil which had cleaved to it, returns to its Creator." In other portions of his writings, he says: "I also was once an admirer of the doctrines of Plato, and I heard the Christians abused. But when I saw them meet death, and all that is accounted terrible among men, without dismay, I knew it to be impossible that they should live in sin and lust. I despised the opinion of the multitude. I glory in being a Christian, and I take every pains to prove myself worthy of my calling." "I found in the doctrine of Christ the only sure and salutary philosophy; for it has in it a power to awe, which restrains those who depart from the right way; and the sweetest peace is the portion of them that practise it. That this doctrine is sweeter than honey is evident; since we who have been formed by it, refuse to deny the name of Christ, even unto death."

Justin retained the Platonic idea, which was, indeed, common to nearly all systems, that a Spirit was appointed to preside over each of the elements, the planets, and the stars. He also adopted the idea that Matter was the origin of evil. He delighted in glowing pictures of the millenium, for which his mind was first prepared by descriptions of the Golden Age, in Plato and other Grecian and Roman writers, and afterward by pictures of the Messiah's kingdom, in the

Hebrew Prophets. He, as well as many others of the Christian Fathers, continued to wear the philosopher's robe; a garment then generally worn by teachers of wisdom, or morality. This attracted inquiring minds toward them, and furnished them with more frequent opportunities to converse upon Christian doctrines.

After his conversion, he still continued to be called Justin the Philosopher, though he devoted himself with great zeal to the propagation of Christianity. A Jew named Trypho, whom the war excited by Bar-Cochebas had driven from Palestine, was then travelling about Greece, and had become interested in Greek philosophy. Justin's robe attracted him, and brought them into conversation with each other, concerning the nature of God, and his dispensations of truth to mankind. Justin travelled to Ephesus with him, and improved every opportunity to convince him from the Hebrew Scriptures, that Jesus was the Messiah promised by the Prophets. These conversations were put down in the form of a written dialogue, which is still in existence. He wrote other works addressed to the Gentiles, and to the heretical sects, which from the time of Simon Magus troubled the church. When he went to Rome, he proved his sincerity and courage by writing an Apology for Christians, supposed to have been addressed and presented to the emperor Marcus Aurelius. He asks that men would cease to place reliance on the unfounded reports of the populace, and represents the injustice and cruelty of persecuting unoffending citizens, who were trying to lead a virtuous and holy life. He acknowledges that much truth was to be found in the old philosophies, and explains how he came to be convinced that Christianity was the more excellent way. This document was mild, liberal, and apologetic in its tone; but the author was soon after arrested, on the charge of impiety for neglecting the established worship. As he publicly confessed himself a Christian, and refused to sacrifice to the gods, he was condemned to be scourged and beheaded. The sentence was executed in the seventy-fifth year of his age; supposed to

be not far from one hundred and sixty-four years from our era. He was thenceforth called Justin Martyr. He is very highly praised by the early Christian writers.

TATIAN.—Tatian of Assyria, who flourished in the year one hundred and seventy, was educated in the old religion of Greece and Rome, and in the course of extensive travels became acquainted with almost every variety in its forms of worship. None of them seemed to him rational; and he was especially displeased with those Festivals, which, under the name of religion, had become scenes of intemperance and debauchery. The allegorical interpretations, which philosophers gave to stories concerning the gods, failed to satisfy the requirements of his soul; and he felt that it was hypocritical, and therefore wrong, to join in the popular worship outwardly, if it conveyed no religious meaning to his mind. He was initiated into the Mysteries, but the light he received did not fulfil the expectations he had formed. In this state of mind he met with a copy of the Hebrew Scriptures, in the Greek translation. Having heard them spoken of as of high antiquity, his curiosity was excited to read them; and he was deeply impressed by the perusal. He says: "These writings won my confidence by the simplicity of their style, the unaffected directness of the speakers, the intelligible account of creation, the predictions of future events, the salutary tendency of the precepts, and the prevailing doctrine of one God." He made a visit to Rome, where he became acquainted with Justin Martyr and was attracted toward him by the similarity of their philosophic education, and subsequent states of mind. This friendship introduced him to a knowledge of the Christian Scriptures, by which he was converted. Like his teacher, he joined many Platonic ideas with Christianity. He believed that the Logos emanated from God, without being separated from him. He supposed that Matter was the origin of evil, and that by means of a Spirit, or Soul, connected with it, and kindred to its own nature, it produced the devils. He believed that man had a

rational soul, an irrational soul, and a body. The rational soul was an emanation from the Logos; and by means of that indwelling celestial ray of light, he was rendered immortal, and capable of communion with Deity. The irrational soul, man received from Spirits inferior to the Logos; and being connected with Matter, it partook of its imperfection. If the inferior soul had been kept in perfect subjection to the superior, man would have remained an immortal image of the Logos, as he was when he was first created. But by yielding to sin, he lost the interior ray of celestial light, and became subject to death. From these premises, he adopted the conclusion that, after the fall of Adam, the souls of men became mortal, as well as their bodies; an idea entertained by many Jews, as mentioned in the first volume. To bring men again into communion with Deity, and restore the immortality they had lost, he supposed it was necessary for the Logos to enter a human form; and this he did in the person of Jesus Christ.

Tatian wrote a vindication of Christianity, under the title of a Discourse to the Greeks. He long survived his friend, Justin Martyr, whose memory he always cherished with the utmost veneration. The views here briefly expressed gradually developed into forms which did not receive the sanction of the church, and he was numbered among heretics.

THEOPHILUS.—Theophilus, who was bishop of Antioch in the year one hundred and sixty-eight, was also of Gentile parentage, and much imbued with Platonic philosophy before he became a Christian. He believed that God had always within himself his Logos, or Wisdom, which he sent forth from his bosom ages before the universe was produced; that all things were created by the agency of the Logos, who guided the Patriarchs and Moses, inspired the Prophets, and manifested himself in Jesus Christ.

TERTULLIAN.—Quintus Florens Tertullian, who was born about one hundred and sixty years from our era, was the
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son of a Roman centurion at Carthage. He is supposed to have been a lawyer, or a rhetorician, and not to have embraced Christianity till he arrived at manhood. He had accumulated a good deal of knowledge, for his time, and was familiar with Greek and Roman literature, but held all their artistic culture, and love of beauty, in stern contempt. He was a man of vehement zeal, austere in his principles, and fierce in his opposition to all whom he regarded as heretics. He was accustomed to say that none but Christians had a right to the Sacred Scriptures; heretics were not Christians; therefore, heretical sects had no right to quote Scripture. In the latter part of his life, he himself withdrew from what was considered the orthodox party, and joined the Montanists, regarded by the majority of Christians as heretics. He wrote a great deal, but mostly in a controversial form. Arguing concerning the existence of Deity, he thus expresses himself concerning the Logos: "God, before the formation of the universe, was not alone: for he had with him, and in him, his own Reason, which Greeks call Logos; and in Reason he had Speech, which he could make a second principle from himself, by acting within himself."

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.—Titus Flavius Clement is supposed to have been born in Athens. His eager thirst for knowledge led him to travel in search of it into various parts of Greece, Egypt, Italy, Syria, and Palestine. The various influences which acted upon his mind may be conjectured from the teachers he enumerates. One was from Ionia, another from Magna Grecia in Italy, another from Coelo Syria, another from Egypt; others came from the East; of whom one was an Assyrian, another a Jew. At that time, there generally prevailed among scholars a system called Eclectic, from Greek words, meaning to select from. Following this tendency, Clement strove to glean portions of truth from all sources, and combine them into one harmonious system. He says: "I espoused not this or that philosophy; not the Stoic, nor the Platonic, nor

the Epicurean, nor that of Aristotle; but whatever any of these sects had said, that was fit and just, teaching righteousness with a divine and religious knowledge, all *that* being selected, I call philosophy."

He spent most of his life in Alexandria, where he became acquainted with the Christian church and joined it. He was held in high esteem for his learning and virtues, and in the year one hundred and ninety he was appointed presbyter. There was at that time a Christian school established at Alexandria, and they selected for catechists, or teachers, converts who were thoroughly acquainted with Grecian religion and philosophy, and therefore well qualified to answer such objections as would be brought by learned Gentiles. Clement was for some time at the head of this school. He favoured an allegorical mode of interpreting the Scriptures, and thus found within them whatever his mind had been previously convinced of. Like Justin Martyr, he carried into Christianity a good deal of respect for the philosophies, which had stimulated his intellect in its search after truth. He says: "God, as the author of all good, was author of the Greek philosophy. This was the schoolmaster to the Greeks, as the Law was to the Jews, preparing the way for Christianity." He, however, thought that Grecian wisdom was received through the medium of an inferior degree of angels. He believed in One Underived God, from whom proceeded the Logos, that created the world. He says: "The Son is the Power of God, the Wisdom, in which the Father delighted; the most ancient Logos, before all things that were made, and especially the chosen teacher of those that were made by him. God cannot be shown, nor can he teach; but the Son is wisdom, and knowledge, and truth." He supposed that the stars were animated by Spirits, who were subordinate agents in the management of the universe, and also retained the Platonic idea that man had a rational soul, and an inferior soul, the seat of the sensations. The oriental idea that this world was created for the purification of erring Spirits, and that the process was continued in other regions, after death,

with a view to the final restoration of all things to original order, had passed into Greek philosophy, and was received by Clement. He urged this doctrine with great zeal, and thought it was proved by the statement that Christ descended into Hades. He believed a tradition then current that both Christ and his Apostles went there to baptize the old patriarchs and prophets.

Clement testifies of himself that he was instructed by several disciples of the very chief Apostles, who had truly preserved traditions of the teaching of Peter, James, and John. In the year two hundred and twelve he visited Jerusalem. The bishop there recommended him, in a letter to the church at Antioch, as "a godly minister, a man both virtuous and well known, with whom they were already acquainted, and who had confirmed and promoted the church of Christ." Clement of Alexandria wrote much in explanation and defence of Christianity. Many of these writings remain, and are valuable as illustrating the character of the times, and the state of the church at that period.

ORIGEN.—Origen was born at Alexandria, in one hundred eighty-five. He was early instructed in Christianity by his father, and became a pupil in the school of Clement. His father, Leonides, gave him a portion of Scripture to learn every day, and when he was a boy he was never satisfied with having merely the literal sense explained, but was always inquisitive concerning the inward meaning. His father sometimes checked this tendency, as a presumptuous spirit of curiosity, unbecoming to his years. But he secretly rejoiced in the activity and earnestness of his mind, and thanked God for giving him such a son. When the child was asleep, it is said he would often uncover his breast and kiss it reverently, regarding it as a temple for the Holy Spirit.

His intellectual as well as religious education received careful attention; and it is evident from his writings that he was thoroughly imbued with Grecian philosophy. When he was sixteen years old, Christians in that part of the

world were suffering under persecution, in the reign of Septimius Severus. His father was thrown into prison, and he was eager to rush before the authorities and avow himself a Christian, that he might share his fate. His mother, having vainly tried to dissuade him from his purpose, resorted to the expedient of hiding all his garments. Finding himself unable to leave the house, he wrote to his father: "See that thou changest not thy mind for our sakes." Leonides was beheaded, and all his property confiscated. His widow was thus left destitute, with seven children. Origen, who was the eldest, was received into the family of a rich and noble lady, a convert to Christianity. He soon freed himself from this dependent position, and sought the means of supporting his mother and six younger brothers, by teaching grammar and philosophy. In the midst of these labours, he was continually visiting the Christians who were in prison, ministering to their necessities, sustaining their courage, and manifesting his affectionate sympathy by hugging and kissing those who were led forth to execution. This so irritated the populace, that he was several times nearly killed by stones thrown at him. On some of these occasions, soldiers surrounded his house to seize him, and he was saved by escaping secretly from one house to another. The school for young converts, formerly superintended by Clement, was then suspended, on account of the persecution. The intellectual culture of Origen, and the earnestness of his character, combined with the exemplary purity of his life and conversation, induced inquiring minds among the Gentiles to apply to him for instruction. Many of these he conducted through the portal of philosophy into the Christian church; and some of them afterward became renowned teachers and martyrs. Though he was then but eighteen years old, his reputation for learning and sobriety, and his great success as a lecturer, attracted the attention of Demetrius, Bishop of Alexandria, who appointed him a teacher in the church. His lectures, meanwhile, were attended by crowds of men and women, and the number continually increased. His zeal and self-denial

were truly wonderful. Printing was then unknown, and he had copied for his own use, with great neatness and beauty, a collection of the ancient authors. These he sold, and reduced his expenditures to about nine cents a day, that he might have more time to devote to Christian teaching, without incurring obligations to others. He slept but little, and always on the bare ground. He went barefoot, and wore but one coat, however inclement the weather; because Christ had said to his disciples: "Provide neither two coats, neither shoes." His careful conscience rendered him fearful of bringing reproach on the church by yielding to temptation, surrounded as he constantly was by young pupils, of both sexes, who were strongly attached to him; and in the sincerity of his youthful zeal, he obeyed, as if it were a literal injunction, the saying: "There be those who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven's sake." Later in life, he viewed such literal interpretation of Scripture as a mistake.

In the school of Clement he had doubtless become more or less acquainted with Grecian philosophy; and after the death of his father, he cultivated such studies, as necessary to his office of public teacher. He says: "When I had wholly devoted myself to the promulgation of the divine doctrines, and the fame of my skill in them began to be spread, and sometimes heretics, sometimes such as had been conversant with the Grecian sciences, and particularly men from the philosophic schools, came to visit me, it seemed to me necessary that I should examine the doctrinal opinions of the heretics, and what the philosophers pretended to know of the truth." Actuated by this motive, he attended the lectures of a highly esteemed teacher of Platonic philosophy, supposed to be the celebrated Ammonius Saccas. It required a much more exclusive and repellant nature than Origen possessed, to escape the tendency to eclecticism, which at that formative period so universally prevailed. His high moral sense bound him strongly to Christianity; the natural delicacy and refinement of his organization attracted him toward the poetic beauty of

Grecian culture, and particularly toward the spiritualized intellect of Plato; his kindly disposition led him to acknowledge good wheresoever he found it; and his large and liberal soul was ready to accept what seemed to him true, from whatever source it flowed.

He acknowledged a personal God, embracing in his consciousness all things that exist, and creating by the exercise of his will. This view differed from the Platonic theory of a pure impersonal Being, without consciousness, from whom other beings emanated by an inherent law. He believed the Logos was in the Father what reason is in man; that he was dependent upon him, and employed as an agent in creating the world; that he was the concentration of God's glory, by whom it was reflected throughout the world of Spirits. He was *the* Truth and *the* Wisdom, revealing truth and wisdom to all capable of receiving. The Holy Spirit was the Divine Energy of Deity. As the Son and the Holy Spirit were incomparably exalted above all other spiritual existences, so the Father was incomparably exalted above *them*.

He supposed that Jesus Christ was a perfect human being, with a rational soul, a sensitive soul, and a body, like other men. The Logos of God united himself to the rational soul of Christ; that being the part of mortals which was a portion of his own celestial nature. By this means, the Logos came into communication with the sensuous nature, and Christ received supernatural power. The union took place at the very first moment of human existence, but the consequences were not completely developed until after the resurrection. The indwelling Logos gradually assimilated the whole being of Christ to his own; so that at the ascension, even his body became transfigured to a form analagous with the Divine Essence. The Holy Spirit he supposed descended upon Jesus at baptism.

He thought prayers ought to be addressed to the Father only, but always through the mediation of the Son. He asks: "Why may not this be expressed in the sense of him who said, 'Why callest thou *me* good? There is none

good but one, that is God. Why prayest thou to me? Thou shouldst pray to the Father alone; to whom I also pray. You have learned from the Scriptures that you must not pray *to* the High Priest, whom God has appointed to intercede for you; but *through* him. So also you are not to pray *to* him whom the Father has ordained your advocate and intercessor; but you are to pray *through* him, who can be touched with your infirmities, having been tempted in all points, like as ye are, yet, by the gift of God, without sin. Learn then what a gift you have received from my Father, when, by your new birth in me, ye have received the Spirit of adoption, that ye might be called sons of God, and my own brethren.'"

He believed that the self sacrifice of a perfectly holy being helped to free others who were subject to the power of evil. This he regarded as a moral law of the universe, proved by the universal belief of mankind that innocent individuals, by sacrificing themselves, had averted great calamities impending over whole cities and nations. In this way, he thought Christ had aided all souls by crippling the power of Satan.

He taught that the Scriptures had a threefold sense, analogous to the rational soul, the sensitive soul, and the body of man. The inmost sense was for those who had attained to such spirituality that they could perceive revelations of Divinity in its fulness; there was an intermediate allegorical sense, for those who had not yet attained to such an exalted state of vision; and there was the outward letter, in which high truths were veiled for the instruction of the multitude. He says: "The mass of genuine and simple believers testify to the utility even of this inferior understanding of the Scriptures." In illustration of this view, he declares: "The Word *continually* becomes flesh, in order to dwell among us." The outward letter, he spoke of as "The Word taking the form of a servant." He says: "But when we have leaned on the bosom of the incarnate Word, and are able to follow him as he goes up into the high mountain, then we shall see the transfiguration of Scripture."

To attain to this state of exalted perception, faith was requisite. He said: "Believe first; and beneath that which thou accountest an offence, thou shalt find much that is profitable for holiness." All the external laws, and the history of earthly events, both in the Old Testament and the New, he explained as symbolical of higher laws, and a higher history, relating to a spiritual kingdom. He insisted that in most cases the external and internal sense must both be adhered to, and that it was never right to give up the latter until after the most careful and conscientious examination. In some cases he rejected the outward sense. He denied that there had ever been a material Paradise, and considered the Garden of Eden an allegorical representative of the heavenly world, from which the Spirit of Adam fell, when he was attracted toward Matter. Viewing David only as the inspired prophet of God, he could not regard the story of Uriah as literally true. Philo had met similar difficulties in the same way; and both of them, having great reverence for the Scriptures, explained such passages as stones of stumbling, interspersed to stimulate men to deeper investigation.

Origen acknowledged the importance of miracles, as a means of awakening faith; but he regarded such faith merely as a step by which men might ascend higher to an intuitive perception of truth. He says: "The Jews believed in Jesus as a worker of miracles, but they had not the recipient temper for divine truth, and therefore did not believe in him as a revealer of the more profound truths of religion. We see the same thing exemplified by multitudes at the present day, who wonder at Jesus when they contemplate his history, but believe him no longer when some doctrine is unfolded beyond their comprehension." "They who have received the free gift of Divine Wisdom, live no longer in faith, but in open vision; they are the spiritual-minded, who are no longer at home in the body, but even while here below are present with the Lord." But while he dwells much on these higher gifts of the spirit, he cautions Christian teachers "not to despise the little

ones, through vain conceit of wisdom and superiority, as great ones in the church; but to fulfil the will of Christ by becoming children with children."

Origen accepted the common idea that the stars had souls; and he considered it proved by Job's assertion that "the morning stars sang together." He believed that they took friendly interest in the affairs of men, and could foresee future events. He says: "We know that angels have the government of fruits and seasons, and the production of animals committed to them. We speak well of them, and think them happy that they are intrusted by God to manage the conveniences of human life, but we do not give them that honour which is due to Deity alone. For neither does God allow it, nor do they desire it. They love and care for us equally, whether we do or do not sacrifice to them." He supposed that Angels had ethereal bodies, and that Evil Spirits were in grosser forms. In the beginning, all existences were in harmony with God, and happy in communion with him. But the will of some became at variance with the Divine will, thus the harmony of the universe was disturbed, and could only be restored by a long process of purification. This world was created as a scene of purification for those who had become incapable of an entirely spiritual life. All human souls were fallen Spirits, who had sinned, in greater or less degrees, in their existence previous to entering a human body. Adam was the first of these Spirits who was clothed in flesh. They were of a vast variety of orders, placed in progressively ascending regions, and in various modes of existence, according to the use they had made of liberty. Through these spheres wandering souls passed till the process of purification was completed, and they were enabled to return to their original condition. Those who had made good use of their probation on earth, after they departed from the body felt sympathy for those they left behind, and delighted to assist them in their upward course. Origen expressly says: "All the holy men who have departed from this life, retaining their charity toward those

whom they left behind, are anxious for their salvation, and assist them by their prayers, and their mediation with God." He believed that the Logos united himself to a mortal, to form a medium between human souls and their Heavenly Father, and lead them back to intimate communion with Him. The souls of the good would become continually more and more perfect, through the revolution of ages; the bad, both among human beings and Evil Spirits, would gradually become purified, and all would at last be restored to order and happiness. The imperfections of Matter had obstructed the beneficent operations of Deity; but Matter itself would finally become refined into a better substance, and thus nothing would be left at discord with the Divine Nature. All Spirits would have intuitive communion with the Supreme, through the Logos, and all would know the Son, as perfectly as the Son knew the Father. This universal restoration seemed to him the unavoidable result of God's impartial justice and all pervading love. But, like the Buddhists, he believed that the will of Spirits would again deviate from the will of the Supreme; and as soon as one ceased to be absorbed in the All Perfect, and wished to be anything for himself, evil would germinate anew. A world would be again created, and mortal bodies prepared for the Spirits, who would again descend into them; there would be another process of progressive purification, which would again result in the perfect union of all things with the Supreme. This alternation from unity to manifoldness would go on forever.

During a visit to Palestine, Origen attracted great attention, and was invited by the bishops to preach at their assemblies. On his way to Cæsarea, he was consecrated to the office of presbyter, by an assemblage of bishops. This was the beginning of persecutions, which ever after troubled his life. His own bishop at Alexandria, who is said to have been jealous of his great reputation, took offence at this proceeding. He maintained that he alone had a right to consecrate Origen. He recalled him, summoned two coun-

cils to deprive him of his priestly office, banished him from his native city, and finally excommunicated him from the church. This sentence was confirmed at Rome, and by most of the other bishops. The nullification of his ordination is said to have been grounded more on points of ecclesiastical order, than on questions of doctrine. Origen returned to Cæsarea, where he was received with much favour by all the bishops in the surrounding regions. The high estimation in which he was held is shown by the fact that Synods of Bishops were accustomed to consult his opinion, when it was difficult to settle theological questions. He went to Arabia, by invitation of bishops in that province, to refute the bishop Beryllus, who affirmed that the divine nature of Christ did not exist before his human nature. Origen spoke so eloquently on the subject, that Beryllus was convinced, and sent him a letter of thanks. He was afterward summoned to a council held against certain sects, who maintained that the soul died as well as the body; and there also he reasoned with so much ability, that he brought them all over to his opinion. He visited Athens and Rome, where he obtained great celebrity by the learning and skill he displayed in the refutation of various systems of philosophy. Mamæa, mother of the emperor Alexander Severus, a woman of uncommon intellect, requested an interview with Origen, when she passed through Antioch. She received him with great respect, and had a long conversation on the subject of Christian doctrines. Though she was not converted by his arguments, it is not improbable that this conversation had considerable effect in producing the liberal policy which her son pursued toward Christians.

The writings of Origen were exceedingly voluminous; most of them biblical criticisms. Nearly all of them are lost; having been committed to the flames, because some of his doctrines were not sanctioned by the sect that eventually became paramount in the church. The greatest labour of his diligent life was the collection of a great variety of ancient versions of the Old Testament, and the careful

comparison of them, word by word, with the original Hebrew text. He was induced to this because Christians, in their controversies with Jews, were unable to quote from anything but the Greek translation, called the Septuagint; and Palestine Jews constantly accused them of quoting texts which did not exist in Hebrew. Upon examination, he found that copies of the Septuagint varied from each other, and none of them altogether agreed with the Hebrew. It was a stupendous labour, and occupied him many years.

During the persecution under Decius, Origen was arrested, and having boldly confessed, was thrown into prison. There they tried to subdue him by gradually increasing tortures. But though he was then an old man, the strong soul sustained the infirm body. He endured all his sufferings with patience, and from his prison wrote a letter of consolation and encouragement to his persecuted brethren of the faith. The cruelties inflicted on him are supposed to have shortened his life. He died about three years after, at the age of sixty-nine.

Few men have had such warm admirers and such bitter persecutors, both before and after his death. He always had steadfast friends among some of the greatest ornaments of the church, and his most prejudiced opponents never denied his moral excellence. The general respect for his great intellect and uncommon worth was much increased by his candour and courtesy in argument, and by the uniform meekness with which he met the attacks of his enemies. He is described as "one of the most eminent of the early Christian writers; not only for his intellectual power and attainments, but also for the influence exercised by him, on the opinions of subsequent ages; and for the dissensions and discussions respecting his opinions, which have been carried on through many centuries, down to modern times."

GREGORY THAUMATURGUS.—Gregory of Neocæsearea, in Pontus, was born of a noble and wealthy family. His father was devotedly attached to the old Roman worship,
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and educated his son in accordance with his own views. After his father's death, he travelled to perfect himself in Roman law; being expected to open a brilliant career for himself as an advocate. But at Cæsarea he became acquainted with Origen, and was so much attracted by his lectures, that he forgot everything else in his eager pursuit after religious truth. He remained with him eight years. Concerning his expositions of the Scriptures he says: "It is my firm belief that he was able so to discourse only by communion with the Holy Spirit; for it requires the same power to be a prophet and to understand prophets. This man received from God that greatest of all gifts, to be to men an interpreter of the words of God; to understand God's Word as God speaks it, and to announce it to men as men can understand it." He was extremely reluctant to part from Origen and return with his brother to their native city. In view of it, he exclaims: "Do thou, beloved head, stand up and dismiss us with thy prayer. As thou hast, by thy holy doctrines, guided us to salvation all the long time we have been with thee, so now we are to leave thee, guide us to salvation by thy prayers. Pray God to send a good angel to lead us, and to console us for our separation from thee. But pray also that he would bring us back to thee."

Origen kept up an affectionate correspondence with this enthusiastic disciple. He assured him that he could become an able teacher of Roman law, or an eminent instructor in the philosophical schools; but he advised him to devote his talents to the Christian church. When he returned to Neocæsarea, there were only seventeen Christians in that place; but the majority were soon converted by his zeal and eloquence. He retired for a while into the wilderness, to devote himself to religious contemplation, and to avoid being chosen bishop of the church which had grown up under his auspices. But during his absence, he was ordained to that office without his knowledge, and came from the wilderness with great reluctance to answer to the call. He had remarkable success in mak-

ing converts, and he was so celebrated for the miracles he performed, that he was universally called Gregory Thaumaturgus, the Wonder Worker.

A Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus was written about a century after his death, by Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa. It contains many strange legends, which remarkably illustrate the credulity of the times. A work which he wrote on the Trinity is much eulogized by his biographer. He says the Virgin Mary herself, accompanied by the Apostle John, appeared in a vision, and explained to him the mystery of godliness, which he wrote down in this short summary of faith, and left as a legacy to his church. He adds: "For excellency of divine grace, it may be compared with those tables of the Law made by God and delivered to Moses." In the time of Gregory of Nyssa, this document was still preserved as a holy relic by the church at Neocæsarea; and they averred that it was in the author's handwriting. But the doctrine of the Trinity was then very hotly controverted, and some learned men say the manuscript had been much interpolated, to meet the exigencies of the time.

CYPRIAN.—One of the most celebrated of the early Fathers was Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. He was educated in the old religion of Rome, and taught rhetoric with distinguished success. He was converted to Christianity in the year two hundred and forty-six, and became bishop two years after; in which office he maintained a high reputation for eloquence and virtue. His ideas concerning subordination in the churches were very strict; and, combined with the dignity of his demeanour, did more to exalt the claims of bishops, than had been done by any of his predecessors. He believed they were divinely appointed to guide mankind, and that it was impious for any one to dispute their authority in matters of faith. The church was then much troubled with schismatics, and he seems to have taken this ground from an earnest desire to preserve unity, rather than from personal ambition. It made him rigorous to-

ward all whom he deemed heretics; but the bishops regarded him as a tower of strength, and he was greatly admired and beloved by his people, toward whom he discharged his pastoral duties in a conscientious and paternal manner.

Such a man was, of course, a conspicuous mark for persecution. He had always discountenanced rashness in incurring unnecessary danger, and, at the commencement of the Decian persecution, he prudently withdrew from the city, till the storm blew over. Extreme zealots blamed him for this, and accused him of setting a cowardly example; but the motives he assigns are such as would naturally actuate a man careful of the welfare of those over whom he presided. He says: "On the first commencement of the troubles, when the populace, with furious clamours, had frequently demanded my death, I retired for a while, not so much out of regard for my own safety, as for the public peace of the brethren; lest the disturbance which had begun might be increased by my obstinate presence." From his retreat, he wrote thus to his clergy: "I beg of you to use all prudence and care for the preservation of quiet. If our brethren, in their love, are anxious to visit those worthy Confessors, whom divine grace has already honoured by a glorious beginning, this must be done with caution, and not in crowds, lest suspicion should be excited, and our access to them wholly prohibited. Be careful then, that for the greater safety, this matter be managed with due moderation. Indeed, we must in all things, with meekness and humility, as becomes the servants of God, accommodate ourselves to the times, and seek for the preservation of peace, and the best good of the people."

Soon after he returned to Carthage, a pestilence began to spread through the empire. Everybody was commanded to sacrifice to the gods, and those who refrained from so doing were again cruelly persecuted. Cyprian, being summoned before the tribunal, declared his determination to worship no other than the God of the Christians, "the true

and only God." He was accordingly banished to the city of Curubis, where he remained in exile eleven months. But though absent in the body, he kept up an active correspondence with the Christian churches, to whom he wrote as follows: "My dearest brethren, let no one be disturbed because our people are scattered by the fear of persecution; because he can no longer see the brethren together, nor hear the bishops preach. We, who may not shed the blood of others, but must be ready to pour out our own, cannot, at such a time, all meet together. Wherever it may happen that a brother is separated from the church a while, in body, not in spirit, by the necessity of the times, let him not be appalled by the solitude of the desert, where he may be obliged to take refuge. He who has Christ for a companion is not alone. If robbers, or wild beasts, fall upon the fugitive, if hunger or cold destroy him, if the stormy waves of the sea overwhelm him, still Christ is present to witness the conduct of his soldier, wheresoever he fights."

To those Christians who were imprisoned, or labouring in the mines, he sent money from the church treasury, and from his own income, accompanied with letters full of sympathy and affectionate encouragement. "What triumph," says he, "when you can walk through the mines with imprisoned body, but with a heart conscious of mastery over itself! When you know that Christ is with you, rejoicing over the patience of his servants, who in his own footsteps, and by his own way, are entering into the eternal kingdom."

When new governors were appointed, at the accession of Valerian, the banished bishops were recalled, and ordered to wait in retirement till the commands of the emperor decided their fate. Cyprian took up his residence at a secluded villa in the neighbourhood of Carthage, where he gave instruction and advice to such as could privately resort to him. Hearing that he was to be conveyed to Utica for trial, he yielded to the persuasions of friends, who urged him to hide himself for a time, till the governor, who was then absent, returned to Carthage; for being

aware that he was soon likely to join the band of martyrs, he chose to give his last testimony to the truth of Christianity in the presence of those who had long looked up to him for example. From his place of concealment, he wrote thus to his flock: "It becomes the bishop to confess the Lord in the place where he presides over the church of the Lord; so that the whole church may be honoured by the confession of their bishop. For whatever proceeds from the lips of the confessing bishop, under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, comes from the mouths of all. Let me then await the return of the Proconsul to Carthage, that I may learn from him the commands of the emperor, and speak whatever the Lord, in that hour, may cause me to speak. But do you, my dearest brethren, study to preserve quiet, in conformity to the directions, which, according to the doctrine of the Lord, you have often received from me. Let no one of you lead the brethren into tumults, or voluntarily give himself up. The only time for any one to speak is after he has been apprehended. In that hour, the Lord, who dwells in us, speaks in us."

Soon after the governor's return he was arrested on the charge of continuing to teach Christianity, contrary to the orders of the government. During the day that he was detained in prison, to await his trial, the keepers treated him respectfully, and a multitude of Christians thronged round the building to catch a glimpse of their beloved bishop, knowing it might be for the last time. The examination was very brief. The magistrate said: "Art thou Cyprian, the bishop of so many impious men? The most sacred emperor commands thee to sacrifice." Cyprian calmly replied: "I will not sacrifice." The magistrate bade him consider well. "Execute your orders," answered the bishop: "it is a case that admits of no consideration." After a preamble, reminding him how pious emperors had vainly tried to reclaim him from his evil ways, he was sentenced to be beheaded; to which he quietly replied: "God be thanked." As soon as the mournful tidings reached the multitude of Christians thronging round the palace gates, a general cry

arose: "We will die with him." He was carried to a neighbouring field to be beheaded. Before he received the fatal stroke, he directed that twenty-five pieces of gold should be bestowed on his executioner. His body was given to his sorrowing friends, who conveyed it to the Christian burial-place, with a long procession by torch-light. The magistrate who condemned him died a few days after; and though he had long been in ill health, Christians regarded it as a signal punishment from God for the death of their holy bishop. This martyrdom occurred in the year two hundred and fifty-eight. Cyprian left several works, which are still in existence.

OPINIONS AND CUSTOMS OF THE EARLY FATHERS.

From this brief sketch of a few of the early Fathers of the church, it may be inferred that some of the wisest and best men of the time were in their ranks. But, like all other men, they bore the impress of the age in which they lived. They were credulous to an extreme degree; but it was not peculiar to them; for all the world was credulous. They believed that angels, who had fallen from their high estate by disobedience, were permitted to roam about the earth, producing diseases by entering the bodies of men, and endangering their souls by tempting them to idolatry; that it was their greatest delight to induce men to worship their own images, instead of the true God; that they resided in the temples, entered the statues, pronounced oracles, and performed miracles. Tertullian exults in the torments they endured, when Christians exorcised them in the name of Jesus. Some instances are recorded where the demon, being expelled from human bodies, and commanded to acknowledge his name, confessed that he was Jupiter, or Apollo, or some other god of antiquity, who had impiously induced men to adore him. Justin Martyr says that all the saints and the prophets had fallen under the power of Evil Spirits, like Python, at the time of Christ's coming; and that was the reason why, when he

was ready to give up the ghost, he commended his own spirit to God.

Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, cotemporary with Irenæus, declares that it was Evil Spirits who inspired the poets and prophets of Greece and Roma. He says: "The truth of this is manifestly shown; because those who are possessed by Devils, even at this day, are sometimes exorcised by us in the name of God; and the seducing Spirits confess themselves to be the same Demons who before inspired the Gentile poets."

Tertullian challenges the magistrates "to call before their tribunals any person possessed with a Devil, and if the Evil Spirit, when exorcised by any Christian whatsoever, did not own himself to be a Devil, as explicitly as in other places he would call himself a God, (not daring to tell a lie to a Christian,) that they should then take the life of that Christian." He asks: "What can be more manifest than this operation? What more convincing than this proof?" He further says, that Evil Spirits, in order to sustain the popular belief in their divinity, and to obtain nourishment from the steam of sacrifices, often miraculously cured the diseases which they themselves had occasioned.

Cyprian says: "There are Evil Spirits, who lurk in the statues, inspire the soothsayers, direct the flight of birds, move the entrails of victims, excite terror in the minds of men, disturb their sleep, convulse their bodies, and destroy their health, in order to force men to worship them; that being fattened by the steam of sacrifices, they may appear to cure the diseases which they themselves had caused; though the only cure is in their ceasing to do harm. When adjured by us, in the name of the true God, they presently yield, confess, and are forced to quit the bodies they possessed. By our command, and the secret operation of the Divine Power, you may see them lashed with scourges, scorched with fire, tortured by an increase of pains, howling, groaning, begging, confessing whence they came and whither they go, even in the hearing of their own worshippers. They either vanish immediately, or go out gradu-

ally, according to the faith of the patient, or the grace of him who works the cure." He says elsewhere that sometimes, when the Devil promised to go out of the diseased, he practised deception, "till compelled to depart by the salutary water of baptism."

Minucius Felix, a converted Roman lawyer, who wrote an Apology for Christianity, early in the third century, says: "The greatest part of you know what confessions the Demons make concerning themselves, as often as they are expelled by us out of the bodies of men, by the torture of our words, and the fire of our speech. Saturn himself, and Serapis, and Jupiter, and the others whom you worship, constrained by the pain they feel, confess who they are. Nor do they tell a lie, though the truth be to their own shame, especially when some of your people are present. Believe them, therefore, to be Devils, from their own testimony and true confession, when adjured by us, in the name of the true and only God."

In a book ascribed to Justin Martyr, it is said: "Demons still speak, by those who are called ventriloquists."

The Jewish Scriptures in Hebrew were at that time almost unknown to Christians, who used only the Greek translation, called the Septuagint. In that version it was written: "The *Angels* of God saw that the daughters of men were fair, and made them wives of all that they chose; and they bare children to them." From this text, Philo and other Jews who used the Greek translation of their Scriptures, derived the doctrine that Angels fell in love with mortal women, who gave birth to giants. The same idea was inculcated in the Book of Enoch, to which Jude refers in his Epistle. From these sources it was borrowed by the Christian Fathers, who seem also to have admitted what Greek and Roman poets wrote concerning the love-affairs of their Deities, and then combined them with the Hebrew tradition. Justin Martyr, in his Apology, says: "When God created the world, he committed the care of it to Angels, who, transgressing their duty, fell in love with women, and produced children, whom we call Demons.

These subdued mankind to their power; partly by magical writings, partly by terrors and punishments, and partly by the institution of sacrifices, fumes, and libations, of which they soon began to stand in need, after they had enslaved themselves to their lusts and passions." Again he says: "The truth shall come out. Evil Demons of old debauched women, corrupted boys, and spread terrors among men, who did not examine things by reason. Seized with fear, and not knowing they were Evil Spirits, they called them Gods, and gave each one the name he had taken to himself. When Socrates endeavoured to expose their practices, and by true reason draw men away from their worship, the Demons, by the help of wicked men, caused him to be put to death, as an atheist, and an impious person."

Clement of Alexandria declares that the love of the Angels for women transported them so far beyond all prudence, that they revealed to them many secrets, which they ought to have kept concealed. The knowledge of alchemy and magic was supposed to have been obtained in this way. Some maintained that all ideas of a Supreme Being, and the immortality of the soul, except those revealed to Hebrews and Christians, came from conversation with these fallen Angels. Tertullian traced rouge, powder for the eye-lashes, bracelets, necklaces, and other ornaments of women's dress, to the researches of their celestial lovers into the hidden mysteries of nature, to find whatever might adorn the objects of their passion. He supposed Paul's injunction to women to wear veils had reference to the fatal effects their beauty once had on the Spirits above. He therefore strongly urges upon young women the duty of covering their heads. In the course of an elaborate argument upon this subject he says: "We read that Angels fell from God and heaven, because they lusted after women. Therefore, faces so dangerous that heaven itself may be scandalized by them, ought to be shaded. When in the presence of God, before whom they have been guilty of the extermination of Angels, they ought

to blush before the other Angels, and refrain from an exposure of the head, not to be made even to the eyes of men."

These and many other similar declarations prove that the Christian Fathers believed in the actual existence and power of the polytheistic Deities, as fully as any of their worshippers had ever done; the only difference was that one regarded their influence as malignant, and the other as beneficent. The Bishop of Nyssa, in his *Life of Gregory Thaumaturgus*, relates the following story: Once, when Gregory was on a journey, he was obliged to take shelter for the night in one of the temples famous for oracles and divination, where the Demons were accustomed to appear visibly to the priests. Gregory, by invoking the name of Jesus, and making the sign of the cross, expelled them, and purified the place; so that when the priest came in the morning, to perform the customary rites, he could obtain none of the usual signs of their presence. At last, they informed him that they had been driven out the night before, by a stranger, and had not power to return. The priest offered expiatory sacrifices, but it was all in vain. Upon this, he pursued Gregory in great wrath, and overtaking him on the road, made use of violent threats. Gregory told him he possessed a power superior to Demons, and that he could drive them out whenever he pleased. The priest begged him to give proof of this power, by causing them to appear again in the temple. He consented; and wrote on a scrap of papyrus: "Gregory to Satan: enter!" As soon as the priest laid these words on the altar, the Demons made their appearance; and this miracle converted him to Christianity.

It was a common opinion with the Fathers that every magician had an attendant Evil Spirit, who came when summoned, obeyed his commands, and taught him ceremonies, and forms of words, by which he was enabled to do supernatural things. In this way, they were accustomed to account for miracles performed by Gentiles and heretics. They also state that Jews could cast out devils,

by invoking the name of God, provided it was spoken in Hebrew.

But the power to cast out devils is often alleged by them as one of the most convincing proofs of Christianity. Tertullian says: "If Christians were to retire from the Roman empire, where would be your protection against the devils, who make such havoc with your souls and bodies? It would be a sufficient piece of revenge if they should thus leave you open to the uncontrolled possession of Evil Spirits."

Justin Martyr, in his Apology, says to the people of Rome: "That the kingdom of Evil Spirits has been destroyed by Jesus, you may, even at the present time convince yourselves, by what passes before your own eyes. For many of us Christians have healed, and still continue to heal, in every part of the world, and in your city, numbers possessed of Evil Spirits, such as could not be healed by other exorcists, simply by adjuring them in the name of Jesus Christ."

Irenæus says: "All who are true disciples of Jesus, receive grace from him, and work miracles in his name. Some cast out devils, so that those from whom they are ejected often turn believers and continue in the church; others have visions, and a knowledge of future events; others heal the sick by merely laying their hands upon them. Even the dead have been raised, and have afterward lived many years among us. It is impossible to reckon up all the mighty works, which the church performs every day, to the benefit of nations; neither deceiving, nor making a gain of any, but freely bestowing what it has freely received." Again, speaking of raising the dead, he says: "It has been frequently performed on necessary occasions, when by great fasting, and joint supplications of the church of that place, the spirit of the dead person returned into him again, and the man was given back to the prayers of the saints." Theophilus, Bishop of Antioch, cotemporary with Irenæus, though younger, was challenged by his friend Autolyous, an eminent Roman, to

produce one person actually raised from the dead, and he would himself turn Christian; but the answer of Theophilus implied that he could not furnish one satisfactory instance.

Origen says: "By prayers and the repetition of passages of Scripture, we drive Devils before us, out of men and beasts. This is not done by any magical arts, but by prayer alone, and plain adjurations, or exorcisms, which any simple Christian may perform; for common and illiterate laymen are generally the actors in these cases." "The miracles that began with the preaching of Jesus were multiplied after his ascension, and then decreased; but remains of them still continue with a few, whose souls are cleansed by the Word, and a life conformable to it." Some by a miraculous power, received through faith in Christ, heal the sick, by invoking over them the name of God, or of Jesus, with a recital of some story from his life. I have myself seen many difficult cases so healed: insanity, madness, and innumerable other evils, which neither men nor demons could cure." "There still remain among Christians many indications of that Holy Spirit, which was seen in the shape of a dove. For they cast out devils, perform many cures, and foresee things to come, according to the will of the Divine Word. Many people have been converted to Christianity, as it were against their wills, by the Spirit giving a sudden turn to their minds, and offering visions to them, either by day or by night; so that instead of hating the Word, they became ready even to lay down their lives for it. I have seen many examples of this sort. Should I only relate such as were transacted in my own presence, I should expose myself to the loud laughter of unbelievers, who imagine that we, like the rest, whom they suspect of forging such things, are also imposing our forgeries upon them. But God is my witness that my sole purpose is to recommend the religion of Jesus, not by fictitious tales, but by clear and evident facts."

Visions and prophetic gifts are mentioned as of common occurrence. Justin Martyr says: "There are prophetic

gifts among us at this day, and both men and women indued with extraordinary powers by the Spirit of God."

Tertullian says the greater part of converts came to the knowledge of the true God by means of visions. In an argument to prove that women ought to wear veils, he mentions a sister of the Church, to whom an angel, in a dream, revealed the proper length and breadth of the veil.

Cyprian says: "Besides visions of the night, even boys among us are filled with the Holy Ghost, and in fits of ecstasy, see, hear, and speak things by which the Lord thinks fit to instruct us."

The Fathers acknowledge that skilful magicians, by aid of Evil Spirits, could perform similar miracles; being able to infuse into people whatever dreams or visions they thought fit. Justin Martyr, addressing the Roman people, says: "Let their magical power to call up ghosts, especially of boys, and of those who died in some violent manner, convince you that the souls of men exist after death."

The general tendency to view things in a supernatural light is indicated by the following circumstance, which Cyprian considered so remarkable, that he deemed it necessary to assure his readers he himself witnessed it. Certain parents, who fled hastily in time of persecution, left an infant in the care of a nurse. She carried it to the place where the people assembled to sacrifice, and the officiating priests gave the child some remains of what had been offered to the gods; consisting of bread dipped in wine. The mother returned soon after, and carried the babe with her to the Christian Sacrament. "Being mingled with the saints, it was seized with fits of crying, with tortures of mind, as if it had been upon the rack; betraying all the signs its tender age could give of a consciousness of guilt. When the deacon offered the cup of wine, the infant, by a divine instinct, turned away, and shut its lips close. When he poured a little down its throat, by force, convulsions and vomitings ensued. The consecrated portion of the Lord's blood could not stay in a body and mouth so defiled. So

great is the power and majesty of the Lord! The secrets of darkness are detected by its light; for this happened to an infant too young to tell the crime practised upon it."

Irenæus says many in his day received the gift of tongues, and were heard to speak all kinds of languages in the church. He himself did not receive that gift; for being appointed Bishop in Gaul, he complains that one of the greatest obstructions in the way of his usefulness was the necessity of learning a barbarous dialect before he could communicate with his people.

Among innumerable miracles recorded is the following, wrought by Narcissus, who was Bishop of Jerusalem, about the end of the second century. During the vigil of Easter, the oil in the lamps was nearly exhausted, and the people were greatly troubled. The bishop ordered those who had charge of the lamps to draw water from a neighbouring well and bring it to him. He prayed over it, and then told them to pour it into the lamps with sincere faith in Christ. They did so, "and by a miraculous and divine power, the water was changed to oil." Eusebius recorded this in his Ecclesiastical History, a hundred years after; and he says that "numbers of the faithful still preserved small quantities of the oil."

In some cases, the stories of miracles performed by Gentiles, in the course of being repeated year after year, came to be transferred to the Christians. In the year one hundred and seventy-four, when the army of Marcus Aurelius was expecting an attack from the enemy, the blazing sun shone full in the faces of the soldiers, who were perishing with thirst, in consequence of a long continued drought. In this extremity, the emperor stretched forth his hands to implore aid from Jupiter, saying: "This hand, which has never yet shed human blood, I raise to thee!" This act of devotion was followed by an abundant shower of rain, to allay their thirst, succeeded by a tempest, which terrified their enemies. The Romans gained the victory, and ascribed it to the emperor's prayer to "Jupiter, god of gods." Marcus Aurelius commemorated the event by a medal, on which Jupiter was

represented hurling thunderbolts at the barbarian troops, many of whom lay stretched on the ground. There were also paintings in the temples, in which the emperor was represented in the attitude of prayer, while his soldiers caught the refreshing shower in their helmets. There were doubtless Christians in his army, and it is not unlikely that they crossed themselves, and prayed to their God, while others were invoking the aid of Jupiter. Perhaps Tertullian might have heard some of them say so, and have taken it for granted that only *their* prayers had any efficacy on the occasion; or he might have assumed that the phrase "God of gods," though commonly applied to Jupiter, must necessarily mean Jehovah. Giving an account of the event, in after years, he says: "Marcus Aurelius, during the German expedition, obtained, through prayers offered to God by Christian soldiers, showers of rain, in a time of thirst. When has not the land been delivered from drought by our genuflexions and fasts? In such cases, the very people who cried to the 'God of gods,' gave *our* God the glory, under the name of Jupiter." He states that the twelfth legion of the army was entirely composed of Christians, who fell on their knees and prayed to God. Thunder and rain were sent in answer to their prayers; in consequence of which the emperor named them "The Thundering Legion," ceased to persecute the Christians, and published an edict threatening with severe penalties those who accused them on account of their religion. But the severe persecution of Christians took place three years after the miracle; the twelfth legion had always been called The Thundering Legion, from the time of the emperor Augustus; and the medals and paintings prove that the emperor believed the rain was sent by Jupiter, in answer to his prayer.

A great number of miracles were ascribed to making the sign of the cross. It is not possible to ascertain at what period this custom was introduced into Christianity. There is no allusion to it in the writings of the Apostles; but it is conspicuous in those of the very early Fathers. It has been already stated that devotees of India have a perpen-

dicular line and a horizontal line marked on their foreheads; being, in their religion, types of the generative principle in universal nature. Egyptians had a sacred emblem formed by the same lines; and, to express the same idea, they called it the Emblem of Life. It was used by them as a talisman to protect them from evil. Its universality is indicated by its frequent recurrence in all the religious and domestic scenes, represented in their palaces, temples, and tombs. When the early Christians saw this hieroglyphic symbol marked everywhere on Egyptian monuments, they inquired its meaning, and were very much impressed when told that it was the Emblem of Life. In their minds this signification was immediately associated with the cross of Christ. As they considered the brazen serpent of Moses typical of Christ, they would be likely to be still more struck with the fact that the Egyptian cross, twined with a serpent, signified Immortal Life. Whether the Egyptians of their time were in the habit of signing themselves with this ancient talisman is not recorded, so far as I am aware. Sir G. Wilkinson, in his valuable work on Egypt, states that he saw several tombs of the early Christians in that country inscribed with the Egyptian cross; which is easily distinguished from the Christian, by the fact that the perpendicular line did not extend above the horizontal one. He says: "I can attest that numerous inscriptions headed by this symbol are preserved to the present day on early Christian monuments." Tertullian says: "The Devil, who makes it his business to pervert the truth, imitates the divine sacraments by idolatrous mysteries. If I rightly remember, the God Mithras makes the sign of the cross upon the foreheads of his worshippers." Whatever may have been the origin of the custom, the cross was universally used as a talisman against evil among the Christians, as it had been among the ancient Egyptians. It was believed to have miraculous power to cast out devils, to cure diseases, to counteract poison, and protect from accidents. It formed a part of the ceremony in baptism, marriage, the Lord's Supper, and the ordination of the

clergy. Christians always made the sign of the cross on the occasion of any sudden surprise, or whenever they were obliged to be present while others sacrificed to the gods; as was the case with those who served in the army. Supposing that the popular deities actually came, in answer to invocations and sacrifices, and believing them to be evil, they were particularly cautious to render their presence powerless by the sign of the cross. Some had it marked on their foreheads; probably as a perpetual protection against evil, whether conscious of its presence or not. Tertullian says: "At every setting out, or entry upon business, whenever we come in or go out from any place, when we dress for a journey, when we go into a bath, when we go to meat, when the candles are brought in, when we lie down, or sit down, and whatever business we have, we make on our foreheads the sign of the cross." Justin Martyr says the sea could not be passed, if sails were not suspended on a cross, and the earth could not be tilled if spades were not in that form. "Neither diggers nor artificers could do their work, except by instruments of that shape. The form of man differs in nothing else from other animals, but in the erectness of the body, and the extension of the arms, which shows nothing else but the figure of the cross." He says: "When the son of Nun, called Jesus [in Hebrew Joshua] led the people to battle, Moses employed himself in prayer, with his hands stretched out in the form of a cross. As long as he continued in that posture, Amalek was beaten; but when he remitted, Israel suffered. This was owing to the power of the cross. The people did not conquer because Moses prayed; but because the name of Jesus was at the head of the battle, and Moses was exhibiting the figure of the cross."

It has been shown in the first volume that it was a custom among all nations of antiquity to commemorate the death of a relative, by assembling at his grave, on the anniversary of his departure from this world. They dressed the tomb with flowers, offered oblations for the soul of the deceased, implored his protection and aid in their under-

takings, and employed priests to offer sacrifices and prayers. At the sepulchres of kings and heroes, these ceremonies were observed with an unusual degree of expense and splendour; as is proved by Virgil's elaborate description of the honours paid by Æneas to the soul of his father. It was universally considered a great misfortune to leave no posterity to perform such rites. The same human feelings, which originally led to this custom, in all parts of the world, prompted Christians also to adopt it. Those among them, who had lost a relative, went to the church on the anniversary of his death, and laid a gift on the altar in his name, to signify that he was still a member of Christ's church, though his body was absent. They also partook of the Lord's Supper in token of continued fellowship with him; and the bishop, before administering the bread and wine, prayed for peace to the soul of the deceased. Tertullian says: "The widow prays for the soul of her departed husband, and begs refreshment for him in his intermediate state, and to be a partner with him in the first resurrection, and offers an oblation for him every year, on the day of his death." In another place, addressing a widower, he speaks of "her for whose soul you pray, and commend, to God, through the priest, when you offer the annual oblation." Martyrs, who were the kings and heroes of the Christian church, were honoured with peculiarly solemn observances. All the members of the church to which they had belonged on earth assembled annually at their tombs. The clergy offered prayers, thanking the Lord for the example his saints had given to the world. Eulogies were pronounced, recounting the holy deeds and sayings of the deceased, their sufferings, and courageous death. The Lord's supper was administered, and the rites concluded with a distribution of gifts to the poor. These anniversaries were beautifully called, "The Birth Days of the Martyrs;" to signify that when they died, they were born into everlasting life. Romans had a time-honoured Festival, called the Parentalia, on which prayers were said, and oblations offered by all the people, for the souls of their

ancestors. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Bishop of Neocæsarea, early in the third century, thinking to increase the number of his proselytes by accommodation to popular customs, substituted on the same day, a Festival in honour of All the Martyrs, the spiritual ancestors of the church. Gentile nations were universally accustomed to offer to the gods, on such occasions, sacrifices of animals, or human beings. Christians had abrogated such customs, but preserved the idea of sacrifice in another form. The administration of the Lord's Supper was said to be a renewed sacrifice of his body and his blood, every time the ceremony was performed; and in thus offering up the Son of God himself, they offered a sacrifice superior to thousands of oxen and ten thousands of rams. Expressions used by Cyprian indicate that this idea was inculcated in his day. Customs which originate in tender and devout feelings change their character when they become traditionary observances. The Festivals of the Martyrs gradually lost their simplicity, and the affectionate reverence which gathered up and cherished their remains, gave place to faith in the power of their relics to work miracles. Even during the lifetime of Tertullian, the honours paid to martyrs seemed to him so excessive as to need rebuke.

The capacity for belief in those times was wonderfully great. Justin Martyr repeats the Jewish tradition that king Ptolemy sent to Jerusalem for seventy Rabbins, and shut them up in seventy separate cells, to translate the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. When the translations were compared, they were found not to vary from each other in a single word; "which is a demonstration that they were guided by divine inspiration." As proof of the story, he affirms that the seventy cells had been pointed out to him. Irenæus tells the same story, and likewise asserts that the Hebrew Scriptures were utterly destroyed during the captivity in Babylon, and restored seventy years afterward by Ezra, whom God inspired expressly for the purpose.

The predictions of Sibyls were held in great reverence

among the Romans, and the credulity of the people was often imposed upon by spurious productions bearing that name. These the emperors from time to time caused to be collected and destroyed; but the genuine Sibylline books were preserved in golden chests in the Temple of Apollo, and consulted only on important state occasions. Some of the early Christians, in their zeal to gain influence over the minds of men, wrote predictions concerning Christ, and passed them off as the genuine utterance of the ancient Sibyls. One of these Sibyls informs her readers that she was a daughter-in-law of Noah, and was with him in the Ark. Some of the prophecies were "merely the Mosaic history written in Greek hexameters." One described the miracles of Jesus, whom it mentioned by name, and foretold that there would be an eclipse at the time of his crucifixion, that he would rise from the dead, and show his hands and feet to his disciples. Another, purporting to be composed by the famous Erythræan Sibyl, in the sixth century after the Deluge, was written in the form of an acrostic; the first letters of the lines forming the words, Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. Another Sibyl says: "The Son of God shall come clothed in flesh, made like to men on earth, and shall have in his name four vowels and two consonants;" which was the case with the name of Jesus in Greek. Another prophesied that Rome would be utterly destroyed in one hundred ninety-five. These fragments, after floating round for a considerable time, were collected into a book some time in the second century, under the title of Sibylline Oracles. In many of them the imposture is so very thinly veiled, that it is surprising they should have gained credence even with the most unreflecting. Nevertheless, they were often and triumphantly quoted by the Fathers, as evidence all the more valuable, because it came from the prophets of a religion opposed to Christianity. Justin Martyr speaks of them as written by divine inspiration. Alluding to the custom of keeping the Sibylline Books locked up in the Temple of Apollo, he says: "The Demons contrived to make it a capital crime

in order to keep men in subjection to themselves and prevent them from coming to the knowledge of what is good. But they were not able to effect it; for we do not bind them freely without fear, but offer them as a poor present: knowing that they will be found accounted to all. Clement of Alexandria likewise speaks of men as inspired by the same God who inspired the Hebrew Prophets.

Irenæus said he was told by those who had it from the Apostles themselves, that Enoch and Elijah were translated into that very Paradise from which Adam was expelled, to remain there till Christ came to judge the world; and that it was the same place into which Paul was caught up. This idea prevailed among all the Fathers, who received it as apostolical doctrine, on the strength of tradition. Some supposed that the souls of deceased Christians waited there till the second coming of Christ. Cyprian seems to have entertained this opinion. Because Christ said of John: "What if I will that he tarry till I come?" some supposed that John did not die, but was taken up into the same Paradise, to wait with Elijah for the coming of the Lord; and that they would both descend upon the earth to prepare the way before him, by preaching against Anti-Christ.

Irenæus likewise declares that the Apostle John gave his disciple Papias the following description of the millennium, in the very words which he had received from Christ himself, and that Papias taught it to him: "The days shall come in which there shall grow vineyards, having each ten thousand stems; each stem ten thousand branches; each branch ten thousand shoots; each shoot ten thousand bunches; each bunch ten thousand grapes; each grape will yield twenty-five measures of wine; and when any of the saints shall go to pluck a bunch, another bunch will cry out, I am better. Take me, and bless the Lord for me. A grain of wheat will bear ten thousand stalks; each stalk ten thousand grains; each grain will make ten thousand pounds of the finest flour." Irenæus endeavours to sustain this by quotations from various Hebrew prophets, and from the Apoca-

types of John. He maintains that it is not to be understood allegorically, but that it will be literally fulfilled in the earthly Jerusalem. All the descriptions of Canaan, as a land abounding with grapes, and "flowing with milk and honey," he applied to the reign of Christ on earth. He quotes the promise to Abraham: "All the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed forever. Walk through the land, in the length and the breadth of it; for I will give it unto thee." He says: "If an earthly Canaan was meant, this prophecy was never fulfilled; since Abraham himself never owned a foot of land, and his posterity were always faithless or unhappy, and never possessed but a very small point of the habitable earth. Therefore, all the descriptions of fertility and delight must refer to the earth restored and renovated for the elect, who are to reign upon it with the Messiah at his second coming."

The description, which Papias represented as coming from the mouth of Christ, was evidently borrowed from the Talmud; but it was received, on his authority, as an Apostolic tradition, and generally adopted by the early Fathers. They did not, however, all take equally material views on the subject. Even Tertullian, though he luxuriates in highly-coloured pictures of the millennial reign, admits that its highest happiness would consist in spiritual blessings. The spiritual-minded Origen zealously opposed the prevailing tendency to sensual views on this subject, by giving an allegorical interpretation to those texts which were generally thought to support it. He complains of some "slaves of the letter, whose imaginations revelled in a carnal resurrection and millennium, including eating, drinking, and marrying." On the contrary, Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, wrote a book in defence of the literal interpretation, from which he drew what he considered satisfactory proof of the earthly luxuries and delights that would characterize the Messiah's kingdom. This book was seized with avidity, and became a favourite study with polemical writers. But though the nature of the happiness in the millennial reign was a contested point, all believed

in it, in some form or other; all supposed that the struggle with Jewish and Gentile religions would continue till then; all believed that Christ would come in person, and render his church triumphant on this earth; and all had full faith that the great event was nigh at hand.

Christians of Gentile origin were prepared for the reception of such a doctrine, by the ancient and universal idea concerning a Golden Age in the Future; while Jewish converts brought with them into Christianity strong faith in similar predictions by the old Hebrew Prophets, which the Talmud overloaded with details. The near approach of the event was likewise sustained by preconceived opinions, both among Jews and Gentiles. In the reign of Augustus, there was a general idea prevailing that the Golden Age described by so many poets, and predicted in the Sacred Books of so many nations, was about to be realized. Tacitus and Suetonius both allude to a prediction, vaguely purporting to come from Sacred Books, that the East should prevail, and that those who should come out of Judea would possess the world. Both those historians considered the prophecy fulfilled by Vespasian, who was chosen emperor while he was in Judea, a few years after the death of Christ, when the empire of Rome comprised nearly all the civilized world. Josephus, the Jewish historian, maintained the same idea; but Christians applied it to the birth of Jesus, which occurred when the prophecy was generally believed to be near its fulfilment; a coincidence calculated to make a strong impression on Greek and Roman converts. The Jews commonly considered the creation of the world a type of its duration. The Psalmist says, "a thousand years are with God as one day;" and, therefore, according to the usual mode of Rabbinical interpretation, they concluded that the six *days* of creation indicated six thousand *years* of earthly labour and suffering, and that the following day of rest was a type of the one thousand years the Messiah would reign on earth. They had a tradition that a prophecy to that effect had been uttered by Elijah. Christians of the first centuries were acquainted with the

Old Testament only through the medium of the Greek translation called the Septuagint. In that version, the creation was dated two thousand years further back than it was in the Hebrew versions. Consequently, the Fathers computed that nearly six thousand years had elapsed between the creation of the world and the birth of Christ: thence they came to the conclusion that the end of all things was at hand. Corroborations of this opinion were brought from Daniel, and Matthew, and Peter, and Paul, and the mysterious predictions of the Apocalypse. It was supposed that human misery would be at its height just before this glorious period; therefore, every war, famine, pestilence, earthquake, or eclipse, was regarded as a precursor of the great event, and was used as a text to urge men to prepare themselves for a place in the Messiah's kingdom.

The resurrection of the body was absolutely necessary for the enjoyment of such a kingdom as Christ was generally expected to establish at Jerusalem. The old Jewish idea had confined it to their nation only; but when Christians found numerous proselytes among the Gentiles, they taught that all the faithful followers of Christ would share the glory and bliss of his earthly reign, from which those who remained Jews would be excluded. A day of universal resurrection is described in the Persian Zend-Avesta; but nothing similar to it occurs in the Hebrew Sacred Books. In the latter times Nachmanides, a Jewish Rabbi, taught that there would be two resurrections from the dead; one a special resurrection, for those who were to live again on the earth during the reign of the Messiah; another general resurrection, at the end of the thousand years, when the whole world would rise to receive final judgment. This idea of a universal resurrection does not appear to have passed into general belief until after the time of Christ. In the Book of Revelations, the Martyrs and Saints are described as descending from heaven with Christ, and reigning with him for a thousand years; "but the rest of the dead lived not again till the thousand years were finished. This is the first resurrection." Then an-

other resurrection is described in which all the dead stand before God, and are judged out of the Book of Life.

This idea of a first and second resurrection was universally received by the Christian Fathers; and the thousand years with Christ on earth were supposed to be a preparation for a higher state of spiritual perfection and enjoyment in realms above. Many of them entertained another idea which seems to have grown out of some admixture with the Cabalistic notions concerning Adam Kadman, or the First Adam, who was to appear again on earth as the Messiah, or second Adam. They supposed that before the Fall, the body of Adam was immortal as well as his soul; that if he had not eaten of the forbidden fruit, death would not have been introduced into the world; that in consequence of his disobedience, the souls as well as the bodies of all the human race became subject to death; that it was necessary for the Logos to assume a human form in order to restore immortality; and without his intervention, all mankind must have remained forever in their graves. The circumstance of his resurrection was the ground on which they based their own hopes that their bodies would rise from the dead. They urged this doctrine more earnestly and prominently than any other; and among the numerous sects that arose none were so odious to the infant church, as those whose theories involved a denial of bodily resurrection. Origen manifested the usual tendencies of his mind on this subject. He made a distinction between the material body and the spiritual body. He did not think the covering of flesh would rise again; but the interior substance lying at the foundation of the body he supposed would be quickened at the resurrection, would unite with the soul, and receive additional glory from its perfected character. In every way, the Fathers manifested and taught undoubting faith on this subject. The general custom of wailing and mourning at funerals was entirely discountenanced by them. When pestilence swept away great numbers at Carthage, Cyprian said to his church: "We may long after them, as we do for those who have

sailed on a distant voyage; but we ought not to lament them; since we know they are not lost, but merely sent before us. We may not put on dark robes of mourning here, when they above have already put on the white robes of glory. We, who abide in Christ, who through him and in him rise again, why do we not ourselves wish to depart out of this world? Why are we not in haste to see our country and home, to greet our elders? There await us a multitude of those whom we love; fathers, brothers, and children, who are secure already of their own salvation, and concerned only for ours. What mutual joy to them and to us, when we come to their embrace!" It was supposed that all except the Martyrs awaited the resurrection in some intermediate state, where they could be benefited by the prayers and oblations offered for them on earth. This belief formed a strong bond between the living and the dead.

Many stories were in circulation at that time concerning a large bird with golden plumage, who, when he found himself near his end, built a funeral pyre and burned himself, but immediately rose from his ashes, with renovated youth and beauty. This account of the Phoenix, which was probably an allegory, somehow connected with Egyptian worship, was often alluded to by Greek and Roman authors. The Christian Fathers, and many other people, believed there really was such a bird. Clement of Rome referred to it as a type and proof of the resurrection of the body. Later Fathers adduce the extraordinary habits of the Phoenix for the same purpose; and some of them declare that God created that wonderful bird on purpose to refute the incredulity of the Gentiles on that subject.

There was still greater facility in believing marvellous accounts from a Jewish source. It was a current tradition among the Jews, and is stated by Josephus, that before the Fall, animals could talk, and men could understand their language. In this way, they accounted for the conversation between Eve and the serpent, which was supposed to have walked erect upon two legs, before the curse was

pronounced upon him. These opinions were also entertained by the early Fathers. Whether Eve was created in Paradise, or out of it, was a subject of much controversy among them. All agreed that Adam was created out of it. Some inquired why woman, who was the less noble creature of the two, should have been created within Paradise; others supposed the distinction was no more than a just tribute to the superior beauty and purity of woman. Whether Eve's sin was greater than Adam's was another controverted point. They generally inclined to the opinion that hers must have been less, because she was not created at the time of the prohibition, and therefore could not have heard it. Their construction of Scripture was sometimes exceedingly literal. Justin Martyr, in controversy with a Jew, endeavoured to prove that it could not have been God the Father who rained down fire and brimstone, because he could not have been in heaven at that time; it being declared in Genesis that the Lord came down to inquire whether Sodom and Gomorrah were as bad as they had been represented to him.

Clement of Alexandria says: "A woman ought not to look in a mirror, because by making an image of herself she violates the commandment, which forbids making the likeness of anything in heaven above, or on the earth beneath." On the other hand there was an extreme tendency to allegorical interpretation. All the patriarchs were regarded as types of the Messiah, and all the Jewish rites as symbolical. These explanations seem to have been arbitrary with each individual; not guided by any rules, or formed into any system. Justin Martyr says: "God by his grace revealed to me all that I know from the Scriptures." Appealing to certain Jews, with whom he was engaged in controversy, he says: "Do you think, O men, that I should have been able to understand these things in the Scriptures, if I had not received the grace to know them, by the will of Him who wills these things?" He explained the Tree of Life in Paradise, the miraculous rod of Moses, and the sticks that Jacob laid before

Laban's cattle, as symbolical of the cross of Christ. Clement of Rome says Rahab's hanging a scarlet thread from her window was typical of man's redemption by the blood of Christ. Irenæus says those animals pronounced clean by the Mosaic Law, because they divide the hoof and chew the cud, were figurative of Christians, who believe in the Father and the Son, which is their double hoof; and because they meditate day and night on the laws of God, which is chewing the cud. Gentiles do neither, and are therefore unclean. Jews chew the cud, but do not divide the hoof, therefore they are unclean.

But the literal interpretation was applied to Isaiah's prophecy, understood to refer to the Messiah; describing him "with no form or comeliness: when we shall see him there is no beauty that we should desire him." Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian took this for a description of Christ's personal appearance, and were accustomed to speak of him as "without form or comeliness." Tertullian, controverting with the Jews, says: "Christ was not even comely, or well proportioned. His body was neither of divine brightness, or human comeliness." Elsewhere, he speaks of "his unhonoured form, faulty above all men." Grecian and Roman writers, accustomed to conceive of radiant, ethereal deities, and to see them embodied in graceful and majestic statues, reproached Christians with maintaining a monstrous doctrine, in supposing that a Divine Spirit *could* enter a mean, ill-proportioned form. Origen, in reply, endeavoured to soften Isaiah's prediction, by saying it merely meant the absence of preëminent beauty.

Although the reverential feeling was deep and sincere, the modes of expression were sometimes extremely homely and familiar. Mark having described the townsmen of Jesus as asking, "Is not this the carpenter?" the Fathers inferred therefrom that he worked with Joseph, at his trade, up to the time of his entrance upon his public ministry. Justin Martyr says Jesus helped Joseph to make yokes and ploughs; and an ancient author is quoted, who

says in his time they still showed the yokes which he had made. In the early times of the church, there are no traces of adoration paid to the mother of Jesus. Irenæus, in some of his writings, draws a parallel between her and Eve, and supposes her to be in heaven, interceding with God for the fallen mother of mankind. Tertullian intimates that Mary was not convinced of the divine mission of her son; that she partook of the incredulity which Luke ascribes to his relatives. He adds: "His mother is shown not to have adhered to him, when Martha, and the other Marys, were in frequent communication with him."

Matthew calls Jesus the "first born" of Mary; an expression which implies that there were younger members of her family. He also records that when Jesus, after the commencement of his public ministry, returned to his own part of the country, and taught in the synagogue there, the people were astonished at his wisdom, and inquired: "Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary? And his brethren, James, and Joses, and Simon, and Judas, and his sisters, are they not all with us?" Mark also describes his neighbours, on the same occasion, as asking: "Is not this the carpenter? the son of Mary, the brother of James, and Joses, and Juda, and Simon? And are not his sisters here with us?" Paul also, when he describes his visit to Jerusalem, speaks of "James the Lord's brother" as one of the chief apostles in the church there. Elsewhere, he alludes to Peter, and other apostles, "and the brethren of the Lord," as accompanied in their travels by "a wife, a sister." From this Scriptural testimony, the early Fathers inferred that Jesus was the eldest of several children. An early tradition, handed down by them, describes James the Less, "brother of the Lord," as so nearly resembling him in form, features, and deportment, that "Mary herself, had she been capable of error, might have mistaken one for the other." It was said this exact likeness made it necessary for Judas to designate Jesus by a kiss, when he betrayed him to his enemies. But after the doctrine of the incarnation of the Logos began to be promi-

ment, it seems to have given rise to an idea that the dignity and purity of Mary, as Mother of the Word of God, would have been impaired by her having other children. Origen and Tertullian account for the mention of brothers and sisters, by supposing that Joseph was a widower, with children, at the time he was married to Mary.

Origen says: "In some things, philosophy agrees with the Law of God; in others it is contrary to it. Many of the philosophers say there is One God, who made all things; and some of them have added that God made and governs all things by his Logos," [Word]. Justin Martyr was the earliest among the Fathers who distinctly taught that Christ was the Logos. It was the general opinion among them that all the Apostles were ignorant of Christ's divinity, until after the Holy Ghost descended upon them at Pentecost; and that when they became aware of it, they made very slight allusions to it, as he himself had done, from prudential motives. Origen says: "The Jews thought Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary; and they would not have believed him if he had said he was the son of Mary only." Concerning the Christian Scriptures, he says: "John alone introduced the knowledge of the eternity of Christ to the minds of the Fathers." "John was himself transformed into God, and so became partaker of the truth; and then pronounced that the Word was in God from the beginning." "Since Christ lives in John, he says to Mary, concerning him, Behold thy son, Christ himself."

The doctrine of the Logos was as yet in an unsettled state, and its inculcation involved the Fathers in many perplexities. Jewish converts were extremely jealous of the unity of Jehovah, taught by the prophets of so many centuries. From the time of Socrates, the idea of One God had also been gaining ground among the more reflecting class of Grecian and Roman minds. Christian teachers, in their efforts to convert polytheistic worshippers, urged that doctrine more earnestly than any other; constantly asserting that it was impious to associate any companion with God, in the creation and government of the universe.

Minutius Felix, who wrote in the year two hundred and thirty, proves that the idea had then taken strong hold of the popular mind. He says: "I listen to the common people when they raise their hands toward heaven. They say nothing but God; God is great; God is true; if God wills." Tertullian and Cyprian express the same. It required some caution to teach the doctrine of the Logos, without shocking those who revered the Divine Unity, and at the same time to guard against the idea that Christ ought to be worshipped as God. The old emanation theories, which pervaded nearly all religions and philosophies, taught that each successive emanation was inferior to the preceding. All religions which taught the existence of The Word, as a Great Primal Spirit, represented him as secondary to the Supreme. This idea of the subordination of the Logos was used by the early Fathers to quiet the uneasiness of those who were jealous concerning the unity of God; and on the other hand to guard against the worship of Christ as God. All the early Fathers taught that the Logos was inferior to God, employed by him as an agent in making and preserving the world. Origen says: "Care must be taken that no derivative being is the object of prayer; no, not Christ himself; but only the God and Father of the universe, to whom our Saviour himself prayed, and taught us to pray." Tertullian says: "God was not always a Father or a Judge; since he could not be a Father before he had a Son, nor a Judge before there was any sin; and there was a time when the Son and sin were not." Again he says: "I may venture to assert that God, before the formation of the universe, was not absolutely alone; as he then had reason within himself, and in reason speech, which he could make a second principle from himself, by acting within himself." To explain the doctrine metaphorically, they said Christ was like a torch lighted at the fire: the torch was the same as the fire, but it did not diminish it. But this explanation brought upon them the charge of teaching a plurality of Gods; for the people at once replied: "Then there are two separate fires." To

avoid this appearance of duality, the teachers were obliged to be very careful not to use illustrations which implied separation between the Father and the Son. They compared Christ to a branch from a root; a river from a spring; a ray from the sun. Tertullian says: "As the branch is not separated from the root, the river from its fountain, or the ray from the sun, so the Word is not separated from God." "This ray of God, passing into a certain virgin, became flesh in her womb, and was born a man, mixed with God. The flesh, animated by the Spirit, was nourished, grew up, spoke, taught, operated, and was Christ." "I do not call the ray the sun, and thus make two suns; but I say the sun and his beam are two things, and two species of one undivided substance." Notwithstanding these precautions, he complains that they were charged with not preserving the unity of God. He says: "The simple, the ignorant, and the unlearned, who are always the greater part of the body of Christians, because the Rule of Faith transfers the worship of many gods to One true God, imagine that this number and disposition of a Trinity is a division of the Unity. They therefore will have it that we are worshippers of two gods, and even of three gods; but that they are worshippers of one God only." All the Fathers believed that the Logos frequently appeared in a visible human form to the patriarchs and prophets.

Early controversies were not mingled with discussions concerning the Holy Ghost. The allusions to him are indefinite; as if the subject had not much occupied their thoughts. Origen represents him as subordinate to the Son; and calls him "The source of all the gracious gifts proceeding from God, communicated through Christ; the first begotten of the Father, through the Son."

It was the general opinion that Christ was exempt from all human appetites and passions. On this subject, they seem to have made some approach to the old Hindoo idea, that the incarnations of their deities were mere appearances, or phantoms. Clement of Alexandria says: "It would be ridiculous to suppose that the body of our Lord

had need of food for nourishment. He did not eat on account of his body, which was supported by a divine power; but lest those who conversed with him should suspect that he was merely the appearance of a man." Origen says: "As he always remained the Logos, it was impossible for him to feel any suffering, of the body or the soul." Damascenas says: "As the sunbeams are not hurt, when a tree on which it shines is cut down, so neither was the divinity of Christ affected when his flesh suffered."

It has been already stated that Jewish Cabalists taught that Adam Kadman contained within himself the types, or germs, of all succeeding existences; that some Jews believed he had appeared as the earthly Adam, and would again appear in the person of the Messiah. Tertullian entertained an idea somewhat analogous concerning the progenitor of the human race, in the Garden of Eden. He supposed that Adam had within himself the undeveloped germ of all mankind; that he was the fountain whence all human souls proceeded; that he was created capable of attaining to fellowship with God, and of inheriting immortality, without subjection to death; but having sinned by refusing to submit his will to the will of his Creator, he became subject to a sinful nature, and to death; and as all souls were contained in him, all became corrupted by his sin. Tertullian is said to have been the first among the Christian Fathers who taught this theory of the propagation of sin with souls.

There is no record that the Apostles baptized any but adults; but as early as the time of Irenæus, it was common for both grown people and their children to share in the rite. Tertullian was strongly opposed to infant baptism, on the ground that the need of salvation ought to be felt before the ordinance was administered; also that the remission of sins would be more needed at a later age. It was supposed that the water possessed a certain mysterious sanctifying power, whereby it washed away the stain of Adam's sin, and at the same time imparted a participation in the nature of Christ: so that when infants were baptized,

their human nature, while yet in the germ, was purified and protected from evil. Irenæus says: "As the parched earth cannot yield fruit without moisture, neither can we produce living fruit without the rain which is freely poured down from above; for through the Spirit our souls obtain communion with the imperishable Essence, and our bodies through baptism." There was a difference of opinion whether the rite should be administered to babes on the first, the third, or the eighth day after their birth. Some were in favour of the last, because it was the day on which Jesus was circumcised. But as Tertullian's doctrine concerning original sin gained ground in the church, it naturally suggested the idea that delay might be dangerous. Cyprian, in council with sixty-six bishops, decided in favour of the first day. "By descent from Adam, they have brought with them the infection of the old death," said he; "and we must do everything in our power that no soul may be lost." Origen, with his usual tendency to rise above material views, considered baptism as a symbol of the inward cleansing of the soul by the action of divine truth; though he thought that a sanctifying power was imparted to the water by the consecration pronounced over it. In the beginning, all Christians were regarded in the light of a priesthood dedicated to Jesus; therefore, consecrated oil, and the imposition of hands, were used at baptism, as they were in the ordination of the clergy. The sign of the cross was always made on the forehead, and a portion of salt administered, over which a blessing had been pronounced. In some places, the baptized tasted of milk and honey, symbolical of the spiritual Canaan to which he now belonged. In the days of the Apostles, it was merely necessary to signify belief in one God, and in Christ as the Messiah, in order to be baptized. But as converts increased, it was deemed necessary to prepare them by a course of previous instruction. During this period, they were called catechumens, from a Greek word meaning the catechised, or questioned. They were not allowed to be present when the Lord's Supper was administered, or to repeat

the Lord's prayer; because it was thought that only baptized lips were worthy to call God their Father. On the day of baptism, they wore white robes, symbolical of the spiritual purity to be obtained by the ceremony. It was performed by immersion in any lake, river, or pond, that was most convenient, and always in presence of the congregation. Those who were too ill to undergo this process, were sprinkled; but some doubted whether they could be entirely penetrated by the Holy Spirit, unless the water covered them. In the second century, the form was very simple. The candidate merely renounced the pageantry of polytheistic worship, in the following terms; "I renounce the Devil, his pomp, and the worship of his Spirits; and I am united to Christ. I believe in the resurrection of the dead." But after heretical sects increased, minute confessions of faith were drawn up, to guard against their errors. From the words of Christ, that a man could not enter the kingdom of God, unless he were "born of water and of the Spirit," it was inferred that no unbaptized person could be saved; except a martyr, who was supposed to be baptized in his blood. The Fathers, while they taught these doctrines zealously, strove to guard people against relying upon the mere external rite, by urging that faith was essential, in order to procure the promised benefits; but the populace were prone to attach a sort of magical virtue to the ceremony; deeming that by a sudden, mysterious process, it purified the body and regenerated the soul, and thus prepared them to become temples of the Lord by participation of the holy eucharist.

Irregularities, similar to those which Paul rebuked in the church at Corinth, early occasioned a separation between the Lord's Supper and the social meal with which it was at first connected. Members of the church gave the bread and wine to be used on the occasion, and this was regarded as a thank-offering to the Lord. Justin Martyr says: "The prayers and thanksgivings offered by worthy men are the only true sacrifices, well pleasing to God; and these alone have the Christians learned to offer." Irenæus

says: "It is not the offering that sanctifies the man; but if his conscience be pure, that sanctifies the offering, and induces God to receive it, as from a friend." Because Christ said, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," it was inferred that no person could be saved, unless he partook of the eucharist. The idea prevailed that Christ himself was infused into the participant; and it being the universal belief that all men must have remained in their graves, if the Logos had not taken a human form, and triumphed over death, this intimate union with him was deemed essential to secure a part in his resurrection. Ignatius calls the consecrated bread and wine, "an antidote against death, a medicine of immortality, enabling us to live forever in Jesus Christ." Alluding to certain sects, who abstained from the Lord's Supper, he says: "It were better for them to receive it, that through it they might one day rise again." Out of this view of the subject grew the general custom of administering it to infants. In some places, a daily participation of it was regarded as necessary to preserve a perpetual bond of union between Christ and the soul. After the morning devotions, every Christian, before he went to his usual avocations, partook of it with his family. Deacons carried it to those who were sick, or in prison. Sailors and travellers took it with them, lest they should die at a distance from the church, without partaking of the divine elements. It was used at the ordination of the clergy, at the conclusion of the marriage ceremony, and at solemnities in honour of the dead. In Tertullian's time, it had become customary for communicants to carry home portions of the consecrated bread, and lock it up in boxes for private use. The wine they were afraid to take; because if they spilled a drop of it, they regarded it the same as spilling the blood of Christ. As the Logos entered into a human body, and was sacrificed for the sins of mankind, so it was supposed that he each time entered into the bread and wine that represented his body, and was sacrificed anew. The language of Irenæus implies that this

was symbolical; but in process of time, it came to be represented as an actual sacrifice. Justin Martyr says: "We eat this not as common bread, and drink this not as common wine. But, as Jesus Christ, after having been made man, by the Logos of God, had flesh and blood, so we believe also that the food consecrated by his words has become the flesh and blood of the man Jesus." Origen says: "You who are allowed to partake in the Holy Mysteries, know how to keep, with all caution and care, the body of the Lord, which you receive, lest any part of the hallowed gift fall to the ground. You believe justly that you would bring guilt upon yourselves, if by negligence you dropped any part of it." Tertullian speaks of "feeding on the fatness of the Lord's body;" and of "our flesh feeding on the body and blood of Christ, in order that the soul may be fattened of God." Cyprian says: "The sacrifice of the body of Christ is always offered up for the Martyrs at their annual Festival." This doctrine is supposed by some to have occasioned the charge against Christians of eating human flesh. It was not discussed or explained before catechumens, but was reserved as a great mystery for the initiated. Clement of Alexandria quotes the words of Paul: "We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, even the hidden mystery;" and adds: "The Apostle here observes the prophetic and truly ancient concealment, whence the Grecian philosophers derived their excellent doctrines." Tertullian representing what would be the consequences if Christian widows should be induced to marry men of another religion, says: "You would thereby fall into this fault, that they would come to the knowledge of our Mysteries. For would not your husband know what you taste in secret, before eating any other food? And if he found it was bread, would he not imagine it was what is so much spoken of?" Spiritual communion with Christ was the idea most prominently urged. Origen considered the external rite as symbolical of the internal communication of the Divine Word, the true heavenly bread of the soul. He said all could partake of the outward supper, but only

the worthy recipient could receive the spiritual food, of which Christ said: "He that eateth of *this* bread shall live forever." But, in general, the external idea prevailed over the internal; and a certain supernatural power, resembling talismans and charms, was generally supposed to be imparted to the bread, by the ceremony of consecration. It was believed to have power to avert danger, and to expel devils from men and from haunted houses. Cyprian expressly teaches that no secrets could be hidden from it; an idea which was truly awful to delinquents belonging to the church. He tells of a man who, at some of the popular Festivals, had partaken of a banquet in honour of the gods, and afterward ventured to take a piece of the consecrated bread; but before he could convey the holy morsel to his polluted mouth, it turned to a living coal in his hand. He also tells of a woman who, having committed a similar offence, went to her private box to take a piece of the sacred bread, according to her daily custom; but flames burst forth, and prevented her.

As soon as a church was formed, it was necessary to appoint Presbyters or Elders, to preserve order; from this it naturally grew that the Presbyters of churches in large towns would take the lead at meetings to arrange the ecclesiastical affairs of a whole province. To these presiding elders was applied the Greek word *Episcopos*, meaning an Overseer or President; in English Bishop. Far into the second century, the terms Presbyter and Bishop were indiscriminately applied, and interchanged for each other. Tertullian frequently calls all who presided in Christian communities, whether Bishops or Presbyters, by the common title of Elders. But gradually the distinction of ranks in the church became more definitely marked. Cyprian went further on this subject than his predecessors had done; being probably urged thereto by the frequency of troublesome schisms. He declared that Christ communicated the Holy Ghost to his disciples; that the Apostles, by laying on their hands, communicated it to those whom they appointed to preside over Christian communities;

that these ordained bishops, by imposition of hands, imparted to their successors the holy gift they had received; and in this manner a perfect transmission of the Holy Ghost had continued, and would continue. Therefore, in all controversies, he maintained that there should be no appeal from the decision of the Bishop; that his authority was inviolable; and that whoever disputed it, impiously presumed to judge over the judgment of God and Christ. Consequently, all sects, or individuals, who separated themselves from the bishop, became thereby separated from Christ, and were deprived of the guidance of the Holy Ghost. He declared that he heard a Divine Voice saying to him: "He who believes not Christ, who appoints the priest, will be compelled to believe him when he avenges the priest." He habitually consulted with his presbyters concerning church affairs, and apologized when he departed from this rule. But on some occasions, he professed to receive immediate guidance from Heaven. Having ordained a reader, without calling his church together, as usual, to decide upon his fitness for the office, he said he did it by "a divine admonition." To a member who absented himself from the communion, and to certain priests, who absolved delinquents without authority from him, he said: "If you do not change your course, I will execute against you what I have been ordered to do." But though Cyprian took such high ground, he claimed for Christian communities the supreme right of deposing an unworthy bishop. As presbyters had been chosen by votes of the church, so bishops long continued to be elected by popular suffrage. Instances of it are recorded as late as the beginning of the fifth century.

It was natural that in cases of controversy concerning doctrine or discipline, reference should be made to the oldest churches; especially those that were believed to be established by the Apostles. Irenæus says: "If a dispute should arise about any matter, though but of little moment, ought we not to have recourse to the most ancient churches, in which the Apostles resided, and receive from them what

is certain and clear about the point in question?" Tertulian declared: "To know what the Apostles taught, that is, what Christ revealed to them, recourse must be had to the churches which they founded, and which they instructed, either by word of mouth, or by their epistles." "That is the true faith, which is the most ancient; and that is a corruption, which is modern." "We must not appeal to the Scriptures, or trust the merits of the cause with them; in which case there can be no victory, or an uncertain one."

The church at Jerusalem, founded forty days after the crucifixion, was said to have been guided by "James, the Lord's brother." It was therefore naturally regarded as the venerable Mother Church. It was consulted concerning the earliest difficulties that occurred, and was assisted by contributions from other communities. The church at Antioch was said to have been founded by Peter, the church at Ephesus by John, and the church at Alexandria by Mark. The only church in the West that claimed an apostolic foundation was that of Rome. She laid claim to two Apostles, and those the most renowned: Peter and Paul. Such was the tradition, even in the time of Irenæus, who speaks of it as "the church founded by the two most illustrious Apostles, and the most universally known." This assertion is not founded on any Scriptural account; on the contrary, evidence from that source seems rather against it. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, says: "I thank my God for you all, that your faith is spoken of throughout the whole world;" and he adds that he had often purposed to go to Rome, but had hitherto been hindered; from which it is evident that a church was established and widely known, before he visited that city. As early as the reign of Claudius, about twenty years after the death of Christ, it had excited so much animosity among the Jewish population of Rome, and occasioned so many tumults, that the government expelled both parties from the city. The Scriptures show that Paul resided some time in Rome, and that he probably died there; but in the epistles which he wrote from that place, he gives no indi-

cation that Peter was with him, or had been with him; nor do the Scriptures anywhere state that Peter was ever in Rome. The church at Jerusalem early appointed him to go to "those of the circumcision." His epistles are addressed to Asiatic churches, and he appears to write from Babylon, where Jews were numerous. But the tradition that he founded the church at Rome was universally believed by the Fathers, who reconciled it with Scripture by supposing that by Babylon he intended to designate Rome, on account of its wealth and licentiousness. On the strength of the tradition that they both suffered martyrdom in Rome, a magnificent tomb was erected to Peter in the Vatican, where Nero's gardens were situated, the scene of the first persecution; and another to Paul on the Ostian Road, near the city, where he was said to have been beheaded. Many other causes combined to render the church at Rome more prominent than any other. It was situated in the far-famed metropolis of the world, and was the great central point for the propagation of Christianity in the West. It was superior in wealth, and was very liberal in donations to other churches. It was early applied to for advice in cases of controversy. When disputes arose in the church at Corinth, they appealed to Clement of Rome, who, according to Tertullian, was ordained by the Apostle Peter. He wrote Epistles to the Corinthians, in which he calls their schism "a most foul and unholy sedition." This is the first instance of selecting the Bishop of Rome as umpire. There is a passage imputed to Irenæus, but found only in the form of a translation, in which he declares: "It is necessary the whole church, that is, believers everywhere, should hold to that church on account of its great superiority; for the apostolic tradition has been preserved in that church." In the year one hundred and ninety the Bishop of Rome excommunicated the churches of Asia Minor, for keeping Easter on the day of the Jewish Passover; but Irenæus openly rebuked him for that proceeding. Cyprian says: "Peter, whom God elected, and on whom he built his church, did not arrogantly assume to hold the

primacy, and presumptuously claim that he ought by preference to be obeyed." In another place, he says: "Each of the other Apostles was the same as Peter was; endowed with an equal share of honour and authority. But a beginning must proceed from unity; and the primacy is given to Peter, that one church of Christ, and one see, might be manifested." He urged the Bishop of Rome to "defend, against all schismatics, the unity of the church, founded on the union of bishops." He, however, asserted the right of individual bishops to manage the affairs of their own churches; and he strenuously maintained that right, in the face of opposition from Rome. But this spirit of independence gradually grew weaker, in the course of multifarious disputes, which seemed to render an infallible arbiter indispensable. Before the end of the third century, Christian churches agreed in acknowledging the Bishops of Rome lineal heirs of Peter, whom Christ had invested with authority to feed his sheep.

The discipline of the church was very strict. A religious atmosphere pervaded all the domestic and social relations. Bishops, deacons, and deaconesses, were summoned to add their sanction to marriage. The bride and bridegroom presented offerings to the church, partook of the eucharist, and received a benediction. Tertullian expresses the general Christian feeling where he says: "What language can express the happiness of that marriage which is concluded by the church, sealed by the communion, and consecrated by the benediction: which the angels announce, and God the Father ratifies?" The strictest morality was enjoined, and any deviations from it were punished according to the knowledge and experience of the delinquent. Thus the same fault was judged more severely in a bishop or presbyter, than it was in the deacon; and more allowance was made for the catechumens than for the baptized. Origen writes: "The Christians sorrow over those who have been overcome by lust, or any other noticeable vice, as if they were dead. After a long period, if they have given proof of a change of heart, they receive them once more to the

standing of catechumens, as those risen from the dead." Tertullian says: "Inward compunction of conscience should be manifested also by outward acts. They should fast and pray for forgiveness, express sorrow by their whole deportment, present a confession of their sins before the whole community, request the prayers of all the Christian brethren, and especially humble themselves before the presbyters, and the known friends of God." Some maintained that the church had no right to absolve a sinner, who had trifled away the pardon obtained for him by Christ, and appropriated by him at baptism; that the sins spoken of in the Gospel as forgiven were committed before baptism; that God, in the plenitude of his mercy, might doubtless forgive them, but the church had no right to do it. On the other hand it was urged that they were the very ones who required the aid of the church; that they who were well needed not a physician, but they who were sick.

Whoever carried on any trade contrary to generally received Christian principles, was not baptized till he had pledged himself to lay it aside. Astrology and magic, which were at that time very lucrative, were forbidden. Sculpture was also prohibited, because it was principally employed on images of the gods. To those sculptors who excused themselves by saying they considered their works objects of Art, not of religion, Tertullian exclaimed indignantly: "Assuredly you are a worshipper of idols, when you help to promote their worship. It is true you bring to them no outward victim, but you sacrifice your mind to them; your sweat is their drink-offering; you kindle for them the light of your skill. How can you be said to have renounced the Devil and all his Spirits, if you make images of them? It is not enough to say, I do not worship them; for thou dost so far worship them, in that thou makest them for others to worship." All who were connected with the circus, or the theatre, were excluded from communion; as were also those who frequented such scenes. Tertullian wrote a book exhorting Christians not to be tempted into such places. He says: "An example hap-

pened, as the Lord is witness, of a woman who went to the theatre, and came back with a Devil in her. When the unclean Spirit was urged and threatened, in the office of exorcising, for having dared to attack a Christian, he replied: 'I did merely what was fitting and just; for I found her upon my own ground.'" In the same book he tells of a woman who having witnessed a tragedy at the theatre, dreamed in the night that somebody showed her a winding-sheet, and reproached her for what she had done; and five days after that, she died. The dress of actors was very offensive to him. He was particularly displeased with their high buskins, which he regarded as a violation of Scripture; inasmuch as they sought thereby to add a cubit to their stature. An actor, who became a Christian, attempted to earn a living by instructing boys in the art he had left. Cyprian, being asked whether he could remain in communion with the church, declared thus strongly against it: "If in Deuteronomy a curse is pronounced on him who puts on the garment of a woman, how much more criminal must it be to form a man to effeminate and unseemly gestures, by an immodest art; to falsify the image of God by tricks of the Devil? If the church where he resides is too poor to support him, let him come to Carthage, where he will be supplied with what is necessary for food and clothing; provided he does not teach what is pernicious out of the church, but himself learns within the church what tends to salvation. He must not, however, suppose that he is to be hired to leave off sinning, since he does it not for our sakes, but for his own."

The cruel contests between gladiators and wild beasts, in which the Roman populace took a savage delight, were held in the greatest abhorrence by Christians, and were earnestly rebuked by their public teachers, as "a custom which turned murder into an art, and taught it as a profession." Tertullian, whose style partook of the general heat and severity of his character, draws the following terrible picture, while reproving the people of Carthage for their love of games and public shows: "What a Spectacle is at

hand in the Advent of the Lord! doubted, humbled, withheld from triumph no longer! What joy among the angels! What glory for the saints rising to life! What a kingdom for the just forevermore! What a city in the New Jerusalem! It will not be without its Games. It will have the final and eternal Day of Judgment, which the Gentiles now treat with unbelief and scorn; when so vast a series of ages, with all their productions, will be hurled into one absorbing fire. How magnificent the scale of *that* Game! With what admiration, what laughter, what glee, what triumph, shall I perceive so many mighty emperors, who had been represented as received up into the skies, even Jupiter himself, and his votaries, moaning in unfathomable gloom. The Governors, too, persecutors of the Christians, liquifying amid shooting spires of flame, in fiercer torments than they had ever devised against the faithful. And those sage philosophers, who had deprived the Deity of his offices, and questioned the existence of a soul, or denied its future union with the body, meeting again with their disciples, only to blush before them in those ruddy fires. Not to forget the poets, trembling at the unexpected bar of Christ, not before the tribunal of Rhadamanthus, or Minos. Then will be the time to hear the tragedians, doubly pathetic, since they bewail their own agonies; to observe the actors, released by the fierce element from all restraint upon their gestures; to admire the charioteer glowing all over on the car of torture; to watch the wrestlers, thrust into the struggle of the flames, instead of the gymnasium. But even this Spectacle I shall forego, to revel, with insatiable gaze, at the dismay of the Lord's own persecutors. Here he is! I shall say. Here is the carpenter's son; the Sabbath-breaker; the Samaritan; the possessed of the Devil! Here is he whose life you purchased from Judas; he whom you buffeted and scourged, and spit upon, and presented with vinegar and gall. Here is he whose body was removed by his disciples to support the tale of a resurrection; or by the gardener, anxious lest his lettuces should be hurt by the trampling of visitors. What Prætor, Consul, or Priest, by

his munificence, can purchase for you a Game of triumph like unto this? Yet we, by the imaginative power of faith, can enjoy a foretaste of it already. And what must we say of those reserved felicities, which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, and it hath never entered the heart of man to conceive? I flatter myself they will be more grateful than the Circus, or the Stadium, or the stage-box itself."

The Fathers not only censured amusements, but all articles of luxury, such as gay garments, white bread, foreign wines, silver utensils, or warm baths. Though a very large majority of Christians belonged to the poor and the middling classes, yet even as early as the time of Clement of Alexandria, he found it necessary to rebuke the extravagance of those who wore embroidered dresses, rode in gilded chariots, and used vessels of silver and gold; of men, who had a multitude of slaves; of ladies, who kept peacocks from Media, birds and monkeys from India, and dogs from Malta, instead of maintaining poor widows and orphans. He compares richly dressed women to Egyptian temples. "Outwardly, those edifices are magnificent and splendid; surrounded by groves, enclosed by stately pillars; the walls curiously carved, garnished with gold and precious stones; but when you inquire for the deity there worshipped, you shall be gravely showed, behind a curtain, a cat, or a serpent, or some other ill-favoured beast." He says it is allowable to have some difference in garments, according to the age, shape, and employments of men. He even admits that "women who cannot otherwise keep the affections of their husbands, may go a little more neat and trim, if their lords require it; provided it be done solely for the purpose of pleasing them." Tertullian says: "Beauty is such a useless thing, it ought to be despised by those who have it not, and neglected by those who have it." He recommends women to seek the crown of martyrdom, as the only ornament for their heads.

The almost universal prevalence of the idea that Matter was the origin of evil, has been abundantly shown in the preceding pages; also, that Matter was considered a femi-

nine principle, and that Spirits were attracted downward into union with it, whereby visible forms were produced. Abstract ideas often become very material, and even gross, by passing through generations of minds. It, therefore, seems to me not unlikely that from these premises grew the idea presented in the Sacred Books of several religions, that the First Mother introduced sin into the world, by enticing the First Father. Whatever might be the source, it was a common opinion among the Jews, and was universally entertained by the Christian Fathers, that Adam being tempted to union with Eve caused the fall of man; though the command to "increase and multiply" was expressly given by God himself, before the fall. This Jewish doctrine concerning our first parents combined very easily with the oriental idea, every where promulgated by East India devotees, and Egyptian ascetics, that marriage was an impediment in the path of holiness. Among the primitive Christians were some who thought it a duty to live unmarried, in order to devote themselves more completely to God. Athenagoras, cotemporary with Irenæus, says: "There are among us both men and women, who have grown old in celibacy, with the hope of a closer union with God." They supported themselves by labour, and all that remained of their earnings, after their very simple wants were supplied, was given to the poor. Women who thus consecrated themselves, were distinguished by the appellation of virgins; the men were styled ascetics. They lived with Christian families, or in houses by themselves, were diligent in various trades and professions, and sold the proceeds of their industry to whoever wished to purchase. Some few, who resembled Hindoo devotees in extreme mortification of the body, appear to have considered this traffic with the world irreligious. That such existed in the time of Irenæus, and were not approved by him, is implied by the following remark: "If these things are imputed to you by one who has separated himself from Gentile communities, and lives naked and barefoot in the mountains, feeding on herbs, like asi-

mals, he should be pardoned, because he does not rightly understand what Christian life ought to be." Clement of Alexandria objected to celibacy, as calculated to produce misanthropy. He notices the fact that in various polytheistic religions, the priests were required to refrain from marriage, wine, and animal food. He speaks, also, of rigid ascetics in India; and argues that customs existing in those religions, certainly had no claim to be considered peculiarly Christian. He adds: "As humility is shown not by castigation of the body, but by gentleness of disposition, so, also, abstinence is a virtue of the soul, not consisting in that which is without, but in that which is within the man. Abstinence does not refer to pleasure only. It is also abstinence to despise money, to tame the tongue, and to obtain dominion over sin by the exercise of reason." He commends marriage as follows: "The genuine Christian has the Apostles for an example. In truth, it is not in solitary life that one shows himself a man. He is superior to other men, who withstands all the temptations that assail him in providing for wife and children, servants and substance, without allowing himself to be turned from the love of God. The man with no family escapes many temptations; but as he has none save himself to care for, he is of less worth than the man who accomplishes more in social life, though he has more to disturb him in the work of his own salvation; who, in truth, presents in himself a miniature of Providence." Describing a Christian matron, he says: "The mother is the glory of her children; the wife is the glory of her husband; both are the glory of the wife; and God is the glory of them all." Tertullian, who was a married man, still more warmly contests the oriental ideas, as "contrary to the commands of God, who blessed marriage, and ordained the increase of the human race." He says: "What a union is that between two believers, having in common one hope, one desire, one order of life, one service of the Lord. Like brother and sister, undivided in spirit or body, they kneel, pray, and fast together, mutually teach,

exhort, and bear with each other. They are not separated in the church of God, and at the Lord's Supper. They share each other's persecutions, troubles, and joys. Neither avoids the other; neither has any thing to hide from the other. There is freedom to visit the sick, and to sustain the needy. The harmony of psalms and hymns goes up between them. Christ rejoices to behold and hear such things, and sends them his peace. Where there are two, there he is also; and where he is, the Spirit of Evil can not enter." He was, however, violent in his denunciations against second marriages, which were in general disrepute among the Christians, and considered a sufficient objection to admitting a man into the priesthood.

Christians long observed the Jewish custom of offering prayers at the third, sixth, and ninth hours of the day, dating from six in the morning: that is, at nine o'clock, at twelve, and at three in the afternoon. They also prayed in preparation for all the principal transactions of life. They usually knelt at their devotions; but on Sunday all the congregation stood up, in commemoration of Christ's rising from the dead. It was customary to turn toward the East when they prayed; in support of which the Fathers quote the example of the Apostles. They assign various reasons for it. Among others, they say: "The Apostles thereby paid respect to Paradise, which God planted in the East; begging of Him that they might be restored to that ancient country, from which Adam was cast out." There are, however, reasons more obvious. Temples usually faced the East, because the worship of the Sun was intimately connected with nearly all religions. Therefore Gentile converts would have been likely to have formed the habit in childhood of turning toward the East to pray. Jews, who were absent from their Holy City always turned toward it, when they performed their devotions. Antioch, Ephesus, Alexandria, and Rome, where the earliest Christian churches were established, were all west of Jerusalem; and Jewish converts in those places would naturally carry their old custom into Christianity.

This circumstance, combined with the observance of the first day of the week, led many people to suppose that Christians were worshippers of the Sun; for the first day was called by Romans, *Dies Solis*, The Sun's Day; because ceremonies were then performed in honour of the Spirit of that luminary, in the rotation of the worship of the Spirits of the Seven Planets. In the Eastern churches, the Jewish Sabbath, on Saturday, was strictly observed, by abstinence from labour. On that day, as well as on Sunday, a meeting was held, a sermon delivered, the Scriptures read, and the Lord's Supper administered. They stood up during prayer, on both days, and never fasted on either of them. The case was otherwise with communities which had always been chiefly composed of Gentile Christians. In Justin Martyr's Dialogue with Trypho, the Jew reproaches Christians for not keeping the Sabbath, [Saturday.] Justin admits the charge, by replying: "Do you not see that the elements keep no Sabbaths, and are never idle? Continue as you were created. If there was no need of circumcision before Abraham's time, and no need of the Sabbath, of festivals, and oblations, before the time of Moses, neither of them are necessary after the coming of Christ. If any among you is guilty of perjury, fraud, or other crimes, let him cease from them and repent, and he will have kept the kind of Sabbath pleasing to God." This difference of customs occasioned some controversy when members of Eastern churches spent a Sabbath with any of their brethren in the West. Of those who advocated the Eastern practice, Tertullian said, with more moderation than he usually manifested: "The Lord will bestow his grace, so that they will either yield, or else follow their own opinion without giving offence to others." Every Wednesday and Friday, Christians of all churches had meetings for prayer, and fasted till three o'clock in the afternoon. This was done in commemoration of the betrayal of Christ by Judas, and of his crucifixion; as Sunday was joyfully observed in memory of his resurrection. These existed as customs, long before they were established as

rules. Tertullian is the first writer who manifests a tendency to transfer to Sunday the strict observances of the Jewish Sabbath. Speaking of kneeling, he says: "On the day of the Lord's resurrection, we ought not only to refrain from that, but from all anxious habits and duties, deferring even business, so that we may give no place to the Devil."

The Fathers have much to say concerning the duty and efficacy of prayer. Tertullian says: "It behooves the faithful neither to take food, or enter a bath without prayer; for the nourishing and refreshing of the spirit should have precedence of nourishing and refreshing the body." Clement of Alexandria says: "If I may speak so boldly, prayer is intercourse with God. Though we do but lisp, though we address God without opening the lips, we cry to him from the inward recesses of the heart; for when the whole direction of the inmost soul is toward God, he always hears." Origen says: "He prays without ceasing, who suitably unites prayer with action; for active duty is an integrant part of prayer. The whole life should express, 'Our Father, who art in heaven.'" It was supposed that attendant angels always stood ready to carry up to heaven every sincere prayer. Tertullian urged it as proper respect to these mediators, that the congregation should not be in haste to be seated after prayer, before the angel had departed with their supplications. They believed that every human being had a guardian angel, who sought to protect them, and was grieved when he sinned. The ministry of Spirits, good and evil, contending for the souls and bodies of men, was as conspicuous in their teaching, as in that of Zoroaster.

The social meal, originally connected with the Lord's Supper, was retained after the two were separated, and was designated by the term *Agape*, or Love Feast; where the poor of the church feasted on a banquet supplied by the rich. Tertullian thus describes it: "Our supper shows its character by its name. It bears the Greek name of Love; and however great may be the expense of it, still

it is gain to make expense in the name of piety; for we give joy to all the poor by this refreshment. The cause of the supper is a worthy one, and it is managed with propriety suited to its religious object. No vulgarity, nothing unbeseeming, is permitted. No one approaches the table till prayer has first been offered to God. As much is eaten as is necessary to satisfy the demands of hunger; as much is drunk as consists with sobriety; every one remembering that the night remains consecrated to God. The conversation is such as might be expected from men fully conscious that God hears them. The supper being ended, and all having washed their hands, lights are brought in. Then each one is invited to sing, as he is able; either from the Holy Scriptures, or a song of praise to God, for the common edification, from the promptings of his own spirit. The whole is concluded with prayer." When the relations of men were simple, and the bond between them was heartfelt, these feasts were beautifully significant of their character. But their original simplicity was not long preserved. The rich began to be ostentatious of their liberality in providing for the Agape. In the beginning, masters and servants had eaten at the same table. But afterward, distinctions of rank were introduced. The text of Scripture: "Let the elders that rule well be accounted worthy of double honour," was interpreted to signify that a double portion of food should be set before the clergy. Scandalous stories began to circulate concerning the kiss of charity, with which they were accustomed to separate. Clement, of Alexandria, expressed disapprobation of those who thought to purchase heaven by their bounty on these occasions. Tertullian, after he seceded from the church, and joined the heretical sect called Montanists, attacked the institution he had formerly applauded, and brought against it the grossest charges of gluttony and profligacy.

Three annual Festivals were observed in very early times. The Jewish Passover was retained in commemoration of the Resurrection, and in process of time took the name of Easter. Pentecost was kept in remembrance of the descent of the

Holy Ghost on the disciples. On the sixth of January, the Eastern churches observed a Festival called The Manifestation of Christ, in commemoration of his baptism in the Jordan, when he was manifested as the Messiah.

Several of the early Fathers were somewhat imbued with the eclectic tendencies of the period, which induced them to take kindly views of other religions, and to adopt whatsoever they found of goodness or truth. Origen thus vindicates some of the ancient religions from an attack made upon them by Celsus: "The Egyptian philosophers have sublime ideas of the Divine Nature, which they keep secret, and never discover to the people, but under a veil of fables and allegories. Celsus is like a man who has travelled into that country, and though he has conversed with none but the ignorant, yet takes it into his head that he understands the Egyptian religion. All the Eastern nations, the people of India, the Persians, the Syrians, conceal sacred mysteries under their religious fables. The wise men of all religions penetrate the true meaning, while the ignorant see only the exterior symbol, the bark that covers it." "The Bramins say God is Light; not such as one sees, nor such as the sun or fire. But God is to them the Logos; not having a form, but the Being of *thought*, through whom the secret mysteries of knowledge become visible to the wise." Justin Martyr calls all human beings Christians, who had lived conformably to the Logos; that is, to the Divine Wisdom, or Reason; "even if they were regarded as atheists by their fellow men; such as Socrates, Heraclitus, and others." He says: "Ammon, in his Books, called God The Most Hidden; and Hermes plainly declares that it is hard to conceive of God, and impossible to express Him." Cyprian says: "Hermes acknowledged One God, whom he confessed to be ineffable and inestimable." Clement of Alexandria had some knowledge of the Hindoos, and alludes either to the Jains or Buddhists; though he does not call them by those names. By the class who admitted women to a life of consecrated celibacy, he probably refers to the Buddhists. He says: "There are two kinds of philosophers in India,

the Bramins and the Sarmans. Some of them do not inhabit cities, or houses. They clothe themselves with the bark of trees, subsist upon acorns and wild berries, and drink water from their hands. They eat no living creature, drink no wine, and keep themselves perfectly chaste. Among some of them there are consecrated virgins called Semnai. Some of these philosophers take food daily, others only every third day. Some among them go naked all their lives. They seek after truth, observe celestial phenomena, and from them predict future events."

Clement of Alexandria and Origen had great respect for Plato, whom they call "the truth loving." They were particularly impressed by the fact that he taught One God, called The Good, whose providence was universal; that the soul was immortal, and ascended to higher and higher spheres of being, according to its purity; that its perfection consisted in resemblance to God, and finally resulted in complete union with him. They especially commended him for teaching that the chief end of man was to resemble the Deity; whereas Stoics said it was to live according to nature. Clement of Alexandria says: "Every movement toward good comes from God. He employs those men who are peculiarly fitted to guide and instruct others, as his organs to work on the mass of mankind. Such were the better sort among Greek philosophers. That philosophy which forms men to virtue cannot be the work of evil. Consequently it must be of God, whose only work is to induce that which is good. And all gifts bestowed by God are given for right ends, and received for right ends. Philosophy is not found in the possession of bad men; it was given to the best men among the Greeks. It is evidently, therefore, the gift of Providence, who bestows on each one whatever it is proper for him to receive, under his own peculiar circumstances. Thus we see to the Jews was given the Law, and to the Greeks Philosophy, until the coming of our Lord. From that period, a universal call has gone forth, for a peculiar people, who are to be made righteous through the doctrine of faith; now that the common God

of both Greeks and barbarians, or rather of the entire human race, has brought all together by one common Lord. Before the appearance of Christ, philosophy was necessary to the Greeks, as a means of righteousness; but now it is useful in the service of piety, as a sort of preparation for exhibiting the evidence of faith. Our feet will not stumble, if we derive all good from Providence, whether it belongs to the Gentiles, or to ourselves; since God is the author of all good. He is so partly in a more special sense, as in the gift of the Old and New Testaments; partly in a more indirect sense, as in the case of Philosophy. But perhaps philosophy was also given to the Greeks in a special sense, before our Lord called the Gentiles; since it educated them for Christianity, as the Law did the Jews. Both were preparatory steps for those who were to be conducted through Christ to perfection." In Deuteronomy, the Hebrews are told: "The sun, the moon, and the stars hath the Lord thy God divided unto all nations under the whole heaven. But the Lord hath taken you to be unto him a people of inheritance." From this text, Clement inferred that star-worship was of divine institution. He says: "God assigned to the Gentiles the sun, moon, and stars, as objects of worship, that they might not fall into atheism." From an apocryphal book, called *The Preaching of Peter*, the Fathers received an idea that Peter, as well as Paul, preached at Athens. Clement says: "Peter, when preaching to the Athenians, implied that the Greeks had a knowledge of the Deity. He supposed they adored the same God we do, though not in the same manner. He does not forbid us to adore the same God as the Greeks; but he forbids us to worship him in the same way."

There was a class of minds among Christians, of whom Tertullian was a prominent representative, who were strongly opposed to all classical learning, as detrimental to holiness. They denied that any of the philosophers were inspired by "the most ancient Logos." Regarding Jupiter, Apollo, and the other deities as the Fallen Angels, who fell in love with women, and taught magic, they main-

tained that the philosophers and poets of Greece and Rome were inspired solely by Demons, and consequently all of them were organs of Evil Spirits. The Book of Enoch, then much in vogue among Christians, was frequently quoted to sustain this doctrine. Clement of Alexandria combated these views; for he could not forget by what process his own mind had been prepared for Christianity. He says: "Allowing this view to be correct, yet even Satan could deceive men only by clothing himself like an angel of light. In order to draw men, he must be obliged to mingle truth with falsehood; and we must still search for and acknowledge the truth, from whatever quarter it may come. Even this communication can take place no otherwise than according to the will of God. It must therefore be included with all the rest of God's plan for the education of the human race. But when we consider that sin and disorder are the only appropriate works of Satan, is it not strange that he should be represented as the bestower of philosophy, which is a benefit? In this, he would seem to have been more benevolent to good men among the Greeks, than Divine Providence himself." Elsewhere he says: "He who would gather from every quarter what would be for the profit of the catechumens, especially if they are Greeks, must not, like irrational brutes, be shy of much learning, but must seek to collect round him every possible means of helping his hearers." An heretical teacher, named Hermogenes, taught that men did not receive immortality until it was imparted by the new life infused into them from Christ; hence only those who believed on him would be immortal; all others would sink back into the inert mass of Matter, whence they sprang. Others who believed human souls were originally immortal, thought they had lost the gift, and could regain it only by baptism and participation of the eucharist. Both these views of course excluded all Pagans from salvation.

Many converts came into Christianity through the portal of Greek philosophy, and some of them proved the greatest ornaments of the church. But in general, the

views entertained by Christians appeared monstrous and absurd to the learned among the Gentiles. Celsus, supposed to have been an Epicurean philosopher, toward the close of the second century, was the first writer who entered the lists against them; and he made his attack mostly in a sarcastic vein. The pictures of God's vengeance, borrowed from the Jews, were peculiarly offensive to Greek and Roman philosophers, who could never conceive of the Supreme Being as capable of anger, or any other passion. The fictions of the poets, which so represented Jupiter, were, by them, uniformly regarded as impious. Celsus and other writers scoffed at the idea that the Logos of God was born of a woman, walked about in a human form, and was subject to human infirmities. They compared it to the fables of their poets, which represented Jupiter as assuming various shapes to pursue his love-affairs on earth. They retorted the charge of polytheism, by accusing Christians of believing in more than one God; for Christ, as the Maker of heaven and earth, had "more power than was ever attributed to Apollo, or Mars." The idea that the world was made for man, and that the providence of God watched over the well-being of every individual, seemed to Celsus mere arrogant presumption. He says: "It is not for man, any more than for lions and eagles, that everything in the world has been created. It was in order that the world, as the work of God, might present a perfect whole. God provides only for the whole; and *that* his providence never deserts. This world never becomes any worse. God does not return to it, after a long interval. He is as little angry with man, as he is with apes and flies. The universe has been provided, once for all, with all the powers necessary for its preservation, and for developing itself after the same laws. God has not, like a human architect, so executed his work, that at some future period it would need to be repaired."

With regard to the Christian doctrine of One God, Celsus says: "We also place a Supreme Being above the world, and above all created things; and we approve and sympa-

thize with whatever may be taught concerning a spiritual rather than a material adoration of the gods. For with a belief in the gods, worshipped in every land and by every people, harmonizes the belief in a Primal Being, a Supreme God, who has given to every land its guardian, to every people its presiding deity. The unity of the Supreme Being, and the consequent unity of the design of the universe, remains, even if it be admitted that each nation has its gods, whom it must worship in a peculiar manner, according to its peculiar character; and the worship of all these different deities is reflected back to the Supreme God, who has appointed them, as it were, his delegates and representatives. Those who argue that men ought not to serve many masters, impute human weakness to God. He is not jealous of the adoration paid to subordinate deities. His nature is superior to degradation and insult. Reason itself might justify the belief in the inferior deities, the objects of established worship. For since the Supreme Being can only produce that which is immortal and imperishable, the existence of mortal beings cannot be explained, unless we distinguish from Him those inferior deities, and suppose *them* to be the creators of mortal beings, and of perishable things."

Celsus, in common with most of the Grecians, despised Christianity as a blind faith, that shunned the light of reason. He says: "They are forever repeating, Do not examine. Only believe, and thy faith will make thee blessed. Wisdom is a bad thing in life; foolishness is to be preferred." He jeers at the fact that ignorant men were allowed to preach. He says: "You may see weavers, tailors, fullers, and the most illiterate and rustic fellows, who dare not speak a word before wise men, when they can get a company of children and silly women together, set up to teach strange paradoxes among them." The words of Jesus, "I thank thee, O Father, that thou hast concealed these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes," Celsus construes thus: "This is one of their rules: Let no man that is learned, wise, or

prudent, come among us; but if any be unlearned, or a child, or an idiot, let him freely come. So they openly declare that none but the ignorant, and those devoid of understanding, slaves, women, and children, are fit disciples for the God they worship." The calling of sinners into the fold of the church also seemed to him a degrading feature in the new religion; for it was altogether foreign to the dignified respectability of the philosophic schools. He says: "Those who invite us to become initiated into other religious Mysteries, begin by proclaiming, Let only him approach who is free from stain, who is conscious of no wickedness, who has lived a good and upright life. But let us hear who it is these Christians call. They say, Whoever is a sinner, whoever is foolish, whoever is wretched, him will the kingdom of God receive." He ridicules the self-abasement of the Christian, whom he describes as "forever on his knees, or rolling in the dust; a man who dresses meanly, and sprinkles himself with ashes." The miracles of Christ and his followers, he attributed to magic. He says: "The magicians in Egypt cast out Evil Spirits, cure diseases by a breath, call up the spirits of the dead, make inanimate things move as if they were alive, and so influence some uncultured men, that they produce in them whatever sights and sounds they please. But because they do such things shall we consider them sons of God? Or shall we call such things the tricks of wicked and pitiable men?" He speaks also of wonder-workers among the Christians, "who ramble about to play tricks at fairs and markets; not indeed in circles of the wiser and better sort, for among such they never venture to appear; but wherever they see a set of ignorant young fellows, slaves, or fools, there they take care to intrude themselves, and display all their arts." Lucian, a friend of Celsus, writing in the same spirit, says: "If a magician, or impostor, who is apt at his trade, goes among the Christians, he can shortly make himself rich; having to deal with an ignorant class of people."

Celsus especially holds up to ridicule the gross pictures

of the millenium, which some delighted to draw; nor does he fail to take advantage of the divisions continually springing up. He says: "When Christians were few in number, perhaps they agreed among themselves. But, as their numbers increased, they separated into parties, mutually attacking and refuting each other, retaining nothing in common but their name; if indeed they did that. Many who came, as it were out of a fit of intoxication into their sober senses, altered the evangelical narrative, in manifold ways, from the shape in which it was first recorded, that they might have wherewith to refute objections." He also reproached them with forging imitations of the Grecian Sibyls, and passing them off as prophecies concerning Christ.

Origen wrote an able and earnest reply to Celsus. He ridiculed the images which the populace were taught to regard as gods; saying that swallows would build nests in their mouths, and spiders cover their heads with cobwebs, unless great pains were taken to brush and wash them. He gloried in it, as a peculiarity of the Christian religion, proving it to be a revelation from that God who cared for all men, that it had power to attract, by mere faith, the masses of mankind, who by their situation were incapable of scientific inquiry. He adds: "But we are far from prohibiting the wise, the learned, and the prudent from coming among us, provided the rude, the simple, and the unlearned be not excluded. We are most willing to instruct our youth in the presence of masters of families, and Doctors of philosophy, if they are men who aspire after the best things; for we are well assured that we should find such men favourable judges.

No charge was more frequently brought against the Christians than that of trying to introduce a religion which had no antiquity to recommend it, whose founder was a poor carpenter in Judea, a malefactor, condemned to an ignominious death. To this reproach the Fathers replied in various ways. They affirmed that he who was apparently a carpenter, and a malefactor, was the Divine Logos,

who had dwelt with the Father from all eternity. Secondly, they maintained that their teaching was according to the law of nature, and therefore as old as the world. Lastly, they declared that Christianity was substantially the same as the Hebrew religion, for which they claimed superior antiquity and worth, above all other religions. Having thus identified Christianity with Judaism, and being fully convinced these were the only revelations from God himself, they very naturally ascribed everything that was good or true elsewhere to a Jewish origin. Philo intimates that Plato and Aristotle borrowed all that was excellent in their philosophy from the Hebrew Sacred Books, and that Zeno was an imitator of Moses. It was also a common opinion among Hellenistic Jews that Grecian legislators had transcribed from the tables of Moses all that was valuable in their own laws. The Christian Fathers readily imbibed these ideas. Some of them were accustomed to call Plato "the Hebrew Philosopher," "the Athenian Moses," or "Moses speaking Greek." Pythagoras was said to have been acquainted with Ezekiel in Babylon, and "Golden Verses" were attributed to him, which were in fact mere transcripts of Mosaic precepts against idolatry and theft. It was generally agreed that everything false in Greek or Roman writers was taught by the Evil Spirits, whom they worshipped as deities; but all that was true, they borrowed from the Hebrews. A few believed that the best philosophers, Plato especially, were enlightened in a lesser degree by the same Logos who taught the Patriarchs and inspired Moses and the Prophets.

But while they revered the same God, and the same Scriptures as the Jews, they were engaged in hotter controversies with them, than with the Gentiles. The allegorical mode of interpretation, established on no system whatever, and resorted to by both parties, was of itself sufficient reason why disputes should be interminable. The Jewish mind trained for centuries to regard the unity of God as inviolable, could not be made to view the doctrine of the Logos in any other light than as teaching a plurality

of gods. The expectation of a personal Messiah had become much less strong among Hellenistic Jews, than it had been in Palestine; a fact indicated by the writings of Philo and Josephus. They were therefore less attracted toward those who believed they had found the long-promised one. Moreover, they continually disputed the evidence brought by Christians. It could not be made to appear clear to them that the life and character of Jesus fulfilled the predictions of their prophets. When his birth was brought as a proof, they replied: "But if Joseph was not his father, he was not of the lineage of David." To meet this objection it was asserted that Mary also was a descendant of the old royal line; and Justin Martyr thought it was satisfactorily proved. They continually accused the Christians of misquoting their Scriptures. These frequent charges induced Origen to undertake the vast labour of comparing all the different versions of the Old Testament.

But there is a pleasanter point of view, from which to contemplate those old heroes of the faith. Their credulity belonged to the age in which they lived; and polemical strife was inevitable, when old religions were breaking up, and giving place to the new; but their unflinching sympathy with the poor, and their patient instruction of the ignorant, were peculiarly their own. Origen says: "We openly avow our purpose of instructing all men in the Word of God. We give to every one such training as is adapted to him. We disdain not to teach slaves to conceive noble sentiments, and to obtain freedom by obedience to the Word of God." When ridiculed for the great preponderance of the poor among them, they replied: "It is not our dishonour, but our glory. Yet how can that man be poor, who wants nothing, who envies not another's possessions, and who is rich in God? He rather is poor, who, having much, desires more." Athenagoras says: "With us you may find ignorant people, mechanics and women, who, though unable to prove with words the saving power of their religion, yet by their deeds prove the saving influence of the disposition it has bestowed on them; for they do not learn words by rote,

but they exhibit good works. When struck, they strike not again. When robbed, they do not go to law. They give to them that ask them, and love their neighbours as themselves." Justin Martyr says: "We can point out many among us, who, from overbearing and tyrannical men, have been changed by a victorious power, when they have seen how their neighbours could bear all things, or observed the singular patience of their defrauded fellow travellers, or come to be acquainted with Christians in any of the other relations of life." Origen says: "The work of Jesus is manifested among all mankind, where communities of God, founded by Jesus, exist. They are composed of men reclaimed from a thousand vices. To this day, the name of Jesus produces a wonderful mildness, decency of manners, humanity, goodness, and gentleness, in those who embrace the doctrines of Christ, and faith in the judgment to come; not hypocritically, for the sake of human advantage and selfish ends, but in sincerity and truth. The Christian communities, compared with those among whom they dwell, are as lights in the world." Justin Martyr says: "We, who were once slaves of lust, now have delight only in purity of morals. We, who once practised arts of magic, have consecrated ourselves to the Eternal and Good God. We, who once prized gain above all things, give what we have to the common use, and share it with those who are in need. We, who once hated and murdered one another, who, on account of differences of customs, would have no common hearth with strangers, do now live together with them. We pray for our enemies; we seek to convince those that hate us without cause; so that they may order their lives according to Christ's glorious doctrine, and attain to the joyful hope of receiving like blessings with us from the Lord of all."

The extreme charitableness of Christians doubtless might sometimes induce the poor to join their communities, without becoming Christians by conviction; but at that period of the church, there were so many perils to be encountered,

and so few worldly advantages to be gained, that they were not liable to receive many spurious converts. Tertullian says: "If you assert that Christians are the worst of men, in avarice, riotousness, and dishonesty, I will not deny that *some* are so. In the purest body, some freckles may doubtless be discovered."

Many Christians were in the habit of setting apart days for private self-examination and prayer. They usually fasted during such seasons, and what was saved from daily food was given to the poor. Sometimes, when there was distress in other Christian communities, the bishop appointed a general fast, to raise money for their relief. If the smaller towns were too poor to do all that was needed, the wealthy metropolitan churches were always ready to make up the necessary sum. Many converts, at baptism, gave most of their property, or all of it, to the church fund for charity; guided by the precept: "If thou wilt be perfect, sell all that thou hast and give to the poor." In times of persecution, magistrates were surprised to find how young patrician girls in Rome had privately sold their jewels to relieve the indigent. While Christians were still limping from the rack, and marked with the brands and scars of the Decian persecution, a pestilence began to rage in North Africa, and the terrified people deserted the dead and the dying. Cyprian called his church together, and said: "If we do good only to our own, we do no more than publicans and heathens. But if we are children of God, who makes his sun to shine on the just and the unjust, who scatters blessings not merely on his own, but even on those whose thoughts are far from him, we must manifest it by our actions; striving to be perfect even as our Father in Heaven is perfect; blessing those that curse us, and doing good to those that despitefully use us." Animated by this advice, the rich gave their money liberally, and the poor their labour. The sick were carefully tended, and the dead bodies scattered in the streets, infecting the whole city, were soon buried. When barbarians made an irruption into Numidia, and carried some of the Christians

away captive, Cyprian speedily raised more than four thousand dollars, and transmitted it to the Numidian bishops, for their ransom. In his letter, he says: "Who ought not to look on the distress of his brother as his own? Who that is a father, and respects the claims of humanity, ought not to feel as if his own children were among those barbarians?" The Apostle Paul tells us, if one member suffers all the members suffer with it. It is our earnest hope that you may never again be visited with a like affliction; but should any similar calamity befall you, to try the love and faith of our hearts, delay not to inform us of it; for be assured all the brethren here are ready to assist you, cheerfully and abundantly." During the reign of Trajan, a Prefect of Rome, named Hermes, was converted to the Christian faith, with his wife and children. At the succeeding festival of Easter, he proved how deeply the teaching of Christ had taken possession of his soul, by emancipating one thousand two hundred and fifty slaves; and on that joyful occasion they all received baptism and liberty. The thoughtful kindness of the conscientious master went still further. Knowing that their condition as slaves had deprived them of the means of acquiring property, and fearing that their families might suffer for a time, from dearth of employment, he added a liberal donation to each one, to assist him in commencing business for himself. Christians had such strong sympathy with their own brethren who were sold into slavery, either by war or persecution, that they often sold themselves to redeem others. Bishops considered that no more pious use could be made of the funds of the church, than to redeem a Christian brother from bondage; and for this purpose they did not hesitate to sell the silver goblets and plates used for the Lord's Supper. Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, writes thus: "We have known many among us, who have delivered themselves into bonds and slavery, that they might restore others to their liberty; many that have let themselves out as servants, that by their wages they might sustain those who are in need." Clement of Alexandria bears

the same testimony, and adduces examples within his own knowledge.

Obedience to the government was deemed a duty in all cases, except those which involved the worship of the old deities. Tertullian, in answer to a charge of disloyalty, says: "The Christian is the enemy of no man; assuredly not of the emperor. The Sovereign he knows to be ordained of God. Of necessity, therefore, he loves, honours, and reveres him; and prays for his safety, with that of the whole Roman empire, that it may endure; and endure it will, as long as the world."

THE EARLIEST SECTS.

THE JUDAIZING CHRISTIANS.—Having thus given a summary glance at the prominent characters of the early Fathers, I will endeavour to describe, as concisely as possible, the sects who were especially troublesome to them. First, I will speak of those which most strongly retained the stamp of their Jewish origin. How difficult it was for the disciples of Moses to free themselves from their deeply-rooted national exclusiveness has been repeatedly stated. Among the Twelve Apostles, Peter seems to have made the greatest advance in this respect; probably owing to his more frequent companionship with Paul, and his acquaintance with the devout Roman centurion. Though appointed by a Council at Jerusalem to be the "apostle of the circumcision," he declared: "Of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." The whole drift of Paul's preaching went to prove that the Mosaic dispensation was local and transitory, while the principles inculcated by Christ were universal and permanent; that the old ritual consisted of types, to shadow forth the new doctrines, which were the substance. His superior education, combined with the earnestness and directness of his character, and the consequent certainty of his convictions, rendered him a very powerful and efficient preacher.

He was not only eminently successful in gaining Gentile proselytes, but converts from the Hellenistic Jews were everywhere more or less modified by the expansion of his ideas; though in all the churches established by him there was a Peter party and a Paul party.

The case was different with Christianized Jews in Palestine. The first fifteen bishops at Jerusalem were all observers of the Mosaic law. People in the old country were generally less educated, and less enterprising than the Jews scattered abroad in foreign cities. They had very little communication with other countries, and, of course, the spirit of conservatism remained strong among them. They were in the same state as those who said to Paul: "Thou seest, brother, how many Jews there are that believe, and they are all zealous for the Law." In their view, Christianity was in fact merely a perfected kind of Judaism. Obscurity rests on the history of the church at Jerusalem. From statements of the Christian Fathers, we learn that they left the Holy City before it was attacked and destroyed by Titus; that they retired to Pella, a country east of the Sea of Galilee; that after the war was over, many of them returned, and remained there till the insurrection under Bar-Cochebas, who professed to be the Messiah. The city was then taken by Adrian, who established a Roman Colony there, and expelled the Jews. The Palestine Christians, being all strict observers of the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic Law, were regarded merely as a sect of Jews, and consequently shared in the banishment. In their exile, they formed acquaintance with Gentile converts; their prejudices gradually relaxed; a portion of them discontinued the practice of circumcision, and other Jewish ceremonies, in which they had persevered for more than a century; and, finally, in the year one hundred and thirty-eight, they elected a Gentile bishop. By these concessions, and by asserting that they believed in a spiritual Messiah, whose kingdom was not of this world, they disarmed the political jealousy of Rome, and were allowed to return to Jerusalem, where they established a Christian church, into

which Gentile converts were received on an equality with converted Jews.

But a considerable portion of the exiles adhered to their old views, and refused to follow the foreign bishop. They spread into the villages round Damascus, and considering themselves as the true depositories of the genuine apostolic doctrine, they refused to hold religious communication with uncircumcised believers in Christ. Jews rejected them as apostates, and Christians regarded them as heretics. For one hundred years it was a subject of controversy whether a man could be saved if he accepted Jesus as the promised Messiah, *without* conforming to the Law of Moses. Through manifold and perilous struggles, Paul gained the victory. The Petrine controversy gradually subsided, and at last it became a question whether a Christian convert could be saved if he *did* conform to the Law. Justin Martyr says that, as early as his time, the more rigid Gentile Christians would hold no intercourse with such, and maintained that they could not be saved. Others thought they might escape damnation, provided they practised Mosaic rites without pretending to assert their necessity, or general use.

Jews called all Christians Nazarenes, on account of their originating in Nazareth; and Christians seem to have applied the same term to one sect of those who retained their attachment to old Hebrew forms. But they were accustomed to designate all the Christian followers of Moses by the general term of Ebionites. These had a Gospel, written in modern Hebrew, [Aramæan] which they believed contained an authentic account of the sayings and doings of Jesus, as related by the Twelve Apostles, and recorded by Matthew. It did not contain the two first chapters, but began with the baptism of Jesus. The copy used by the Nazarene sect had two chapters preceding the baptism; but quotations which remain indicate that they differed somewhat from those that have come down to us. The Nazarenes considered the Mosaic law binding upon themselves, but were willing to dispense with its observance in the case of Gentile converts. They denounced the Scribes

and Pharisees, who by their traditions had hindered the people from believing in Jesus. But they said the whole world would finally be converted to Christ, and all that the prophets had promised concerning the Messiah's kingdom would be fulfilled in him. They called him "The First Born of the Holy Spirit;" but their Gospel represented the Holy Spirit as his *Mother*; probably from the Cabalistic idea that the Divine Wisdom was feminine. Philo embodied the same idea in the Universal Mother, whom he named *Sophia*. Another class of Ebionites supposed that a superior Angel, one who presided over all the other Angels, descended upon Christ at baptism, filled him with Divine power, and remained with him during his life. Others supposed that the Heavenly Man, called Adam Kadman, or the First Adam, who appeared as the progenitor of the human race, had re-appeared in Christ, as the Messiah, to deliver God's last revelation to mankind. Epiphanius, one of the later Christian Fathers, of Jewish parentage, says: "The Ebionites believe that God created the Spirit of Adam before any of the Angels, and made him Lord of all; that this immortal Adam descended from above whenever he pleased; that he had dwelt in the body of the earthly Adam, and afterward in Abraham and David; that in the latter days he had appeared in the form of Jesus, who was the Messiah; that his body was crucified, and he had returned to heaven." He also says: "They do not believe that Christ was born of God the Father, but that he was created, like the archangels; being greater, however, than they, governing the Angels, and all things made by God."

These sects, and others, are confounded together under the general term of Ebionites, a word which Origen defines as meaning The Poor. Some suppose it was contemptuously bestowed upon them because the members of Christian communities generally belonged to the labouring class. Others suppose it originally designated one sect among Jewish Christians, who renounced property. Epiphanius speaks of an Ebionite sect, existing in his time, who ate

no meat, and offered no animals, because they considered sacrificial worship an innovation upon primitive Judaism, and derived from a foreign source. They had a book, called *The Steps of Jacob*, in which that patriarch is represented as discoursing against sacrifices, and the ritual of Temple worship. They considered renunciation of worldly goods essential to Christian perfection, without which no one could participate in the kingdom of the Messiah. They gloried in the name of Ebionites, and traced it back to the circumstance that their forefathers, who, they said, formed the *first* church at Jerusalem, renounced all rights of property, and held all things in common. They praised early marriages, as conducive to virtue, and were opposed to those who over-valued celibacy.

The strict Ebionites considered the Law of Moses binding upon all followers of Christ, whether Jews or Gentiles; therefore they would hold no communion with uncircumcised converts. They believed that the mission of Jesus was confined to Israelites, and those who became so by adopting their customs. They sustained this position by quoting the assertion of Christ, that he did not come to do away the Law, and that whosoever infringed the least of its commandments, could not share his kingdom. They regarded Paul as an apostate, and rejected his writings; saying they were not intended for them, and were written in a language they did not understand. Once a year, at the Passover, they celebrated the Lord's Supper, with unleavened bread and water; the use of wine being contrary to their strict ideas of temperance. They regarded Jesus as a man, the son of Joseph and Mary, whose birth differed in no respect from other mortals. They said he was distinguished by reverence for the Law of Moses, and eminently pious in the observance of it; and on that account he was chosen to be the Messiah. They supposed that he and others were ignorant of his important mission, till Elijah, who had re-appeared in the form of John the Baptist, revealed it to him when he entered the Jordan. At the moment of baptism, he was filled with divine

power, which enabled him to work miracles. This power was supposed to have been infused into him by the descent of some great Spirit from above; concerning whom they had different ideas, as has been already stated. They regarded the Devil as a Power, which God allowed to exist in opposition to the Messiah; that he had control over the present world, and Christ over that which was to come. They lived in constant expectation that the Messiah would return, and restore Jerusalem to more than its former splendour; that the time was at hand when Gentile nations would come and humbly offer to be servants to Israel, bringing with them horses and chariots, litters and dromedaries, silver and gold.

Though the Ebionites were generally too poor to command great advantages of education, there were some learned men among them. The most conspicuous was Symmachus, who flourished about the year two hundred. His translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek is spoken of with the highest respect by Origen, and other writers of his own time.

A strictly Jewish Christian church remained at Pella down to the fifth century. They gradually dwindled away, and all traces of them disappeared, except a few incidental allusions in the writings of the Fathers. The externals of Judaism vanished from Christianity, but many of its ideas and traditions remained permanently fused with the new religion to which it had unconsciously given birth; though the limited idea of Christ, as the Messiah of the Jews, was merged in the doctrine that he was the Redeemer of the World.

THE GNOSTICS.—While the fermentation of the new wine thus burst the old bottles of Jewish conservatism, into which it was first poured, a flood of influences had been pouring in from the Gentile world. The epoch was a peculiar one, and remarkably favourable to the reception and general dissemination of a new religion. War and commerce had mixed people, in an unprecedented manner

from the Indus to the Mediterranean. A multitude of nations were bound together under the government of Rome, and their characters were beginning to be ameliorated by the progressive excellence of Roman laws, which were wise and just beyond any the world had then known. The Greek language was familiar to scholars of all nations, and a door was thus opened for the general dissemination of Grecian philosophy and literature. There had been a long interval of peace, during which art and literature flourished. Socrates, Plato, Cicero, and others, had done much to establish a higher standard of morality, and introduce wiser ideas of Deity. Thinking men had outgrown the religious forms in which they were educated, and either scoffed at them openly, laid them aside silently, or endeavoured to adapt them to their wants, by allegorical interpretation. It was a period of wonderful intellectual activity, and spiritual amalgamation. The souls of men were hungry for truth. They were travelling through all regions of the earth in search of it, with willingness to find portions of it every where, and to adopt them where-soever found. It was precisely a state of things which must inevitably give birth to a new religion, in some form or other.

The earliest establishments of Christianity were in cities which formed a focus for this universal admixture of nations and creeds. Antioch, which was the earliest headquarters of foreign operations, where the followers of Jesus first received the name of Christians, and where the first cathedral was erected, was one of the wealthiest and most populous cities in the world. From its geographical position, the high road between Asia and Europe passed through it; and the magnificent worship of the Daphnæan Apollo annually attracted thither crowds of worshippers.

Ephesus was the great emporium of all Southern Asia, and was of course full of foreigners, especially orientals. Asia, Egypt, Palestine, and Greece, were represented there. Philosophers, and teachers of doctrines new and old, of course, congregated where there was such an audience.

Apollonius the Pythagorean, Cerinthus the Gnostic, the New Platonists, and the Christian Apostles John and Paul, are all recorded as having taught there. We are also informed that disciples of John the Baptist had wandered thither. It is a singular circumstance that they seem to have been unacquainted with the religion of Jesus, notwithstanding their own teacher is said to have announced him so distinctly as the Messiah, in consequence of a visible and audible miracle at his baptism, though they were connected by the natural ties of relationship, and by remarkable visions and prophecies preceding the birth of each. When Paul encountered these disciples of John at Ephesus, they said, in answer to his inquiries, that they had been baptized by John, but had not so much as heard whether there *was* a Holy Ghost. Paul said to them: "John verily baptized with the baptism of repentance, saying unto the people that they should believe on him who should come after; that is, on Christ Jesus. When they heard this, they were baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus."

Rome, where it is generally believed that the Apostle Peter established a church, and where a Christian community certainly existed at a very early period, brought back from her extensive conquests not only the spoils of half the world, but their opinions also. Every system of philosophy was promulgated there, and almost every form of religion was introduced and tolerated, so long as it did not endanger the permanence of existing institutions.

But above all places, Alexandria was the arena for all new theories under the sun. Its founder, Alexander the Great, was well aware that mankind are more tenacious of theological opinions and observances, than they are of civil liberty; he, therefore, very wisely pursued a system of extreme toleration, and permitted almost unlimited freedom of discussion. The wish to make his new city a place of fusion for all nations might have led to the introduction of the worship of Serapis, who was represented as combining all the attributes of all the gods, and who was conse-

quently surrounded by symbols sacred in various religions. The far-famed Library attracted crowds of inquirers from all parts of the world. Not less than fourteen thousand students are said to have been accommodated in the city at one time. Whoever had a new theory to preach, or wished to hear one, went to Alexandria. It was as famous for commerce as for literature; being a great thoroughfare between the East and the West, the half-way house of Asia and Europe. Dion Chrysostom, who wrote in the time of Trajan, says: "I see among you not only Greeks and Italians, Syrians, Libyans, Ethiopians, and Arabians, but Bactrians, Scythians, Persians, and travellers from India, who flow together into this city, and are always with you." There the belief in the supernatural, so conspicuous in Judaism, mingled with the refined speculations of Plato. There were the magnificent monuments of Egypt, her significant traditions, her secret doctrines, her mystic emblems. There the philosophies of Greece attracted more attention than in any country which spoke her harmonious language. The number of Jews in Alexandria equalled those in Palestine; and there were many more educated men among them. They established schools, much frequented by their brethren residing in Babylon, with whom they kept up intimate relations of commerce and friendship. The deserts in the adjoining regions swarmed with Egyptian hermits, who, like their models in Hindostan, considered mortification of the body essential to the good of the soul. In the same solitary places were planted communities of the Jewish Therapeutæ, who mingled oriental doctrines with their reverence for Moses. In this spiritual atmosphere a Christian church grew up, said to have been founded by Mark, the Evangelist, and to have numbered many of the Therapeutæ among its converts. This circumstance, and the constant communication of Alexandria, and other great cities, with the East, are worthy of observation, because the subsequent growth of Christianity was thereby greatly modified.

What goes under the name of oriental philosophy varied in its details in different ages, countries, and sects; but in all its modifications it may be easily recognized by a few characteristic features. They all represented One Supreme Being, dwelling in fulness of Light, from whom Spiritual Intelligences emanated, by laws of inherent necessity, as rays from the sun. Matter, co-eternal with the Supreme, was a refractory force in the universe, the origin of evil. It was contrary to the dignity and purity of the Supreme to make this material world; therefore, they always supposed that one of the Spirits who emanated from him was the Creator and Governor.—Usually, it was the first emanation; as was the Brahma of the Hindoos, the Amun of the Egyptians, the Ormuzd of the Persians, the Logos of Philo and the Platonists, and the Adam Kadman of the Cabalists. But abhorrence of Matter led some sects to suppose a long series of Spirits between God and the world. They all considered the souls of men as inferior emanations from God, degraded and fettered by connection with Matter, and regarded it as the great object of existence to become re-united to the Source whence they proceeded. This could be done by subduing the appetites, avoiding external attractions, and thinking intently upon holy things. In this state of mind, the science of God, the only true knowledge, would be revealed to the soul by intuition. The Hindoo Vedas are full of praises of this "science," and the blissful "absorption in Brahm," which it produces. Plato prescribes subjugation of the senses, and contemplation on divine subjects, as the means of obtaining inward perceptions of the World of Spirits, and becoming one with God. The number Three is sacred in all theories derived from oriental sources. Deity is always a Trinity of some kind, or the successive emanations proceed in threes. Seven is likewise significant; being the number of the Planetary Spirits, and of the spheres of light they inhabit; of which the resplendent sphere of the Supreme is the eighth and highest. What was the original source of these systems the learned may settle, if they can. The germ of it all is evi-

dently in the most ancient books of Hindostan. Whether India borrowed it from Egypt, or lent it to her, is immaterial. The old Grecian philosophers took it from Egypt. When Christianity was introduced, it was floating all round the world, and intellectual men had everywhere a leaning toward it, in some form or other. In its more elevated Platonic form, it was grafted upon Judaism by Philo; and the Cabalists did the same thing, in a more complicated oriental fashion. How early it mingled with Christianity may be seen in the theories of Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others. It has been already shown how Simon Magus modified it, and Cerinthus attempted to join it with both Judaism and Christianity. They were followed by a series of teachers, whose systems differed from each other in various particulars, but who were known by the general name of Gnostics, from the Greek word Gnosis, meaning Science; because they all agreed in believing that the soul could arrive at perfection only by means of the science, or knowledge, of God, intuitively received from Him.

SATURNINUS.—One of the earliest of the Gnostic teachers was Saturninus, born at Antioch in Syria, early in the second century. He taught One Supreme God, from whom emanated many Spirits, or Powers. Seven of these, whose leader was the Jehovah of the Jews, created the world, and rebelled against the Supreme. He said the Hebrew prophets were inspired by these Spirits; though he supposed they were in some cases inspired by Satan. Not being educated in the Jewish religion, he did not see it in the hallowed light which surrounds all traditionary faith. He was shocked at the idea that the Supreme God could be jealous of other gods, that his anger could "wax hot," that he could command the Israelites to rob the Egyptians, and to slaughter whole tribes, with their women and children; that he promised temporal rewards for goodness, and confined his fatherly care to one single people. He was of a religious turn of mind, and deeply impressed by the purity

and benevolence of Christian morals. He found it difficult to believe that "a religion which called man so high, could be the daughter of a religion which often placed the character of God so low." He believed that Christ was an emanation from the Supreme, and was sent into the world by Him, not by Jehovah, who was a Spirit far inferior to Christ. His oriental views concerning Matter led him to reject the idea that Christ was born of a woman. He said he had not a real human body, but was a mere appearance, an incorporeal image; as Hindoos were accustomed to say concerning the appearance of their deities on earth. He denied the resurrection of the body, deeming it pollution for the soul to re-enter its prison of flesh. He thought souls of the good finally returned to the Celestial Source whence they emanated. He divided human souls into two distinct classes; children of light, who emanated from Good Spirits, and children of darkness, who emanated from Evil Spirits. Satan was always assisting the latter class to tempt and ensnare the children of light. It was the mission of Christ on earth to effectually separate these conflicting races; to rescue good souls, and destroy the kingdom of evil. He thought it wrong for the elect to propagate an imperfect, impure race, or to indulge in any sensual pleasures. Therefore, he and his followers were strictly ascetic. They abjured matrimony, and abstained from wine and animal food.

BASILIDES.—Basilides, cotemporary with Saturninus, was a Syrian by birth, but resided in Alexandria. His system was more complicated. He taught that seven families of Spirits emanated from the Supreme One, in progressive degrees of descent, and went on multiplying, till they numbered three hundred and sixty-five. Every family formed for itself a sphere of light, wherein they dwelt. Each of these abodes was a copy, or reflex, of the one above it, but less perfect. The lowest one approached near the kingdom of darkness, which felt its rays, and tried to be united with it. Spirits of Light were thus drawn down into the inert mass,

and brought into contact with Matter. The Presiding Angel of the lowest sphere of light was the Jehovah of the Jews. He resolved to reduce the chaotic mass of matter into order; and, with the assistance of his companions, he created this world. He manifested his selfishness by being jealous of other Principalities and Powers, and by wishing to reduce all nations to his own dominion. He was entirely ignorant of the Supreme One, who dwelt in the eighth sphere, high above all the other spheres. Man had a threefold nature; consisting of a pure spirit, which emanated from The Supreme; a sensitive soul, which he received from Jehovah the Creator; and a body formed of brute matter. By successive emigrations into various bodies, the imprisoned soul was to be at last released from the impure companionship of the body, and re-ascend to celestial spheres. Basilides said of himself: "I lived once without the law; that is, before I came into this human body, I lived in a form which is not subject to the law; in a brute body." Origen says his disciples held that one class of human souls were always finally saved by the influence of Good Spirits, to whom they were related, and that another kind were always influenced by Evil Spirits, and never saved; in support of which they quoted what John said of "the children of God," and "children of the Devil." To enable souls fettered and tempted by Matter in this world, to elevate themselves to the upper kingdom of light, the Supreme sent down the highest emanation, Christ, his First Born Son, who descended on the man Jesus when he was baptized, and remained united with him during his life, enabling him to perform miracles, and teach the true God. By faith in him, and obedience to his precepts, souls arrived at a consciousness of their high origin and destination, and were thus redeemed. Their ideas concerning Matter of course prevented the Basilidians from regarding the sufferings and death of the body as any atonement for sin. They said Jesus was not crucified; that Simon of Cyrene, who carried the cross, was changed into his form, and the Jews executed him, while Jesus stood aloof, and

smiled at the mistake of his enemies. This sect was numerous, and continued till into the fourth century. They began in purity, but are said to have degenerated fast. Having admitted that the soul might be too much elevated above the body to be polluted by its actions, and that the saints were thus freed from all law, some of them manifested the same disregard of morality, which has often characterized devotees of Hindostan, who held similar doctrines. Clement of Alexandria speaks of followers of Basilides, "who lead incorrect lives, as persons authorized to sin, because of their perfection; who will certainly be saved, though they sin now, because of an election founded in nature."

MARCION.—Marcion was born at Sinope in Syria, at the commencement of the second century. He was educated in the polytheistic worship; but his father became a Christian convert, and was elected Bishop of Sinope. The son also embraced the new faith with great enthusiasm. The moral precepts of Christ seemed to him far superior to anything that had ever been revealed to man, and he had the most earnest wish to bring his mind into strict conformity with them. So great was the austerity of his manners, that he was soon chosen presbyter of his father's church. The Hebrew Scriptures did not commend themselves to his mind. He was continually troubled by the feelings and actions ascribed to Deity; and by the idea of his direct agency upon Matter, in the creation of the world. Oriental views concerning the body led him to consider celibacy essential to holiness; and thinking this view was favoured by expressions and examples in the Christian Scriptures, he vowed himself to perpetual chastity. Similarity of religious sentiments brought him into frequent communion with one of the consecrated virgins of the church, and rumours arose that earthly feelings mingled with their spiritual friendship; but there is no evidence that the report was well founded. His father, displeased with his views concerning the Hebrew Scriptures, thought it a duty

to excommunicate him, lest he should infect the church.

He repaired to Rome, hoping to be better understood there, than he had been in his native place. His theories developed themselves into a form of Gnosticism, more simple and practical than most of the systems bearing that name. He did not occupy himself with metaphysical speculations, or genealogies of Spirits. He held the common doctrine that God and Matter were co-eternal principles. From the Supreme One emanated many Spirits. One of them was Jehovah, the Creator of the world, and lawgiver of the Jews. His intentions in making the world were just, but limited. Unhappily, the refractory force of matter, and of Evil Spirits, was so strong, that Jehovah could not entirely realize his plans. Though his ideas were not of the most elevated order, the world would have been much better if he had not been counteracted in his operations. Man was his noblest work, whose soul was of the same essence with his Maker. But the Creator could not separate from his world the evil inherent in Matter; and man could not withdraw himself from the influence of the bad elements, of which his body was formed. Jehovah gave them a commandment too difficult to keep. They disobeyed it, and thus fell still more under the influence of Matter and of Evil Spirits. According to Marcion's ideas, "the Creator acted toward them with as much weakness as severity. If he had been all-good, he would not have willed their fall; if he had been all-wise he would have foreseen it; if he had been all-powerful, he would have prevented it." However, he did what he could to console them. Those who were faithful to his commandments, as Abel, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he adopted as his favourites, and lavished terrestrial favours upon them and their descendants. Though he afterward required them to bear the heavy yoke of the Mosaic Law, he lightened their burdens by placing them in a fertile territory, and he cheered them with prophecies that his Son would appear on earth, clothed with great power, to destroy their enemies, and secure to them the dominion of the whole

world. But Marcion maintained that Jesus was not the Messiah promised to the Jews, and was not sent by Jehovah. He said his character wanted many of those marks of the Messiah contained in the Prophets; and, on the other hand, his peculiar characteristics were *not* among those foretold by them. He said the Supreme One, seeing the world in such hopeless confusion, and having compassion on the many nations who had no knowledge of himself, or even of Jehovah, but who were nevertheless threatened with destruction for disobeying laws of which many of them had never heard, resolved, in his infinite mercy, to make a revelation of himself, and call the whole human race to a high destiny. Being entirely unknown to men, he could not introduce himself to them in any other way, than by assuming a human form. He was not born of woman, not even apparently; and he was not clothed in human flesh; for that would have been contrary to the laws of the universe, and unworthy of a God of purity. He quitted his celestial abode, invisibly traversed the sphere where Jehovah dwelt, and suddenly appeared in the synagogue of the Jews at Capernaum, in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar. He announced himself as the Son of God, the Christ, the Redeemer. He discountenanced their strictness in outward observances, reproved their faith in traditions, encouraged those who, like himself, were elevated above the Law, taught an entirely new system of morals, and called all people, the Jews included, to happiness not merely terrestrial, but heavenly and eternal. "He preached a God who had never before been known, either to the Gentiles by nature, or to the Jews by revelation." To sustain this assertion, Marcion quoted his saying: "No man knoweth the Father but the Son."

As Christ had only the appearance of a human body, of course he could only appear to die. Marcion considered his redemption of mankind to mean nothing more than enfranchisement from the limitations of the old Law, and the introduction of high and universal laws. After his apparent death, being touched with compassion for the past

generations of men, he went into the regions where existed those departed souls, who had been rewarded by Jehovah, or punished by him. To all of them he preached the Unknown God. Those who were enjoying the rewards of Jehovah were contented with their condition, and rejected his teaching; but those who were suffering, heard him eagerly. Cain and his descendants, who had perished in the Deluge, the Sodomites, and the Egyptians, who had been so severely punished, were led by him into celestial regions.

Above all other Gnostics, Marcion was characterized by inveterate aversion to Jewish institutions. This appears to have been, in a great measure, the result of exceeding spirituality, leading him to despise and condemn every thing external and temporal. He wrote a book to prove the complete antithesis between the Hebrew religion, and that of Christians. He would not admit that they had any thing in common, or that they were taught by the same Deity. He said the God revealed by Christ was incapable of change, full of love, compassion, and forgiveness. But Jehovah was jealous, vindictive, cruel, and arbitrary, and manifested his weakness by repenting of things he had done. So far from having sent Jesus on earth, he considered him incapable of understanding his character or mission, as trying to impede it in every way, and being in all respects his adversary. To prove this, he quoted Paul's words: "In whom the God of *this world* hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them." This passage was supposed to give him so much the advantage in controversy, that Irenæus and Tertullian were for putting a comma after God, and straining the sentence to mean "God had blinded the minds of the unbelievers of this world." Marcion said the Messiah, whom Jehovah had promised to the Jews, would certainly come, sooner or later, and gather his partisans together in Palestine, where they would enjoy the earthly felicity so much coveted by their external natures.

He urged it as a proof of the very limited nature of Jehovah, that he did not know where Adam was, and whether he had transgressed his commands; but had need to inquire: "Where art thou? Hast thou eaten of the tree?" As proof that he was not the All Good Being, he alleged that he declared to his prophet, Isaiah: "I create darkness, and I create evil." Believing the Hebrew Scriptures to be dictated by Jehovah, or his Angels, he, of course, considered them exceedingly imperfect. He said Christ spoke of them as old bottles, that would burst as soon as the new wine of his doctrines was poured into them; and that Paul described them as the letter which killeth, while he called the teaching of Christ the spirit that maketh alive.

At that period, almost every new sect made a Gospel to suit its own theories, or mutilated and patched together those already in use. Marcion did not produce any book professing to be a new revelation, as did many of the Gnostics. He did not wish to embellish Christianity with any Egyptian, Persian, or Grecian ornaments; for he maintained that no system, religious or philosophical, had ever approached it in excellence. But he asserted that the Scriptures had been changed; and he thought it was his mission to restore them to their primitive purity. With his oriental ideas of Matter, he could not be otherwise than offended with the general expectation that Christ would come again in the flesh, and establish an earthly kingdom. He was particularly disgusted with the unspiritual pictures of the millennium, which some of the Christian Fathers delighted to sketch, and which they thought were sustained by Jewish and apostolic writings. Believing himself to be enlightened by the divine Gnosis, he refused to adopt any thing that appeared to him at variance with the character of the Universal Father. He maintained that the Apostles were imperfect mediums of the truth; that they were full of Jewish prejudices, and, therefore, incapable of understanding the elevated and comprehensive teaching of Christ, or of representing him correctly. In support of

this view, he quoted the saying of Jesus: "I have many things to tell you, but you can not bear them now." The Fathers, in controversy with him, admitted that the Apostles perceived only fragments of truth, while Jesus was with them, but contended that they perfectly comprehended all truth after the Holy Spirit descended upon them. Marcion went still further, and alleged that the Apostolic Fathers had altered the imperfect writings they had received. Upon that ground, he rejected a large portion of the collection. In compiling what he called The Gospel of the Lord, he principally made use of the writings of Luke. But he struck out the first two chapters, concerning the miraculous conception, and the circumcision of Jesus. He likewise omitted every indication of Christ's conformity to Jewish institutions; also the sanction of a wedding by his presence, and furnishing the guests with wine. The Fathers say that he even erased the beautiful text: "For your Heavenly Father maketh his sun to shine on the evil and the good, and causeth his rain to fall upon the just and the unjust." He omitted this, because the sun and rain were mere material blessings, which it belonged to Jehovah to dispense, but which were altogether beneath the notice of the Supreme Being. His opponents alleged that "he was directed by his opinions; that he first formed a system, and then arranged a Gospel to suit it." Tertullian says: "I maintain that my Gospel of Luke is the true copy; Marcion says that his is so. I affirm that his copy is adulterated; he says that mine is so." He adds that his own copy was the more ancient one, and that Marcion himself for some time received it. From the acknowledged character of Marcion, it does not seem likely that he consciously practised fraud in making alterations. Believing himself freed from the letter, and guided by the Spirit, he might have done it with all honesty of purpose. Moreover, it should be remembered that there is no existing copy of his Gospel, and all the accounts we have of it are contained in the writings of his theological opponents.

Marcion was a strict moralist, and of a very devotional

turn of mind. He seems to have been actuated by an earnest and sincere conviction that he was restoring the doctrines of primitive Christianity. He made frequent journeys, and spent his life in continual controversies with philosophers and Christians. The dislike he encountered was painful to him, but it never tempted him to conceal or modify his opinions. He looked upon this world as a scene of perpetual conflict, and was accustomed to call his disciples "fellow sufferers." His habits were exceedingly ascetic; for he considered it the chief object of life to mortify the body. It was a rule with his sect to eat and drink merely enough to sustain existence. They fasted often, and lived principally on bread, water, milk, honey, and oil. They never tasted meat, but sometimes ate a little fish, citing the example of Jesus as authority. They abjured marriage, and admitted none but the perfectly chaste to partake of the Lord's Supper; the reception of which they believed communicated the Spirit of God. Their manners were habitually grave, and their dress very plain. The men cut off their hair, regarding it as of no use to the soul. They despised all shows and amusements, and everything intended to please the eye, the ear, or any of the senses. They taught that there was no merit in any actions, except those which were done purely for the love of God. They generally led very blameless lives, and their virtues were acknowledged even by those who most strenuously denounced their doctrines. Though Christians refused to acknowledge them as brethren, they had such reverence for the character and doctrines of Christ, as they understood them, that many of them endured martyrdom in their defence.

The sect of Marcionites increased rapidly, and became very numerous. The great number of books written against them in the second century shows the prevalence of their doctrines. They had many societies in Egypt, Persia, Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Italy, and other places. There was a long succession of Marcionite bishops. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyprus, so late as the middle of the fifth

century, says he found a million of Marcionites in his diocese, whom he converted. They continued to be objects of persecution as late as the sixth century, when they disappeared from history.

CARPOCRATES.—Carpocrates, who flourished near the middle of the second century, was an Alexandrian, said to have been educated in Christianity. He was nearly cotemporary with Basilides, and taught similar theories concerning emanations, though in a much simpler form. His doctrine concerning Christ was peculiar. He did not regard him as the first emanation from God, but as a mere man, the son of Joseph and Mary. Being imbued with the Oriental and Platonic ideas concerning the preëxistence of all souls, he explained the superior wisdom and power of Jesus, by attributing to him a clearness of reminiscence above all other men; so that he remembered more perfectly what he had seen with the Supreme One, before he descended through the spiritual spheres, and at last entered a human body. The celestial types of things, which remained in his memory, led him to the most sublime contemplations, by means of which he united himself with the Supreme Being, and became one with Him. All men who attained to such union were believed to share the power of the Supreme, and to be thus enabled to accomplish supernatural things. It was by this means that Jesus performed miracles, supplanted the religion taught to the Jews by their imperfect Deity, and revealed a God of infinite benevolence and purity. Another and prominent part of his mission was supposed to be to free men from external laws, and enable them to be guided solely by the interior light of the Gnosis, or Divine Science. The Carpocratians, in common with other Gnostics, did not consider this intuitive wisdom as their own peculiar possession. They believed it had been imparted, in a greater or less degree, to the wise and good of all ages and nations. Abraham, Moses, Pythagoras, Plato, and Jesus, had all been enlightened and guided by the Gnosis. Those who were habitually under its influence

were freed from the laws of this world, from external ceremonies, from all that the populace regarded as religion. They were raised above all sublunary considerations, and became calm and unalterable, like God. All human souls being preëxistent, it was supposed that all might become as holy as Jesus, and do the same things, or even greater, if they despised external things more than he did. Some of this sect thought they had attained to a spiritual state far above the Apostles, and on an equality with Christ. The idea of expiation by blood they regarded as a gross superstition. The physical agonies of Jesus had no relation to his mission; they were like the sufferings of an innocent child, who merely shares the common lot of human nature. The doctrine of the fall of man, and of original sin, was rejected by them. They thought beings in this world were merely inferior in degree to those of the upper spheres; fettered by their connection with Matter, but not wicked. All religious ceremonies, including vocal prayer, and all that Christians generally called good works, they considered as external and indifferent things. Those who attached importance to such forms, they regarded as still under subjection to those inferior Spirits, who had established the religious and civil institutions of nations. Being slaves to those subordinate Deities during their human lives, they would still continue to be so after death; they could never raise themselves above their imperfect masters. It was only by contemplating God, by faith, and charity toward others, that men could attain to a calm and serene holiness in this world, and to the felicity of the Supreme in the next.

This sect occupied themselves but little with abstruse discussions, or spiritual genealogies. They were very numerous, and consisted of various branches. They venerated images of Zoroaster, Pythagoras, Plato, Jesus, Carpocrates, and others, whom they regarded as great teachers, and as common benefactors of mankind. Hebrew Sacred Books they considered as the work of inferior Spirits. Of the Christian Scriptures, they accepted only the Gospel by

Matthew; which must, of course, have been without the first two chapters.

The system of Carpocrates was developed to its extreme results by his son Epiphaneas, a youth of distinguished talent. He said there was but one law, the Law of Nature; and that law taught the community and unity of all things. Laws regulating marriage and property he regarded as infringements on the great principles of nature, and only calculated to make men selfish and hostile to each other. He therefore inculcated community of wives and of worldly goods. Though he lived but seventeen years, he gained such influence over the minds of many, that in Cephalaria they paid divine honours to his memory, erected a large temple, and consecrated altars and chapels to him. At the New Moon, they came together from all the neighbouring regions, and celebrated his birth, and elevation among the gods, with hymns, garlands, libations, and banquets.

BARDESANES.—Bardesan was born near Edessa, in Syria, in the latter part of the second century. He was educated in Christianity, and always cherished devout reverence for its precepts. He had great aversion to all forms of polytheistic worship, but was strongly attached to Grecian philosophy. Born on the confines of Syria and Mesopotamia, he was at the confluence of Persian, Jewish, Grecian, and Christian doctrines. He thus became well versed in Chaldean astrology, and in the traditions of various nations, all of which were received into an earnest soul, naturally ardent and imaginative. He reduced to writing certain communications made by ambassadors from India to the philosophers who accompanied Lucius Verus in his travels to the East. In these Commentaries on India he described anchorites, and religious communities, in the forests of Hindostan, who merely endured life as a necessary bondage to nature, and were in haste to have their souls freed from the body. He said they were divided into two sects, Bramins and Samaneans; [either Jains or Buddhists,] that one had an hereditary priesthood, and

the other elected theirs. Any one who chose that mode of life was at liberty to join the Samaneans. When he resolved upon taking such a step, he left his wife and family, divested himself of all worldly possessions, shaved his head, and joined one of the religious communities, where they fed on bread and herbs, lived entirely apart from women, and were frequently summoned to prayer. He says they were held in such reverence for sanctity, that kings often visited them, to obtain advice and ask their prayers.

Bardesanes was religious by temperament, sincerely devoted to Christianity, and an eloquent pleader in its behalf, even when the persecuting decrees of Marcus Aurelius were in full force. His uncommon talent and exemplary character rendered him of importance; and he was urged in the name of Lucius Verus, the emperor's colleague, to renounce Christianity, at a time when it was perilous to refuse. He replied: "I do not fear death; I know very well that I cannot avoid it, even by yielding to the emperor." He preached against Marcion's system, but subsequently became a Gnostic, and chief of a numerous sect. In his time doctrines were not defined with much precision, and, at the beginning, he uttered his own convictions without intending, or expecting, to produce any schism in the church. He admitted the sacredness of both Jewish and Christian Scriptures; and also of many other writings then reverentially received, but afterward decided to be apocryphal. But to all these he gave mystical and allegorical interpretations, like Philo and the Cabalists.

At the head of all things, he placed the unknown Father, dwelling in the Pleroma, or Fulness of Light, and happy in his own perfect purity. Matter, co-eternal with him, was a dark inert mass, the source of all evil, and the mother of Satan. Like the Cabalists, he supposed that the first emanation from the Supreme was his feminine companion Sophia, [Wisdom.] From them proceeded seven successive couples of emanations. At the head of them all was Christ, the first-born Son of God, and his sister and

spouse, named Sophia Achamoth; which signifies the Lower Wisdom.

This last character is conspicuous in the system of Bardesanes, and seems to be the embodiment of a complicated idea. In one aspect, she is presented as a Presiding Intelligence, like the Spirits of the planets. In the religious sense, she seems to be the same as the Holy Ghost in Christian theology, who was always represented as feminine by some sects of Judaizing Christians. In the physical order, she apparently represents the Platonic Soul of the World, which could be brought into relations with Matter, and thus produce visible forms. From Christ and herself proceeded Spirits of the Elements. With their assistance she formed the world; and being greatly captivated by the terrestrial beauties thus produced, she remained a long time brooding over Matter, at a distance from Christ, her celestial mate. But, at last, she began to feel within herself something superior to all that surrounded her, and she was filled with longing to be restored to the spheres of light, whence she had descended. Her long connection with material things made it difficult; but Christ, perceiving her efforts to rise, came to her assistance. He did not force her to act as he would have acted himself; he left her at liberty, but sought to lure her upward. She saw in him the perfect image of Celestial Light, and loved him with her whole being. Through paths of purification he tenderly guided her to her heavenly home, where she was finally re-united with him. Bardesanes, in one of his hymns, commemorates this spiritual consummation under the imagery of a sublime, mysterious marriage, celebrated by a banquet. Human souls, who received the divine gift of the Gnosis, could raise themselves toward regions of light, and finally become united to Sophia Achamoth, as she was united with Christ. The disciples of Bardesanes were accustomed to express their aspirations for this holy union in the following prayer, addressed to the Divine Sophia, Mother of Christ, and of Sophia Achamoth: "May we assist at thy banquet, contemplate thy guests the Angels, and thy daughter Sophia

Achamoth, whom thou holdest upon thy knees, loading her with caresses, and charming her with songs." Prayers were often addressed to this Divine Mother of the Universe, supposed to dwell with her mate, the Supreme Father, in the Pleroma, or eighth Sphere of Light. At the moment of baptism this prayer was repeated: "Come, Mother of Mercy! Come, thou Mother, who revealest hidden mysteries! that we may attain to repose in the eighth house."

Bardesanes adopted the Persian doctrine of a perpetual struggle for supremacy between the Supreme and Satan, with Spirits of Light on one side, and Spirits of Darkness on the other. Human souls were Spirits, who had transgressed the laws of the Supreme Father, and thus become imprisoned in material bodies, by the law of affinities, evil to evil. In this condition, the race of mortals gradually lost all knowledge of their high origin. Many Spirits had been sent, from time to time, to give them laws. At last, Christ, the Son of the Supreme, descended upon earth, to open to them the perspective of their heavenly destiny, and relieve them from the heavy burdens which weighed upon their life. He had not a body of flesh, but a celestial form, the same in which he appeared as an Angel to the patriarchs; therefore he could not suffer death, but only appeared to die. Having fulfilled his benevolent mission, he ascended to his Father.

Bardesanes supposed that the material world was intrusted to Spirits residing in the Planets, and in the Constellations of the Zodiac. They caused abundance or famine, storms or fine weather; thus they had great power over the destinies of men. But, like everything else in the universe, these Spirits were subject to the will of the Supreme Father. No beings could resist his will. If they appeared to do so, it was because he, in his goodness, granted each one that which was proper to his nature, and to his individual will. The Spirits of the Stars had power only over man's exterior nature, by which he lived in relations with the material world; such as hunger, disease, and

death. His rational soul, being an emanation from the Supreme, was above all natural laws. There was no resurrection of the body: the soul, once freed from its prison, could never enter it again.

Bardesanes composed a hundred and fifty hymns, said to have been remarkable for musical rhythm, and glowing poetic imagery. Through these attractive channels he spread abroad the mystical ideas, he had brought from the great storehouse of doctrines, with which his learning had made him acquainted. Being of a musical temperament, he himself trained the young people to sing the devotional songs, which might be heard everywhere in the Syrian churches, and wherever the devout were assembled. Harmonius, his son, composed hymns embodying similar ideas, and said to have been still more beautiful. They also were in all hearts, and might be heard from all tuneful lips.

This sect had numerous adherents; but they always endeavoured to avoid a schism with the Christian church, to which they were sincerely attached. By successive efforts at conformity, they gradually lost their distinctive traits, and scarcely any traces of them can be discovered in the fifth century. But the fame of Bardesanes remained conspicuous among his cotemporaries. His rare eloquence was long remembered; his character was venerated, and his devotional poetry sung in Christian churches, many years after he and his followers were excluded from orthodox communion.

VALENTINIANS.—Valentinus, a learned and eloquent man, of Jewish origin, was educated in Alexandria, in the second century. He taught a system resembling that of Bardesanes in its general features, but very much more complicated. He had enthusiastic disciples, especially in Rome and Cyprus. They respected the Hebrew Sacred Books, and were accustomed to sustain their theories by allegories and symbols drawn from them. The Fathers speak of them as the most numerous and the most fanatical of all the Gnostic sects.

OPHITES.—The Ophites, supposed to have originated in Alexandria, received their name from Ophis, the Greek word for Serpent, because that emblem was conspicuous in their worship. Their theory of emanations was about the same as that of the Valentinians, with the exception of the formation of a Spirit named Jesus. They considered the Creator of the world a very inferior Spirit, and the presiding Deity of the Jews. They despised his Mosaic Laws, and the external character of the Messiah he promised. They said he forbade man to eat of the tree of knowledge merely out of jealousy, because he knew it would reveal valuable mysteries, and confer upon him power from on high. But Sophia Achamoth, mother of the Creator, who was always counteracting his efforts against the human race, sent a Spirit in the form of a serpent, to induce Adam to disobey his command. The Creator, finding man enabled to rise to spheres above himself, by the assistance of Sophia and other guiding Spirits, cast an angry glance into the depths of Matter, and an image of envy and hate was reflected there, in a tortuous form; and that was Satan.

Christ was the guide and saviour of all that appertained to the spiritual spheres. The imperfect Sophia Achamoth governed and protected all that was connected with Matter. The perfect came to the aid of the imperfect, and attracted upward all who wished to follow the light. At the intercession of Sophia, Christ descended on the man Jesus at his baptism, and by uniting with him enabled him to reveal the true God, and to work miracles. The Creator seeing his worship in danger of being abolished, instigated the Jews to crucify him. The Christ departed from him during his sufferings, but afterward re-animated him, and gave him an ærial body; and that was the reason his disciples did not know him. In this form, Jesus remained on earth eighteen months, and by means of Sophia received the true Gnosis, which he communicated to a small number of Apostles, who were capable of receiving it. Then he ascended through the seven Planetary Spheres to the Pleroma,

whither he attracted all souls who loved the light. When Spirit was entirely separated from Matter, the redemption would be complete, and the world would be consumed.

They said the Hebrew Books contained very few and imperfect revelations from Sophia, and that the prophets, who predicted a Messiah, had no conception of the true Christ. They believed there had been degrees of revelation imparted to thinking men of all nations. They regarded that of Jesus Christ as superior to all others; but they said it had been altered by his disciples, who were never capable of comprehending him. The Ophites had several books which they revered as revelations of spiritual truth, suited to the initiated. Some of them they ascribed to Adam, others to the Patriarchs.

They were a numerous and celebrated sect, and divided into various branches. One branch of them was characterized by extreme strictness. They prescribed absolute chastity, abstemious diet, frequent fasts, and abstinence from all pleasures of the senses. Others, imbued with the same contempt for the body, regarded its actions of no consequence, and gave themselves up to the greatest excesses. One branch, called the Sethites, were of Jewish origin. They did not combat Judaism, and recognized both patriarchs and prophets as servants of the true God. They thought Seth was the son of Sophia, who had filled him with the divine Gnosis, and that his descendants were a spiritual race. Afterward, when Evil Spirits were bringing everything into confusion, Sophia again sent her son Seth into the world, in the form of Jesus, to save mankind. They attributed to her all that was good and pure in the inferior worlds.

In extreme opposition to the Sethites were the Cainites, the greatest enemies of Jewish institutions, and the most daring of all the Gnostics in maintaining that the spirit was independent of all acts of the body. Cain, Dathan, Abiram, the inhabitants of Sodom, and all who suffered by the judgments of Jehovah, they regarded as a superior race of men, the true family of Sophia, and therefore per-

secuted by him. The Hebrew Sacred Books, being instigated by such an inferior Spirit as Jehovah, contained no high revelations. The Gospels and Epistles used by Christians were mere appendages of Judaism, and explained very badly either the true history, or the true doctrines of Christ. The majority of the Apostles were blinded by Judaism. Judas was the only spiritual one among them. Sophia had imparted to him the divine Gnosis, so that he comprehended the true relations between the superior and the inferior worlds. He knew that the empire of Jehovah would be destroyed by the death of Jesus; and it was to bring about that desirable result, that he betrayed him. These facts were established in the Gospel of Judas, the only true Gospel; and it was in the possession of the Cainites, who regarded themselves as the only true Christians.

MARCUS.—Marcus, from Palestine, avoided the objection brought against many of the Gnostic sects, that the doctrine of masculine and feminine emanations, in couples, conveyed sensual ideas. He said when the Father wished to manifest himself, he uttered a Word of four letters, and each letter became a Spiritual Being. The first and highest was the Logos, who included in himself all the attributes of the Supreme. This Logos was the Christ, who came on earth to free men from the entanglements of their material being. The second word uttered by the Father produced four other Spirits; the third word, being of ten letters, produced ten; and the fourth produced twelve. God imparted to each Spirit as much truth as his nature was capable of receiving. Marcus, being in full unqualified possession of the Gnosis, to him all truth was revealed. The Marcosians were in the habit of administering two baptisms. By the first, they believed men were purified from sins; by the second, they attained perfection, and were brought into full communion with the Pleroma. By this second baptism, the soul was supposed to be united to its other half in the spiritual world, its Archetype, or Angel; what Greeks were accustomed to call a man's

Genius, or Demon; therefore they celebrated the last baptism like a wedding, and the room where the ceremony took place was decorated like a bridal chamber. They anointed the dead, and pronounced a form of prayer, that the departed soul might rise to its Mother Sophia, unimpeded by Evil Spirits.

MANI.—The most celebrated of all names among the Gnostics is that of Mani, said to have been born in Persia, in the year two hundred and thirty-nine. In early life, he met with a collection of books called *The Treasury of Mysteries*, purporting to have been written by an Egyptian, and to have been introduced into Persia by one of the author's disciples, called Buddas; whom tradition declared to have been born of a virgin. These books which were doubtless connected with the religion of Bouddha, took strong hold of Mani's impressible soul. Having come into possession of them by the death of their original owner, he made them the foundation of a new theological system, to which he soon gained adherents. He is said to have been of the class of the Magi, and well versed in the knowledge of his age and nation. He was acquainted with astronomy and mathematics, and had made a globe. He was also considered skilful in medicine, and had the general reputation of a wise man. The king of Persia imprisoned him. Some say it was because his son died after being intrusted to his medical care; others that it was on the charge of teaching things contrary to the Magian doctrines. While he was in prison, one of his disciples brought him some of the Christian writings. His eager mind seized hold of them with avidity, and grafted them upon his previous theories. He persuaded himself that he was the Paraclete, or Comforter, promised by Christ; that he was sent to purge Christianity from Jewish imperfections, and from errors which the clergy had introduced, and to preach a new mysterious doctrine, too elevated to have been revealed to the Apostles. Having escaped from prison, he spent some time in a cave, where he thought he

received special revelations. He afterward went into Mesopotamia, where he began to preach his doctrines to the Christians. Like Zoroaster, he thought that there was a perpetual conflict between Spirits of Light and of Darkness, the Chiefs of which ruled the world between them. But he did not teach that there was One Supreme Source, from which all these Spirits emanated. The Good God lived in resplendent Light. All pure things proceeded from him, and were under his dominion. The Evil God dwelt among Shadows and Darkness. He was the Spirit of Matter, and governed all sensual and evil things. The Good was superior, and must eventually conquer; though after prolonged and terrible struggles. From him emanated a long series of Spirits, all portions of himself, sharers of his majesty and glory, and co-workers with him in various departments, to subdue the Spirits of Evil. The Satan of Matter had also his legion of Spirits, emanating from his essence, and subservient to his orders. But harmony did not prevail among Spirits of Darkness, as it did among Spirits of Light. There were dissensions among them, and the defeated faction withdrew to the extreme verge of their dominions. An interior feeling attracted Satan toward the kingdom of Light, of which he had caught a distant glimpse. His legions, being ravished by its beauty, wished to conquer it. The Good God, seeing Darkness about to invade his brilliant spheres, produced a being called the Mother of Life, and placed her on the frontiers, to protect his kingdom from the Evil Powers. She was too pure to come in contact with Matter, but she produced a son, called the Primeval Man, who was fitted for the work. His name and mission seem like a repetition of the Cabalistic ideas concerning Adam Kadman, the Immortal Adam. In his contests with the Powers of Darkness, they so far succeeded as to drag down a portion of his Light. He himself would have fallen into the realm of Shadows, had not the Good God created the Holy Spirit who was sent to rescue him. The Prince of Darkness, fearing the celestial Light would escape from him, resolved to create

material forms, in which it could be imprisoned. His legions had been struck with the radiant beauty of the Primeval Man, whom they had seen high above them, in the regions of the sun. Their Chief said to them: "It behoves you to give up to me all the light you have; from it I will make an image of that lofty one, who appeared so glorious: through which we shall be able to rule, and one day liberate ourselves from our abode in darkness." After long deliberation, they complied with his proposal. Accordingly, he created Adam; whom Mani says was called the Son of Man because he was made of a portion of the Primeval Heavenly Man. His body was formed of opaque Matter, and had a soul in affinity with it, the seat of the passions; within them both was a more excellent soul, formed of the heavenly Light they had stolen. He was thus closely allied with the Good and the Evil Powers. Contrary to the expectation of his Creator, the interior soul proved too strong for its envelopment, and seemed likely to free itself. In vain he strove to attract it to the earth, by surrounding it with a Paradise of material beauty. The tendency was ever upward. He was obliged to forbid Adam to eat of the tree of knowledge of Good and Evil, lest he should learn how to escape from the Evil and unite with the Good. But an Angel of Light was sent to induce him to disobey the command, and to give him a promise of victory. Then the Spirits of Darkness, to maintain their power over Adam, created Eve. She was of an inferior nature, because the celestial fire had been used up to make the soul of man. But she was surpassingly beautiful, and, for her sake, the soul of Adam was content to remain imprisoned in his body. The sensual principle triumphed over the divine; an imperfect race of beings was propagated, and the Primeval Light, thus divided among many souls, was more feebly attracted toward its Source. All human beings shared the mixed nature of their ancestor. But some had a larger infusion of the ethereal essence, and were consequently more powerfully drawn toward the heavenly regions whence that

essence was derived. Others received a greater portion of the sensuous soul, which came from the Evil Powers, and thus had a proclivity toward earthly things. As the generations of men increased, the interior soul lost much of its original power by continual division and immersion in Matter. The Prince of Darkness turned men from the worship of the Good God, by means of false prophets, and the religion of the Jews. Some of the most daring of the Evil Spirits had been seized by the Good, and chained to the stars. These malignant demons exercised the most disastrous influence over human affairs, sending down upon the earth, storm, pestilence, and famine, and inducing men to worship them through fear. To extricate human souls from the imprisonment of Matter, and thus restore the stolen light to its celestial origin was the constant effort of all the Heavenly Powers. Christ, the first emanation from the Good God, had his residence in the Sun. His Father, seeing mankind ever more and more involved in trouble, sent him on earth, to withdraw the Celestial Light from its dense environment of Shadows, and thus release captive souls. Of course, the Pure Light could not unite with Darkness, as he must have done to have been born of a woman. He only appeared to have a human body, and took the name of the Messiah merely to accommodate himself to the expectations of the Jews. Mani considered this doctrine proved by the fact that Jesus passed untouched among a crowd of Jews, who would have stoned him; and he regarded his transfiguration as merely a revelation to his disciples of his true form of celestial Light. The world did not accept or understand him; because "the light shone in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not." But he turned some Jews from the worship of a jealous and tyrannical God, and induced many among polytheistic nations to cease their adoration of Evil Spirits, chained to the stars. The Prince of Darkness, alarmed for the permanence of his empire, instigated the Jews to crucify him. But as he had no human body, he only appeared to die; and by so doing

offered to all souls the symbol of their enfranchisement, by death to this world. His form having disappeared from the earth, there remained in its place a Cross of Light, from which a celestial voice proclaimed these words: "The Cross of Light is called the Logos, the Christ, the sun, the door, the joy, the bread, the resurrection, the life, the truth, the grace." But these symbols were only given for the sake of the multitude; the elect few, who attained to the intuitive science called Gnosis, had no need of them. Christ, having returned to his abode in the sun, powerfully attracted toward him the Spirits imprisoned in material bodies. He increased their strivings to return to their home of light, and assisted them in all their efforts. All souls were capable of participation in his redemption, and might be restored through various processes of purification.

The Manicheans were divided into two classes. Those whose souls were endowed with a larger infusion of the Principle of Light were the Elect; but the great majority belonged to the class called Auditors. From these last, the higher mysteries of their religion were concealed, and they were instructed merely by allegories and symbols. They married, and supported their families by labour. They were taught to rejoice in poverty, to abstain from all luxuries and amusements, to regard war and fighting as sinful, and to reverence life in its minutest forms. Therefore they killed no animals but vermin, whose life they believed was derived from Evil Spirits.

The Elect constituted a priestly order, and were regarded as mediums of communication between this earth and the Realms of Light. They held no property, and performed no labour, because it brought them into contact with material things, for material purposes. They abhorred marriage, as an institution of the Devil, to propagate an imperfect race, that their bodies might keep the pure Light in captivity. They devoted themselves entirely to devout contemplation, and the spiritual instruction of others. All officers of the society were chosen from their order, and

their commands were obeyed with the utmost reverence. The Auditors provided them with everything necessary for subsistence. Every act of kindness to them was regarded as something toward expiating any sins they might have committed; such as tasting of meat, or carelessly neglecting to spare the life of some animal. Among Hindoos and Buddhists, there was the same idea that benefits conferred on holy men procured remission of sins. The Elect also copied those devotees in strict chastity, abstinence from meat, wine, and every pleasure of the senses. They lived on fruit and vegetables, and drank water only. Some of them considered even the bath objectionable, as bestowing too much care upon the body. They never harmed an animal, pulled an herb, or plucked fruit. They particularly disliked husbandry, because it involved the continual wounding of plants and insects. They sometimes wept to see vegetables gathered for food; because "in them also there was a certain portion of life, which was a part of the Deity." They had an idea that fruit and vegetables became purified when eaten by the saints. Augustine says: "When a fig was plucked, they believed the tree, its mother, shed milky tears. Yet if eaten by some Manichean saint, he would breathe out of it angels; yea, there should burst forth particles of divinity at every moan or groan in his prayer; which particles of the Most High and True God had remained bound in that fig, unless they had been thus set at liberty by some of the Elect saints. And I, miserable, believed that more mercy was to be shown to the fruits of the earth, than to men, for whom those fruits were created. For if any one not a Manichean was hungry, and asked for a fig, the fruit would be condemned to capital punishment, as it were, if given to him." Jerome says: "Mani asserts that his Elect are free from all sin; that they could not sin, if they would." Proselytes who practised rigid self-denial, and loved to meditate on religious subjects, were thought to give evidence that their souls had a large endowment of the pure light, and thus possessed holiness as a birthright. After going through

suitable probation, they were received among the Elect. Mani aimed at teaching a strict system of morals, and even the enemies of his sect acknowledged that their conduct was generally exemplary.

A pure and holy life, by abstracting the soul from the senses, rendered it worthy, after death, to ascend to the regions of the moon, where during fifteen days it was purified in a great lake; thence it passed to the regions of the sun, where it was purified by fire. Through these ordeals, it gained admission to the presence of Christ, who dwelt in the sun, surrounded by sanctified Spirits, who had been redeemed through his influence. The souls thus happily released from the thralldom of Matter, had no remembrance of the bodies they had quitted. Wicked and sensual souls were obliged to enter other bodies, and begin another career for purification. At last, there would come a time when Spirit would be entirely withdrawn from Matter, which would then be consumed by fire, and reduced to a dark inert mass, as it was before the world was made. Evil Spirits would be confined to their own realms, and remain there forever. The least perfect souls would be stationed on the frontier of the Realm of Light, to keep watch over the extinguished mass of Matter, and prevent the two from mingling again. This was a departure from Zoroaster, who taught that even the Prince of Evil would finally worship the Good, and be admitted to his spheres of glory.

The worship of the Manicheans was extremely simple. They had no temples, images, or altars. They prayed with faces turned toward the sun, and sang hymns to the Principle of Light. Mani appointed twelve apostles to preside over the sect; and this constitution continued after his death, with the addition of a thirteenth at the head of them all, to represent him. Subordinate to them were bishops, presbyters, and deacons. These were called brethren by the others, and lived on terms of perfect equality with them. They celebrated Sunday as a festival, consecrated to Christ, their Spirit of the Sun. As they supposed him never to have had a human body, they could not, of course, asso-

ciate that day with the resurrection. They observed the Lord's Supper as sacredly symbolical; but in what manner is not known, as they veiled it with great mystery.

Mani claimed to be endowed with divine authority for the reformation of the church; and his followers acknowledged him as the Paraclete sent by Christ; of course, his was the infallible authority by which everything was to be judged. He considered the Hebrew Scriptures as the work of inferior and even bad Spirits, and containing little that was of value. He thought partial revelations of divine truth had been made to prophets and philosophers of all nations; and some of them he preferred to those of the Jews. He said Jesus accommodated himself to Jewish opinions, with a view to prepare men gradually for the reception of truth; that the Apostles were entangled in various Jewish errors; and that the original records had been corrupted by the Prince of Darkness. It was for the Paraclete to distinguish the true from the false, by the light of the Gnosis within him. Accordingly, they received such portions of the Christian Scriptures as he endorsed, and understood them according to his interpretation. He also composed a Gospel, called the Book of Mani, which his followers believed to be written by inspiration from above. He excelled as a painter, and illustrated the book with pictures, which were the wonder of his age, and famous long afterward.

He returned to Persia, and having become involved in controversies with the Magi, he was pronounced a heretic. He refused to renounce his opinions, and was flayed alive, in the year two hundred and seventy-seven. His skin was stuffed and hung before the gates of the city, as a warning to his followers. They cherished his memory with the utmost reverence. On the anniversary of his martyrdom, they erected in their hall of worship a pulpit hung with rich drapery. All the Manicheans, as they entered, prostrated themselves to the ground, in obeisance to his spirit, which was always supposed to be present on the occasion. Later Manicheans said that Buddas, Zoroaster, Mithras, Christ, and Mani, were all the same Spirit; a view in ac-

cordance with the idea that Buddha had appeared on earth at various epochs, and under various forms, to teach the same religion.

This sect spread with wonderful rapidity from Persia, through Syria, Asia Minor, Northern Africa, and even into Italy. The strong impression they made on the minds of men is indicated by the active animosity they encountered. They suffered much from the severity of Persian kings, zealous for the religion of Zoroaster; from Roman emperors, equally zealous for the worship of Jupiter; and from Christians, who persecuted them with more violence than was manifested toward any other heretical sect. After flying from place to place, to hide themselves from those furious storms, they at last retreated to Eastern Asia. The name of the sect disappeared, but its doctrines became mixed with various forms of Gnosticism in Syria and Egypt, and, during the Middle Ages re-appeared in various European and Asiatic countries, sometimes publicly, sometimes privately.

The numerous Gnostic sects differed from each other in a variety of particulars. They generally believed that the Gnosis was received directly from heaven, in ecstatic states of mind; some supposed it was originally such a revelation, but had been orally transmitted by the Children of Light, from generation to generation; a very few believed they had received it from some disciple of Christ, more capable than others of understanding his meaning in its purity. From some source or other, they were always passive recipients of what they deemed spiritual truth. What the Gnosis revealed was not to be analyzed by reason.

The Syrian sects were generally strict to asceticism in their morals, and less inclined to speculative theories than the Gnostics of Egypt, who lived in the shadow of the ancient mysteries, and were excited to greater activity of intellect and imagination by the presence of the Alexandrian Library, and the vast concourse of seekers after truth, who flocked thither from all quarters of the world.

Most of the Gnostic leaders were of Gentile origin, and

men of education. Of course, they were familiar with Oriental theories, and with the writings of Grecian and Roman philosophers, who all represented the Supreme God as a serene Existence, happy in his own purity, and utterly devoid of passions. Therefore, when they were attracted toward Christianity by the superiority of its moral maxims, they were at the same time repelled by its Jewish appendages. They regarded the Hebrew Scriptures with extreme aversion, because they were sincerely shocked at the idea that the Supreme Being could be jealous or angry, or changeable of purpose; that he could command slaughter, or be capable of punishing the beings that had proceeded from Him. In their view, all that seemed like punishment was a benevolent process of purification. Tertullian brings it as an accusation against the Gnostics, that they denied God was to be feared. Clement of Alexandria says: "Their worship consists in continual attention to their souls; in meditations upon the Divinity, as being inexhaustible love." Very few of their founders were of Jewish origin; and those few changed the literal sense of their Scriptures, by allegorical interpretations, which rendered the character of Jehovah less repulsive; a lesson they had previously learned from the writings of Philo.

Jews believed that the human soul was created out of nothing, or was merely the breath of God. But Gnostics held the Oriental theory that all Spirits emanated from God, and were a part of Him; therefore, they were accustomed to speak not only of Christ, but of human souls, as being of one substance with God, though inferior in degree. Theodoret says: "The soul is not consubstantial with God, as the wicked Manicheans hold, but was created out of nothing." Gnostics taught that the universe was created by Angels, who governed it, as agents of the Supreme. By most of them this mission was assigned to the Seven Great Angels, who ranked next to the immediate emanations from the Highest. When a distribution of offices was made among them, they supposed that the Chief of the

Creating Angels had the Hebrews particularly entrusted to his care. Jews could easily adopt this idea; for, from the most ancient times they had been taught that all nations, except themselves, were governed by Spirits of the Planets, and the Stars. And after the return from Babylon, it was a common belief among them that the Archangel Michael, Chief of "the Seven Great Princes," was the especial guardian of the Jews.

In the Gnostic theories, there is a singular mixture of the profound with the fantastic. If their speculations concerning the origin of evil, and the nature of God, sometimes seem wild and absurd, theirs is the common lot of finite minds seeking to fathom the Infinite. Their wish to separate God, by a long series of intermediate Spirits, from any participation in a creation involved with evil, was prompted by a reverential sentiment, though the details sometimes seem otherwise. Their various ideas of Christ as a Heavenly Spirit, and their unwillingness to invest him with a mortal body, are only eccentric expressions of a sincere wish to do him honour, as the highest messenger from God to man. The division of Spirits into masculine and feminine, and the offspring proceeding from these couples, seemed gross to many minds; but the names given to them show that they were mere representatives of metaphysical ideas. Thus the mate of the Supreme was Silent Thought; and the offspring was Mind, or Wisdom; as if they had said, God, in the silence of his own thought, resolved to create the worlds; and he did it by the agency of his wisdom. A boldly figurative style always prevailed in the East; and no metaphors were in such common use, as those alluding to sexual attraction. The Hindoo, Hebrew, and Christian Scriptures abound with them. The passion of Sophia [Wisdom] for the Unknown One, and the imperfect being produced by her longing, is only a metaphorical way of expressing the eager curiosity of the human mind to know the nature of God, and the incomplete and unsatisfactory result of all such investigations; and the ultimate purification of that imperfect offspring, after a

long process of ages, merely utters the universal prophecy of a final union of the soul with God.

The doctrine of many Gnostic sects, that some human souls were derived from Good Spirits, and must be saved by virtue of their birthright, whatever might be their outward acts; and their common maxim, "Give to the spirit that which is spirit, and to the flesh that which is flesh," were doubtless abused by some individuals, and even occasioned the degeneracy of entire sects. Their exceeding contempt for the body would naturally lead some ascetic temperaments to starve it, and abuse it in every way; while opposite temperaments would infer, from the same premises, that its actions were of no consequence to the soul. There seems to be sufficient evidence, even from their enemies, that many of them were characterized by strict morality. This was peculiarly the case with regard to the Syrian sects. But they all suffered under the general odium brought on their name by those whose contempt of external laws was not limited by inward restraining grace.

The small importance they attached to outward things induced them generally to avoid persecution. Most of them thought it no harm to sacrifice to the gods, when magistrates put them to the test, because their souls did not participate in the worship they were thus compelled to offer; therefore, they did not sympathize with the enthusiastic reverence for martyrs. Clement of Alexandria says: "Some of them held that man to be a self-murderer, who, by confessing Christ, gave up his life." However, this rule was by no means universal. Many of the Marcionites endured martyrdom. Mani died in a most terrible manner, rather than renounce his opinions; and multitudes of his followers endured the most horrible persecutions with unshaken constancy.

Gatherings at the tombs of martyrs would of course be inconsistent with their views. Most of them believed, as did also the Hindoos and Buddhists, that souls would suffer or enjoy more or less hereafter, according to deeds done on

earth. But none of them believed in the resurrection of the body; conceiving that it would be a degradation to the emancipated soul to reënter its prison-house. By the word resurrection in the Scriptures, many of them understood resurrection from sin.

Their oriental ideas concerning Matter as the origin of Evil made them generally regard the propagation of material bodies as a sin; therefore, nearly all of them were advocates of strict celibacy. Some of them taught that when a human soul left the body, its was questioned by Superior Spirits concerning its life, and if unable to answer satisfactorily, was sent back to the world again. Above all things, it was necessary for the soul to declare that it had left no children on the earth; otherwise, it would be compelled to go through a severe process of purification.

It will be obvious to every observing reader that Gnosticism was merely an attempt to graft Christianity upon oriental and Grecian theories, then generally current in the world, as another class of minds had already grafted it upon the old Jewish system. In most of the sects, the Persian element predominated; in some, the Platonic; in all of them there was an infusion of Hindoo ideas, derived from India, or Egypt. Mani's system was an amalgamation of Zoroaster, Buddha, and Christ. Agreeing with each other in a few prominent points, they differed in a multitude of details. Some sects rejected external worship altogether; others attached great importance to it. Some regarded baptism, the Lord's Supper, and vocal prayer, as useless; saying, all those things ought to be strictly spiritual. Others said outward baptism constituted initiation into spiritual life, and that participation of the Eucharist produced an intimate union between the soul and the Celestial Christ. The most ascetic sects drank water on such occasions, instead of wine. The Christian Fathers, commenting on this practice, say: "Jesus drank wine after his resurrection, in order to eradicate the pernicious heresy of those who use water instead of wine at the Eucharist." Paul, urging the doctrine of resurrection, inquires: "What shall

they do, who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? Why are they then baptized for the dead?" Some of the Gnostic sects inferred from these words, that representative baptism ought to be administered to the living, for the benefit of converts who had died unbaptized. Many of those who believed that the Spirit called Christ descended on the man Jesus at his baptism, kept a religious festival in honour of that event. Some regarded music as a mere pleasure to the senses, and therefore ensnaring to the soul; others stimulated devotion by singing glowing religious hymns.

Some sects had bishops, and a regular church government; but, in general, there was great scope for individual freedom. Tertullian finds great fault with their discipline. He says: "It is uncertain who is a catechumen, or who is one of the faithful; for they all attend the worship, and hear and pray in common. How noisy are their women! How they have the assurance to teach, to argue, to exorcise, to undertake cures, and perhaps to baptize!" Women performed a prominent part in the progress of Gnosticism. Helen had powerful influence with Simon Magus. Apelles, a leader of one of the sects, believed he received constant revelations through the inspirations of Philomena, whom he seems to have regarded with a pure and sincere reverence. Ptolemy, another leader among them, constantly corresponded with his friend Flora, concerning all views of spiritual subjects, which dawned upon his mind. Agape, a Spanish lady of rank, was a zealous proselyte of Marcus, and the founder of a society of Gnostics, which took her name. Marcellina, a celebrated teacher, about the middle of the second century, preached with general acceptance to the Gnostics at Rome.

All the Gnostics agreed in abhorrence of idolatry; but many of them regarded with reverence the images, or portraits of those whom they considered great teachers, sent by God to various ages and nations. Marcellina, during her discourses, was accustomed to exhibit to the audience likenesses of Homer, Pythagoras, Jesus, and Paul. Some

of these sects had likewise a variety of small medallions, supposed to have been used as symbols to teach secret doctrines, or as amulets for the cure of diseases. These were probably of Egyptian origin. Some of them represented deities with a human form, with the head of a hawk, or a dog, like Osiris and Anubis. These were inscribed, in Greek characters, with the word *Abraxas*, the meaning of which is lost. The head of Christ was engraved on some of them, with his name in Greek, and the symbol of a fish below; because the initials of Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour, formed the word fish in that language. In some of the sects, the Egyptian element greatly predominated; and emblems of the Ram, the Serpent, and the Cross of Hermes were conspicuous in their worship.

As Christians were divided into many sects, which mutually attacked each other, whose differences were little understood by their Jewish and polytheistic neighbours, the opinions and customs of the Gnostics were continually ascribed to the great body of the Christians. This was very annoying to the Fathers, who considered them the spiritual offspring of Simon Magus, and the most troublesome corrupters of the church. Their censure is unsparing and indiscriminate. They call them "heretics," "blasphemers," and "atheists," and constantly repeat the charge of licentiousness. They are peculiarly severe in their strictures upon Carpocrates and his son. They accuse all the Carpocratians of carrying out their speculative opinions into very immoral practices; but the charge is probably exaggerated. Judging from the general history of human nature, some sincere aspirations and efforts after goodness would be likely to mingle with the dangerous abuse of theories not originally intended for evil. The devout and ascetic Marcion was regarded with equal abhorrence. Justin Martyr describes him as "everywhere teaching blasphemies, by instigation of the Devil." Irenæus relates the particulars of a meeting between him and Polycarp, with whom he had been well acquainted before he began to preach objectionable doctrines. When Marcion advanced

toward his old friend, and asked whether he would own him, Polycarp replied: "I own you to be the first-born of Satan." Epiphanius says: "Every one who does not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the *flesh*, is Anti-Christ; whoever does not confess the martyrdom of the cross, is of the Devil; whoever says there is no resurrection, is the first-born of Satan." Irenæus, speaking of those who denied that Christ had a material body, says: "The Holy Spirit, foreseeing their perverseness, and guarding against their artifice, said by Matthew: 'The generation of Christ was in this wise.'" It has been already stated that the Apostle John was supposed by the Fathers to have written against Cerinthus. He evidently refers to him, or some other Gnostic, where he says: "Every spirit that confesseth not that Jesus is Christ come in the *flesh*, is not of God." It is also supposed that Paul alludes to the same class, where he speaks of some who "give heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils; forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats." Also, where he exhorts Timothy not to give heed "to fables and endless genealogies;" probably referring to some of the long series of spiritual emanations. And where he says to the Colossians: "Let no man beguile you; worshipping of Angels, intruding into those things which he hath not seen." It is very likely that the presence of Gnostics in the churches might have originated those early questions concerning marriage, in answer to which Paul took middle ground between the oriental and the Jewish feeling on the subject.

The hostility of the Fathers was doubtless increased by the fact that Gnostic theories proved very attractive to men of genius and learning, and enticed some from the bosom of their own churches. Tatian, who was converted by Justin Martyr, went over to the Gnostics, and entertained their characteristic views concerning innumerable Spirits, emanations from the Supreme One. He thought a life of celibacy, and total renunciation of property, were necessary, in order to follow the example of Christ. He was the founder of a large sect, who, on account of their ascetic habits, were

called Encratites, meaning the Self-Restrained. Tatian wrote a book, which obtained considerable circulation, called *The Harmony of the Four Gospels*. The Bishop Theodoretus found two hundred copies of it in his Syrian diocese, in the fifth century; and, following the usual policy of the church, caused them all to be destroyed. The father of Gregory of Nazianzen, was a Gnostic; but, being converted by the prayers and tears of his pious wife, he afterward became a bishop of orthodox standing. The celebrated Augustine was for several years a zealous Manichean. There were also numerous instances of bishops and teachers in the church, not professedly Gnostic, who mingled with Christianity similar ideas from oriental and Platonic sources. In the first centuries, before Councils of Bishops had settled what were the doctrines of the Christian church, there was an effort to reconcile Gnostic ideas with Christianity, in order to present some standard of unity to the believers in Christ. This was particularly the case in Alexandria, where the Platonic philosophy greatly prevailed; for Plato also taught that spiritual things were revealed to man only by an intuitive perception. The Alexandrian Christians, in controversy with the Gnostics, acknowledged the existence of the divine science termed Gnosis; but they said it must come in consequence of faith, and a life in obedience thereto. A man must begin by believing the Holy Scriptures, and the traditions handed down by the church, and then the interior of his mind would be enlightened by the Gnosis. They were accustomed to quote Isaiah vii: 9, which, in the Septuagint, was translated: "If ye do not believe, neither shall ye understand." The words were spoken by the prophet with reference to a very different subject; but it was a common practice, with people of all sects, to apply texts for controversial purposes, without any regard to the connection in which they were used. Clement of Alexandria says: "As is the doctrine, so also must be the life; for the tree is known by its fruit, not by its leaves or its blossoms. The Gnosis, then, comes from the fruit and the life, not from the

blossom and the doctrine. For we say that the Gnosis is not merely doctrine, but a divine science. It is that light which dawns within the soul, in consequence of obedience to God's commands, and which makes all things clear; which teaches man to know all that is contained in creation, and in himself, and instructs him how to maintain fellowship with God. For what the eye is to the body, the Gnosis is to the mind."

Every observing reader will have noticed in the Gnostic systems many striking resemblances to the theological ideas of Persia and Hindostan. It is not unlikely that some, especially of the Asiatic Gnostics, might have been personally acquainted with Persian Magi or East Indian devotees, either Buddhist or Braminical. The simultaneous and general development of these oriental doctrines, in various countries, early in the second century, shows very plainly that the seed had been scattered long before that time. The Gnostics branched into more than fifty sects, and were not suppressed till near the sixth century. They were finally scattered and crushed by persecution of the dominant church. Their writings were destroyed, and what we know of them is mainly derived from their theological opponents.

NEW PLATONISTS.

Another class of opinions, similar to Gnosticism in some features, yet very distinct in general character, and not mixed with the name or doctrines of Christ, prevailed extensively among the educated classes at the same period, and for some time contended with Christianity for supremacy over the minds of men. This was the Alexandrian school of New Platonists. Their earliest leaders were men of uncommon intellect, who both by precept and example inculcated pure and elevated morality. They were often called Eclectics, a name compounded of two Greek words, meaning to choose from; because they selected from all philosophies what they considered the best, and formed a new system from them. But though they drew from

various sources, their doctrines were principally Platonic. Of course, they believed in the preëxistence of the human soul, and its imprisonment in Matter, during which it had glimpses of its heavenly home, received by intuition, in elevated states of mind; and also in its final return, through holiness, to the spheres of glory, whence it came. The complicated spiritual machinery of many of the Gnostic sects never appeared in their teaching, and they represented no Redeeming Spirit, of any rank, as descending to the rescue of suffering humanity.

PLOTINUS.—Plotinus, founder of the New Platonists, was born at Lycopolis in Egypt, two hundred and three years after Christ. He devoted himself to the study of philosophy, and, when thirty-nine years old, joined the army of the emperor Gordian, in order to become acquainted with the sages of Persia and India; but the emperor was killed on the way, and Plotinus narrowly escaped with his life. Soon after his return, he went to Rome, and held public conversations concerning philosophy. He excited great enthusiasm, and his school was frequented by men and women, young and old, senators and plebeians. He was a great favourite with the emperor and empress, and was almost adored by his disciples. Among them was the senator Rogentianus, who emancipated all his slaves, became indifferent to property, and refused all worldly dignities, in order to devote himself entirely to philosophy. The moral character of Plotinus stood so high, that he was continually chosen as the guardian of orphans, and intrusted with the care of large estates. His integrity and prudence inspired such undoubting confidence, that during twenty-eight years of his residence at Rome, he never made a single enemy among the great numbers thus intrusted to his care. His style and pronunciation were not good; but the power of his reasoning, and the fervour of his convictions, so carried away the minds of his hearers, that they forgot all defects. His personal beauty also was remarkable; and on such

occasions a glow of enthusiasm lighted up his whole countenance, and gave it a character almost divine. The existence of a God, his absolute Unity, his action upon the world, and the relation of the human soul to him, were his absorbing themes. "All his metaphysics went to show that God is One; that the world is not God, or a part of God; though it exists in his mind, derives all life from Him, and can not be separated from Him." The Perfect, Uncreated Principle, he called The Good, the Absolute Unity. Mind, or Wisdom, was the Logos of the Good, the most perfect of all that proceeded from Him. From Wisdom proceeded a third principle, called The Soul of the World. Each of these Three Principles were supposed to know and love the one above it, but not the one below it. The Absolute Unity, having nothing above Him, knows and loves only himself. Plotinus says: "We ought not to maintain that there are any other Principles save these Three. Having placed the simple Good first, we ought to place Mind, or Wisdom, next after Him, and in the third place, The Universal Soul. This is the immutable order, neither to make more or fewer distinctions in the Sovereign Intelligence." He adds: "Plato declared the same. This account of things is not new; but though formerly given, was not well unfolded." He taught that man also was threefold; having a rational soul, which was one with the Divine Unity; a sensitive soul, the seat of passions and sensations; and a material body. He delighted in the contemplation of an eternal immutable world above this, where existed, in pure spiritual forms, ideas of the Divine Mind, the models by which all things in this visible world were created. There beauty shone unveiled, in an atmosphere of glory. The images of it here below were imperfect, shadowy, and transient; and the light that revealed them was a pale reflection of the celestial splendour. The human soul, in its highest states, could penetrate into this superior world, and hold communion with the essences of things. To attain to this, by subjugation of the senses, a scrupulous practice of all the virtues, and the contemplation of divine

themes, was the constant subject of his exhortations. He says: "When I shake off corporeal impressions, and, forgetting the world without, concentrate into myself, I discover such admirable beauty in my soul, and am so closely united to the nature of God, that I am confirmed in the thought that my destiny here below is not my true destiny; that I am here by a descent; and that I must return to my country, which is near God." He describes the soul, in its most exalted states, as so elevated above all sublunary things, so freed from the shackles of Matter, that it could perceive clearly the hidden mysteries of God, and enjoy intimate union with Him. He said such union could not be permanent while man was in the body. In this life, it was a mere flash of light, which God, in his goodness, granted to the soul for solace. While it continued, memory vanished, and the mind saw past, present, and future, at one glance. His disciple Porphyry relates of him, that four times, when he was near him, the soul of Plotinus was raised up to the First and Sovereign Good; and he himself describes such elevated states, as if he had experienced them.

He believed that some classes of souls were less heavily chained to Matter than others; that "lovers, musicians, and philosophers," had stronger wings, and could more easily rise into supernal regions. The idea embodied in these words was far more elevated than that which they convey to modern ears. He thereby signified those who delighted in what we should call *spiritual* beauty, harmony, and wisdom. He supposed also that the study of beautiful forms, harmonious sounds, and the relations of numbers, tended gradually to withdraw the soul from things merely corporeal. He was well versed in music, geometry, arithmetic, and the mechanical powers, as they were then understood. According to the custom of his day, he studied astronomy more as an astrologer, than as a mathematician. He believed that the stars had souls, because, according to his system, everything, great or small, existed by means of a soul derived from God. But being convinced that as-

trology was not a true science, he argued against it. He says: "If the stars are inanimate, how can they make men grammarians or musicians, wise or ignorant, rich or poor? If they are animated, why should Divine Spirits do harm to us, who never injured them? There is only One Power, which animates and vivifies all, and establishes order everywhere. Our virtues come from the Divinity within us; our vices from communion with Matter. Whoever possesses himself, and triumphs over his passions, to follow the road leading to God, holds in his hands his own destiny, and depends only upon Providence, whose decrees are immutable."

Some of the Gnostics said the world came into existence, because it was necessary for the Creator to have a witness of his grandeur. They regarded creation as "a hymn sung by the Creator to his own glory." In answer to this, Plotinus exclaims: "What! The glory of God have need of such creatures as we are? God weary of solitude? *He* have need of praises? Would you assimilate Him to our sculptors, who work for their own fame? Would you place Him below the wise men, who despise the praises and honours of this world, provided they may perceive the true essences of things, and enter into the enjoyment of realities?"

He considered the body merely a temporary companion of the soul, and not partaking of its nature. It transmitted impressions from the material world, but was an obstacle to pure contemplation, and rendered all intellectual operations more difficult. In all ways, he manifested disdain for the body. He blushed for his parents that they had given birth to it; and he always disliked to be asked where he was born. His own corporeal necessities were extremely mortifying to him, and he was exceedingly annoyed by any discussions relating to such subjects. He refused urgent intreaties to have his likeness taken, because he thought it unworthy of a wise man to transmit an image of his body to succeeding generations. He ate sparingly, and of the simplest food. He slept but little.

and was often debilitated by the constant tension of his mind, always occupied with subtle questions concerning the relations between the Divine Mind and the universe. His pupil, Porphyry, was so carried away by enthusiasm for his master, that he not only adopted his contempt for the body, but came to have such an aversion to it, that he resolved to commit suicide. But Plotinus, who always preserved a degree of moderation, even in his most fervent mysticism, divined his intention, and taught him to wait with resignation; urging that the tie between Spirit and Matter, ought to be broken only by Him who had formed it. He even wrote to prove that men ought to be careful not to exaggerate Plato's disdain for Matter. He says: "It is true the material world is only an image; but it is an image of the Divine Mind, and is worthy of its model. The Gnostics calumniate this dwelling to which they chain us. But we Platonicians know how at once to admire it, and to quit it for a more beautiful abode, the world of Divine Ideas; which is not another world between him and us, but God himself in his Wisdom. The Gnostics say much about suffering, and about moral evil. Of what do they complain? Of struggle? That is the condition of victory. Of injustice? There is nothing terrible in that to an immortal. Of death? That is deliverance. They trust to incantations, and think to expel diseases by mysterious words, which they suppose the devils must obey; not by temperance and regularity of life, as is done by true philosophers."

"Of two sages, one abounding in this world's goods, and the other deprived of necessaries, shall we say that both are equally happy? We can say it with truth, if both are equally wise."

"The wise man preserves in his own bosom the sacred flame, which enlightens him, though winds may blow, and tempests roar without."

"The loss of the dearest friends, or even of a son, can not hinder him who possesses The Good from being happy. That which there is inferior in him, that which does not

partake of the Divine Mind, is dismayed and afflicted by such events; but not the rational soul, which is he himself. Grief is nothing; not even if it kills the body. It can take away life, but not liberty. He fears neither misery nor death, though it be violent. He cares not for burial; for he knows the body will perish above the earth, as well as under it. He will not even disturb himself about the future conduct of his children. If they are reasonable, they will behave well; if they are not, how do they merit the attention of a wise man?"

With regard to immortality, Plotinus believed that souls perfectly purified became united with God. Virtuous souls, whose purification was not completely accomplished, returned to some Star, to live as they did before they descended to this earth. Others, still less elevated, who had, nevertheless, respected the character in themselves, would enter a new human form, for further probation. Those who had given themselves up to the senses, or the passions, would enter into the forms of various animals, agreeing with their character. Tyrants and cruel men would become ferocious beasts. Those who exercised only the politic virtues of this life, such as prudence, industry, or courage, would enter into the form of some creature socially wise, like the bee. Those who had taken excessive delight in music, would become singing birds. Philosophers, who had been bold to irreverence in their speculations, would become eagles, or other birds, whose flight was high. Those who had possessed no energy, who had lived the life of vegetables, would become plants. Punishments more dreadful than any of these awaited great criminals, who would descend to regions below this earth, and suffer terrible chastisements.

As Philo thought he could find the doctrines of Plato in the writings of Moses, by allegorical interpretation, so Plotinus imagined he found them under the veil of Grecian mythology. He did not forbid his disciples to worship the Gods, whom he regarded as intermediate Spirits; but he never assigned passions to them. On the contrary, he

said they had no need of prayers and sacrifices; that their justice was inflexible, and their benevolence unchangeable. He did not proscribe any of the customary religious ceremonies, but left each one to judge for himself concerning the symbolical meaning they contained.

The disciples of Plotinus ascribed to him miraculous power. They affirmed that he could discern the secret thoughts of men. When Porphyry contemplated suicide, he discovered it, without receiving any outward intimation. When a theft had been committed in the house, he collected the domestics, and immediately pointed out the culprit, without asking a question. They prayed him to evoke his Guardian Spirit, which the Grecians called his "demon." He refused for a long time. Finally, when he yielded to their intreaties, they saw a God appear. The Spirit attendant on every man was supposed to be the archetype of his soul, as it existed in the world of Divine Ideas; of course, the inference was that the model of his soul was above that of other human souls; that it was in fact one of the Superior Spirits, whom he had as his constant guide and familiar companion. When some of his disciples asked him to go to the public sacrifices, he answered: "It is for them to come to me;" and so great was their reverence, that they dared not ask the meaning of his words.

After the philosopher became too infirm to continue his labours, he retired to Puteoli, where the liberality of friends supplied his very simple wants. In his last illness, he resisted medicines, and when they would have forced them upon him, he hid himself to die; saying he wished to render up what was divine within him to the Source whence it came. He departed from the body in the sixty-sixth year of his age. After his death, his friends inquired of an oracle where his soul was. The reply was given in verse, testifying to his gentleness and goodness, the elevation of his ideas, and his ardent desire to return to God. It stated that his soul had gone to rejoin the just spirits of Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus; and had been permit-

ted to see face to face what other philosophers had not seen.

Plotinus, in his youth, studied eleven years with Ammonius Saccas, a celebrated philosopher in Alexandria, said to be of Christian parentage, who was also the tutor of Origen. In the writings of Plotinus, there are no obvious indications that he took any interest in Christianity, for or against it; but some scholars have thought that his arguments occasionally appear as if aimed at the well-known opinions of Christians. Amelius, one of his disciples, quotes John, the Evangelist, in some of his writings, and calls him "the barbarian." This was not intended as an insult; for Grecians habitually bestowed that epithet on all other nations, in consequence of their own supremacy in literature and the arts. Like the word Gentiles, among the Jews, it came to be synonymous with foreigner. He says: "It is the Logos [Word] which is the eternal cause of all that has been produced. It is in this sense the barbarian could say that the Word exists in God as a principle, and *is* God; that all has been made by his efficacy; that all being exists in him, and by him; that he descends into a body, clothes himself with flesh, and lives our human life; that during his exile, he still gives proofs of his divinity; that being released from his prison, he returns to God, such as he was before he descended into a body." Amelius did not apply the passage to Jesus, or to any other individual. To *his* mind, it merely presented the Platonic theory concerning *every* human soul, imprisoned in a body, and finally returning to unity with God. Basil says he knew many philosophers who admired those verses, and copied them into their own writings. Augustine also quotes a Platonist who said the Christians ought to write them in golden letters and place them in all the churches.

PORPHYRY.—Porphyry, a Phœnician, born in two hundred thirty-two, was the most distinguished pupil of Plotinus, and succeeded him as the head of the Alexandrian school. He taught nearly the same system, but had a

tendency to mix oriental doctrines with the philosophy of Plato. He is described by the learned Neander as "a man of noble spirit, united with profound intellectual attainments; a man of the East, in whom the oriental basis of character had been completely fused with the elements of Grecian culture." Unlike his master, he was inclined to favour, to a certain degree, the study of magic, called Theurgy. The eclecticism which Plotinus had favoured, he explicitly announced in the theory that a universal religion ought to float above all rival religions and philosophies, to conciliate what was good and true in each, and transfer them all into the bosom of a superior unity. Christianity was then making rapid progress, and New Platonists formed the most powerful barrier to its encroachments on the old religion, to which they outwardly conformed, while they gave spiritual significance to its mythology and ceremonies, and were distinguished from its other worshippers merely by the superior purity of their lives, and the elevation of their doctrines. Porphyry was the earliest and most formidable champion in this warfare. He studied the Septuagint, and the Christian Sacred Writings, for the express purpose of refuting them. He wrote a work for that purpose, in which he pointed out discrepancies between different portions of the Sacred Scriptures, ridiculed the allegorical mode of interpretation, so much in vogue with the Fathers, and from their predilection for it inferred that the literal sense had little worth, and could not be explained in a way consonant to reason. Yet he himself adopted the same system to extract meaning from the mythology of the Greeks; and found in it whatever his own state of culture placed there. The Fathers triumphantly quote his admission that some of the prophecies of Daniel were so correct, they must have been written after the event. They also quote him as speaking respectfully of Christ, though he thought those were to be pitied who mistook him for a God. He says of Jesus: "That pious soul, which ascended to heaven, by a certain fatality became an occasion of error to those souls that were destined

to have no share in the gifts of the gods, and in knowledge of the eternal Jupiter."

Little is accurately known concerning his books against Christianity; for they were zealously destroyed, when that religion became dominant. The importance attached to them is thereby indicated; also by the fact that they received more than thirty answers, and that Porphyry's name is seldom alluded to by the Fathers without expressions of strong dislike.

He inculcated a high standard of morals, and the purity of his life is admitted even by his enemies. He was ascetic, like others of his school. He lived separate from his wife after he devoted himself to philosophy, and was in all respects as abstemious as an anchorite. He wrote a Treatise on Abstinence, in which he gave a curious account of the Bramins of India, and the Buddhist monks.

Porphyry believed all religions had a divine origin, and that consequently portions of truth might be found in them all. In a letter to his wife, he calls faith, love, and hope, the foundation of all genuine religion; and declares it the noblest fruit of piety to worship God after the manner of one's own country. In conformity to this sentiment, he reconciled his mind even to image-worship, by spiritualizing the outward forms as symbols. He says: "By images addressed to the senses, the ancients represented God and his Powers. By the visible, they typified the invisible; for the sake of those who could learn to read in those figures, as in books, a writing that treated of the gods. We are not to wonder if the ignorant consider them merely as wood, or marble; for those who are unacquainted with writing can perceive in monuments nothing but stone, in tablets nothing but wood, and in books nothing but a roll of papyrus." But though he defends the popular forms of worship, he writes to his wife: "That man is not so much of an atheist, who neglects to worship the statues of the gods, as he is who transfers to God the opinions of the multitude." Regarding it as wrong to kill animals, he did not hesitate to condemn bloody sacrifices, though they were

sanctioned by immemorial custom, and commanded by law. He says: "The philosopher ought to destroy bad usages, not submit to them. He owes obedience to the laws only when they are not contrary to a superior law, which he carries within him. We have seen Syrians, Jews, and Egyptians, brave death rather than transgress a religious precept; and is a philosopher, after having passed his life in proving that death is no evil, is he to hesitate between peril and his duty?"

"The philosopher carries within him, as a sacred deposit, an unwritten, but most divine law. Whatsoever is not for the love of God is nothing; this is the only nourishment that strengthens."

"It is by purity of heart, and the sacrifice of ourselves, that we truly honour Divine Beings. The offerings of the wicked are vain. They can not bind the gods to them by benefits. As for pompous sacrifices, to sustain and augment piety, they, on the contrary, only increase superstition, and spread abroad the deplorable idea that we can corrupt the justice of the gods by presents." He quoted Apollonius in favour of silent prayer, as alone worthy of the Supreme Being. He says: "Prayer is reasonable and holy. The prayer of the just is especially efficacious. It produces a sort of union between the gods and the just, who resemble them. It is a law of nature that similarities unite. Shut up in the body, as in a prison, we ought to pray to the gods to deliver us from our fetters. They are our true fathers, and we ought to pray to them, like children exiled from the paternal mansion."

Porphiry, though a truly learned and great man, shared the general credulity of his time. He was much impressed with the power of Evil Spirits, and frequently alludes to them as the cause of diseases, drought, earthquakes, quarrels, and wars; as obscuring the idea of God in the soul, and spreading abroad all manner of superstitions. He took very great interest in animals, and quotes with approbation Aristotle's opinion that their reason differs from ours in degree, but not in essence. He expresses a belief

that animals have a language, and that some men are endowed with power to comprehend it. He also believed that the spirit of prophecy could be gained by eating the liver of certain animals. He says his soul was only once elevated to complete union with God, so as to have glimpses of the eternal world; and that did not occur till he was sixty-eight years old. He complains bitterly of the incredulity of his cotemporaries; which seems singular enough to us, who look back upon the records of that distant time. He was seventy-one years old when he died. Some of his numerous writings have come down to us. Among them are a *Life of Pythagoras* and of *Plotinus*.

JAMBlichus.—Jamblichus, a Syrian, pupil of Porphyry, was the third leader of the school. He also was a man of great erudition, but is generally considered to have had less originality and judgment than his predecessors. Like them, he urged the practice of all the virtues, conjointly with the acquisition of knowledge; and sustained his precepts by his own example. Though born of a wealthy and illustrious family, he lived as frugally as the ancient sages. His style of teaching is described as rather dry; but though he lacked the eloquence of Plotinus, scholars flocked to him from all parts of Greece and Syria, in such numbers that it was surprising how one man could attend to them all. They sat at his table, followed him in crowds wheresoever he went, and listened to his sayings with the most profound reverence. Alypius, one of the great men of Alexandria, meeting him in the street, thus accompanied, stopped and abruptly asked him whether it was true that a rich man must either be unjust, or the son of the unjust. The philosopher, whose thoughts were mostly occupied with the nature of the human soul, and its relations with other Spirits of the universe, was unprepared for such a practical question. He replied: "All that is strange to me. I know of no other riches than virtue;" and immediately turned away. Afterward, when he re-

flected upon it, the question seemed to him so deep and comprehensive, that he was filled with admiration for *Alypius*, and wrote a panegyric upon him.

Jamblichus lived in the reign of Constantine, when Grecian philosophy had yielded the palm to Christianity; of course, he could make no open attacks on what he regarded as "the impostures of barbarians."

His system differed in some details from that of his predecessors. His theory of emanations was more complicated, and he mixed the study of magic with philosophy more than Porphyry had done. He says: "It is difficult to know how to please God, unless he himself reveals it to us, or we have recourse to theurgy."

His disciples thought he possessed supernatural power. A story had spread abroad that, while engaged in prayer, he had been raised fifteen feet above the earth. When one of them asked if this were true, he smiled, and gave an evasive answer. Some of them expressed a strong desire to witness a decisive proof of his miraculous power. He replied that he could not make an occasion for such manifestations. Afterward, all his school accompanied him to the baths of Gadara, in Syria. He asked the inhabitants the names of two very pure springs of water. They told him they were called *Eros*, and *Anteros*: deities whom the Greeks always represented in a juvenile form. He had scarcely touched the water with his hand, and murmured a few words, when there rose up from it two children, of celestial beauty, and clasped their arms round his neck, as if he had been their father. This miracle shut the mouths of the most incredulous; thenceforth, none of his disciples presumed to doubt his communion with the gods. *Eunapius*, his biographer, an accomplished and conscientious writer, says: "They recount many other marvellous things concerning him; but they are so fantastic and incredible, that I fear to repeat them; for the gods forbid to mingle fables and false stories with true and conscientious history. I should even scruple to report these examples, if they had not come from those who were eye-

witnesses. However, neither Edesius or his friends have dared to put them in their works."

For the practice of Theurgy, the philosophers prepared themselves by fasting, watching, praying, and intense religious contemplation. By this process, they sometimes arrived at a state of exaltation thus described by Jamblichus: "The senses were in a sleeping state. The theurgist had no command of his faculties, no consciousness of what he said or did. He was insensible to fire, or any bodily injury. Carried by a divine impulse, he went through impassable places, through fire and water, without knowing where he was. A divine illumination took full possession of the man, absorbed all his faculties, motions, and senses; making him speak what he did not understand, or rather *seem* to speak it; for he was in fact merely the minister, or instrument, of the god who possessed him."

Jamblichus was a devout believer in the efficacy of prayer. He says: "Frequent prayer nourishes our superior part, renders the receptacle of the soul more capacious for the gods, discloses divine things to men, accustoms them to the splendours of the World of Intelligences, and gradually perfects our union with the pure Spirits, till it leads us back to the Supreme God. It purges away every thing noxious to the soul, divesting the ethereal and luminous spirit of whatever tends to corruption. It perfects hope, augments faith, increases divine love, and kindles whatever is celestial in the soul."

Jamblichus wrote a good deal, but his works are nearly all destroyed, or lost. He is supposed to have died before three hundred and thirty-three.

Plotinus, whose eloquent enthusiasm was so tempered with moderation, had given a great impulse to the Alexandrian School; but none of his successors attained to the height of his genius. There was a gradual decline after his departure; but noble examples abounded; and, during the whole existence of the school, many of its followers manifested an admirable earnestness to conform their conduct to their principles. Simplicius, the very last cham-

pion of the expiring religion of Greece, retained all the best characteristics of his class. He was a devout believer in a constant living relation between man and the gods; but rejected altogether the idea that Divine Beings could be propitiated by sacrifices or offerings. He says: "When we sin, God does not turn from us. He is not angry. He does not leave us, and consequently does not return to us when we repent. All this is human, and quite foreign from the Divine. We separate *ourselves* from God, by departing from that course which is in harmony with nature; and by restoring our original nature, we return back to fellowship with God; and the act of our own return we ascribe to God, as if he returned back to us." The following prayer, preserved in his writings, is very expressive of the Platonic spirit: "I pray thee, O Lord, Father and Guide of the reason within us, that we may remember our nobility, whereof thou hast deemed us worthy. Help us, of our own free will, to be purified from the body, and disturbing passions; to be superior and rule over them; to use them merely as instruments, and in a becoming manner. Help us also to the accurate correction of the reason within us, and to unite it with the realities that exist in the light of thy truth. And I pray the Preserver to remove entirely all film from our spiritual eyes, that we may rightly know both God and man."

The writings of the New Platonists are generally obscure and confused. The idea of a three-fold existence in one is always preserved; but sometimes they say that the Logos created the world, and sometimes they seem to say the same concerning the Soul of the World, proceeding from the Logos. In the time of Porphyry and Jamblichus, it was much discussed which of the two was the Creator. They held the usual ideas concerning the three-fold nature of man. Of the spiritual body, between the soul and the material form, Proclus says: "In the world above, there is no need of the divided organs, which we have in our mortal life. The uniform, lucid, resplendent vehicle is sufficient; this having all the senses united in every part of it."

Some of them denied that human souls ever entered into brutes. They understood Plato to mean that imperfect souls would enter human bodies resembling beasts in the character of their passions; not that they would literally become animals. They said God would always preserve the human soul from such degradation.

They respected marriage, and considered it necessary; but they regarded everything that tied them to the world, or induced any thought concerning the body, as an obstruction in the pursuit of philosophy. Therefore, when they consecrated themselves to meditation on divine things, they lived unmarried; so that the term philosopher and ascetic came to be synonymous.

In addition to inward purification of the soul by knowledge of God, and a life in harmony with his laws, they also believed in outward means of cleansing, taught by the gods, whereby men could obtain a sanctifying power from the Supreme, to preserve both body and soul. Their meaning with regard to these external ceremonies is veiled; but there is little doubt that they referred, in part, to the ablutions preparatory to being initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries. They never based their theories on any written revelation; believing that divine truth could be perceived by human reason in exalted states of perception.

In common with others of their age, they believed that enchanters, by aid of Evil Spirits, could command the forces of nature, and had power over men who had not raised their souls above external things; but that their spells were powerless over those who were in close communion with the Deity. They did not deny the miracles of Christ and his followers; because miracles were easily and universally admitted by all classes; but in comparison with them, they brought forward the wonders wrought by Pythagoras and Apollonius, whose power was received from the gods. Some, who distrusted all such phenomena, ascribed the miracles of both Apollonius and Christ to magical arts, ingenious tricks, and the blind faith of the multitude. Others acknowledged Jesus as one of the great

teachers sent to instruct mankind, and only objected to his being regarded as God.

The universal tendency to invest great teachers of mankind with supernatural glory was manifested by the Platonists, and doubtless increased by their competition with the claims of Christianity. Jamblichus declares that Pythagoras was the son of Jupiter, by an earthly mother; that a Delphian priest predicted his birth and character; that his early gravity, temperance, and wisdom, were so astonishing as to command reverence even from gray hairs, and lead many to assert that he was the son of a God. It was also said that Plato was the son of Apollo, who endowed him with a portion of his own celestial intelligence. Spurious maxims of Pythagoras and Zoroaster, and Golden Verses of Orpheus, were in circulation, with a view to increase their reputation for wisdom and piety.

The philosophers, in general, disliked the Gnostics, not only because they were a modification of Christianity, but because it appeared to them that they perverted and degraded the Platonic ideas, departed from the dignity of Grecian culture, and ran into fanatical extremes. Against both them and other Christians, they brought the charge of representing each human being of too much consequence in the plan of the universe. It was particularly at variance with their ideas, that the ignorant and the sinful should be taught a process by which they could be at once introduced from this life into the presence of God and Angels. They constituted the religious respectabilities of their day. They were advocates of the established and the venerable; to whom Christianity, taught as it was by the common people, seemed a mean fanaticism, "a barbarous boldness," "dangerous to the Roman state." Their doctrines were elevated, and their standard of morality was high; but their teaching was intellectual and philosophic, adapted only to educated minds. Nevertheless, their agency was an important one in the great change that was going on in the world. They continued the noble work which Socrates and Plato had begun centuries before. They kindled aspirations they were un-

able to satisfy, and were thus the means of bringing into the Christian church many excellent and educated men, whose influence served to counteract the exclusiveness, and contempt of general culture, which Christianity derived from its Jewish origin. At the same time, Platonists, in their turn, acquired an increased degree of moral elevation and refinement, from the example of Christians, and the competition excited by rivalry. As usual, neither party perceived the obligations it owed to the other; but God, as ever, was overruling all for good.

Gnostics were the most troublesome to the church of all who professed to believe in Christ, and Platonists were the most formidable of all who denied him. If Christians ridiculed the stories which poets told concerning their gods, they covered them with a veil of allegorical significance. If it was urged that the literal sense of such stories must be injurious to young minds, inasmuch as it taught drunkenness, revenge, falsehood, murder, licentiousness, and treachery, by example of the deities, philosophers retorted by reminding Christians that their God was represented as a jealous God, greedy of his own glory, whose anger waxed hot, who consumed his enemies, changed his mind, and sent lying prophets to deceive. These continual attacks on the literal sense of the Jewish Scriptures, both by Gnostics and Platonists, undoubtedly had great influence in producing the tendency to defend them by allegorical interpretation. Controversy with the Platonists was rendered still more difficult by the fact that, on many points, they apparently approached Christianity very nearly. Both taught One Supreme God; both believed his Unity was mysteriously composed of Three Principles; both asserted that his first-born Son was the Logos, the Creator of the world. Under these resemblances, there existed very different ideas concerning the relation between God and the individual soul, and also concerning the mission of the Logos. With regard to the direct and constant agency of Spiritual Beings on the human mind, they were both agreed. It has been remarked that, "among all the objections made by philosophers to the doctrines of

the Gospel, no exception was ever taken to the operation of the Holy Spirit on the human soul. The direct action of Divine Minds on the human was recognized as a familiar truth; and it could not appear as a novelty, when all the highest minds in the moral world were imbued with the philosophy of Plato or Zeno."

Minucius Felix, in his Apology for Christianity, introduces a dialogue between two Romans, one converted to Christianity, and the other opposed to it. In the course of their discussion, the Christian remarks: "I have explained the opinions of almost all the philosophers, whose most illustrious glory it is that they have worshipped One God, though under different names; so that one might suppose either that the Christians of the present day are philosophers, or that the philosophers of all days were already Christians."

JUN 18 1935



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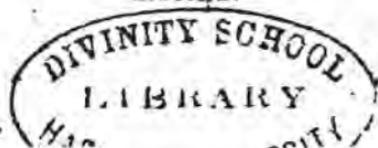
God sends his teachers unto every age,
To every clime, and every race of men,
With revelations fitted to their growth
And shape of mind, nor gives the realm of Truth
Into the selfish rule of one sole race:
Therefore, each form of worship that hath swayed
The life of man, and given it to grasp
The master-key of knowledge, ΕΥΡΕΤΗΡΟΣ,
Enfolds some germs of goodness and of right.

J. E. LOWELL.

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PROGRESS

OF

RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

CHRISTIANITY.

“Whatever errors may have crept in among the simple, yet sublime views, published by Christ, the practical *moral character* of his Gospel has always stood prominently above the abstract *doctrines*. From the first publication of Christianity, to this very day, it may be safely asserted that no sincere convert has embraced it allured by its *creed*.”—J. BLANCO WHITE.

FROM THE TIME OF CONSTANTINE.

WHILE internal changes were being gradually wrought in Christianity, by the previous opinions of its converts, and by the various sects and schools, with which it was constantly engaged in controversy, important changes were also taking place in its relations to the government. The emperor Constantius, one of the colleagues of Diocletian, had been uniformly tolerant, and even friendly toward the Christians, either from humanity, or from motives of policy; they being numerous in the part of the empire which he governed. His son Constantine had been left as a hostage at the imperial court, and suffered much from the jealousy and tyranny of Galerius. He is said to have been in Nico-

media at the first furious outbreak of persecution, and to have witnessed the heroic endurance of the Christians. He afterward commanded the army in Gaul, and, on the death of his father, in the year three hundred and six, when he was nearly forty years old, the troops proclaimed him emperor; but rivals were in the way, and battles must be fought to decide who should wear the imperial purple. He was at that time a worshipper of the gods, and the Sun was his tutelary deity. In consequence of the successful termination of a war with one of his rivals, he gave public thanks in a celebrated temple of Apollo, presented magnificent offerings, and had coins stamped with *Soli, Invicto Comiti*: To the Sun, the Invincible Companion. His situation at that period was perplexing. Adherents of the old religion, if not the most numerous, were still in possession of power. On the other hand, Christianity had become an important element in state affairs. The numerous communities, scattered throughout the empire, were united by the strongest of all bonds, that of a persecuted faith, and might be expected to serve zealously the interest of any ruler who would espouse their cause. The political enemies of Constantine were also the enemies of Christianity. His rival, Maxentius, was diligently employing every means of worship and of magic to secure the protection of the gods of Rome; and Constantine had great dread of the effect of such rites. If advantage was to be gained by pursuing an opposite course, it would be exclusively his own. He felt the need of assistance from some powerful Deity; and he reflected that emperors who had persecuted the Christians had generally ended miserably, while his father, who protected them, had a happier fate. A recent example had occurred in the painful death of Galerius. This was continually urged by the Christians; and Constantine appears to have been in a state of mind similar to Ahas, king of Judah, who sacrificed to the gods of Damascus; saying: "The gods of the kings of Syria help *them*, therefore will I sacrifice to them, that they may help *me*." Eusebius, the historian, represents him as in a state of conflict; and the

fluctuating course he pursued for some time afterward, indicates the uncertainty of his faith.

A short time before the great battle, which was to decide his destiny, he prayed to the Christians' God that he would reveal himself, and protect him from his enemies. It is not easy to imagine a state of mind more favourable for the appearance of omens. It is recorded that, in the course of his march, he saw, about noon, a Luminous Cross above the Sun, which heretofore had been his tutelary deity. On it was inscribed the motto: "Under this sign thou shalt conquer." He and his army gazed at the brilliant phenomenon with astonishment. The following night, he dreamed that Christ appeared to him, and showed him a cross bearing the monogram of his name, with the assurance that, if he assumed it for a standard, he would march to certain victory. He sent for Christian teachers, and inquired of them concerning their God, and the import of the symbol. He then caused a standard to be made according to his dream, and, under its protection, he conquered Maxentius, entered Rome in triumph, and was proclaimed emperor. This occurred in the year three hundred and twelve.

The story is told by Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in his *Life of Constantine*, written after the death of that emperor, which occurred twenty-five years after the battle. He asserts that Constantine made the statement to him, in familiar conversation, many years after the event, and affirmed it with an oath. Rufinus, a celebrated Christian writer of the fourth century, states that Constantine saw a flaming cross in a dream, and waking up in a fright, found an angel by his side, who exclaimed: "By this conquer!" Contemporary history is silent; which is remarkable, considering that a whole army were astounded by the extraordinary vision. It is also singular that Eusebius himself, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, makes no allusion to such a wonderful intervention of Deity to change the religion of the Roman Empire. It, however, remained an unquestioned miracle for many centuries. But, in modern times, the scientific have ventured to inquire of what nature such a

luminous apparition in the sky could be; and many of the religious have felt that Jesus could not have assumed the entirely new character of a military protector, without a manifest departure from his own pacific maxims. At the present day, the miracle is very generally rejected. Some consider it a fiction, invented either by Constantine or Eusebius, to throw supernatural interest round the first union of Christianity with the State. Others more reasonably suppose that the emperor really saw some uncommon meteor, and that, as years passed on, the account of it became greatly exaggerated. Being in an anxious state of mind, having prayed that the Christians' God would reveal himself, and living at a period when everything was construed into an omen, or a miracle, the imagination of Constantine would doubtless have been easily excited, either by northern lights in the evening, or a solar halo at noon; and it would be very natural that his dreams should be connected with what he had seen. If he subsequently adopted the motto, it would readily be added to the marvellous story in process of time. The probability that meteors were actually seen is increased by the statement of Nazarius, a Roman orator, and a votary of the old worship. He pronounced a panegyric on Constantine, nine years after his decisive victory, long before Eusebius wrote his account of the miracle. He describes a troop of beautiful Spirits in the sky, clad in refulgent armour, who were heard and seen by the whole army. He says: "It is the report throughout all Gaul that armies were seen, who professed to be divinely sent; saying, We want to find Constantine. We are sent to his assistance." The flattering orator adds that even Divine Beings were ambitious of such distinction, and glorified themselves with the idea of fighting for Constantine. Among the fantastic forms of the Aurora Borealis, none are more common than shooting streams of light, resembling lances hurled across the sky. In that age of the world, a supernatural cause would of course be assigned for such appearances; and where Greek and Roman imagination saw deities descending with brilliant

spears, Christians in the army could quite as easily perceive a luminous cross.

Whatever might have been the real origin of the story, the emperor caused a standard to be made in the form of a cross; and, according to tradition, it was an exact copy of the one seen in his dream. The shaft was cased with gold, and it was surmounted by a golden crown, on which were inscribed a monogram, signifying the name of Christ. Beneath the crown was a small purple banner, and the bust of Constantine, which shared the homage paid by the soldiers to their consecrated standard, without necessarily bringing them under the charge of idolatry. This standard was called the *Labarum*, the meaning of which is now unknown. It was for a long time carried at the head of the imperial army, intrusted to the care of fifty faithful guards; and a belief prevailed that no weapon could harm them while they were employed in guarding the sacred emblem.

After the victory over Maxentius, Constantine adopted the cross as a kind of amulet, to which he ascribed supernatural powers of protection. It was always carried with him on important occasions, and he was often observed to make the sign of the cross upon his forehead. But his proceedings indicate a prolonged uncertainty in his mind, as if he were waiting for events to decide what deity would prove most powerful to advance his own interests. It is likely that during the first years, the old and the new were mixed in his mind; reverence for the ancient worship remained to a considerable degree, and struggled with the conviction that Jehovah was the greatest of all gods. He pursued a very liberal policy toward Christians; but many of his actions were obvious violations of their precepts. He set at liberty those who were unjustly imprisoned, and pardoned most of those who had taken up arms against him; but he caused many of his enemies to be executed, and put to death the infant son of his rival Maxentius. Many of his German captives, whom Roman pride designated as barbarians, were exposed to contests with lions and tigers in the circus, for the amusement of

the populace; as had been the custom with previous emperors. In the year three hundred and thirteen, he published an edict of unlimited toleration, in which Christianity was recognized as one of the forms in which Deity might be lawfully worshipped. The church property, confiscated during previous reigns, was restored, and he gave large sums of money to the Christians in Africa to rebuild their ruined edifices. Those who had meanwhile come into legal possession of the land were indemnified. A regular allowance of corn was granted in each city, to meet the demands of ecclesiastical charity. His pious subjects received permission to bequeath land or money to the church to an unlimited extent. The clergy were exempted from taxes, contributions, and certain municipal services, which pressed heavily on other citizens. Thus the nucleus of an ecclesiastical power, distinct from the civil, was introduced into the Roman Empire, which had hitherto never known an established priesthood. The emperor, in a letter to the Bishop of Carthage, assigns, as a reason for these privileges, that the Christian Clergy ought not to be withdrawn from the worship of God, on which the prosperity of the state depended.

But while so much favour was shown to the long-persecuted faith, entire freedom was secured to other forms of religion. The old temples and altars were not only left undisturbed, but in many cases were repaired at the expense of government; and orators lauded him for the munificence of his donations. His medals and coins still bore the image of the Sun, and other emblems of the old religion. He did not offer sacrifices to the gods himself, or cause it to be done for him by representatives in the provinces; but he followed the custom of his predecessors in accepting the title of Supreme Pontiff of the old religion, and performed many of the public functions of that office.

In three hundred and nineteen, he published laws in which it was declared: "They who wish to remain slaves to their superstition, have liberty for the public exercise of their worship." "You, who consider it profitable to your-

selves, may continue to visit the public altars, and observe the solemnities of your usage. We do not forbid the ancient rites to be performed, provided it be done in the open light." This prohibition against secrecy grew out of the fact that his colleague, Licinius, was disposed to head a party in opposition to him and Christianity. Itinerant magicians and soothsayers were forbidden to exercise their arts; for Constantine was always unable to overcome his dread of having magical rites practised against himself. From the same fear of treasonable designs, private consultation of Augurs was forbidden, and people were not allowed to offer sacrifices in houses. If the Augurs visited each other's dwellings, they were to be burned, even if they urged the plea of friendship. Whoever summoned an Augur to his house was banished, and his goods confiscated. But public auguries were consulted by priests at the temples, the same as formerly. As late as three hundred and twenty-one, he passed a law that in case lightning struck the imperial palace, or any of the public buildings, the Augurs should be consulted, according to usage, as to what it might signify; and that a careful report of their answer should be drawn up for his own use. He also gave public permission to use magical ceremonies for good purposes; such as the prevention of storms, and the preservation of harvests. Oracles convicted of fraud were silenced; but otherwise they were not interfered with; and it is even said that he sometimes availed himself of their services. Some popular festivals, connected with midnight revels, and licentious practices, were interdicted, as dangerous to public morals. But, with these exceptions, rites endeared to the people by ages of reverent observance, were performed by the priesthood as usual. Offices of trust were impartially distributed between adherents of the old and the new religion. All the measures of government indicated the prudent policy of a statesman, adapting himself to a transition state in public opinion, rather than the fresh zeal of a thorough proselyte.

It has been already stated that most of the ancient na-

tions had a series of seven days, named for the seven planets known to them, in which the sun and moon were included. This does not appear to have been a division of time, but to have grown out of certain ceremonies and invocations successively offered to the Seven Spirits of the Planets, who were universally supposed to have a very powerful influence on human affairs. The Romans, following a very ancient custom, called our first day of the week *Dies Solis*, the Day of the Sun; the second, *Dies Lunæ*, the Day of the Moon; the third, *Dies Martis*, the Day of Mars; the fourth, *Dies Mercurii*, the Day of Mercury; the fifth, *Dies Jovis*, the Day of Jupiter; the sixth, *Dies Veneris*, the Day of Venus; the seventh, *Dies Saturni*, the Day of Saturn. Apollo had gradually become more popular, as an object of worship, than Jupiter the Thunderer. As god of poetry and eloquence, he was attractive to cultivated minds; as god of prophecy, he had strong hold of the reverential and superstitious; and as god of medicine, he wore a friendly aspect to the populace. He was originally god of *intellectual* light, the divine *archetype* of the sunlight of this world; but in the latter days, his worship had become gradually mingled with Helios, god of the material sun. Therefore, it is likely that peculiar ceremonies were appropriated to him on *Dies Solis*. The sun had always been the chosen emblem of Constantine. Apollo was his tutelary deity; and, until he was forty years old, had always been honoured by him as his invincible protector and benefactor. The Sun's Day was therefore consecrated both to his heart and his imagination; and men do not suddenly outgrow long-cherished ideas. One of the earliest acts of his reign was to add that day to the list of public Festivals; and the following edict was passed: "Let all the people in towns, judges, mechanics, and tradesmen, rest on the venerated Day of the Sun. But those who are in the country may freely cultivate their fields; since it often happens that on no other day can grain be more suitably sowed, or the vines set." A large proportion of the soldiers adhered to the old worship. A form of prayer was

written for them, such as a person of any religion might offer for the health of the emperor and the welfare of the state. They were required to go into the fields and repeat this, at the word of command. In this edict no allusion was made to the Sun's Day as connected with Christianity. The increasing humanity of the age, to which Christ, his Apostles, and those who revered their kind and gentle morality, had contributed so very largely, was indicated by one feature in the law: the courts were closed on that day for all purposes, except the manumission of slaves. Military exercises were also prohibited.

Licinius, who married the sister of Constantine, governed the Eastern part of the empire. Jealousy between the two emperors resulted in war. Licinius was defeated, and peace remained unbroken for several years. He is said to have been avaricious and sensual, while Constantine was generous, temperate, and virtuous, in all his habits. The strict morality enjoined by Christian bishops was probably an uncomfortable restraint upon the debaucheries of Licinius, while, at the same time, jealousy of Constantine's power led him to seek popularity with a large class of his subjects by throwing his whole influence in favour of the old religion. He allowed no one to retain rank in his army unless he consented to offer sacrifices to the gods. He confined bishops to the care of their own dioceses, and forbade them to meet in councils; probably fearing such opportunities might be used to his disadvantage. On the ground of salutary moral regulations, he ordered that women belonging to Christian communities should be religiously instructed only by deaconesses; that men and women should assemble for worship in the open air, and not meet together in churches. He forbade Christians access to the prisons, which they had been in the habit of visiting frequently for purposes of charity and devotion. Finally, he ordered their churches in the province of Pontus to be closed, and in some cases destroyed. Acts of personal violence, and even of martyrdom occurred. The terrified Christians fled from the cities, and hid themselves in woods and

caves. In consequence of these outrages, Constantine again took up arms against his brother-in-law. Political rivalry was the real cause of strife, but, by force of circumstances, it became a struggle for mastery between the old and new religions. Licinius solemnly invoked the gods, offered sacrifices, and consulted oracles and divinations, from which he received promises of universal empire. Constantine marched to the contest with his standard of the cross, and accompanied by bishops. He gained the victory, which Christians attributed to the prayers of their bishops, and the presence of the holy Labarum. Eusebius declares that Constantine himself told him that one man, who, in terror, gave up the standard of the cross to another, was immediately transfixcd by a spear in his flight, while the bearer of the cross passed on unhurt amid a shower of javelins, and not a man in its immediate neighbourhood was even wounded. This battle gave Constantine undivided mastery of the Roman world. He gave orders to spare the lives of his enemies, and offered rewards for all captives who were brought to him alive; an improvement on the old customs, probably owing to the humanizing influence of the bishops. Licinius was permitted to retire to private life, and it is said Constantine took a solemn oath to spare the life of his sister's husband; which, however, he failed to keep.

The adulation of the bishops was excessive; but much may be excused in men who had found an imperial protector, after such frequent and fierce storms of persecution. Eusebius of Cæsarea represents him as giving orders for battle under the influence of direct inspiration from heaven, in answer to his prayers. When the bishops in attendance upon him congratulated him as ruler over this world, and destined to reign with the Son of God in the world to come, he admonished them rather to pray for him, that he might be deemed worthy to be a servant of God, both in this world and the next.

He recalled the exiled Christians, restored their confiscated property, and the honours of those who had been

degraded in state or army. He rebuilt the churches at his own expense, and empowered the clergy to receive donations of land, as he had previously done in the Western parts of the empire. In the proclamations announcing these decrees, he expresses the conviction that the only true and Almighty God, had, by special interposition in his favour, given him victory over the Evil Powers, in order that his own worship might, by his means, become universally diffused. In one of them he says: "I invoke thee, Lord of the Universe, holy God! for by the leading of thy hand, have I undertaken and accomplished salutary things. Everywhere, preceded by thy sign, have I led on a victorious army. For this reason, I have consecrated to thee my soul, deeply imbued with love and with fear. I sincerely love thy name, I venerate thy power, which thou hast revealed to me by so many proofs, and by which thou hast confirmed my faith."

With regard to the adherents of the old worship, he says: "Let the followers of error enjoy the liberty of sharing peace and tranquillity with the faithful. The improving influence of intercourse may lead them into the way of truth. Let each act according to the dictates of his own soul. Let no one molest his neighbour concerning that which is according to his convictions. If possible, let him profit him by the knowledge he has gained; if not possible, he should allow him to go on in his own way. It is one thing to enter voluntarily into the contest for eternal life, and another to force one to it against his will. Let those who remain strangers to the holy laws of God retain their temples of falsehood, since they wish it." He adds that "the mighty dominion of error was too firmly rooted" to admit of the universal prevalence of Christianity.

The first instance in which he caused any temples to be destroyed, or old forms forcibly suppressed, was in the case of certain temples of Venus, where licentious rites were practised. The site of one of these, in Phœnicia, was occupied by a new church. There were no Christians in the place; but he sent bishops and a body of the clergy there,

and bestowed large sums on them for the support of the poor; on the ground that the people might be converted to the new faith by doing good to their bodies. The famous old Temple of Æsculapius, at Ægæ, was destroyed, on the charge that impositions were practised on the people by cures pretended to be miraculous. He took many objects of Art from these temples to adorn the imperial palace, or bestow upon his friends. Some of the images were found to be so constructed that the priests could enter and speak through them. These were exhibited to convince the people of the deceptions that had been practised upon them. In order to advance Christians to office, a law was not long after passed forbidding public functionaries to sacrifice to the gods. The erection of any new images was likewise prohibited.

The letters and proclamations of Constantine, after his victory, generally betray that temporal success was to his mind the strongest evidence of the truth of Christianity. With this view of the subject, his recent good fortune could not do otherwise than increase his zeal for his adopted faith. He studied the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, delivered theological discourses, and considered himself competent to decide controverted points of doctrine. In this kind of warfare it may be fairly presumed that the successful soldier was guided by his bishops. In his discourses, he quoted the Sibylline Prophecies in proof of Christianity; and placed peculiar reliance upon the one purporting to be composed six hundred years after the Deluge, in the form of an acrostic, making the words, Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour.

Virgil, who died nineteen years before Christ, was a sort of poet laureate to the imperial family of Augustus, from whom he received munificent presents. The poets, from time immemorial, had sung of a Golden Age, under the reign of Saturn. They said when the Iron Age commenced, Astrea, Goddess of Justice, departed from this earth, and was placed in the Zodiac, as the constellation of the Virgin; they predicted that the reign of Saturn would

return, and the Virgin Astrea again live upon the earth. During the peaceful and prosperous reign of Augustus, Virgil wrote an Eclogue, dedicated to his friend Pollio, embodying this universal prophecy. He coupled it with the birth of a wonderful child; which scholars suppose to be a complimentary allusion to some infant about to be born in the imperial family. He says: "The last age, prophesied by the Cumæan Sibyl, comes. The great procession of centuries begins anew. Now the reign of Saturn and the Virgin returns. Now a new race is sent from the high heaven. Only be thou propitious, O chaste Lucina,* to the infant boy, by whom the Iron Age shall first cease, and the Golden shall begin throughout the world: then may we say thy own Apollo reigns. In thy consulship, Pollio, this grace of our time shall enter, and the great months shall set forward. * * * * * He shall partake the life of the gods, shall see heroes and demi-gods associated, shall himself be seen by them, and shall rule the tranquillized world with his father's virtues. For thee, boy, the earth shall spread out her offerings. * * * Goats shall of themselves bring home their distended udders, and herds shall not fear the huge lion. Thy cradle shall yield fragrant flowers. Serpents and treacherous herbs of poison shall perish. When thou shalt be able to read the deeds and praises of thy father, and know what virtue is, the plain shall become yellow with waving grain, purple grapes shall hang on the rough thorn, and rugged oaks distil honey, clear as the dew. * * Every land shall produce everything. The soil shall not feel the harrow, nor the vine the pruning-hook; the fleece shall no more cheat with artificial hues, but the ram shall imbue his wool with rich purple, or glowing saffron, and the grazing lambs shall be clothed with scarlet. The Fates have said to their distaffs: 'Run off these ages!' Loved offspring of the gods, great child of Jupiter, advance to the exalted honours! for the time is at hand."

* The goddess who presided over birth.

The general features of this Eclogue obviously resemble prophecies found in all the Sacred Books, and ancient poems, of the world; while others clearly imply the expected birth of some Roman child of regal rank; and the empress Scribonia was about to become a mother at the time it was written. But Constantine assumed that it predicted the advent of Christ, and the establishment of his kingdom upon earth. The return of the Virgin he supposed to be a prophetic allusion to the Virgin Mary. This idea was adopted by the Fathers of that age, and zealously propagated for centuries.

At that time a very hot controversy was raging between the partisans of Arius and Athanasius, concerning the persons of the Godhead. Constantine, or some mild and judicious bishop, who dictated his epistle, wrote to the contending parties, rebuking them for disturbing the unity of the church by agitating such unimportant questions. He advised them to copy the prudence and moderation of philosophers, who agreed to differ amicably upon abstruse questions, and never discussed them in presence of the ignorant multitude. He reminded them that as they all believed in the same God, and worshipped him after the same manner, they ought to meet in a friendly synod, and not fall into discord about exactness of expression concerning minute distinctions; that each should allow the other individual freedom, and agree to remain united in the common bonds of Christian brotherhood. He soon after issued a mandate summoning bishops from various parts of the empire to meet in council at Nice, in Bithynia, for the purpose of settling disputed questions. He himself met with them, dressed in imperial costume, and took an active part in the proceedings. "He exhorted the bishops not to lay the foundation of schisms, by mutual jealousies, lest they should give occasion to their enemies to blaspheme the Christian religion. He reminded them that unbelievers would be most easily led to salvation if the condition of Christianity was made to appear in all respects enviable. Some might be drawn to the faith by

being seasonably supplied with the means of subsistence; others were accustomed to repair to that quarter where they found protection; others were won by an affable reception; others by being honoured with presents; few loved the exhibitions of religious doctrine; few were the real friends of truth. For this reason, they should accommodate themselves to the characters of all; as skilful physicians gave to each man what was likely to contribute to his cure." He acknowledged the supremacy of the ecclesiastical power, in all matters connected with the church, by taking a seat lower than the bishops. Eusebius even goes so far as to say that he waited for their permission to be seated. He invited them all to a sumptuous banquet at the palace, where they were received with the utmost deference, as representatives of the Deity. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, who was one of the guests, describing the scene, says: "One might easily imagine that he beheld a type of Christ's kingdom." Constantine declared that the decrees of this council ought to be regarded as the decisions of God himself; "since the Holy Spirit, residing in such great and worthy souls, unfolded to them the divine will." From this time, the coins and medals of the empire began to be stamped with the Standard of the Cross, bearing the monogram of Christ.

This complete revolution in the wheel of fortune elated some of the bishops beyond the bounds of moderation; and it could not have been otherwise, unless they had been more than human. In their gratitude for such complete security from persecution, and their joy at such rapid and unexpected advancement of power, they seem to have regarded Constantine as more than a mortal. But his faith in Christianity had been confirmed by external means, and it must be confessed that it was rather external in its character. Though he had pledged himself not to put to death Licinius, his sister's husband, he caused him to be executed about a year after he was defeated. The motives for this violation of his oath are variously assigned by his friends and enemies. Not far from the same time, and after he

had manifested so much interest in Christianity at the Council of Nice, he caused the young Licinius, his sister's son, to be put to death, from motives of political jealousy. Crispus, his own son, by his first wife, a young man of distinguished talent and bravery, was also suddenly executed, without public trial. Secret treason was the excuse given for this dark deed; but of that there was no proof. Some attributed it to the emperor's jealousy of his son's great popularity; others said it was domestic jealousy, the empress Fausta having accused her step-son of avowing a passion for her. Fausta herself disappeared soon after. The rumour went abroad that Helena, mother of Constantine, discovered that she had brought a false accusation against Crispus, in order to advance the interests of her own sons; and that the emperor had revenged himself by causing her to be suffocated in a hot bath. This last crime is doubted by some historians, who find traces of Fausta's existence some time after her alleged death. A veil of mystery was thrown over these transactions at the time, and the truth cannot now be discovered. It is, however, certain that they produced an effect on the public mind very unfavourable to Constantine. Of course, his own enemies, and the enemies of Christianity, were ready to utter sarcasms on the religion of a man who had put to death his brother-in-law, his nephew, his son, and his wife, while making the greatest professions of piety. The populace of Rome betrayed signs of disapprobation; and some went so far as to fasten on the gates of the palace verses in which he was compared to Nero. These indications of unpopularity are supposed to have caused his determination to remove the seat of government to Byzantium; to which he gave a Greek name signifying the City of Constantine; in English, Constantinople. In the embellishment and consecration of this new Capital, there was the same intermixture of the new and the old, which had characterized the beginning of his reign. Statues of the gods were brought from all parts of the empire. Images of Castor and Pollux surmounted the Hippodrome. The Goddess of Fortune

was placed in a shrine on one side of the Forum; and on the other was Cybele, deprived of her symbolic lions, and in the attitude of a suppliant, as if praying for the public prosperity. When the city was consecrated, the emperor, accompanied by a vast procession, rode through the principal streets in a splendid chariot, carrying a golden statue of Fortune with a cross in her hand; and it was decreed that his own statue, thus holding the golden image, should be annually brought to the foot of the throne to receive homage from the reigning emperor. In one part of the city, a statue of Apollo stood on a column of three inter-twisted serpents. Another, of colossal size, was placed on a tall column of marble and porphyry, with a globe and sceptre in its hands. The head of Constantine himself was substituted for that of the deity who had been regarded as the guardian of his youth. No new temples were erected, but the old ones remained open for worshippers. Some Christian churches were built, but he did not manifest so much zeal in the work, as at a later period of his reign. When Rome was a republic, she had dedicated temples to Faith, Modesty, and Peace. Constantine imitated the example, by dedicating one of his new churches to Sophia [Wisdom], and another to Eirene [Peace]; names with which no fault could be found by the votaries of any religion. One of the most splendid was dedicated to the Archangel Michael.

A distinguished philosopher, named Sopater, who had been a disciple of Jamblichus, and afterward head of the same school, took up his residence in Constantinople, soon after it became the Capital. Some of the Christian bishops were the intimate friends of Constantine; and one of the most learned of the Fathers, named Lactantius, had been chosen to educate Crispus, his unfortunate son. The Platonist was soon admitted to equal intimacy; and it was said he cherished hopes of retarding, if not averting, the downfall of the old worship. Constantine delighted in his conversation, and on public occasions often caused him to sit by his side. This soon excited jealousy on the part of

the Christian leaders, lest his influence should be successfully exerted over the emperor, if not decidedly in favour of the old religion, at least in favour of an eclectic impartiality between the old and the new. Constantinople depended on foreign countries for grain, and it chanced that adverse winds long detained the Alexandrian ships, on which reliance was placed for a supply. Theurgy was at that time much practised by the degenerated school of philosophers; and a murmur arose among the populace that Sopater chained the winds by magical arts. Famine threatened the city, and it was a favourable opportunity to exaggerate any report to his disadvantage. The favourite became so odious, that when the emperor entered the theatre, the people received him without their usual acclamations. Whether he believed that magic had power over the winds, or whether alarm for his own popularity induced him to sacrifice a friend, is unknown. History merely records that the unfortunate Platonist was forthwith beheaded.

The fluctuating course pursued by Constantine gave rise to doubts concerning the depth and earnestness of his convictions, of which votaries of the old worship were exceedingly ready to avail themselves. It was currently believed and reported by them that remorse for the hasty murder of his innocent son was what finally settled the question in his mind. In his affliction, they said he began to lean toward the religion of his youth; but when he consulted the priests, they told him the gods had prescribed no rites by which such a crime could be expiated. Others said he sought the same relief from Sopater; but the doctrines of Platonism offered no atonement for the guilty. But Christians, they said, assured him that the blood of Christ was sufficient to wash away all sin; and that however criminal he might have been, faith in its efficacy would secure to him an immortal crown.

Little is known concerning Helena, the mother of Constantine. Some say she influenced him in favour of Christianity, others that he was the cause of her conversion. However that might be, her zeal in the cause became very

conspicuous. Pilgrimages to holy places were favoured by the example of all the East. Attended by a devout train of men and women, she undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. An empress, who was seeking for interesting localities to endow with her wealth, could not fail to find them in abundance. Christian devotees in Jerusalem eagerly pointed out to her where Christ was born, where he performed various miracles, where he was crucified, and where he ascended. The footsteps of the patriarchs, the prophets, and the apostles, were traced with equal precision. The empress-mother gazed on them all with undoubting reverence, and gave munificent donations to erect churches and chapels on the consecrated spots.

Constantine also made a visit to the Holy City, with Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia. Romans had built a temple to Venus on Mount Calvary, which he ordered to be immediately demolished. When the earth and stones were removed, it was said and believed, that the workmen discovered the identical tomb of Joseph of Arimathea, in which Jesus had been buried. Near by, was found not only the cross on which Christ had suffered, but also the crosses of the two thieves, and the inscription written by Pilate, in three languages. It was not the tendency of that age to inquire whether such large and heavy instruments of punishment were likely to be buried with the criminals. The True Cross, thus discovered, was consigned to the care of the Bishop of Jerusalem, who put a portion of it into a silver case, and divided the remainder into small fragments to be sold to pilgrims. The nails of the cross, the crown of thorns, and the spear that pierced the side of Jesus were likewise found. It is said that Constantine placed these holy nails round the head of his colossal Apollo, at Constantinople, so arranged as to form a glory, in imitation of the halo usually represented round the God of the Sun. Over the place where the tomb was discovered, he caused a magnificent church to be erected; at first called the Church of the Resurrection, afterwards of the Holy Sepulchre. The interior was inlaid with costly marbles. The

dome was supported by twelve pillars, surmounted with silver vases, in commemoration of the Twelve Apostles. The roof was overlaid with gold, which shed a resplendent light. A court within the church contained the tomb, over which was erected a chapel blazing with gold and gems. Near Hebron, an oak tree was pointed out as the spot where Abraham had an interview with the angels. Some polytheistic worshippers had sacred traditions connected with it, and had been accustomed to perform religious ceremonies there in honour of the Spirits that appeared to Abraham; whose name was held in reverence by several Asiatic nations. Constantine caused the place to be purified, and a church to be erected there. He also built splendid churches at Antioch and Alexandria. At Rome, he erected a superb church on the Vatican Hill, occupying the site of the circus and gardens of Nero, where early Christians had died of lingering tortures. According to current tradition, the edifice stood on the very spot where Peter suffered martyrdom. Within the enclosure of the imperial palace at Rome, called the Lateran, he built a church dedicated to the memory of the Apostle John. In his zeal to propagate the new faith, it is said he offered a white baptismal garment, and twenty pieces of gold to every convert; and that twelve thousand men, with a proportionate number of women and children, were baptized in one day at Rome. He granted an appeal from the civil courts to the bishops, whose decisions were to be in all cases binding. He frequently invited the clergy to his own table, even when they were very meanly clad. He never went a journey without taking a bishop with him; thinking it made him more secure of prospering in his undertakings. He was accustomed to say that if he should see a bishop engaged in any sinful or unbecoming action, he would cover him with his own imperial robe, rather than have others see him. He affirmed that even Grecian oracles were compelled to testify in favour of Christians; that after the advent of Christ, Apollo no longer presumed to speak through a human voice in the temple, but spoke

from a deep dark cavern, as if he had hidden himself. Being asked why he did this, he replied: "Because of the just men who are now on the earth." When Diocletian inquired who those just men were, one of the priests of Apollo, who stood by, answered: "They are Christians." Constantine declares he was one of the company, and heard it; and he calls upon God to witness it.

He passed a law to defend Christian converts from Judaism, but he found it more difficult to shield them from their own dissensions. Council after council was called to settle theological disputes, and still the strife went on. He wrote to the Bishop of Alexandria, exhorting him to pursue a peaceful and charitable course toward those who differed from him with regard to the Trinity. But he satisfied the demands of the bishops by passing very severe laws against Manicheans, Marcionites, and other Gnostic sects, whose property was confiscated. For many years before his death, he would not allow his image to be placed in any of the temples. He caused his statue to be made with a cross in his hand, inscribed with the motto: "By this he conquered." Medals and pictures representing him in a devout attitude of Christian worship were distributed throughout the empire. Other and better fruits of Christianity are also recorded of him. In times of public distress, it had been common to expose young children, to sell them into slavery, or put them to death. By advice of Lactantius, it was proclaimed that the emperor considered himself the father of all such children, and would support them at his own expense. He encouraged the sending of missionaries to distant lands. He diminished taxation, ameliorated the penal laws, and made regulations for the health and comfort of prisoners; saying it was his duty to secure a man who was accused of crime, but not to injure him. When slaves were divided among the heirs of a deceased person, he forbade the separation of husbands and wives, parents and children; a humane regulation, which had been previously neglected.

Though his adhesion to Christianity was finally unquali-

fied, he did not partake of its sacraments till his last illness. No one was allowed to taste the Lord's Supper till he had passed through the purifying process of baptism; and as that was supposed to wash away all sin, perhaps Constantine thought to make sure of eternal salvation by deferring a rite so efficacious until he was past the danger of committing further sin. Whatever might have been his motive, he was not baptized until a short time before his death; which took place when he was sixty-three years old, after a reign of thirty-one years.

In the honours paid to his memory, there was the same mingling of religions which had characterized a large portion of his life. His polytheistic subjects followed the old custom of placing the emperor among the deities by solemn ceremonies. The medals issued after his apotheosis bore his name, with his title "God;" and on the reverse side was the monogram from the *Labarum*, forming the name of Christ. Some of the medals represented him seated in the chariot of the Sun, drawn by four horses, while a hand issued from the clouds to take him up among the demi-gods. Cotemporary Christian writers, very naturally blinded by gratitude, exaggerated his really great merits, and eulogized him without limit, and without discrimination. The eastern churches kept an annual festival in honour of his memory, and added to his name: "Equal to the Apostles."

Niebuhr, in his *History of Rome*, says: "Men judge him by too severe a standard, because they look upon him as a Christian; but I cannot regard him in that light. The religion he had in his head must have been a strange compound. The man who had on his coins, *Sol invictus*, [The Sun invincible,] who worshipped polytheistic deities, and consulted the *haruspices*, while at the same time he shut up temples, built churches, and interfered with the Council of Nice, certainly was not a Christian." Mosheim, in his *History of Christianity*, supposes that Constantine at first regarded Christ merely as one of the gods, who had power to confer prosperity and happiness on those who honoured

him, and to punish those who contemned and persecuted him; but that being afterward better instructed in Christianity, he became a sincere convert.

The outward benefits he conferred on the Christian religion were perhaps balanced by the rapid degeneracy they induced. It became a matter of policy to profess Christianity. All classes, princes and beggars, flocked into the church, without serious conviction, or proper instruction; and all supposed that the magical waters of baptism had washed away their sins. Eusebius reckons as one of the greatest evils of that period the indescribable hypocrisy of many who pretended to be Christians merely to advance their own interests, and who abused the confidence of the emperor by their false show of zeal.

CHRISTIAN SECTS.

Having thus rapidly traced Christianity from its obscure origin, through outward perils, I will, as briefly as possible, describe the dissensions which arose among themselves.

At the outset, Christians had no creed. In the time of Irenæus and Tertullian, formularies of faith were written, on purpose to exclude the Gnostics; and catechumens were required to give public assent to them before they were baptized. The Gnostic sects were therefore outside the church. They formed a link between Christianity and the old Egyptian, Persian, and Grecian ideas, and were one of the agencies by which many of those ideas glided into the new religion, and became permanently incorporated with it. The heterogeneous elements heaved and tossed wildly, before they could be definitely settled into a theological form. It would fill volumes to explain all the subdivisions of sects on minor points of faith or practice. Asceticism, growing out of the old Oriental idea that Matter was the origin of evil, began to manifest itself very early in various forms. There was a sect called Abelites, who abstained from matrimony, in order to avoid propagating original

sin. They adopted the children of others, and brought them up in their own principles. They had great reverence for Abel, because he died unmarried, and childless. The Aquarians used water instead of wine, at the Lord's Supper, and abstained from animal food, because they thought it wrong to stimulate or please the senses. The Apostolics were also called Renouncers, because they considered it wrong to possess any property, and therefore held all things in common. They allowed no married person to belong to their churches.

QUARTODECIMANS.—One of the earliest and most troublesome schisms in the church, after the question of circumcision was at rest, related to a mere external observance. The first Christians continued to keep the Passover as a Jewish custom. They ceased to sacrifice a lamb, because they observed the festival in commemoration of Christ, of whom the Paschal Lamb was supposed to be a type; thus Paul says: "Christ, our Passover, is sacrificed for us." Jews observed the first day of the first full moon, after the vernal equinox, on whatsoever day of the week it happened to fall; and Christians, in the Eastern part of the Roman empire, long continued to do the same. In the Western part, they formed the habit of keeping it the Sunday following the first day. They did this partly because Christ rose on Sunday, and partly because there was an increasing disposition to distinguish themselves from the Jews. Thus it happened that while some churches were mourning for the crucifixion, others were rejoicing over the resurrection. In the second century, the dispute grew very warm. The Bishop of Rome excommunicated the Eastern churches. Polycarp remonstrated with him, and alleged that the day they kept was the same he had himself observed with the Apostle John. Synods were in vain called to settle it. Those who kept the fourteenth day were called Quartodecimans, and regarded as heretics by the churches of Italy. It was considered a question grave enough for the intervention of the emperor; and Constantine sustained the Council

of Nice in deciding that it should always be kept on the Sunday following the full moon.

MONTANISTS.—In the middle of the second century, Montanus, an illiterate bishop in Phrygia, preached a stern and fervid kind of spiritualism, which attracted many followers. In most respects, his doctrines were the same as those of the Christian Church. But he differed in maintaining that every true believer in Christ, whether man or woman, received direct inspiration from the Holy Ghost; in support of which he quoted Joel's prophecy: "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy." He considered Judaism as the infancy of religion, Christianity as its youth, and the more advanced state, attained by full and general reception of the Holy Ghost, was its manhood. He himself claimed to be an inspired prophet, sent by God to lead the church into a stricter life, and prepare it for the millennium, which he painted in glowing colours, and as nigh at hand. He had prophets and prophetesses in his train, whose wild and passionate preaching excited paroxysms of devotion in themselves and their hearers. This pouring out of the Spirit upon Christians of all conditions, they regarded as one of the strong proofs that the end of the world was approaching. Maximilla, the associate of Montanus in his preaching, said expressly: "After me, no other prophetess shall arise; but the end shall come." Tertullian thus describes one of these inspired women: "There is a sister among us indued with the gifts of revelation by an ecstasy of spirit, which she suffers in the church, during the time of divine service. She converses with angels, and sometimes also with the Lord. She sees and hears mysteries, knows the hearts of some, and prescribes medicines to those who need them." After the assembly was dismissed, her visions were taken down in writing; and much information concerning the invisible world was supposed to be gained from them. Montanus, when describing the prophetic power, represented the Lord as taking away the souls of men, and

giving them souls; as saying: "The man is a lyre, and I sweep over him like a plectrum. The man sleeps, I wake." To him, and to his two leading prophetesses, he said God had imparted the fulness of his Spirit; whereas Paul confessed that he only knew in part, and prophesied in part. Epiphanius charges a branch of the Montanists with making women bishops and presbyters; sustaining the custom by Paul's words: "In Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female."

The morality of this sect was very rigid. They considered all recreations and pleasures of the senses sinful. They lived abstemiously, and kept prolonged fasts. Those who devoted themselves to prophecy generally left their wives and husbands; considering a life of celibacy the only way to become perfect recipients of the Holy Spirit. They regarded marriage as a spiritual union, to be continued in another life; therefore second marriages were considered unlawful. They likewise deemed that a marriage was not valid unless performed in a church, in the name of Christ. While they thus revered the union of souls, they regarded the earthly relation as a necessary evil, which ought to be conscientiously restrained within certain limits. They considered the rite of baptism so important that they even baptized the dead.

Their preachers were accustomed to make rousing appeals to sinners, denouncing upon them the vengeance of God, and making terrific pictures of eternal torment, in contrast with the most luxurious pictures of Christ's kingdom upon earth. They held human learning in great contempt, and considered the study of philosophy, or classic literature, as a participation in idolatry.

Their leaders forbade them to avoid persecution, or to hold communion with any who did. Those who fled from the storm, or purchased safety by any concession, however slight, were regarded as recreant to Christianity, and enemies of Jesus. Their preachers said: "Let it not be your wish to die on your beds, in the pains of child-birth, or in debilitating fever; but desire to die as martyrs, that he

may be glorified who suffered for you." This, combined with eloquent descriptions of the glory and happiness of martyrs, to which the soul could attain by no other process, produced among them such a rage for martyrdom, that they rushed needlessly into danger. They considered themselves the only genuine Christians, and carried on hot controversy with all others, by whom they in their turn were much disliked. Tertullian became a Montanist, and abused, in unmeasured terms, the church he had left. They were subdivided into sects; one of which was accustomed to use bread and cheese at the sacrament. They were for some time a very troublesome element in the church. They encountered a good deal of persecution, and had almost disappeared in the fourth century.

DONATISTS.—The leading characteristics of the Montanists reappeared in a sect which caused far more deadly strife than any that had yet been excited. Donatus, a Numidian bishop, agreed with the church in most matters of faith, but took the ground that no one could be a Christian who had at any time, or in any way, evaded persecution; that no ordination was valid, if performed by such a person; and no person was free from stain who had received the sacraments from such hands. All the bishops of Europe and Asia were pronounced more or less infected with this sin, and thus the true apostolic succession was broken. On this ground, they disputed the election of the Bishop of Carthage, and refused to submit to his authority. They maintained that they were the only true Christians; being the only ones who had not in some way connived at apostasy. Councils were called to decide the matter, but the Donatists treated their decisions with scorn. An imperial decree from Constantine met with the same fate. A military force was sent to compel them to submit to the laws. They were driven into exile, their property was confiscated, and their churches sold or destroyed. Persecution had its usual effect, to increase zeal and strengthen obstinacy. The Donatists defied the army, as they had the

bishops and the emperor. Now, for the first time, Christians began to shed each other's blood. The African cities became scenes of massacre and licentious outrage. The Donatists were treated with horrible cruelty, and retaliated with savage barbarity. They exulted in their sufferings, and eagerly rushed upon martyrdom. The church was bent upon subduing or exterminating them, and justified excessive cruelties by the example of Moses and Elijah, who had slain unbelievers by thousands. When Donatists took possession of churches that had been used by their opponents, they washed the pavements, scraped the walls, burnt the altars, and melted the plate; if they found any of the consecrated bread, they threw it to the dogs, with as much horror as if they had been purifying a temple of Venus. They even cast out of their burying-grounds the bodies of those whose practice had not conformed strictly to their views. All who joined them were re-baptized; if bishops or presbyters, they were re-ordained; if men or women pledged to celibacy, they were obliged to renew their vow. In vain Constantine tried to heal the schism by an edict of peace. The warfare continued during his lifetime, and for a long time after. One hundred and seventy-two bishops of Africa belonged to this stern sect. Their discipline and style of preaching resembled the Montanists. They sang fervid hymns to wild and passionate melodies, and fiery outbursts of scriptural eloquence excited their hearers to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. There were at that time swarms of devotees, or monks, called Circumcellions, who wandered about, obtaining subsistence by begging from the peasants. These joined the Donatists in large numbers, and spread consternation throughout the African provinces. At first, they took only what was necessary for their subsistence; but growing bolder, they plundered at will, and punished the slightest opposition with death. Christian priests, whom they took prisoners, were tortured with every refinement of cruelty; churches were demolished, dwellings burnt, and whole provinces desolated with murder and pillage. As monks, they were vowed to per-

petual chastity; but the doctrine of spiritual perfection produced the same results as in other ages and countries. The resistance of nature to the arbitrary constraint imposed upon her, combined with the idea that saints could not be polluted by any external actions, resulted in paroxysms of furious licentiousness. Captives taken in war were subjected to the most brutal outrages, and their army was followed by troops of women raised above earthly contamination by their state of perfected sanctity. Several of the Donatist bishops, finding remonstrances altogether fruitless, applied to the civil power for aid against these lawless allies, who refused to be governed or restrained by the church. The government resorted to various modes of treatment at different times. Constantine, having in vain tried to compel them to submit, had recourse to a system of complete toleration, and wrote to them in a strain of kind, paternal advice. His successor attempted to win them over to unity with the established church by expostulation and liberal distribution of money; to which they scornfully replied: "What has the emperor to do with the church?" The members of their party were forbidden to receive any present from the reigning powers. The corruptions resulting from the union of the church with the state became the favourite theme of their eloquence. They traced all degeneracy to the splendour and luxury of the times, and railed at bishops whose ambition or avarice led them to flatter princes. They declared that the Lord had sent them as his delegates to purify the church, and redress the wrongs of the oppressed. Their leaders were called Captains of the Saints, Sons of the Holy One. Sometimes they dropped their own names, and took religious ones; such as *Deum Habet*, God with him. Each carried a huge club, which they termed an Israelite, and their battle cry was, Praise be to God! The Christian doctrine of human equality and brotherhood, they attempted to enforce with blind and reckless violence. They released all debtors from prison, and cancelled all debts. Any creditor who refused to comply with their demands, was sure to have his pro-

perty destroyed, and was fortunate if he escaped with his life. They gave freedom to all slaves who resorted to them, and revenged whatever cruelties they had suffered. If they met a wealthy man riding, they compelled him to walk, and placed his slave in the chariot.

All conciliatory measures having failed, force was again employed against them, but only served to kindle their zeal into a more furious blaze. Many of their bishops and clergymen were put to death, and horrible tortures were inflicted on the Circumcellions who were taken prisoners in battle. These outrages were fiercely retaliated on all of their opponents who came into their power. They rushed upon danger with savage joy, impatient for the glorious crown of martyrdom. They profaned temples by unclean acts, interrupted festivals, broke statues, demolished churches, and carried off the church plate, on purpose to get executed. If other means failed, they sometimes resorted to self-inflicted martyrdom. Having indulged awhile in feasting, and all kinds of revelry, they appointed a day, and in the presence of assembled friends, they burned themselves, or threw themselves from a steep precipice, or employed some one to kill them. They justified these proceedings by the example of Bazaris, as recorded in the Book of Maccabees. They never used swords, because Peter was commanded to put up his sword; therefore, they beat out the brains of their victims with a club.

In process of time, the Donatists split into sects; the small fractions still claiming to be sole depositories of religious truth, the only faithful disciples, whom Christ would find worthy to share his kingdom, at his second coming. This schism raged, more or less furiously, in Africa, for three hundred years, and ceased only with Christianity itself in those regions.

THE LOGOS.—Another schism, more universal, and which became scarcely less virulent, seemed for a time destined to rend the church into fragments. It has been already stated how the doctrine of the Logos conflicted in

many minds with preconceived ideas of the unity of God. Christians called Ebionites, who retained the original Jewish ideas, did not accept the doctrine at all; nor does it appear that they ever heard of it. The idea of The Word of God, by which creation was produced, was familiar to every reader of Genesis; and Jews were accustomed to speak of him under the name of Memra; but they never seem to have associated him with their ideas of the Messiah. Some of the Ebionite Christians thought Christ was a reappearance of Adam, who was the Son of Adam Kadman, the Primal Man; and in that sense, perhaps, they called him the Son of Man. But they generally considered him like other mortals in all respects, except superior holiness and stricter adherence to the Law of Moses. This idea of a merely natural birth appeared also among various Gentile sects. The Gnostics supposed that Jesus was a man, but so pure that some great Spirit, emanating from the highest existences, had descended and united with his soul at baptism. About a century before the time of Constantine, Artemon, at Rome, gave name to a sect who denied the divinity of Christ. Theodoret says: "Artemon taught that Christ was a mere man, born of a virgin, and excelling the prophets in virtue. He said the Apostles taught this; but those who came after them made a God of Christ, who was not God." His followers spread into Syria, and continued to propagate their doctrines till far into the third century.

Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, in the middle of the third century, maintained that the Logos bore the same relation to God, that reason did to man; that it was a divine attribute, not a person. The doctrine of the incarnation he rejected altogether. He said that the divine reason, or wisdom, operated in Christ in a more perfect manner than it ever had in any other man; so that he was the Son of God in a sense that no other medium of divine wisdom had ever been. He denied that he existed before his human birth. By his being with God before all time, he merely understood that his existence was predes-

tioned in the reason, or wisdom, of God. Paul had powerful opponents and zealous friends. After a contest of a few years, he was finally obliged to yield to the decision of the Bishop of Rome, by whom he was deposed for heresy.

Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, and Photinus, Bishop of Sermium, were deposed for teaching similar doctrines in the fourth century. Athanasius says: "Their followers denied the preëxistence of Christ, his divinity, and his everlasting kingdom." Other Fathers describe them as teaching that the "Logos was in God, as his reason or wisdom;" that "he was a divine energy inhabiting him who was the son of David; not a subsisting person." Eusebius says: "They gloried in acknowledging but One God." Photinus is eulogized as a man of genius, learning, and powerful eloquence. He was persecuted and condemned solely for his doctrines. His moral character stood very high. Hilary says: "Though excommunicated, he could not be removed, on account of the affection the people had for him." Sozomon says: "Though banished, he continued to defend his opinion, and wrote books in Greek and Latin, to prove all opinions false except his own." Jerome says: "He endeavoured to revive the Ebionite heresy, and wrote many volumes, chiefly against the heathen." Basil requested that persons might be sent from Rome to condemn the heresy of Marcellus, which had infected some of the leading men in his own diocese, and was gaining many proselytes in Asia Minor. The Fathers record that heretics boasted the number of books written by these men. But none of them have come down to our times; being diligently destroyed, according to the usual practice. There was also a sect founded by one Theodotus, a leather-dresser. They believed that Christ had grown up from the beginning under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit; but they complained that the distance between him and God had not been sufficiently marked by the church; that he was a man, on whom God had bestowed his wisdom in larger measure than on any other

messenger he had sent, and therefore he was preëminently called the Son of God.

Against those who maintained Christ was merely a holy man, their opponents cited passages to prove that Peter, Paul, and John, acknowledged him as God, and that he himself declared he was one with the Father. They sustained the extreme antiquity of the doctrine by reference to the oldest church teachers and the most ancient hymns. Pliny's letter is also evidence that the Christians in Bithynia worshipped Christ as God, in the time of Trajan. Some went so far as to assert that Christ was the one undivided, Supreme God; that he was called the Son merely with reference to his manifestation in a human body; that Jehovah was God invisible, and Christ was the same God visible. In proof of which they quoted the words of Jesus: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father." This doctrine was as shocking to many pious minds, as the total denial of his divinity; because it involved the inference that God himself was buffeted, scourged, and crucified. In controversy with these opposite modes of preserving the unity of God, the doctrine of the Trinity gradually grew up and unfolded itself.

SABELLIANS.—Sabellius, a Christian teacher at Ptolemais, in the year two hundred fifty, was a zealous advocate for the unity of God; but he differed from his predecessors in admitting the Holy Ghost into his theory. He said, Father, Son, and Spirit, were not persons, but merely different manifestations of the Godhead: a three-fold relation of God to the world. He compared the Father to the substance of the sun; Christ to its illuminating power; and the Spirit to the warmth of life imparted to believers. His followers laid great stress on Christ's saying: "I and my Father are one." This view of the subject attracted many minds, and excited great opposition. Athanasius complains that in some places Sabellians prevailed so much, "the Son of God was hardly preached in the churches." Epiphanius says that "Sabellians, in their zeal for the unity

of God, would ask plain simple men, 'Well, my friends, have we one God, or three Gods?' And when a pious person, not sufficiently on his guard, hears this, he is alarmed, and, by assenting to their error, denies the Son and the Holy Spirit."

In their eagerness to refute Sabellius, and at the same time preserve the unity of God, some took the ground that there was an essential difference between the Father and the Son; that the Son was inferior in power, and less in glory. This was substantially the same doctrine taught by Origen, and other early Fathers of the church.

ARIANS.—Arius, a presbyter in the church at Alexandria, about the year three hundred and eighteen, striving to refute Sabellius, maintained the distinct personality of the Son, and the Holy Spirit; but wishing to preserve the unity of Deity, he maintained that the Father alone was self-existent; that there had been a time, inconceivably remote, when he dwelt alone, and undeveloped. That by an effort of his will, he created his only Son, out of nothing, ages before the world was made. He was the Logos, the "express image of God," and all other beings were immeasurably beneath him; but he was inferior to the Father, and was employed by Him in the creation of the Universe. He said the Holy Spirit was the first Being created by the Logos, and was as subordinate to him as the Son was to the Father. The term Logos had been originally applied to the Word, or Wisdom of God, and was of course a portion of God. In the time of Arius, it had become generally applied to Christ; and he, adopting it as he found it, represented the Logos as a distinct created being. Tertullian had declared, half a century before, that there was a time when God could not be called Father, because there was a time "when the Son was not." But Arius lived at a period when the church was coming into established power; when learned, acute, and energetic men were labouring with all their ability to lay firmly and securely a corner-stone of doctrine that would settle forever the

perplexing question, how a being who ate and drank, was tempted and troubled, suffered and died, like mortals, could be a man, and be at the same time God. The statement of Arius brought all the elements of controversy into intense activity. He very soon numbered two bishops, seven presbyters, and twelve deacons, among his followers, and their doctrines spread rapidly throughout Egypt and Syria. In their progress, they gave rise to curious questions whether the Son of God was begotten, or made; whether he was of the same substance with the Father, as Gnostics, and other believers in emanations, had always said, or whether he was of a dissimilar substance. The clergy were greatly annoyed by these new impediments to the unity of the church; and they were the more vexed with Arius, because in controversy with the Gnostics they had very particularly guarded against *separation* of the Godhead; all the Gnostics being ready to admit that Christ was a powerful and glorious Being, but subordinate to God. Those who wished to avoid participation in the quarrel found it exceedingly difficult to pursue a neutral course. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, says: "If I preach God according to the Law, the Prophets, and the Apostles, Sabellius is upon me, ready to devour me whole. If, preaching against Sabellius, I acknowledge that the Son of God is truly God, the new heresy waits for me, and tells me that I preach two Gods." Most of the clergy were bitter in their animosity. Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, promulgated an anathema against "the impious Arius, the forerunner of Antichrist, who had dared to utter blasphemies against the Divine Redeemer."

After a struggle of six years, the famous Council of Nice was called, in three hundred twenty-five, to settle the question. The public establishment of post-houses was placed at the disposal of the clergy. Three hundred and eighteen bishops assembled, besides a large company of presbyters and deacons; and great was their exultation when the emperor Constantine signified his intention to be present and take part in the discussion. In the course of the argu-

ment, some of the members, striving to prove that the Son was not a separate Being from the Father, applied to him the Greek word *Homousios*, meaning of the same substance. This proved a battle-cry. The controversy it excited seemed interminable. Discussions concerning the substance of God, and whether the Son was begotten or made, shocked some pious minds, who feared they might tend to produce very material views of Deity. Every wind of doctrine was astir. The Council was in session two months. At last it was decided that Christ was "the only Son of God; begotten, not made; consubstantial with the Father; through whom everything has been made in heaven and on earth; that he was God of God, light of light, very God of very God;" that there was a substantial, indissoluble union between the perfect God and a perfect man; that this mode of existence could not be explained by human language, or illustrated by human ideas; it was to be believed, not understood.

The opponents of Arius were completely triumphant. His confession of faith was torn to pieces in his presence; his writings were condemned, and an imperial edict was issued commanding every one, on pain of death, to deliver them up to be burned. He was solemnly anathematized by the Council, banished by the emperor, and especially forbidden to enter Alexandria. The verdict was signed by nearly all the bishops. Three, who refused at first, were intimidated by Constantine. Two who persevered in refusal, were condemned with him, and followed him into exile. Eusebius of Cæsarea yielded reluctantly, and finally sent the creed to his diocese with a careful explanation of the word *Homousios*, to guard against material ideas of God. This was the first warfare in the church strictly on points of faith; and from this time may be dated the practice of requiring the unquestioning assent of every Christian to articles of belief established by votes of the clergy.

But notwithstanding Arianism was discountenanced by the emperor, and formally condemned by such a powerful

Council, it still continued to spread. Synod after synod was in vain called to suppress it. The emperor's sister, Constantia, was an Arian, and exerted her influence to convince him that Arius was a good man, and ought to be recalled from banishment; and in this she was aided by his friend, Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia. Arius also sought to conciliate him by writing another confession of faith. It was principally composed of texts of Scripture; and every one engaged in polemical controversy soon learns that the same words of Scripture may be used by several individuals, to each one of whom they convey a different significance. The string of texts was considered by Constantine a satisfactory acceptance of the creed established by the Council of Nice. Arius was recalled to Constantinople, where a Council had been held in which his party predominated. Alexander, Bishop of that city, refused to allow him to commune with his church. Constantine commanded him to administer the Eucharist to Arius on the following Sunday. The bishop manifested a strong inclination to disobey the imperial mandate. The Arians threatened to force their way into the church. The Homoousians, no longer sustained by the civil power, in which they had lately exulted, prayed to God for the scattering of their enemies. While the bishop was thus kneeling in prayer before the altar, Arius was triumphantly escorted through the principal streets of the city toward the church. On his way, being suddenly seized with pain, he was obliged to leave the procession for a few moments. His friends, after awaiting his return for a time, sought for him, and found him dead. His enemies ascribed it to the vengeance of God, for his "blasphemous heresies;" while his friends whispered of poison. From some of the circumstances, it appears not unlikely to have been a deadly attack of cholera. Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, the able leader of the Homoousian party, compared his disease to that of Judas, whose treacherous example he accused him of having imitated, in his readiness to degrade Christ. He was accustomed, ever after, to bring forward the sudden

death of Arius as a sufficient refutation of his heretical doctrines; an argument likely to have great weight, when all such visitations were regarded as direct punishments from Heaven. The Bishop of Constantinople, relieved from the presence of his popular rival, set apart a day for thanksgiving in the churches; but it professed to be for escape from external violence, not for the death of an enemy.

The mind of Constantine, though habitually credulous, was not so affected by this event as to turn again in favour of the Homousians. He became displeased with Athanasius, whom he accused of arrogant behaviour. He sent him into banishment, from which he refused to recall him, till he was on his death-bed; and he then manifested his own predilections by receiving baptism from the hands of his friend Eusebius, the Arian Bishop of Nicomedia.

Arius seems to have been inadvertently drawn into this warfare by his zeal to establish the personality of the Logos, in opposition to the theory of Sabellius. His enemies have recorded that he was a man of learning, and of blameless morals, graceful in person, fluent in conversation, subtle in argument, and eloquent as a public speaker; but they add that ambition and craftiness were concealed under his quiet and simple manners. Even if no more than the favourable portion of the statement were correct, he might well be considered a formidable antagonist.

For forty years after his death, Arianism and Athanasianism were alternately patronized by the government. Arianism received the sanction of several numerous councils, and during two reigns it was the religion of the imperial court. The scales of destiny seemed to fluctuate in deciding whether or not it should be the established creed of the Christian world. Which ever party was in power, the strife went on. Both aimed at supremacy; and the extensive power and wealth now employed in the control of the Christian church was a prize too important to be divided or risked by mutual toleration. Sometimes, differ-

ent portions of the empire were divided between the factions. While Athanasius ruled supreme in Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople were under the sway of Arian bishops. Rival councils were held, one denouncing what the other had decreed. Every election of bishops occasioned popular tumults, which the emperor was often obliged to quell by military force. Athanasius was sometimes hiding himself in deserts and tombs, sometimes escorted through the illuminated streets of Alexandria in triumphal procession.

That the leaders of the two theological parties should have been strongly interested in such abstract questions is easily accounted for, whether we believe they were entirely actuated by a sincere conviction of their importance to the spiritual welfare of the church, or whether we suppose them to have been influenced, more or less unconsciously, by ambition to win a game where the patronage of emperors was the prize. But it seems marvellous that questions so purely metaphysical, so entirely above the reach of human reason, should have proved so exciting to the populace. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, describing the state of Constantinople, says: "Every corner and nook of the city is full of men who discuss incomprehensible subjects; the streets, the markets, the people who sell old clothes, those who sit at the tables of the money-changers. If you ask a man who deals in provisions, how much you are to pay for his articles, he replies by dogmatizing on generated and ungenerated being. If you inquire the price of a loaf of bread, you are answered that the Son is subordinate to the Father. If you ask whether the bath is ready, you are told that the Son of God was created out of nothing."

Everything, great or small, was pressed into the service of this polemical war. There were old Greek tunes much in vogue with the populace. Sailors, millers, and almost every class of artisans, had some of these airs, which they habitually sung in the streets, with words appropriate to their various trades. When Christianity began to prevail, some of these tunes were naturally used as vehicles of the

new form of religious sentiment. Arius composed hymns adapted to them, which became very popular. Half a century later, Chrysostom found the streets of Constantinople still resounding with his praises of the self-existent Father and the created Son. The heretical sounds were so offensive to his ears, that he trained a band of choristers to attract the populace by singing hymns to the co-equal dignity of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

Adherents of the old worship of course exulted in these dissensions, which betrayed so much uncertainty of faith, and were carried on in a manner little calculated to sustain the claim of a superior moral standard among Christians. These incessant disputes between sects, often about mere hair-splitting distinctions, and the mutual disposition to blacken each other's characters, became such a laughing-stock with the unbelieving portion of the populace, that comic representations of them were given in the theatres of Alexandria, Constantinople, and other cities.

But so many tragic scenes were connected with this prolonged dissension, that one has no heart to smile at such a melancholy waste of intellect and feeling. Constantinople was the stronghold of Arianism. When the Arians were in power, they tolerated all the smaller sects, but maintained unalterable animosity against the Homocousians, whose religious meetings were interdicted. Gregory of Nazianzen, being invited to that city, held meetings at the house of one of his kinsmen. The Arians were provoked by this intrusion on their premises. After much skirmishing of words had mutually passed, each party accusing the other of preaching a plurality of Gods, a crowd of Arians, joined by such portions of the populace as are always ready to mingle in some affray, broke into the meeting and dispersed it by their violence. According to the description of the scene given by their opponents, there issued from the church of Sophia [Wisdom], then an Arian cathedral, a mob of "common beggars, who had forfeited their claim to pity; of monks, who had the appearance of goats, or satyrs; and of women more terrible than so many Jeze-

bels." Much damage was done with sticks and stones, and one man was killed.

An Arian bishop was sent to take the place of Athanasius, in Alexandria. The people opposed him with violence. Military force sustained his claims, and the streets became a scene of tumult and bloodshed. The adherents of Athanasius, compelled by government to submit, avoided any connection with the bishop thus imposed upon them. Vexed by their obstinacy, he sought to compel them to receive the sacrament from his hands. To effect this purpose, he sent many into banishment, and caused some, among whom women were included, to be scourged with rods, or beaten with clubs.

Paul, an adherent of the Athanasian party, claimed to be rightfully elected Bishop of Constantinople. The Arians, who constituted a majority, denied his claims, and supported Macedonius. The dispute spread till the whole city was in an uproar. The Arian emperor Constantius sent troops to expel Paul. The Homoeusian portion of the populace rose against them, and fought so savagely, that their commander took refuge in a house. The mob immediately set it on fire. They afterward murdered him, and dragged his mangled body by the heels through the streets. After heaping all manner of insults upon the corpse, they threw it into the sea. When Macedonius, the Arian bishop, came guarded by soldiers, Arians and Athanasians rushed pell-mell to see which could first obtain possession of the cathedral. Three thousand one hundred and fifty persons were killed. Streams of blood overflowed the porticoes and courts of the church, and Macedonius was compelled to pass over heaps of bodies to ascend the episcopal chair. Paul, the deposed bishop, was carried in chains to a wild town in the deserts of Mount Taurus, where he is supposed to have died. The Homoeusians sought to avoid all relations with the detested bishop, as they had done in Alexandria. But children were seized and baptized. The virgins of the church were burned with hot iron, or cruelly pressed between boards, to compel them to partake of the

sacrament from the hands of an Arian bishop. Other reluctant victims had their mouths forced open with a wooden machine.

Arian bishops, assembled at Sardica, were accused of burning churches, of imprisoning Athanasian bishops, making them suffer with cold and hunger, and wounding them with swords. They published a protest against these charges, in which they, in their turn, accused Athanasius of pillaging Arian churches; slaying the people, even bishops; compelling them, by various modes of torture, to partake of "his sacrilegious communion;" of "raging in a tyrannical manner during the holy season of Easter;" and inciting the magistrates to scourge and imprison all who kept it on the day of the Jewish Passover.

It is painful to dwell on these scenes of outrage, so often repeated and so long continued. Behind them seems to rise the mild, benevolent countenance of Jesus, his eyes suffused with tears. And all this was done to settle a question concerning the substance of God! A question forever placed beyond the comprehension of finite minds. If the struggle had been for toleration, the principle of freedom involved would have done much to ennoble the contest, though not to excuse the excesses. But both parties insisted on supremacy, and disdained to accept of anything short of that. Both were zealous, obstinate, intolerant, and violent. We have a more full record of Arian outrages; for they were eventually the conquered party, their writings were generally destroyed, and their story is mainly told by theological enemies. Many good men, on both sides, mourned over scenes so humiliating and injurious to the Christian name. There were various attempts to obtain a truce; and concessions would perhaps have been made and received, had not the unfortunate word *Homousios* stood in the way. The inflexible Athanasius would not listen to changing a single letter of the Nicene Creed. If one grain of sand were let into the wall, he foresaw that a stream would pour in and upset the embankment. To preserve the unity and authority of the established church

was the ruling object of his life; and he pursued it with a remarkable degree of ability, courage, and perseverance.

The Arians were more pliable. Before the year three hundred and sixty-six, they had published sixteen professions of faith; but none of them satisfied the demands of the Athanasian party. Various shadings of opinion, concerning the degree of resemblance between the Son and the Father, crept in among them; partly originating in a desire to find some ground to meet upon for cessation of hostilities. At last, there arose a party called Anomæans, from Greek words meaning no similarity. They not only denied that the Son was of the same substance as the Father, but declared that there was no similarity between them; that Christ was merely the most perfect of creatures, whose mission it was to conduct other creatures to God. The opponents of Arians cried out exultingly that such a result was the natural consequence of the principle they had established at the outset. Arians themselves were shocked, as sects always are, when any of their members venture to go a little further than themselves have gone. They publicly disclaimed the Anomæans altogether; but they continued to be reproached none the less for the doctrines taught by them. Sects multiplied, and different branches of Arians vilified each other as heartily as they had ever denounced the Homoousians.

THE HOLY GHOST.—At the Council of Nice, the doctrine concerning the Third Person of the Trinity was expressed in very vague and general terms; for it had not as yet taken shape in the minds of men. The Montanists gave him prominence by the continued inspirations they professed to receive directly from the Holy Spirit; and the Arian controversy whether the Son was generated by the Father, and consequently of the same substance with him, naturally gave rise to similar queries concerning the Holy Ghost. Arius regarded him as the first being created by the Son, and as far removed from him in dignity and power, as the Son was from the Father. Afterward, many

of the Semi-Arians supposed him to be a sort of Archangel, created by the Son, as an agent for carrying into effect the divine purposes. Some sects regarded him merely as "the sanctifying energy of the Father and the Son;" but he was generally regarded as a personal Being. Gregory of Nazianzen, who wrote near the end of the fourth century, says: "Some of our theologians consider the Holy Spirit to be a certain mode of the Divine agency; others a creature of God; others God himself. Others say they do not know which of the opinions they ought to adopt, out of reverence to the Holy Scriptures, which have not clearly explained this point." Macedonius, a Semi-Arian Bishop, denied that the Holy Ghost was any portion of God. He averred that he was a creature; and that the Scriptures contained no sufficient evidence of his divinity. He sustained himself on Paul's assertion: "There is one God, the Father, of whom are all things; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things." The Athanasians denounced him and his followers, as "impugners of the Spirit." The Macedonians maintained their ground, and the sect increased. The controversy waxed warmer and warmer, and the church saw in it another warning to establish rigid formulas, and allow reason no room to move in the close fetters of ecclesiastical authority. Before the Council of Nice, the Doxology, "Glory be to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," had not been introduced into the churches; but in some places, it had been customary to ascribe "Glory to the Father, *through* the Son, and *in* the Holy Spirit." Indeed, up to this period, ideas concerning the Third Person of the Christian Trinity seem to have been as indefinite as those of the New Platonists concerning the third principle of *their* Trinity, which they called The Soul of the World, and defined to be the animating and pervading principle of all things. A Council of Bishops was called at Constantinople, in three hundred and eighty-one, to define more closely the doctrine of the Trinity. To the Creed of Nice they added: "I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of life, who proceedeth from the Father; who, with the Father and the Son to-

gether, is worshipped and glorified." During the warmth of this controversy with Macedonius, Flavianus of Antioch shouted out, in the midst of the church service: "Glory to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost!" The celebrated Basil, Archbishop of Cæsarea, likewise commenced the practice of singing, "Glory to the Holy Spirit!" in his churches; but he complains that he was much blamed for it. He says of his opponents: "They would sooner cut out their tongues, than say, Glory to the Holy Spirit. This is the cause of the most violent and irreconcilable war with us. They say glory is to be given to God, *in* the Holy Spirit; not *to* the Holy Spirit." He adds that it was the subject of universal discussion, "even by women and eunuchs."

After the Council at Constantinople had decided what ought to be believed, it was deemed as heretical to doubt the divinity of the Holy Ghost, as it was that of the Son. Chrysostom says: "He who halts with regard to the Spirit, cannot walk upright with respect to the Son." Gregory of Nazianzen says: "Whoever maintains that any of the Three Persons is inferior to the others, overturns the whole Trinity." Basil the Great says: "To deny the divinity of the Holy Spirit is the sin against the Holy Ghost." The Macedonians, though generally denounced, were admitted to be of exemplary character. Gregory of Nazianzen says: "We admire their lives, though we do not approve their faith."

APOLLINARIANS.—Apollinaris, ordained Bishop of Laodicea, in three hundred and sixty-two, was highly esteemed for his virtues as a man, and his acquisitions as a scholar. He entered zealously into the controversy against the Arians, and sought to explain the Trinity by comparing it with the three-fold nature of man; viz: his rational soul, his sensuous soul, and his body. Origen had taught that Jesus was a perfect man; and that the Logos of God united himself to his rational soul, and thus imbued him with supernatural power. Apollinaris thought such a

union implied two persons in Christ; as indeed it was generally objected to, as making four persons in the Trinity. He therefore varied the doctrine by teaching that the Logos constituted the rational soul of Christ; that God himself was united to the sensitive soul and the material body of a man. The superior soul of Christ was the Logos, the fulness of the Godhead; his inferior soul was employed in the meaner functions of mortal life. He taught that Mary was to be revered as the spiritual mother of Christ, but he did not believe that his body was derived from her. He supposed it descended from heaven, and was consequently incapable of passion, change, or decay. His plan of redemption was also peculiar. He said the sensuous soul was always striving against the rational soul; and the *human* rational soul was too weak to subject to its own power this inferior resisting soul. To redeem mankind from sin, it was therefore necessary that an immutable Divine Spirit should enter into the sensuous soul, and take the place of the human rational soul. When the Logos ruled over the lower soul, and brought it into complete subjection to himself, harmony was restored between the higher and lower principles of man's nature, and thus the original destiny of human nature was realized. He maintained that worship was due to the sensuous soul thus united to the Logos in one person; and was accustomed to use such expressions as that "God was born," or "God died."

These doctrines were condemned by the same Council that condemned the Macedonians. Apollinaris, however, formed a congregation of his adherents at Antioch, and appointed a bishop. The sect spread into neighbouring countries, and a society of them existed in Constantinople; but they were never numerous.

PELAGIANS.—Pelagius is said by some to have been an English monk. He resided at Rome in the beginning of the fifth century, when the doctrine had begun to prevail extensively that God had predestined a certain number of

human souls to be saved, and a certain number to be damned. He rejected this theory, as alike disparaging to the mercy and the justice of God. He also denied that human souls were implicated in the sin of Adam, and consequently did not admit the efficacy of baptism. He said the will of man was free, and his nature capable of attaining to all the Christian virtues, if he had an earnest purpose to do so; for Divine assistance always came to the aid of human endeavours after holiness. He sought upon all occasions to demonstrate the inefficacy of faith, unless accompanied by works. He wanted to banish mysticism, and to make religion an indwelling principle, for the practical improvement of character. In his time, both clergy and laity had become a good deal corrupted, and he exerted all his influence to raise the standard of morals among them.

Pelagius was a man of great learning, and his theological opponents bear testimony to his unspotted character. Even Augustine, whose doctrines he most diametrically opposed, admits that in conduct he was "eminently a Christian." His opinions excited a lively controversy, in which Jerome was peculiarly violent. He never attempted to form a sect, but his writings influenced many minds. They were pronounced heretical by several synods, anathematized by the Bishop of Rome, and formally condemned by the Council at Ephesus.

NESTORIANS.—After the Arian controversy gave rise to discussions concerning the substance of Christ, the name of Mary became more prominent than it had previously been; and among the emphatic modes of asserting his divinity, it became common to style her the "Mother of God." But this phrase was not pleasing to all ears. Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in four hundred twenty-eight, was highly esteemed for the austerity of his morals, and celebrated for the fervour of his preaching. One of his presbyters said, in the course of a sermon: "Let no man call Mary the mother of God; for she was human, and

God cannot be born of a mortal." This remark offended some of his hearers, and excited much discussion. When the presbyter was charged with being a heretic, Nestorius defended him, and expressed his own disapprobation of the phrase; alleging that it was unsanctioned by the Apostles, and well calculated to remind people of the genealogies of some of the Roman gods. In the course of his objections, he made the blunt statement that "a child of two months old could not be God." He began with merely disapproving of the phrase then in use, because it seemed to him irreverent toward Deity; but having roused opposition, he found himself compelled to define his position distinctly. Being a devout believer in the divinity of Christ, yet shocked at the idea that God could be born of a woman, he sought to obviate the difficulties that arose in his mind, by supposing that two distinct natures existed in Christ, the one divine, the other human; that they were not united by nature, but by his will. He admitted a spiritual union between the Logos and the mortal man, but by no means a personal union. He said Mary was to be revered, because she had prepared a temple for the Logos to dwell in. This temple was the humanity, which became exalted to divine dignity by unity with the Logos, and formed one Christ; but she was not the mother of the Logos. Thus an angel might be united to a human being at the moment of conception, but the mother of the body was not the mother of the angel.

This theory excited violent animosity. Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, zealously maintained that the divine and human natures in Christ were indivisible from the moment of conception; consequently, Mary did give birth to God, and ought to be revered as the Mother of God. He summoned a synod to anathematize Nestorius. Still more violently was he assailed by Reginus, Bishop of Constantia, who preached against him as a heretic worse than Cain and the Sodomites. He said the earth ought to open and swallow him up; fire ought to descend from heaven and consume him; the God-Logos, whom he had dared to sever,

who had come forth from the flesh of Mary, the Mother of God, would condemn him to an eternity of torment, when he came to judge the wicked. He concluded by saying: "Let us worship the God-Logos, who has condescended to walk among us in the flesh without separating himself from the essence of the Father." A general Council was summoned at Ephesus, in four hundred thirty-one, which decided the question thus: "As in God, the Father, Son, and Spirit are three persons, but one God; so in Christ, the Godhead is one person, and the manhood is another person; and yet they are not two persons, but one person." Nestorius and his adherents were treated with great intolerance and harshness throughout the whole of the proceedings. He was deposed and condemned; and Cyril of Alexandria caused the verdict to be exultingly proclaimed by heralds throughout the city. Nestorius retired to a monastery in Syria. But his enemies, the bishops, fearing his influence on the Syrian churches, obtained an edict of exile from the emperor. He was dragged about by soldiers from one place of banishment to another, till, enfeebled by age and accumulated misfortunes, he died in the deserts of Thebais. The manner of his death is unknown. Persecution followed him beyond the grave. A church historian of the period recorded that "his tongue was gnawed away by worms, and that he went to another world to be gnawed eternally by the worm that dieth not." He was compared to Simon Magus, Porphyry, and Arius. The bishops demanded that all his writings should be burned. An edict was proclaimed to that effect; and any person who ventured to preserve a copy was rendered liable to severe penalties. His followers were forbidden to hold meetings for worship, and were henceforth to be called Simonians, in allusion to Simon Magus. They spread into distant countries, formed large congregations, appointed bishops of their own, and established an independent church.

Every new heresy that was broached produced an opposite new heresy, in the effort to counteract it. In opposi-

tion to Nestorius, Eutyches maintained that Christ had but one nature; that even his body was of a divine, incorruptible substance, which existed without being created, and was incapable of passion, pain, or change. He was reproached with believing in a phantom; and in return, he ridiculed his opponents for ascribing the necessities of human nature, even nutrition and digestion, to the Godhead. A Council was called at Chalcedon, by which Eutyches was condemned and excommunicated. He had numerous followers, who formed a sect called Monophysites, from Greek words meaning one nature. They maintained that the divine and human natures were "united in Christ in one *nature*, without change, mixture, or confusion." The church asserted that the two natures were "united in one *person*, without change, mixture, or confusion;" and this was established as orthodox doctrine by the Council held at Chalcedon. It requires an intellectual microscope to discover a difference between the statements; but theologians have a microscopic vision. The question whether Christ was *of* two natures, or *from* two natures, disturbed the peace of the churches for a long time; giving rise to fierce altercations, sometimes resulting in bloodshed. When it was announced in assembled council that the creed of the church was settled unalterably, it was received with shouts: "On this depends the salvation of the world!"

CHILIASTS.—During all these centuries of conflict concerning the nature of Christ's divinity, the believers in an earthly millennium, called Chiliasts, were also a disturbing element. Montanists, Donatists, and members of various sects, preached the doctrine with great zeal. Nepos, a bishop in Egypt, wrote a book against those who spiritually interpreted the predictions on that subject in the Apocalypse. His book became a prodigious favourite both with clergy and laity in that region, and they were ready to denounce as heretics all who refused to embrace its doctrines. It is refreshing to record some instances where denunciations were met in a spirit of Christian love. Diony-

sius, Bishop of Alexandria, visited the discontented district, in two hundred fifty-five, called the clergy together, permitted all laymen to be present, and for three days listened to all their objections with patience, and answered them with gentleness. He said to them: "On many accounts I loved Nepos. On account of his faith, his untiring diligence, his familiar acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, and the great number of church hymns composed by him, which to this day are the delight of many of the brethren. And the more do I venerate the man because he has already entered into his rest. But dear to me, above all other things, is the truth. We must love him and agree with him wherever he has expressed truth; but we ought to examine and correct his writings where he seems to be in the wrong." The result produced by this course was very different from the usual experience of councils. The clergy thanked him for his paternal instructions, and his principal opponent acknowledged himself convinced. But Chiliasm long continued to make proselytes in various places. In the fourth and fifth centuries, there were so many prophecies of the near approach of the millennium, and the speedy destruction of the world by fire was preached so zealously, that many people were terrified into bestowing their whole estates upon the church. This happened so often, to the detriment of rightful heirs, that the emperors were obliged to prohibit it by law.

It would have been well for the church if more bishops had been guided by the moderate spirit which influenced Dionysius; for nothing did so much injury to Christianity, as the numerous sectarian contests, carried on with a mutual disposition to vilify each other's characters, and a willingness to seize almost any weapon that was likely to demolish an opponent. The Arians accused Athanasius of murder, and brought a dead man's hand into court to sustain the charge; but the appearance of the man said to have been murdered, and the exhibition of his two hands, threw them into confusion. A woman of infamous character was employed to accuse him of licentiousness; but when the

case was brought for examination, she pointed out the wrong man, and thus betrayed herself. Lucifer of Cagliari was a bitter opponent of the Arians; but having started a heresy of his own, he became equally bitter against the church claiming to be orthodox; which he denounced as "the brothel-house and synagogue of Antichrist and Satan." Is it strange that the Romans and the Jews could not easily perceive the divinity of doctrines which bore such fruits as these?

COURSE OF THE ROMAN GOVERNMENT, AFTER CONSTANTINE.

Constantius pursued a less tolerant course toward the old religion, than his father Constantine had done. He destroyed many celebrated temples, and plundered others; giving the rich spoils to Christian churches, or to favourite courtiers. Some of these men, who were suddenly made rich by imperial bounty, gave themselves up to extravagance and dissipation, and brought upon themselves diseases and disasters, which adherents of the old worship were apt to quote as punishment from the gods, for the desecration of their temples. On the other hand, Christian preachers stimulated the emperor to the work of destruction, by reminding him that Jehovah commanded the utter extermination of idolatry, and the death of idolaters. But policy restrained him within more prudent limits. He ordained that certain temples associated with popular games and national festivals should be preserved uninjured; and when he resided in Rome he did not venture to take any measures against the old worship in that city, which continued to be celebrated with all its ancient splendour.

In the controversy then raging among Christians, he, and his brother Constans, who ruled the Western part of the empire, took different sides. Constantius was the patron of Arians, and Constans was the friend of Athanasius. The jealousy between Rome, the old capital of the empire,

and Constantinople the new capital, was continually on the increase, and the different characteristics of the two places were perpetually manifested in the opposite sides they took in ecclesiastical disputes. Accusations were heaped up against the able and influential Athanasius. Councils in the West acquitted him; Councils in the East condemned him. Each assumed to be the genuine representatives of Christendom, and anathematized the other. Soon there was civil war between the imperial brothers; Constans was killed, and Constantius reigned supreme. When a Council was called at Milan to investigate charges brought against Athanasius, he copied the example of his father, and met with the bishops to take part in their discussions. But the pampered church had grown strong since the day it hailed the presence of Constantine with so much exultation. In vain the emperor professed to have had a vision from heaven, which commissioned him to restore peace to the distracted church. A scheme of doctrine which he laid before them, in obedience to that command, was rejected by the Western bishops, as tinged with Arianism. They went still further, and maintained that it was wrong for a layman to interfere with ecclesiastical concerns. They demanded a free Council, in which the emperor should not be present, either in person, or by proxy. In fact, they declared the church independent of the State, in all ecclesiastical matters. They refused to condemn Athanasius, or commune with Arians. Moreover, when Constantius concealed himself behind a curtain to listen to some of their debates, he heard himself denounced as a heretic and Anti-Christ. Accustomed to flattery and servility, his rage knew no bounds. He proclaimed himself the champion of the Arians, who, having their turn in power, were not slow to retaliate the wrongs they had suffered under proscription. Athanasian bishops were scourged, mutilated, and tortured in various ways to compel them to conform. Troops of banished prelates were all the time passing through the deserts, making the solitude resound with hymns expressive of their faith and courage. From those

deserts came forth writings, denouncing the emperor as a tyrant in civil affairs, and Anti-Christ in the churches; whose object it was to give over to the Devil the world for which Christ had suffered and died. There was a stubborn resistance to the imperial edicts, which exasperated the magistrates, and heated still hotter the furnace of persecution. In the midst of this turmoil of the churches, the son of Constantine slept with his father, and his cousin Julian reigned in his stead. Gregory, the Arian Bishop of Alexandria, delivered a funeral oration, in which he said a choir of angels hovered over Mount Taurus and chanted a hymn in praise of the departed.

JULIAN.—In the will of Constantine the Great, his brother was mentioned among the heirs of the empire. He and his family were soon after slaughtered, and Constantius was suspected of having connived at the deed, from motives of political jealousy. Two little boys, Gallus and Julian, were saved from the massacre, by the timely interference of a Christian bishop. Their education was intrusted to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, who appointed Mardonius as their teacher. This man was of high moral character, and well versed in all the learning and accomplishments of his time. He inculcated stoical simplicity, abstemiousness, modesty, and contempt for frivolous pleasures, while he stimulated intellect, and kindled imagination, with the philosophy, poetry, and music of glorious old Athens. Julian always held the memory of this teacher in affectionate reverence; and at this early period of his life he probably imbibed that passionate predilection for Grecian literature and philosophy, which ever after characterized him.

This course of education was pursued for eight or nine years. But when Julian was near fifteen years old, a change took place, probably from motives of political precaution; for Constantius had no children, and a party might be formed to raise these young princes to the throne. They were accordingly conveyed to a fortress in Asia

Minor, and placed entirely under the supervision of Christian priests, who prescribed implicit obedience, midnight watchings, frequent fasts, long prayers, alms to the poor, gifts to the clergy, and offerings at the tombs of martyrs. It is said they were ordained public readers in the church, with a view to prepare them for the priesthood, as the best means of diverting their thoughts from the possibility of succession to the throne. Gallus was exceedingly obedient to the clergy, and received their instructions with unquestioning faith. But Julian, whom nature had endowed with restless activity of mind, felt the constraint to which he was subjected, and longed for the literary pursuits to which he had become so much attached under the tuition of the accomplished Mardonius. What were his real views with regard to Christianity, at that period, cannot be known. If he felt some instinctive aversion to the religion of those cousins for whose security his father and relatives had been murdered, and himself guarded like a prisoner; and if the generous sympathies of youth were shocked by the fierce recriminations and bloody contests of Athanasians and Arians, there would certainly be nothing unnatural or surprising in the fact. There were some indications that such was the case. Unlike his brother, he manifested little docility in receiving things upon the authority of bishops, and sometimes resolutely disputed their doctrines. When religious themes were given to them for discussion, Gallus defended Christianity, and Julian chose to advocate Grecian philosophy; giving as an excuse that he could better exercise his ingenuity by arguing on the weaker side. Even when the brothers were induced to undertake the pious labour of erecting a chapel over the tomb of the martyr Mamma, the work went on rapidly under the hands of Gallus, but the stones Julian laid were constantly overthrown, as if by some invisible agency. Gregory of Nazianzen says he had this fact from eye-witnesses; and he seems to regard it as a prophetic miracle. Significant of the future it certainly was, since it indicated the state of the young workman's mind.

The empress Eusebia, a kind-hearted, intelligent woman, being herself childless, exerted her influence in favour of the young princes, who had so long been excluded from the society and advantages appropriate to their rank. Gallus received the title of Cæsar, and was appointed to command some provinces in the East. Julian, when he was about twenty years old, was allowed to reside in Constantinople, and afterward in Nicomedia, where he encountered many poets and philosophers attached to the old order of things. They were at that time a depressed minority, banished from their temples, and retired from their schools. Julian was attracted toward them by the associations of his early education, and by the natural sympathy of youth with a class of men proscribed by the majority, and secretly performing those religious rites which their forefathers had celebrated with such solemn and stately pageantry. Libanius the orator, an eloquent advocate of the old religion, was at that time attracting much attention by his lectures. Julian was forbidden to hear him, and of course availed himself, with redoubled eagerness, of every stolen chance to read his writings. The philosophers with whom he formed acquaintance are accused of managing very artfully to obtain influence over his eager mind and impressible imagination. They told of the magical skill acquired by Maximus, one of the last of the New Platonists. They related how he had led them into a temple of Hecate, and when he had burned incense and repeated a hymn, the statue of the goddess smiled. Seeing them astonished by this phenomenon, Maximus told them they should see greater wonders. He uttered some words, and instantly all the lamps lighted up, as if by invisible agency. The philosophers, who described the scene, spoke lightly of magical skill, in comparison with the inward purification of the soul. But the ardent imagination of Julian was kindled, and he started off to Ephesus, to obtain an interview with Maximus, whose venerable appearance, persuasive tones, and fluent conversation, gained his heart at once. With him he drank copious draughts of Platonism, and studied

into the allegorical meaning of what poets had said concerning the gods. He also became versed in astrology, and confirmed his faith in the power of the stars. He learned to consult auguries, to evoke Spirits, and to distinguish the signs of their presence. Some of the Christian Fathers relate that Maximus took him into a deep cavern at midnight, where he heard awful sounds, and saw lurid spectres; that Julian, in his terror, involuntarily crossed himself; whereupon the sounds instantly ceased and the Spirits vanished. They add that Maximus adroitly turned aside the effect of the miracle, by saying the gods disliked the presence of such a profane worshipper.

Gallus, having heard something of his brother's pursuits, sent an Arian bishop to counteract the influence of philosophers and magicians. Julian, conscious of being closely watched, dissembled to such a degree, that his enemies accuse him of having been far more zealous in outward conformity to Christianity, than he had ever been. His aversion to the religion professed by his imperial cousin was doubtless increased by a misfortune which befel him at this period. His brother Gallus was accused of treasonable designs, and thrown into prison, where he was soon after beheaded. It is said the young man had governed in a haughty and cruel manner; but whether he deserved his fate or not, Julian was fondly attached to him, and seeing him cut off thus suddenly, without public examination into his conduct, he felt that Constantius was the murderer of his brother, as he had always believed him to be of his father. He himself also was continually harassed by the consciousness of being watched. The popularity he gained by his quick talent, his varied information, his fluent utterance, and courteous deportment, was displeasing to the emperor. He caused him to be arrested, and for seven months he remained in prison, daily expecting to meet his brother's fate. But the kindly counsels of the empress saved his life. He was allowed to retire to Athens, where his wounded spirit again found solace in companionship with scholars, and the calm pursuits of literature and phi-

losophy. The High Priest became his intimate friend, and he was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries, which had such a powerful effect on his mind, that he became a confirmed and enthusiastic votary of the old worship.

Surrounded by influences so congenial, it was with unfeigned regret he found himself compelled to change his sphere of action. But Constantius, influenced by the empress, conferred on him the title of Cæsar, summoned him to command the army in Gaul, and gave him his sister in marriage. A young man who had lived so much apart from courts and camps, and devoted himself to philosophy, seemed likely to gain but few laurels as a warrior. But it was Julian's nature to enter with all his soul into whatsoever he undertook; and the emperor's jealousy was soon alarmed by the fame of his military exploits. The ardent attachment of the army placed him in a dangerous position, from which he could neither advance or retreat with safety. Constantius marched to attack him, but died on the way, and named him his successor.

While Julian commanded the army, fear of his imperial cousin induced him to attend the Christian festivals, while he secretly performed the old rites with a few of his attendants. But when he became emperor, his first act was to proclaim himself a worshipper of the gods, and his first employment of the treasury was to rebuild and embellish the temples. Enormous sums were expended to purchase hecatombs of cattle, and to import rare birds, to be offered in sacrifice. He was zealous in his attendance on the numerous religious ceremonies, and often performed in person the most menial offices of the temples; blowing the fire, bringing the wood, and examining the entrails of victims with his own imperial hands. The oracles were again consulted with solemn ceremonies. The old festivals were restored with great magnificence; and being vain of his eloquence, he delighted in making florid orations to the people on such occasions. Prayers were offered in the temples three times a day, and bands of choristers trained to chant hymns to the gods. He ordered that reverential

silence should be observed in all places of worship. The people were forbidden to receive him with acclamations when he entered a temple, and all persons in authority were required to leave their guards at the door. He received a baptism of blood, called the Taurobolia, the observance of which was supposed to be conducive to the welfare of the state. On this occasion, an ox was sacrificed to the gods, and the sacred blood, passing through a perforated floor, flowed copiously over the person standing beneath to receive it.

The Sun was his tutelary deity, and he believed there was some mysterious affinity between his own soul and the Spirit of that luminary. When a boy he was always singularly attracted by the sunlight, and he regarded it as an unconscious longing after the God to whom he was related. The private chapel in his palace was consecrated to the Sun; but his gardens were filled with altars and statues of all the gods. Many times in the day he might be seen there, employed in acts of worship. Morning and evening, he offered sacrifices and prayers to the Sun, and he rose in the night to worship the Spirits presiding over moon and stars.

There is every indication that these things were done from a sincere conviction of their importance. He always resented any irreverence towards the gods far more than disrespect toward himself. He was accustomed to say "that if he could make every individual richer than Midas, and every city greater than Babylon, he should not consider himself a benefactor to mankind, unless he could reclaim his subjects from their impious revolt against the gods."

His doctrines were the same as those taught by the New Platonists. The poetic stories concerning the gods he regarded as fables, but he supposed they contained a spiritual treasury, which philosophers could unlock by the key of allegorical interpretation. He believed that Spirits of the Stars, and others, employed as messengers between God and man, sometimes inhabited temples on this earth, and even animated their statues, when invoked with suitable prayers and ceremonies. He affirmed that he lived in con-

stant companionship with those Spirits. He said they often waked him by their touch, and he could easily distinguish them by their voices, as well as by their forms. He spoke reverently of the immortality of the soul, concerning which he adopted the Platonic theory; but he alluded to it with timidity, very unlike the triumphant certainty of Christian martyrs. He says: "I am not one of those who disbelieve the immortality of the soul; but that is a secret, which man can only conjecture; the gods alone can know."

He attributed the rapid spread of Christianity to the charity toward the poor, manifested by its adherents; to their burial of the dead; their kindness to strangers; and the general sobriety of their clergy. He strongly urged this example upon the priests of his own religion. He took unwearied pains to seek out men eminent for virtue to fill the office of High Priest, and superintend the inferior priesthood. He gave them orders that in all the towns men most conspicuous for reverence toward the gods, and justice toward their fellow beings, should be selected for priests, without any reference to rank or fortune. They were enjoined not to frequent theatres or taverns; not to appear at public festivals, where women were mixed with the crowd; to associate only with those of virtuous and discreet behaviour; to avoid all reading calculated to inflame the passions; and to abjure the writings of Epicureans, Pyrrhonists, and all other schools of philosophy calculated to produce scepticism on religious subjects. Priests who were guilty of any unworthy conduct, or who "allowed their wives, sons, or servants, to unite with the Galileans" were to be immediately deposed.

He levied a tax in every province for the maintenance of the poor. He distributed large supplies of grain among the priests, and what was left from their own support was to be devoted to charitable purposes. He ordered hospitals to be erected for the sick, and asylums for strangers of all religions, where whosoever needed might find relief; and he so far profited by the ideas he had derived from Christian teachers, that he formed a plan for the general instruc-

tion of the people, by means of preachers and schools. In a letter to the High Priest of Galatia, he writes: "That which hinders our Grecian worship from making as much progress as we could wish is the manners of those who profess it. The success so far certainly surpasses our hopes; but we must not stop on our good way. How has this new atheism established itself? It has been by hospitality; by care of the sepulchres, and by all the appearances of an honest and pious life. Order thy priests to keep away from shows, not to get intoxicated in the public places, and to abstain from all infamous trades and professions. Build hospitals. Is it not disgraceful to us to leave our poor without resources, while we cannot see a single mendicant Jew, and while the Galileans collect our poor with their own?"

Julian's aversion to Christianity was manifested in all manner of ways. Though aiming to establish a character for philosophic candour, he could not refrain from an unseemly tone of biting irony, whenever he alluded to them. He excluded Christians from all high offices of the state or army, saying their religion forbade them to bear the sword, either for justice or war. He passed an edict that they should be always called Galileans; and described them as a set of fanatics contemptible to gods and men, by whose obstinate impiety the empire had been well nigh reduced to the brink of destruction. He wrote a book against Christianity, in which he ridicules the Festivals of Martyrs and the reverence for their relics, as "the worship of dead men's bones." He considered the Sun as the glorious representative of the Platonic Logos, and he expressed surprise that Christians should "prefer a visible to an invisible Logos." He continually reproached them for "making a dead man of Palestine their God." He says: "None of the Apostles call Christ God; and he himself does not say it plainly." He ridicules the great efficacy which Christians ascribed to baptism. He says: "It cannot remove leprosy, gout, warts, or any other greater or lesser bodily defects; but lo! it is able to wash away all

the sins of the soul!" He dwelt with stinging sarcasm on the bitter animosity which different sects manifested toward each other, and the relentless persecution they practised.

For some centuries, there had been gradually increasing attention to education in the Roman Empire. In all the principal towns, professors were appointed to teach grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy. In many places, learned Christians filled these offices; but Julian forbade them to teach Greek literature without express sanction from the magistrates. He assigned as a reason, that Hesiod, Homer, and all the old historians and orators, had dedicated themselves to the worship of the gods; and that it must be either shameful hypocrisy, or unprincipled avarice, which induced Christians to teach what they did not believe, merely for the sake of making money. He taunted them with the contempt they were so fond of expressing for human learning, and added, in his usual tone of irony: "Let them be content with explaining Matthew and Luke in the Galilean churches." Some of the Christians, being thus excluded from the prevailing literature, composed poems in imitation of Homer and Pindar, in which they commemorated the deeds of patriarchs and apostles; and these they taught in their schools.

The monogram of Christ was removed from the Labarum, and representations of the gods were again placed on the military standards. A splendid temple was built for the statue of the Goddess of Fortune, and the Cross, which Constantine had placed in her hand, was taken away. His law exempting the Christian clergy from taxation and other civil burdens, was annulled. The ample revenues, which he had granted from the imperial treasury, for their support, and for ecclesiastical charity, were transferred to the old order of priests. Bishops were peculiarly objects of dislike and jealousy; their influence over the people being a formidable obstruction in the way of restoring the old worship.

But with all these symptoms of animosity, Julian prescribed to himself a system of toleration, and made an effort

to practise it. He ordered the governors of provinces to prefer pious men of the old religion, in the distribution of honours, emoluments, or privileges; but never to put Christians to death on account of religion, or allow any injury to be done to them. On one of these occasions, he writes thus: "I hear they do not coerce them. They might be treated like children, who are forced to do their duty; but it shall not be thus. They shall be permitted to infect themselves with this leprosy. A forced worship does not satisfy our gods. They wish to be adored with the heart." Again he writes: "Leave them to punish themselves; poor, blind, and misguided beings, who abandon the most glorious privilege of mankind, the adoration of the immortal gods, to worship mouldering remains, and bones of the dead."

As Constantine had spared neither money nor influence, to induce people to be baptized, so Julian spared neither expense nor favours to tempt them to sacrifice to the gods; both of them inquired no further, if they could but obtain the outward act. Sometimes he paid his soldiers for sacrificing; sometimes he resorted to artifice. When troops passed in review before him, he caused standards, bearing images of the gods, to be placed so near his own person, that they could not pay the customary homage to the emperor, without bowing before the images. Some were caught by this stratagem; others, who were determined to avoid even the appearance of worshipping the gods, passed without making the usual salute; and so were imprisoned and put to death for disrespect toward their prince. Upon one occasion, when he was to distribute donations to the army, he surrounded his throne with statues and consecrated emblems, and ordered a pile of gold coins to be placed on one side, and a heap of frankincense on the other. Whoever passed to receive the money was required to place a portion of the incense in a fire burning on the altar. Many Christian soldiers did this; some of them thoughtlessly, supposing they had merely paid the prescribed homage to the emperor. Afterward, when some

of them were at dinner, and made the customary sign of the cross over their cups, before they drank, they were asked how they could do that, when they had publicly abjured Christ. When this was explained to them, they rushed into the market-place, proclaiming: "We are Christians! We are Christians! If our hands are guilty, our hearts are innocent." They surrounded the palace, threw down the coins, and cried out: "The emperor has deceived us. Give the gold to others, who will have no cause to repent of it. As for us, we value Christ above all things." For this breach of discipline, they were led to execution, and manifested the utmost eagerness for martyrdom. But a messenger from the emperor put a stop to the bloody scene, and they were merely punished with banishment.

When Julian commanded the reconstruction of demolished temples, he did not pay for it from the imperial treasury, or indemnify those who had legally come into possession of the land, or buildings erected thereon, as Constantine had done with regard to the churches. He gave orders that Christians accused of pillaging the temples, or of assisting to destroy them, should be compelled to pay for rebuilding them. Nearly all the work of destruction and plunder had been done by permission of his cousin Constantius, whom he seems to have regarded with so much aversion; and perhaps that circumstance blinded his usual clear sight of justice. The oppressive edict fell very heavily on the Christians, and many innocent people were the victims of false accusations. It required immense sums to make the required restitution in all parts of the empire; for during the forty years that Christianity had basked in the sunshine of imperial favour, the old religion had suffered much at their hands. Zealots had urged upon the sons of Constantine the great merit of imitating God's chosen people the Israelites, in their zeal to exterminate idolatry. They said: "O ye most religious emperors, destroy without fear the ornaments of the temples. Coin the idols into money, or melt them into useful metal. Confiscate all their endowments for the advantage of the govern-

ment. By your recent victories God signifies his sanction to your hostility against the temples." Where such a spirit existed, fanaticism would of course make wild work in some places, without waiting for legal authority. Indignation had lain smouldering in the hearts of the old worshippers, and now that they had a return of power, they were generally disposed to force restitution, without much consideration whether the penalty fell on the guilty or the innocent. Disputes everywhere arose concerning the execution of the edict. The passions of men were excited to a terrible degree; and in some places, the most horrible atrocities were committed against the Christians. The Fathers tell of murdered bodies dragged through the streets, pierced by the spits of cooks, and the distaffs of enraged women, and at last thrown to the dogs. Marcus, Bishop of Arethusa, was accused of having aided in the destruction of a temple, and required to make compensation. He was poor, and could not have done it, if he would. But in order to compel him to raise the money, they scourged the aged prelate, tore his beard, anointed his body with honey, and hung it up in the sunshine, a prey to tormenting insects. Even in that situation, he gloried in the destruction of idols, and insulted his persecutors. He was rescued from their hands, and was afterward almost worshipped as one of the holy Confessors. The emperor was reminded by his friends that the multiplication of such examples of constancy would be very bad policy. It is true, he did not order such barbarities, nor did he ever give them his sanction; but he did not show his characteristic energy in preventing, or punishing them. His subjects presumed on his well-known antipathy to "the Galileans;" and they did it with impunity.

Christians, on their part, had been too long accustomed to power, to bear their reverses with the patience and humility worthy of the religion they professed. Mobs overthrew the altar of Cybele at Pessinus, and at Cæsarea they destroyed a Temple of Fortune; the only one left to the polytheistic worshippers in that place. Magistrates

punished the leaders, but those who suffered were almost adored as martyrs. The Governor of Phrygia, having opened temples for the observance of the old worship, a mob of Christians went in the night and shattered the statues to fragments. Fruitless search was made for the offenders, and there was such an angry state of feeling, that a general and bloody persecution seemed inevitable. In view of this, the authors of the mischief came forward and acknowledged what they had done. The judge offered to pardon them if they would sacrifice to the gods; but they replied they would rather endure anything he could inflict, than pollute themselves by such a deed. After being tortured in various ways, they were burned to death on grid-irons, defying their tormentors to the last. The emperor himself did not escape annoyances from Christian zeal. One day, when he was offering sacrifice in the temple, the Arian Bishop of Chalcedon, who was old and blind, remonstrated with him for his wickedness. "Peace, blind old man!" replied Julian. "Thy Galilean God will not restore thy eyesight." "I thank God for my blindness," rejoined the bishop; "since it spares me the pain of beholding an apostate like thee." The emperor proceeded to sacrifice, without making any reply.

As if disposed in all things to dislike whatever Constantine had favoured, Julian recalled all those who had been exiled for heretical opinions, and humbled the Arians, whose intolerant use of power he had witnessed during the years that he conformed to Christianity. Receiving complaints from Edessa, that some disorders had arisen in consequence of insults and oppressions exercised by the Arians toward their theological opponents, without waiting to investigate the truth of the charge, he gave immediate orders to confiscate all the church property of the Arians. The lands were added to the imperial domain, and their money distributed among the soldiers. The edict was accompanied with threats of fire and sword, if the disorders continued. In his usual mocking tone, he wrote: "Such has been my clemency toward the Galileans, that I have left them at

liberty to renounce the gods, and to live in impiety. But those whom they call Arians, being carried into culpable excesses, I resolved to assist them in accomplishing an admirable precept of their law. I have confiscated the riches with which they gorged themselves during the preceding reign, and have rendered them poor, and thus worthy to enter that kingdom of heaven which they expect."

Alexandria, always full of commotions, became a scene of tumult during the reign of Julian. A man named George, originally a contractor of bacon for the army, monopolized trade in all profitable articles, and became very wealthy. He was endowed by nature with considerable ability, but rendered himself odious with all classes of citizens by his extortionate and tyrannical proceedings. This man was professedly a Christian; probably belonging to that numerous class who are always ready to adopt any creed that is patronized by government. In the reign of Constantius, he was Arian Bishop of Alexandria, and caused the whole people to groan under his heavy taxation. Adherents of the old worship had been flattered with promises of toleration; but as soon as he was in power, he interdicted their festivals, pillaged the rich ornaments of their temples, and invented various pretexts for levying fines, and confiscating their property. They were compelled to submit to these aggressions during the reign of Constantius, but when Julian came to the throne the long suppressed rage burst forth. A furious mob surrounded the episcopal palace, murdered the bishop and two of his officers, dragged their bodies through the streets, tore them in pieces, and threw them into the sea, to prevent their bones from being honoured as the relics of martyrs. The emperor addressed a letter to the people, admitting that their indignation was just, but rebuking them severely for taking the law into their own violent hands, and for tearing men to pieces, like dogs, and then daring to lift their blood-stained hands to the gods.

In consequence of Julian's edict recalling heretics banished in the preceding reign, Athanasius had returned to

Alexandria. A majority of the numerous Christians in that city were devotedly attached to him; and in the midst of these tumults his strong character took the ascendancy which belonged to it by nature. The emperor was indignant to hear that he had presumed so far as to resume his episcopal dignity, and that he had converted some ladies of high rank. He wrote to the governor to banish forthwith that "most wicked Athanasius, by whose influence the gods are brought into contempt." He says: "Nothing will give me greater joy than to hear the godless wretch is banished from every district of Egypt, who, during my reign, has dared to baptize noble Grecian women." The people petitioned in great numbers, but in vain; and Athanasius again went into exile. In his letters to the governor, Julian assigned political motives, saying: "It is a dangerous thing for so cunning and restless a man to be at the head of the people." He reproached the Alexandrians for "neglecting to worship the God of the Sun, whose benign influence they all experienced, and devoting themselves to Jesus, the God-Logos, whom neither they nor their fathers had seen." He says: "The prelate of the Galileans ought to love me. I have treated them better than my predecessor. Under his reign, those whom they called heretics were hunted and massacred. Whole villages were sacked and destroyed. I have recalled them, and restored their property. But I put limits to their ambition; that is my crime."

He summoned a meeting of various Christian sects, and attempted to preside over their discussions. Whether he did this in a spirit of mockery, or with a proud philosophic certainty of vanquishing them by his arguments, it is not easy to decide. Whatever his motives might have been, the disputes between Athanasians, Arians, Apollinarians, Anomæans, and of Donatists with them all, became so clamorous, that he could not make himself heard; and he dismissed them with the remark: "No wild beasts are so savage and intractable as Christian sectaries."

The magnificent and richly endowed Temple of Apollo,

in the Groves of Daphne, near Antioch, has been described in the chapter on Greece. The worship at this temple, once so exceedingly popular, gradually declined. Babylas, Bishop of Antioch, had died in prison, during the Decian persecution. Gallus, the brother of Julian, who ruled the Eastern provinces about a hundred years after, found a portion of the Groves of Daphne converted into a Christian burial-place. He caused the bones of the martyred bishop to be removed thither, and a superb church was erected over his tomb. The ancient nations universally considered the presence of a dead body pollution to any consecrated place. The priests of Apollo quitted the precincts in dismay; and the old worshippers feared to enter there, to consult the far-famed oracle. The Christian Fathers said Apollo was abashed by the presence of a holy martyr; that he felt himself vanquished, and his oracle dared not break silence. The temple, thus deserted, fell into decay. Julian had the same predilection for Apollo that had been manifested by his uncle Constantine. In the general restoration of temples, this far-famed edifice received early attention. Julian resolved to visit it in person, on the occasion of the ancient Festival of Apollo. On the road, he offered prayers and sacrifices at every temple and altar; often ascending steep and rugged mountains, in the midst of drenching rain, if there was a temple at the top. As he approached Antioch, his imagination was full of long processions of priests, pouring libations from golden goblets, boys in white robes waving incense, bullocks crowned with garlands, and graceful dancers moving to music's most harmonious measures. Great was his disappointment to find the beautiful Groves of Daphne full of tombs, the temple silent, and only one pale, sad old priest, who had but a single swan to sacrifice to Apollo. Upon inquiry, he found that only a few of the old people in Antioch remembered the ancient ceremonies. Julian says: "Not one brought oil for the lamp; not one brought incense, libation, or sacrifice." He severely rebuked those who held large estates attached to the temple, yet neglected its service, while they

allowed their wives to lavish money on the "Galilean" bishops. He ordered the Christian church to be demolished, and the temple restored to its former splendour. As a necessary preliminary, all the dead bodies were removed to Antioch, five miles distant, and the consecrated grounds were purified according to the ancient Grecian rites. The Christians sent a chariot to receive the remains of Babylas; and an immense procession came out from the city to escort it to the burial-place. They met it with thundering acclamations, and followed it chanting alternate strains, in which they continually repeated: "Confounded be all they that worship graven images, and delight in vain idols." Julian, exasperated by this intentional insult, ordered punishment to be inflicted on some of the leaders. Sallust, the Prætorian Prefect, being characterized by moderation, subjected only one young man to torture. But he so exulted in his sufferings, and continued to shout so obstinately, "Confounded be all they who delight in vain idols," that Sallust reminded the emperor how much the Christian cause gained by such examples of constancy, and how much their own would lose by cruelty. His caution was accepted, and no further notice taken of the offence.

The restoration of the temple proceeded rapidly; and a beautiful new peristyle already surrounded it, when, at midnight, Julian received tidings that the building was on fire. The roof, the costly ornaments of the interior, and the colossal statue of Apollo, were all consumed. Christians said God had struck the impious place with lightning, at the intercession of the martyred Babylas; but the emperor and his friends believed it to be the work of incendiaries. Many supposed the fire had taken accidentally, from torches placed within the temple by a zealous worshipper in Julian's train. He was so strongly persuaded to the contrary, that he ordered the cathedral at Antioch to be closed, and its wealth confiscated.

After Julian left Antioch, the magistrate who was intrusted with the examination of the affair, adopted modes of persecution unsanctioned by the emperor. Several of

the Christian clergy were tortured, and one beheaded. Many acts of injustice were done; and in some cases the oppression fell on individuals who had been distinguished for moderation and gentleness when they had the power in their own hands. Libanius, the orator, a zealous advocate of the old worship, had written to the magistrate, to "make those weep who had long made merry with the better cause." But he protested strongly against the injustice he witnessed, and boldly shielded its victims. A poor and truly religious man, named Orion, was called upon to pay large sums of money, or submit to torture. Libanius sheltered him in his own house, and persisted in refusing to give him up. He wrote to the magistrate: "This man is not one of those who can easily change with the times. But when he was in authority, during the preceding reign, he oppressed no one, and was never arrogant. He did not imitate those who made a bad use of their power; on the contrary, he always blamed them. He never made war against our worship, or persecuted our priests; and he saved many from misery by the mild administration of his office. This made the man dear to me; for while he revered his own religion, he never annoyed those who swore by the name of Jupiter. I now see this man full of distress, his family broken up, and his furniture plundered. I know all this is not according to the will of the emperor. He has said: 'If any man has property belonging to the temples, require him to give it up; but if he has not, do not allow him to be either abused or insulted.' It is manifest these men are coveting the goods of others, while they pretend to be desirous of serving the gods." As soon as the emperor received information of the injustice practised, he expressed strong disapprobation, and forbade its continuance. For another Christian, Libanius intreated that his elegant house might be spared, because it made the city beautiful, and because "he did not, with arrogance and impiety, plunder the temple," on whose site it was erected; but paid for it, according to the law then established. For another, who was called upon to rebuild a demolished tem-

ple, he petitioned that he might be permitted to pay half the sum at once, and raise the remainder at some future time.

Romans generally regarded Jews as less impious than Christians, because they had an ancient and established religion, from which they had never seceded. In addition to this universal feeling, Julian had various inducements to favour them. Being on the eve of an expensive war, it was policy to secure the good will of a numerous and wealthy class of citizens; and even without this motive, he would have been attracted toward them by the fact that Christians disliked them, and that his cousin Constantius had oppressed and plundered them, under various pretences. "The Jews differ from us only in the exclusive worship of one God," said he. "Everything else they have in common with us; temples, sacred groves, altars, lustrations, and a variety of other observances, wherein we differ but little, or not at all." Soon after his accession, he addressed a friendly epistle to the Jews scattered throughout his empire. He admitted that Jehovah was a true God, though not the only one; pitied their misfortunes, condemned those who had oppressed them, and styled himself their protector. Concerning the difference of religious belief between them, he argued thus: "If the God proclaimed by Moses is the universal framer of the universe, presiding immediately over the world, then we have the more correct idea of Him, who regard him as Lord of the *whole* universe, and the inferior gods as presiding over individual nations; standing in relation to Him, as governors of provinces under a king; nor do we represent Him as a rival of the gods, who are under Him. But if Moses worshipped one of the subordinate deities, and ascribed to him the creation and government of all things, then it is better to follow us, and to acknowledge the Universal God, who is indeed Lord over all, without failing to recognize that other Being also, who should be worshipped as the governor of a province, not as the Creator of all." He proposed to rebuild their temple on Mount Moriah, more magnificently than Con-

stantine had built the Christian church on Calvary. He asked them to pray to their God for him; and added: "I will pray with you in the temple we are going to reconstruct." The Jews, accustomed to pillage and persecution under the preceding emperors, received this unexpected proposal with triumphant joy. They flocked from all quarters to their Holy Mountain, where the voice of Psalm and Hallelujah had been hushed for so many centuries. Women poured their jewels into the treasury, misers unlocked their hoards, and every little child was eager to contribute his mite toward rebuilding that temple whose recounted glories had so dazzled his infant imagination. Men and women of the highest rank laboured at removing the ruins with their own hands. Stones were dug out with pickaxes and shovels of solid silver, and women removed rubbish in silver baskets, or mantles of the richest silk. The aged, the lame, and the blind, competed with the strong for some share in the sacred work. All the implements employed were to be kept ever after as consecrated memorials, and transmitted to posterity. A large quantity of materials was collected, and the excavation had already proceeded to a considerable depth, when the workmen were suddenly interrupted by volumes of flame bursting from the centre of the hill, accompanied by tremendous explosions. The scorched and blasted labourers fled in terror. The Jews were discomfited and alarmed by such an evil omen; but it is likely that the undertaking would have been resumed, had not Julian gone to the war in Persia, from which he never returned. The account is given by the Pagan historian, Ammianus. It was much amplified by subsequent writers. They said a violent earthquake shook the mountain; that a horse and his rider were seen enveloped in the flames; that the fire was so fierce, it consumed even the iron tools; that blazing crosses settled on the garments of the workmen; and when they sought shelter in a neighbouring church, the doors were fast closed against them, by supernatural force.

The prophecy that the temple would never be restored,
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and that another would descend from heaven with the New Jerusalem, when Christ came to establish his kingdom on earth, had been perpetually reiterated by Christians. Consequently, they exulted over the frustrated attempt to disprove this prediction, and saw in it the miraculous intervention of offended Deity. In fact, it has been generally so regarded unto the present time. But M. Guizot and Dr. Milman, suggest that these explosions may be accounted for, "on the principle of fire-damps in mines." They state that there were vast excavations under Jerusalem, which could be entered from the temple. They are supposed to have been made in the time of Solomon, for the purpose of concealing treasures and provisions, in time of siege; and also as a means of escape, in case of extreme emergencies. During three centuries of desolation, the outlet had probably become choked up, and the cavern filled with inflammable gas, which exploded with a great noise, when workmen approached the aperture with torches. Josephus relates a similar incident, as having occurred when Herod sent men to explore the sepulchre of David, in hopes of finding hidden treasures. In Julian's time, all classes of men were prone to assign supernatural, rather than scientific causes for all phenomena; and doubtless this tendency of mind discouraged the Jews, while it animated the Christians.

While Julian was so diligent in restoring religious ceremonies, he had by no means forgotten his friends the philosophers. As soon as he assumed the imperial purple, he wrote to Maximus, urging his immediate attendance at court. This was followed by invitations to others, whom he considered eminent for wisdom or virtue. The roads to the capital were now thronged with philosophers, travelling at the public expense, as bishops had done in the days of Constantine. Julian spared no pains to do them honour, and they are most lavishly eulogized in his writings. Maximus, whose magical skill had so much astonished his youth, was his chosen friend and counsellor. Imperial favour had the same effect on him that it had on some

bishops, in the days of Constantine and Constantia. He became luxurious, ambitious, and arrogant. The same was true of many of the philosophers, on whom he lavished wealth and honours. The belief in magic was universal. The most enlightened Christians of that time believed in it as firmly as others; only they imputed its marvels to agency of the Devil. Most of the philosophers at that period sought to gain power over the credulous by arts deemed magical; but some of them disapproved of it. Eusebius, an able and eloquent man, a fervent admirer of Plotinus, was among the intimate friends of Julian. He believed in the wonders performed by Maximus, but discountenanced the pursuit of such knowledge; saying he deemed it far wiser to seek after the true essence of things, the ideas perceptible to enlightened reason, than to practise illusions on the senses by means of magic. Priscus, another philosophic friend and adviser of the emperor, bore prosperity with great moderation. Serious in character, and austere in morals, he despised those who embraced philosophy because it was the fashion. He continued to live very simply, and would never consent to become a courtier. Chrysanthus was another of the New Platonists distinguished for uprightness, purity, moderation, and dignity of manner. The emperor sent repeated invitations, and even wrote with his own hand, urging him and his wife Melita to come to court; but they constantly refused. Finding it useless, he appointed him High Priest of Lydia, conjointly with his wife, and invested them with full authority to erect temples, restore ancient ceremonials, and nominate priests. They performed the duties of their station with so much justice, kindness, and discretion, that the greatest enemies of their religion were constrained to respect their virtues.

Julian himself did not agree with those of his philosophers who discountenanced magic. He was a great believer in prophecies, divination, and miracles by aid of theurgy. Soothsayers and magicians flocked to him from all quarters. Many of them had been imprisoned during preceding reigns,

for impositions on the people, meddling with political affairs, and connecting cruel practices with their midnight incantations. But Julian was prone to regard them with a degree of favour, which the wisest of his friends and subjects observed with regret. Chrysostom, who could not be expected to judge very impartially of Julian and his friends, and who probably classed all the philosophers with magicians, says: "Men who had grown old in prison, and in the mines, and who maintained their wretched existence by the most disgraceful trades, were suddenly advanced to places of dignity, and invested with the priesthood, and sacrificial functions."

Many were, of course, gained over by the same selfish motives which induced multitudes to be baptized in the time of Constantine and Constantius. The Fathers speak with indignation of such men, "who changed their religion as easily as their garments; who abandoned the churches, and ran to the altars; enticed to apostacy by the bait of honourable offices; pointed at by the finger of scorn, as those who had betrayed Christ for a few pieces of silver." It was, in fact, a period when men could easily lose their way, between the two extremes of scepticism and fanaticism, which always mark the dissolution of old forms. Scepticism had for a long time been at work diminishing the authority of the ancient religion. The increasing manifestation of it produced an extreme reaction of fanaticism in some, who, with terrified desperation, and redoubled zeal, sought to sustain the faith of their fathers; while those whose activity of intellect was chastened by reverence, resorted to allegorical interpretation as the only method of conciliation between the atheism and the superstition of their time. Julian undertook a hopeless task in attempting to restore the old worship. Such life as was in it in the olden time had departed; and it is always a vain effort to build temples with ashes. Himself, and others who were sincere in their reverence for it, merely wished to preserve it as a time-honoured respectability. Notwithstanding the magnificence of his temples, and the splendour of his festivals,

he could not excite the people to much zeal in sacrificing; while those whom he paid for honouring the gods, often ate and drank at the banquets in a manner so excessive as to disgrace their cause.

But notwithstanding the many and powerful enemies which Julian made in his attempt to subvert Christianity, it could not be denied that he had great ability and many virtues, which, at an earlier period of history, would have placed him among the brightest and best of the emperors. He was brave by temperament, merciful in disposition, and affable in manners. He set an example of serious and almost austere virtue. He disliked amusements, and when compelled by custom to enter the theatre annually, he staid the shortest possible time necessary to fulfil his public functions. His mode of life was extremely temperate and simple. He dismissed the thousand barbers and servants of the bath, whom he found at the imperial palace, and retained but one personal attendant. A crowd of spies and informers were likewise sent away. By these and other retrenchments, he was enabled to remit to the people one-fifth part of all their taxes. He made great improvements in the courts of justice, and, with few exceptions, governed humanely. Excessive vanity may be forgiven in so young a man, endowed with showy talents and imperial power. His aversion to Christianity doubtless grew in part from personal animosity to his Christian cousin, who had murdered his family, and kept his youth under such jealous constraint. We ought, moreover, to remember that the multitudes swept into the baptismal pool by imperial influence, decidedly tended to lower the general character of Christianity. As Julian found it, it was a warfare of abstruse doctrines, a perpetual struggle for ecclesiastical power, a mass of external forms, borrowed from various quarters, encrusting the living, loving heart of Christ's religion. He verily believed that the rapid degeneracy of the Roman empire was owing to neglect of the ancient gods; therefore his zeal to renovate the old worship was in fact a religious phase of patriotism. The determined opposition

he met with increased his hostility to the new faith. His laws grew more stringent in the latter part of his reign. The holy water used at the temples, called lustral water, he caused to be sprinkled on all the provisions in the market, and in all the public fountains; and Christians, who refused to partake of food or drink, which had thus become infected with idolatry, were led to execution. Had he lived many years, he might possibly have become a relentless persecutor; but he did not survive to prolong the struggle.

In the year three hundred and sixty-five he became involved in a war with Persia, which cost him his life, after an active and brilliant reign of one year and eight months. The story has been many times repeated that when mortally wounded by an arrow, he threw a handful of his blood toward heaven, exclaiming bitterly: "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" But this improbable statement is now admitted to rest on insufficient authority. It had been predicted to him that he would die in battle, and he met his fate with philosophic composure. To the weeping friends, who crowded into his tent, he spoke with a firm and gentle voice, telling them what he wished to have done with his private fortune, trying to soothe their immoderate grief, begging them not to disgrace by unmanly tears the departure of a prince who would soon ascend to heaven, and be united with the stars. He said: "I have learned from philosophy how much the soul is more excellent than the body, and that the separation of the nobler substance should be a source of joy, rather than affliction. I have also learned that the gods often bestow an early death, as the best reward of piety; and I accept, as a favour from them, the mortal stroke, that secures me from the danger of disgracing a character which has hitherto been supported by virtue and fortitude." Calmly discoursing with his friends Maximus and Priscus, concerning the immortality of the soul, his spirit passed away. The account of his death is given by the Roman historian Ammianus, who was present at the scene. Adherents of the old worship

mourned over him as their last hope; and eulogized him in terms almost as unmeasured as the bishops had done Constantine. Theodoret, the Christian historian, says that when the news was received at Antioch, the Christians had festal dances in the churches, and at the cemeteries of martyrs, and that they celebrated the triumph of the cross at the theatre.

JOVIAN.—Jovian, who was proclaimed emperor, immediately announced himself a Christian; but declared that people were free to follow the old religion; that he should punish nothing but magic. It was unknown what sect he would favour, and all were eager to make a favourable impression on him. The theological warfare, which had been hushed for awhile, by a sense of common danger, was renewed. The highways were crowded with Athanasian, Arian, Semi-Arian, and Anomæan bishops, trying to outstrip each other. The new prince was almost stunned by their arguments and mutual invectives. He recommended charity toward each other, and proclaimed universal toleration to all forms of worship. Something concerning principles of freedom had been slowly learned in this conflict of centuries. Themistius, who adhered to the ancient rites of his country, in an address to the new sovereign warmly praised his liberality. He says: "You are aware that the monarch cannot force everything from his subjects; that there are things superior to all constraint, all threatening, all law. This is the case with virtue in general; but it is especially true concerning piety toward God. You have wisely considered that nothing but hypocrisy is produced, unless the unconstrained and absolutely free will of man is left to move first. Deity has implanted religious sentiments in all human beings; but his law remains forever unchangeable, that each man's soul is free in reference to his own peculiar mode of worship."

Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzen, manifested a similar spirit, though he claims it as a peculiarity of Christianity; forgetting that all men had learned somewhat, during this

protracted struggle. He exhorted his people not to retaliate the injuries they had received during Julian's reign. He said: "Let us show what a difference there is between what these men learn from their gods, and the lessons which Christ teaches us. Let us promote the spread of the Gospel by long suffering, and subdue oppressors by gentleness." Of course, a worthless crowd of proselytes, ready to jump on either side, again came over to the religion of the emperor.

VALENTINIAN.—Jovian had a brief reign, and was succeeded by Valentinian, a semi-barbarian in character; ignorant, severe, and gross in debauchery. He is said to have withdrawn from Julian's army, rather than seem to worship the gods by saluting the standards. He was an Athanasian, but followed Jovian's system of toleration. Some of the estates lavishly bestowed by Julian, for the benefit of the old worship, were taken back into the imperial domain. But the priesthood remained undisturbed, and a military guard, in which Christians were not required to serve, was appointed to protect the temples from depredation or insult. Religious festivals prolonged into midnight, were prohibited, because the concourse of all sorts of people, brought together under the veil of darkness, had led to gross immoralities. Protextatus, Governor of Achaia, a man universally respected for his learning and excellent character, was a devout worshipper of the old deities. He petitioned the emperor to except the Eleusinian Mysteries; representing that the life of Grecians would be dreary and comfortless without the inestimable blessing of that sacred institution. Those Mysteries, ancient and venerable, had always been observed with the greatest solemnity and decorum; and his request was immediately granted. The old rites of divination at the temples were allowed, provided the Augurs were not consulted for any treasonable or bad purpose. But severe inquisition was made into the practice of magic, in consequence of complaints from one of the subordinate magistrates of Rome, who averred that

attempts had been made, by three obscure persons, to destroy himself and wife by magical arts. These, being put to cruel torture, made confessions, which implicated many people, of all ranks, as seeking the aid of magic for licentious purposes, for poisoning, and all manner of crimes. From time immemorial, it had been supposed that Spirits of the stars, the waters, the earth, and regions under the earth, would impart their power to men and women, if sought with mysterious ceremonies, solemn incantations, potent herbs, and bloody sacrifices. These things, after having been practised for centuries, not only with impunity, but generally with honour and profit, had been gradually growing into disrepute; not because the power of magic was doubted by any class of men, but because it had become a trade with increasing numbers of low, base itinerants, willing to use it for the worst of purposes. But still many men of rank and education continued to seek its aid in emergencies, regarding it as a true science, though perverted and misused by the wicked. Therefore, when it came to be treated as a crime, punishable with death, it seemed to throw a pall over the whole empire; especially, as it furnished a ready means of gratifying personal hatred and revenge. Valentinian authorized the Præfect of Rome to extort evidence by the most cruel tortures. Spies and informers were everywhere on the alert. There was an extreme reluctance to acquit any one who was accused. A species of insanity seemed to prevail on the subject. The most improbable charges were proved against individuals of the highest character. Senators, matrons, and philosophers were dragged to prison in chains, scourged, racked, and put to death in the most ignominious manner. The emperor kept two fierce bears chained near his bed-chamber, to tear criminals in pieces for his amusement. One of these animals was afterward turned loose into the forest, as a reward for his services to the state.

In the Eastern part of the empire, governed by the emperor's brother, Valens, the persecution raged still more terribly; his fears having been excited by a rumour that

magical arts had been employed to spell out, by a circle of letters, the name of him who would succeed him on the throne. Suspicions that a treasonable plot was therewith connected made him extremely anxious to ascertain what name the circle had indicated. Several philosophers, some of them Julian's personal friends, were implicated in the transaction; being suspected of wishing to restore his order of things. One of them was horribly tortured to induce him to give evidence against a suspected magistrate; but no agony could induce him to say otherwise than that the man was innocent. Another, very young, but of austere philosophy, acknowledged that he knew the secret of the name, but declared that no power should compel him to divulge it. He was burned alive, and met his fate with stoical calmness. Maximus made a similar confession, but declared it unworthy of a philosopher to divulge a secret intrusted to him. He was executed, and many others with him. The excellent Priscus was accused and imprisoned for a short time, but had the rare good fortune to be dismissed as blameless. He retired into Greece, where he lived solitary in the temples, till he was eighty years old. Eunapius cites him as "a rare example of longevity, at a time when so many distinguished men killed themselves in despair, or had their throats cut by barbarians." A Roman youth suffered death merely for copying an old book of magical incantations. So strict was the search for such books, that many men of learning burned their entire libraries, fearing lest some sentence they contained might be construed into magic. Few Christians suffered from this persecution; for believing that magical skill was derived from Evil Spirits, they were rarely tempted to consult it.

Valens had been baptized by an Arian bishop, and always retained his predilection for that sect. Patronized by the government, it maintained the ascendancy it always had in the East. In almost every city, there were two rival bishops, each claiming to be legitimate authority, and regarding the other with watchful animosity. Valens, a

weak-minded man, often lent himself as an instrument of episcopal jealousy. Being at Edessa, he commanded the Governor to break up all assemblies of the Athanasians. The Governor was an Arian, but he pitied the people, and gave them private information of the orders he had received; hoping they would refrain from meeting. But the next morning, they flocked together in greater numbers than ever. Seeing a woman hurrying along, leading a little child, he inquired: "Whither goest thou in so much haste? Knowest thou not that the Governor has orders to kill all he finds in the church?" She replied: "I know it very well. Therefore, I make so much haste, lest I should arrive too late to secure the crown of martyrdom." Being asked why she was dragging her little son along with her, she answered: "That he also may have his share of the reward." Grieved to see people thus led like sheep to the slaughter, the Governor went back to the palace, and succeeded in dissuading the emperor from his bloody design.

It had become very fashionable for the wealthy to seek salvation for their souls by leaving large estates to the church. In this way, the ecclesiastical revenues had become immense; though scarcely half a century had elapsed since Constantine passed the law empowering his subjects to make such bequests. Devout women, especially, were easily induced to build churches, or leave their wealth for charitable purposes, at the disposal of the clergy. The evil became so great, that Valentinian forbade ecclesiastics to frequent the houses of widows, or receive testamentary donations; confining them to their own natural and legal rights of inheritance.

THEODOSIUS.—In three hundred and seventy-eight, Gratian became emperor of the Western part of the empire. He was a very young man, entirely under the influence of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. The East was ruled by Theodosius the Great, an hereditary Christian, educated in the Athanasian creed. He soon announced his determination to exterminate the old worship, root and branch.

Human sacrifices had never been a custom with the Romans, and they uniformly forbade them in the nations they conquered. But in some provinces, the barbarous rite was practised, though very rarely, and usually in obedience to the command of some oracle. Theodosius abolished it, under penalty of death. Magical arts, and the inspection of the entrails of victims, for purposes of divination, were forbidden under the same penalty. All property belonging to the temples was confiscated, for benefit of the army, and the churches; the priesthood were deprived of all their privileges; sacrifices were forbidden, either within or without the temples; and any magistrate who entered a temple was fined fifteen pounds of gold. Hitherto, all the Christian emperors had followed the old custom of assuming the office and title of Pontifex Maximus, and of acting on state occasions as High Priest of the worship they had deserted. But when the Senate of Rome sent a solemn deputation to Gratian, to perform the usual ceremony of inauguration, he rejected the intended honour with contempt. The Goddess of Fortune, with whose worship the welfare and glory of Rome was supposed to have been intimately connected for ages, was ordered to be taken from her pedestal, and her altar destroyed. Sorrow and unfeigned alarm took possession of all the people, who retained any reverence for the old order of things. Deputations were sent to remonstrate earnestly with the youthful emperor, imploring him to be cautious how he thus endangered the safety of the state; but the Christians sent in a counter petition, through Damasus, their bishop, and his influence prevailed.

Monks, who had become numerous at this period, were everywhere the fiercest and most reckless enemies of the old worship. Soon after the accession of Theodosius, they began to traverse the rural districts, overturning the altars, demolishing temples, and plundering their rich treasures, wherever they found them unprotected. This desecration was regarded by many of the country people not only with deep grief, but with absolute terror. Their simple faith,

rooted in the soil of centuries, had not been shaken by so many rude storms of political revolution, or slowly undermined by self-interest, as had been the case in cities. The peasant woman, when she laid her fragrant offering of blossoms on the altar, felt sure that the kind Goddess of Flowers would sprinkle her garden with dew, and fill it with honey for the bees. The farmer had undoubting faith that the altar, or image of a deity, among his grape-vines, or his wheat, was a security against drought and blight, and destructive insects. When they saw squalid-looking men, with matted hair, and dirty dresses, going about insulting the beneficent Spirits, who they verily believed had protected them and their forefathers for ages, they expected storm, pestilence, and famine, as the inevitable consequence; and their sorrow, fear, and indignation knew no bounds. In many places, the rustic population rose in defence of their sacred buildings and images, and succeeded in driving off the invaders, some of whom they put to death.

Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, was peculiarly zealous in finding accusations against adherents of the old worship in that city. A temple of Osiris had been granted by the emperor to the Christians, who proceeded to build a church on the ground. While digging the foundation, they found various symbols used in the worship of the god; and among them was the emblem of the generative principle, connected with many religious ceremonies in Hindostan, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. This ancient symbol was associated in their minds with reverence and gratitude to a beneficent Deity, for the mysterious reproduction of life, in all departments of the universe; but to Christians, it suggested nothing but indecency. The Bishop so far forgot the dignity becoming his office, that he exposed these symbols in the market-place, where they were examined by the crowd with jokes and scornful laughter. Those who revered the old Egyptian worship were exasperated beyond measure. They rushed upon the jesters, and a conflict ensued, in which the streets flowed with blood. The Christians who were slain, received the honours of

martyrdom, and the zeal of survivors was redoubled. Conscious of power, they were not sparing of threats or accusations. Hostility between the factions daily increased. It was rumoured that beautiful women of high rank were decoyed into the Temple of Serapis, under the pretence of being chosen favourites of the god, who was in fact represented by his priests. These stories, doubtless more or less true concerning all powerful priesthoods, since the world began, were diligently circulated, and pointed popular hostility toward the Temple of Serapis. Surrounded by walls and outer courts, the building was strong as a citadel. The worshippers of Serapis, expecting an attack, collected there in great numbers, and from time to time sallied forth to seize Christians, whom they forced to offer sacrifice on their altar, or slew them and threw their bodies into a deep trench filled with the offals of victims. Magistrates came with troops, and threatened them with vengeance of the law; but they were beaten back, and obliged to wait for orders from the emperor. Olympus, a philosopher, had endeavoured to cheer his associates in those dark days, and prepare their minds for the destruction of external objects of worship, which he foresaw must come. He reminded them that "the statues of the gods were but perishable material images; that the Immortal Spirits who once dwelt within them had withdrawn to the stars." Wrought up by the excitement of present danger, he strove to stimulate his friends to obstinate resistance; saying: "Let us make a glorious sacrifice of our enemies, and then immolate ourselves, and perish with our gods." But at midnight, when the gates were fastened, and all was still, one clear, strong voice sang, "Hallelujah!" and the tones resounded through the silent temple. Regarding it either as an alarming omen, or as an indication that Christians had secret means of ingress to their fortress, his courage failed. He stole out of the temple, and embarked for Italy. An imperial edict soon arrived authorizing the destruction of the world-renowned Temple of Serapis. It was received with tumultuous shouts of joy by the Chris-

tian populace, while philosophers and priests fled to secret places. The Archbishop Theophilus, with an army of soldiers and monks, hastened with all zeal to the work of devastation. The far-famed Alexandrian Library had been partially destroyed by fire during the invasion of the city by Julius Cæsar, but the loss had been in a measure repaired by an extensive library, which Mark Anthony presented to Cleopatra. Three hundred thousand volumes were preserved in rooms within the inclosure of the Temple of Serapis. The monks from the desert who were led on to this attack by the archbishop, were generally ignorant men, with a strong contempt for human learning. They would therefore be likely to have little respect for this great storehouse of the genius and learning of ages. But they were avaricious of plunder; and as rare manuscripts were then valued as diamonds are now, it is not unlikely that many of them were preserved and sold. What proportion of them was destroyed is unknown. They were all pillaged, and it is supposed that many were burned. Orosius, a Christian historian, who visited the Library rooms, twenty-five years after, says: "I saw the empty book-cases, which were broken open; and men of these times relate that they were plundered by our people." [That is, by Christians.]

When the crowd entered the sanctuary of the temple, the colossal statue was so impressive in its majesty, and Christians were so thoroughly imbued with the idea that Evil Spirits lurked about the temples and statues, in which they had been accustomed to be worshipped, that for a moment their purpose was arrested. The archbishop seeing them thus irresolute, ordered a soldier to strike the image. He struck it first on the knee, and then climbing up chopped off the head. A large colony of rats ran out, and converted the fears of the multitude into boisterous mirth. The huge limbs of Serapis were dragged through the streets with shouts and mockery, and finally burnt in the amphitheatre. To demolish the massive architecture of the temple was the work of time. An army of monks from the desert encamped among the ruins, and a Christian

church soon rose on the foundations of the ancient sanctuary.

Serapis presided over the inundations of the Nile, on which the fertility of Egypt depended; of course, many fears were entertained lest the land would be punished for the indignity offered to the god. When the time came for the annual overflow, the people watched with anxiety; and when they saw the waters remain for several days at their usual level, the alarm began to spread, and there was a loud demand that the customary sacrifices should be offered. The inflexible emperor answered that Egypt must go dry, if the inundation depended on the practice of idolatrous rites. Doubtless this answer would have excited insurrection, had not the Nile begun to swell before it arrived. The overflow was even more abundant than usual, and the fickle populace joined with the Christians in mocking the dethroned Serapis.

Christian writers were eloquent in their exultation over the downfall of idolatry; and writers on the other side were proportionably bitter in their expressions of hatred and contempt for the monks. Eunapius describes the scene thus: "Men, who had never heard war spoken of, bravely attacked the Serapeum with stones, demolished it, and scattered the offerings, which the veneration of ages had accumulated there. Having courageously given battle to statues, they made a military convention that all they had stolen was a fair prize. But as they could not carry away the land, however much they might wish it, those heroic conquerors retired, and were replaced in the occupation of the sacred soil by monks; that is to say, by beings having the appearance of men, living like the vilest animals, and giving themselves up in public to the most disgusting actions that can be imagined; for it was for them an act of piety to profane this sacred place, in all manner of ways. These monks encamped among the ruins of the Serapeum, and slaves and criminals were seen receiving worship there, instead of the gods of intellect. In exchange for the heads of our divinities, they showed the dirty skulls of miserable

convicts, and knelt before them, and adored them. Infidel slaves, torn by the whip and furrowed with marks of their crimes, they call martyrs, deacons, and leaders in prayer! Such are the new gods of this earth! Whoever wears a black robe has despotic power. Philosophy, and piety to the gods, are compelled to retire into secret places, to dwell in contented poverty and dignified meanness of appearance."

The work of destruction went on far and wide. Theophilus soon after marched at the head of his party, and demolished the temple and statue of Canopus, god of humidity. Martin, Bishop of Tours, undertook the task of extirpating idolatry in Gaul. He marched all over the country with a band of monks, destroying altars and temples, and building churches in their place. He asserts positively that during these predatory excursions, Jupiter, or Mercury, or Minerva, often appeared to him, and did their utmost to turn him from his work. Marcellus of Apamea pursued the same course in Syria. A massive temple of Jupiter, standing on a lofty eminence, long resisted their attacks, but it was finally undermined and overthrown. A band of rustics, who were watching the progress of the work, waylaid Marcellus, when he was at a distance from his companions, and burned him alive. He was placed among the martyrs, and the synod of his province refrained from taking any means to punish a death, which they deemed so happy for himself, and so glorious for his family. In almost every province of the Roman world, a large portion of the temples were destroyed. Where monks were not numerous, some were left to the slow decay of time. Others, whose construction could be easily altered for the purpose, were converted into churches. The Temple of the Celestial Venus at Carthage, whose beautiful groves formed a circumference of two miles; a temple at Damascus; and another at Heliopolis, were enclosed and consecrated to the use of the Christians.

Some of the more prudent bishops tried to check the insatiable zeal of their people for destroying altars and

images, which were left on estates to protect the fields; an idea cherished by many of the landholders, as well as the labourers. Augustine says: "Many have those abominations upon their estates. Shall we go about to destroy them? No. Let us make it our first business to extirpate the idols in their hearts. Then, they will either invite us to so good a work, or they will anticipate us in it. At present, we must pray for them, not exasperate them."

Petitions came from all quarters, begging that places of worship might be spared. Libanius, the orator, who remained faithful to the old religion, pleaded for the preservation of the temples, in an oration addressed to the emperor. He entreated that they might be saved from destruction, if not for religious purposes, at least as beautiful ornaments to the cities, and sources of revenue, if applied to other purposes. More sadly and earnestly pleaded the eloquent Symmachus, an upright and fearless magistrate, who was fully persuaded that the welfare of his country depended on the worship of the ancient deities. In a petition which he wrote to be offered by the senate, alluding to a severe famine the preceding year, as proof that the gods were offended, he asks: "Were our fathers ever compelled to suffer anything like this, when the ministers of religion had a public maintenance?" He represents Rome herself as expostulating thus: "Most excellent princes, fathers of your country, respect my years, and still permit me to practise the worship of my ancestors in which I have grown old. This religion subdued the world to my dominion. Grant me but the privilege of living according to my ancient usage. I ask only for peace to the gods of Rome; the tutelary deities of your country. Heaven is above all. We cannot all follow the same path. There are many ways to arrive at the great secret. We presume not to contend. We are humble supplicants."

Ambrose, the able Bishop of Milan, resisted the slightest approach to a compromise. In his answer to Symmachus, he says: "The emperor, who should be guilty of such concessions, would soon learn that the bishops would neither

connive at, nor endure his sin. If he entered a church, he would find no priest, or one who would defy his authority. The church would indignantly reject the gifts of him who shared them with Gentile temples. The altar disdains the offerings of him who has made oblations to images. It is written, 'Man cannot serve two masters.' "

Rome remained the last stronghold of the old worship. The city contained three hundred temples, and innumerable altars and statues, which stood long after all was falling in other parts of the empire. The magnificence of the edifices, the pomp of festivals, were there, more than elsewhere, connected with all great and interesting epochs of their history. Romans clung to these reminiscences of past glory, with the tenacious grasp of men in a death-struggle. The emperors had not yet ventured to proclaim such severe edicts there. The laws passed by Theodosius in the East were not in force in Rome. The temples were still open, and a portion of the public revenue was appropriated to worship.

A favourable moment was seized for insurrection, and Eugenius, a votary of the gods, was placed on the throne. The temples were re-opened throughout Italy, the smoke of sacrifices ascended, the altar of Victory was restored to its place, and pictures of the gods again floated on the banners. Ambrose fled from Milan, for the victorious soldiers threatened to stable horses in the churches, and compel the clergy to serve in the army.

The tidings of this rebellion made Theodosius pass still more stringent laws in the East. All divination or magic was punishable with death, whatever might be its object. Whoever offered any sacrifice, or connived at its being offered, even in a private house, was fined twenty-five pounds of gold; nearly five thousand dollars of our money. Any house in which incense was burned was confiscated to the imperial treasury. Whoever made an altar of turf on his own grounds, or hung a garland on a tree, forfeited his estate thereby. Theodosius marched against Eugenius, who was slain. Rome gave up the struggle in despair.

Many of the noble families went over to the religion of the conqueror. The senate debated the claims of Jupiter and Christ. The Christian poet, Prudentius, says Jupiter was out-voted by a large majority. But Zozimus, the Greek, who belonged to the other party, has recorded, in his History of the Roman Empire, that the senate adhered firmly, though respectfully, to their ancient deities. The household gods were not interfered with; the temples remained standing, and no one was forbidden to worship within them, provided they did it without sacrificing. The civil rights of the conservatives were respected. The schools, the army, and the senate, were filled with believers in the old gods. Platonists freely wrote sarcastic strictures on the proceedings of Christians. There was a personal friendship between Theodosius and Libanius the orator, and he was never required to conceal his opinions. Thus far, the emperor made politic concessions to a party still powerful in that part of his empire; but he refused to allow any funds from the public revenue for support of the ancient worship. The order of Vestal Virgins was abolished, the sacred fire extinguished, and oracles hushed by imperial command. Priests and priestesses, deprived of their maintenance, were scattered. Some priesthoods were still handed down in regular descent, and some rites and festivals continued to be observed, either without sacrifice or with sacrifice by stealth. Many conformed outwardly to the paramount religion, who were not inwardly convinced. External signs of the old worship disappeared from cities. But in country places, the rustic population long continued to assemble in the shadow of groves, and keep their old festivals, with sacrifices of sheep and oxen, under the appearance of a mere social banquet. They even contrived to sing hymns in honour of the gods, in such a manner as to evade the laws. Landholders connived at such practices, influenced by the old belief that the fertility of the fields depended on them. A poet who wrote after the time of Theodosius describes the Cross as the emblem of a god worshipped only in cities. In consequence of this long lingering of the old

faith in rural districts, it came to be called the Pagan religion; from the Latin word *Paganus*, signifying a villager, or peasant.

But there were also men of education, who retained a strong predilection for the old ideas, which they had spiritualized by an infusion of Platonism. The simple phraseology of Scripture was not acceptable to these men, who had formed a taste for highly rhetorical embellishments; and they judged religion not so much by a standard of faith, as by respectable morality. When imperial edicts manufactured Christians by thousands, there were of course great numbers whose lives did little credit to the religion they professed. When attempts were made to convert Platonists, they often replied: "Why would you persuade me to embrace this new religion? I have been cheated by Christians, but I never defrauded any man. A Christian has broken his oath to me, but I never violated my simple word to any man."

All the Christian sects, that differed from the emperor in opinion, were more severely proscribed than the polytheistic worshippers had been. Constantine had summoned a Council at Nice, to settle the equal dignity of the Son and the Father. Theodosius summoned one hundred and fifty bishops to assemble at Constantinople, to settle the equal dignity of the Son and the Holy Ghost. This was followed by severe edicts against all who did not subscribe to the decision of that council. Their religious meetings were forbidden, in public or private, city or country, and every building or ground used for such purpose was forfeited to the imperial treasury. Very early in his reign, he published the following edict: "It is our pleasure that all the nations governed by our clemency and moderation should stedfastly adhere to the religion which was taught by Saint Peter to the Romans, faithfully preserved by tradition, and now professed by the Pontiff Damasus, and by Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, a man of apostolic holiness. According to the discipline of the Apostles, and the doctrine of the Gospel, let us believe the sole Deity of the Father, the Son,

and the Holy Ghost; under an equal majesty, and a holy Trinity. We authorize the followers of this doctrine to assume the title of Catholic Christians; and as we judge that all others are extravagant madmen, we brand them with the infamous name of heretics, and declare that their conventicles shall no longer usurp the respectable name of churches. Besides the condemnation of Divine Justice, they must expect to suffer the severe penalties, which our authority, guided by Heavenly Wisdom, shall think proper to inflict upon them."

On the accession of Theodosius, it is said that Arians possessed all the churches in the East, except in Jerusalem. But after the publication of this edict, the Arian prelate at Constantinople was ordered to subscribe the Nicene Creed, or relinquish his episcopal palace, the cathedral of Santa Sophia, and all the churches in his diocese, to orthodox believers. He preferred banishment, and went into exile. A large majority of the inhabitants of Constantinople were Arians; but they were obliged to give up their hundred churches to a sect not numerous enough to fill them. Gregory of Nazianzen was appointed bishop, but he entered the enraged city guarded by the emperor and a strong military force, and it was necessary to garrison the cathedral with imperial troops. He confesses that it seemed to him like a city taken by storm. The sky was cloudy when they started, but just as the procession began to enter the cathedral, the sun burst forth and made the swords and armour of the soldiers glitter in its rays. This was hailed with acclamations, as an auspicious omen. The next week, Theodosius expelled all the clergy throughout his dominions, who refused to sign the established creed. In the course of fifteen years, he published fifteen decrees against heretical sects. His severest penalties were directed against those who rejected the Athanasian doctrine of the Trinity. No such person was allowed to hold any honourable or lucrative employment. Arians were forbidden to build any churches, in city or country, under penalty of the confiscation of their funds. Apollinarians were for-

bidden to have any clergy, or hold any meetings, or to reside in cities. Anomæans were not allowed to dispose of their own estates by will, or to receive any property by testamentary gift. The same was enacted concerning those who turned back from Christianity to Paganism. Manicheans were punishable with death, and prohibited from making wills. The Quartodecimans, who continued to keep Easter on the day of the Jewish Passover, instead of the day prescribed by the church at Rome, were also punishable with death. Confiscation and exile were denounced against all who preached the doctrines, or practised the rites of any of the "accursed sects." Some went so far as to maintain that not only all heretics, but all who held any intercourse with them, must not only make a public acknowledgment of their error, but must be re-baptized before they could be allowed to partake of the communion.

Theodosius appointed an Inquisitor of the Faith, to inquire into opinions; an office hitherto unknown. Christians had often killed each other in turmoils, and the government had put men to death for sectarian riots and depredations; but in this reign, blood was for the first time shed, by authority of Christian law, merely and avowedly on account of theological opinions. Priscillian, a man of rank in Spain, and a bishop, entertained many of the Gnostic views in connection with Christianity. He believed that the souls of men were portions of the Deity, imprisoned in material bodies, as a punishment. Consequently he denied the resurrection of the body, and was shocked at the idea that the Son of God could be born of a woman. He received all the books of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, even the apocryphal ones; giving them a spiritual interpretation, which sustained his doctrines. He was the founder of a numerous sect, famous for austere morals, and mortification of the senses. They abstained from marriage, never tasted animal food, fasted often, watched and prayed almost continually. Their mode of worship was exceedingly simple and spiritual. They rejected baptism, the Lord's Supper, and all external

ordinances. They would not call their teachers bishops or priests, but named them Secretaries, or Companions in Travel. Priscillian was twice banished, and finally put to death, in three hundred eighty four, by order of Maximus, colleague of Theodosius. Several of his adherents, among whom were some noble women, were tortured and executed.

The private character of Theodosius was very exemplary, but his temper was imperious and violent. He was a strict observer of all ceremonies prescribed by the church; but the prevailing idea of the efficacy of baptism to wash away all sin led him to delay that rite until a dangerous illness, during the first year of his reign, induced him to hasten the ceremony.

The power which the church obtained over this despotic soldier was exemplified in a very remarkable manner on one occasion. In Thessalonica the populace had some dispute about a favourite charioteer in the circus. A riot ensued, and some of the imperial officers were killed in their efforts to quell it. Theodosius received the tidings when he was at Milan. His fiery temper kindled at once, and he vowed vengeance on the whole city; for he permitted no violence to be done, except in obedience to his own commands. In vain the clergy exhorted him to moderate his wrath. An army of barbarians was sent to Thessalonica. Public games were given by the emperor in the circus, and all the inhabitants invited. When the building was entirely filled, the soldiers received a signal for indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children. From seven to fourteen thousand were slain. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who was then ill in the country, wrote to the emperor: "Sin can be removed only by tears and repentance. No angel or archangel can forgive sin; and the Lord himself forgives only those who come to him with repentance. I dare not distribute the holy elements, if you intend to be present and receive them. Where the blood of so many innocent persons has been shed, shall I venture to do that which I should not presume to do, if but one innocent individual had been killed?" He ex-

horted him to repent, and promised to pray for him, but would not change his determination to exclude him from communion. When the imperial culprit went to the church, to offer his devotions as usual, the bishop met him at the threshold, and said, "Stand back, thou man of blood!" Theodosius humbly pleaded that King David also sinned, yet God accepted him. Ambrose replied: "As you have imitated him in sin, copy him also in repentance." The emperor confessed his guilt, and promised to submit to any penance imposed upon him. He was ordered not to appear in church again for eight months, and to go through a certain form of prayers and religious exercises every day at home. Meantime, the Christmas festival occurred, and when all the world were thronging to the churches, Theodosius sent a message, imploring to be admitted; urging that he had every day obeyed to the letter all that had been enjoined upon him. Ambrose replied: "The emperor has power to kill me, but he must pass over my body, before he can enter the sanctuary of the Lord." When the eight months had expired, the episcopal interdict was removed, on two conditions. The emperor was required to publish an edict, forbidding any execution to take place throughout the empire, until thirty days after the culprit had been convicted by due process of law. In the next place, as his sin had been public, it was required that his penance should be public also. Accordingly, he took off his royal robes, and insignia of office, covered himself with sackcloth, prostrated himself on the pavement of the church, in view of the whole congregation, beat his breast, tore his hair, threw ashes on his head, and with tears implored forgiveness of his great sin; repeating the words of King David, "My soul cleaveth to the dust, quicken thou me according to thy word." Having thus publicly humbled himself, he was again allowed to frequent the church, but he confessed to Ambrose that not a day of his life passed without his feeling a pang for that cruel transaction.

Theodosius lived but few months after his triumph over

Eugenius in Rome. But so active and energetic had been his measures for the downfall of idolatry, that the religion thenceforth called Pagan, lingered in the empire only as a pale disembodied ghost. What the inflexible will of Athanasius had begun, was so effectually aided by his strong arm, and the powerful character of Ambrose, that the church which he decreed should be Universal, and therefore named it Catholic, ruled all Europe for a thousand years, and the creed thus established is still received as an inheritance by a large majority of Christendom.

THE LATER CHRISTIAN FATHERS.

I will now revert to a few of the most prominent characters in the Christian church, while the events I have related in its external history were in progress.

LACTANTIUS.—Lactantius, who is supposed to have died about the year three hundred and thirty, was a philosopher and rhetorician, who became so famous, that Diocletian invited him to settle near the imperial court at Nicomedia, and practise his art. There he became a convert to Christianity. When quite an old man, he was summoned to Gaul, to superintend the education of Crispus, the unfortunate son of Constantine. He wrote many books on religious subjects, some of which are still extant. From the elegance of his style, he has been called the Christian Cicero.

ATHANASIUS.—It is said that Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria, on the occasion of a festival in honour of one of his martyred predecessors, observed a troop of boys at their play, imitating the rites of the church. One of them enacted the part of bishop, and performed all the usual ceremonies of baptism. Regarding this as a forerunner of what the child was to be, he caused him to be educated with express reference to an ecclesiastical profession. This boy was the celebrated Athanasius, who soon became dis-

tinguished at school for the quickness of his intellect. In his youth, he was the private secretary of his patron. Being drawn toward monastic life, he went into the desert, and spent some time with the famous hermit, Anthony. When he returned, he was appointed archdeacon, and at the Council of Nice gained great reputation by the ability he displayed in the Arian controversy. Six months after, he succeeded his friend as Bishop of Alexandria. He is said to have been little cultivated in general literature, but deeply versed in biblical learning. To him, more than to any other person, the Christian world owes what was afterward generally received as orthodox doctrine concerning the Trinity; therefore he is often called "the father of theology." He lived at a stormy period, and was a spirit well calculated to ride on the storm. He was banished from his bishopric, recalled in triumph, banished and recalled, again and again; attacked with the utmost rancour of theological hatred; protected and defended with the utmost warmth of theological zeal; accused of many misdemeanours and crimes, and always satisfactorily vindicated; unyielding in his opinions, hot in controversy, but never convicted of dishonesty toward his opponents. He sustained all reverses with fortitude, and could neither be driven or tempted to swerve from the course which his own mind had established as the right one. When Constantine deposed him on account of charges brought against him, he appeared in the midst of a long train of ecclesiastics, as the emperor was riding through the streets, and demanded a hearing. Constantine tried to pass in silence; but the bold prelate exclaimed: "God will judge between you and me, since you thus take part with my slanderers. I only demand that they should be summoned, and my cause heard in the imperial presence." The emperor acknowledged the justice of his request, and summoned his accusers. Being informed that Athanasius boasted he could force him to his wishes, by cutting off the supplies of corn from Alexandria to Constantinople, he formed a strong dislike of him, banished him to the distant city of

Treves, and was ever after accustomed to designate him as "proud, turbulent, obstinate, and intractable." Wherever he resided, the clergy were devoted to him, and so were a majority of the people. His commanding character and inflexible will had immense power over the minds of men. When Constantius, from motives of policy, recalled him to Alexandria, bishops flocked from all parts to welcome him, the city was illuminated, incense waved before him in the streets, alms distributed liberally to the poor, and prayers of thanksgiving offered in all the houses of his numerous friends. When Constantius again deposed him, on account of fresh charges against him, it was deemed necessary to send a force of five thousand men, to carry the order into effect. He was performing service in the church at midnight, preparatory to the communion, when the soldiers burst in. Amid the trampling of horses, and the clashing of steel, he exhorted the people to continue their worship; and the choristers chanted "O give thanks unto the Lord," while the people responded, "For his mercy endureth forever." The clergy around him finally hurried him out of a private door, and compelled him to escape. He retired into the desert, where he outdid all the hermits in fasting and watching, penances and prayers. In vain his enemies hunted for his life. All the monks of the desert were his faithful adherents, and it was impossible to trace him. During several months, he was concealed in his father's tomb. Twenty years of his life were passed in banishment; but he finally died in peaceful possession of his bishopric, and left a high reputation for piety, benevolence, and unblemished virtue. He had the advantage of belonging to the victorious party, and nearly all that we know of him is recorded by his friends and admirers.

BASIL.—Basil, called the Great, was born of a noble Christian family in Cappadocia, in the year three hundred and twenty-nine. During the persecution under Diocletian, his grandfather retired to a mountain forest, in Pon-

tus. His grandmother was a very devout woman, who had often listened to the preaching of Gregory Thaumaturgus; and her character and precepts had a powerful influence on her descendants. His father was an eminent lawyer, and he was educated for the same profession. Having received all the instruction Cæsarea afforded, he went to Constantinople, where he studied rhetoric with the celebrated Libanius. He afterward went to Athens, where at that time many young men of talent congregated; among whom was Julian, afterward emperor. He returned to Cæsarea, where he became distinguished for eloquence as an advocate. But the religious impressions received in childhood, and the persuasions of his pious sister Macrina, induced him to quit the career of brilliant success which was opening before him. He became interested in monastic life, and practised such severe austerities, that he reduced his body almost to a skeleton. He retired to a neighbouring mountain, where he built a monastery intended as a general asylum for orphans. There he spent twelve years, with a large company of devotees, who lived very austere, and divided their time between useful labour, study of the Scriptures, and prayer.

Basil took part in the controversy against Macedonius, concerning the equal dignity of the Son and the Holy Ghost, with almost as much zeal as Athanasius contended with Arians for the equal dignity of the Father and the Son; but he manifested more charity toward opponents, than was common with theological partisans. During a severe famine in Cappadocia he devoted the whole of his fortune to the relief of the sufferers. This increased the popularity he had already acquired by his piety, learning, and comparative mildness in controversy. At the age of forty-one, he was chosen Archbishop of Cæsarea; but he always wore his monastic dress, and retained his ascetic habits. His administration was distinguished by energy, vigilance, strictness in church discipline, and careful examination of candidates for the priesthood; but especially for benevolence to the poor, for whom he caused asylums to

be built in several cities. He was much celebrated for pulpit eloquence, and his prayers were believed to have miraculous power. There was a tradition concerning him, universally believed, that the Holy Spirit, in the form of a white dove, was frequently seen perched on his shoulders, inspiring him while he preached.

When the emperor Valens was travelling through his diocese, he sent a messenger to him, requiring that he should perform the rites of the church in the Arian mode, and admit Arians to the communion. Basil refused to comply; and when reminded that the emperor had power to confiscate all his property, to banish him, and even to put him to death, he calmly replied: "He who owns nothing can lose nothing. All the possessions the emperor can take from me are my cloak, and a few books. Banishment can be no exile to me, since the whole earth is the Lord's. As for torture, my feeble body would yield to the first blows; and death would only bring me nearer to the Lord, for whom my soul longs." The messenger, astonished by his quiet-firmness, told the emperor that threats and blandishments were alike useless with that man; and he recommended violent measures. But Valens, aware of his great popularity, and commanding influence, deemed it impolitic to proceed against him. Fearing that his refusal to admit Arians might occasion some tumult, he resolved to appear at church himself, but to manifest his disapprobation by declining to partake of the communion. To his great surprise, Basil proceeded with the usual services of the day, without taking any notice of the imperial presence. No one offered him the communion, yet he found it impossible to be angry. The dignified appearance of the archbishop, his uncommon eloquence, and the general solemnity of the service, impressed him so deeply, that he went up to the altar and presented a gift. The attendant clergy looked at the archbishop, as if uncertain whether the offering of a heretic might be accepted. Basil, seeing that the emperor was much agitated, condescended to advance and receive his oblation. An interview afterward took place between

them. Valens remained unconvinced on doctrinal points, but he forbore to interfere with Basil's regulations, and gave him a liberal donation for the poor of his diocese.

Basil died at fifty years old, his health being ruined by the severe asceticism he had practised. When the people heard he was dying, they flocked round the house, sobbing aloud, and praying earnestly to God to spare their good bishop. Gregory of Nazianzen says there was none of them who would not have willingly given up a portion of life, if they could have prolonged his. The funeral was solemnized with every possible testimonial of love and reverence. It was attended by a vast concourse of Christians, as well as Jews and Pagans; for all good men honoured his memory. Many were pressed to death in the crowd, and followed him to the unseen world. He left many writings of a controversial and religious character; Commentaries on the Scriptures, Treatises on Baptism, Virginity, Monastic Rules, and Christian Morals.

GREGORY.—Gregory was born at Nazianzen, in the same year as Basil the Great. His father belonged to one of the Gnostic sects, but was drawn over to the orthodox faith, by the prayers and tears and gentle example of his pious wife, Nonna, and was subsequently ordained Bishop of Nazianzen. They were childless for many years, and their affectionate souls longed for offspring. When at last a son was given to them, they carried him to the altar of the church, soon after his birth, placed a volume of the Gospels in his little hands, and dedicated him to the service of the Lord. The child was accustomed to hear this spoken of, and early learned to compare himself with the infant Samuel, whose infancy was consecrated to the service of the temple, where God called him in dreams. The devotional habits and religious teaching of his parents continually strengthened his serious tendencies. While he was yet a boy, he had a dream, which led him to resolve on a life of celibacy and holiness. In his sleep, he beheld two celestial virgins, in white robes, with faces that shone

like stars. They took him in their arms and kissed him. Surprised at their wondrous beauty, he asked them whence they came. One of them replied: "I am Charity, and this is my sister Temperance. We come to thee from Paradise, where we stand continually before the throne of Christ, and enjoy ineffable delights. Come to us, my son, and dwell with us for ever."

His father caused him to be educated at the best schools in the empire. For that purpose he was sent to Alexandria, Constantinople, and Athens, where he pursued his studies in company with Basil the Great. From his observation of the young prince Julian, who was at the same school, he predicted that he would depart from his outward conformity to Christianity. Gregory was baptized in his thirtieth year, and retired to monastic solitude with Basil, for whom he had formed a very intimate and tender friendship. They divided their time between manual labour and study of the Sacred Scriptures, and the writings of the early Fathers. Their favourite author was Origen, for whose character and writings they cherished profound veneration. Like his friend Basil, he injured his health by the austerities he practised. He lived on bread and salt, drank water only, and slept but little. He confesses that a life of celibacy was utterly repugnant to his nature; but he deemed a departure from it incompatible with any great attainments in holiness. He wished to withdraw his mind altogether from worldly affairs, but a desire to assist the declining years of his parents compelled him to pay some attention to financial regulations. When Basil became Archbishop of Cæsarea, he appointed him Bishop of Sasina, a small marshy town, where many roads met, and where there was a continual strife between travellers and custom-house officers. It was a post ill suited to a man of his quiet, contemplative habits, and he complained of his friend for placing him in such an uncongenial situation. He soon withdrew again to monastic seclusion, and manifested extreme reluctance to accept of any ecclesiastical office, from a feeling that he was not pure enough to serve

God at the altar. But his timid conscience being alarmed by representations that he was fleeing from duty, he consented to be ordained presbyter, and assisted his father in the discharge of his clerical functions. After the death of the old man, he was chosen bishop of his native place, and was much admired and respected for his eloquence and excellent character. But his love of contemplation and repose again led him to retire from the world and live among the monks. He emerged from his solitude occasionally to build up the Athanasian cause. There being no church belonging to that party in Constantinople, he preached in the house of one of his kinsmen. His earnest eloquence attracted crowds. The Arians, provoked by his success, broke into the house, pelted him with stones, and dispersed the meeting. When Theodosius came to the throne, he summoned him to preside over the churches at Constantinople, in place of the deposed Arian bishop. It has been already stated that he was placed in the episcopal chair by a formidable array of military force; an immense majority of the inhabitants being Arians. Fortunately, he was less inclined to polemical controversy than most teachers of that period. He preached against the prevailing tendency to speculation, and combatted the idea fast gaining ground that soundness in doctrine was of more consequence than the practical performance of religious duties. He said knowledge of divine things was not an end to be attained in this present life; it was to be used merely as a means of becoming holy, in order to be capable of full reception of the truth in the world to come. He bore dislike with humility, and sometimes disarmed his most bitter opponents by meekness. Yet even he approved of the severe edicts of Theodosius against heretics.

The dissatisfaction excited by his appointment, and questions which arose concerning its validity, induced him to ask liberty to resign his responsible and onerous office, to men who cared more for earthly honours and advantages. He delivered a farewell discourse before an assembly of the clergy, in which "he dealt out many a hard

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truth against the worldly-minded bishops." Worn down with perpetual feuds in the churches, he retired to the quiet of private life, amid the brooks and trees of his native town. He was then old and bald, his frame enfeebled, and his face furrowed by inward and outward struggles, and by the severe austerities he practised. But still the conflict with nature continued. The presence of women troubled him, and alarmed his conscience. He allowed no repose to his aged body. He slept on a hard mat, with a sackcloth covering. He wore one thin tunic, went barefoot, and allowed himself no fire. He fasted and prayed, and devoted himself to the composition of poetry in Greek, which, from its difficulty, he considered a penance. In these devotional poems, the praises of virginity are rung through all manner of changes, and Christ is represented as giving it the highest place of honour at his right hand. This sensitive and religious soul lingered in the body ninety years. His writings give a melancholy picture of the clerical temper of his times; especially as manifested in councils.

JEROME.—Jerome was born in Dalmatia, now a southern province of Austria. The precise date of his birth is unknown, but it was not far from three hundred and forty. His parents, who were in prosperous worldly circumstances, sent him to Rome to complete his education, where he pursued with avidity the study of Greek and Latin literature and philosophy. The great capital abounded with temptations, and according to his own account, he fell into some habits of dissipation, from which, however, he soon emerged. The tombs of the martyrs, and the catacombs where Christians were accustomed to meet for worship, in their days of obscurity and peril, made a deep impression on his mind. He became devout, and was baptized. After he left Rome, he travelled on the borders of the Rhine, where he became acquainted with many Christian preachers, and transcribed some commentaries on the Hebrew Scriptures, and other polemical works. He

visited several countries of Western Asia, and at Antioch studied with the learned Appollinaris. In that city, when about thirty-four years of age, he had a very dangerous illness, from which he recovered in a state of religious enthusiasm, which strongly inclined him to become a hermit. He retired to the Desert of Chalcis, between Antioch and the river Euphrates. There he passed four years in solitude, supporting himself by the labour of his own hands, reading, and meditating upon religious books, fasting, watching, and in various ways tormenting himself, to atone for youthful sins. In this state of mind, his conscience reproached him for the time he had bestowed on Pagan literature; in which, however, he still delighted. He says: "To subdue the flesh, I became scholar to a monk, who had been a Jew, to learn of him the Hebrew language. I, who had so diligently studied the copious flowing eloquence of Cicero, and the smoothness of Pliny, had now to inure myself to the hissing and broken-winded words of the Hebrew." If at times he yielded to the temptation of reading Cicero, he endeavoured to atone for it by rigid fasts. If Plato enticed him, he deprived himself of sleep, as a penance. He says: "When I called home my thoughts, and returned to the Hebrew Prophets, their style appeared to me rude and negligent. Blind that I was, I ventured to accuse the light!" During this conflict between conscience and his mental predilections, he states that he had a vision of Christ coming to judgment. An awful voice demanded, "Who art thou?" With trembling accents, Jerome replied: "I am a Christian." "It is false," rejoined the voice. "Thou art a Ciceronian, and no Christian. Where the treasure is there will the heart be also." He was then severely scourged by the attendant angels; and while suffering under their blows, he made a solemn vow never again to read a Pagan book. He was the first of the Fathers, after Origen, who considered it worth while to undertake the great labour of understanding Hebrew.

Monastic asceticism became the ruling passion of Je-

rome's life. Two of his friends, who went into the same desert, died of the tortures they inflicted on themselves, and he also was often on the brink of the grave. Theological disputations in the church at last drew him forth from his retreat. He went to Antioch, and consented to be ordained presbyter, with the express stipulation that he should not be required to perform regularly the duties of his office. He soon after visited Constantinople, where he formed an intimacy with Gregory of Nazianzen, and occupied himself with various translations in the service of the church. Thence he went to Rome, where his learning and zeal commended him to Damasus the archbishop, who employed him in many important affairs. At his urgent intreaty, he undertook a laborious revision and comparison of various manuscripts of the Hebrew Scriptures, and the Christian Gospels, which in the course of much copying, had fallen into a good deal of confusion. At the same time he devoted himself to preaching zealously in favour of a life of celibacy and contemplation. He became a kind of confessor and guide to noble Roman ladies, directed their religious studies, and supervised their conduct. Many rich widows gave all their wealth to the church, and some deserted young families to devote themselves to a life of celibacy and religious contemplation. Such influence over the wealthy and noble naturally excited the indignation of relatives, disappointed in their expectations of legacies, and of young patricians deprived of advantageous marriages with rich maidens. The boldness and severity of his preaching against the indolence and luxury of the clergy in Rome, likewise created many ecclesiastical enemies. He was the object of secret insinuations and open invectives, and was frequently insulted when he appeared in the street. For a good while, he firmly withstood the opposition by which he was surrounded; but after the death of his powerful patron Damasus, he deemed it prudent to withdraw from Rome to Antioch. There he was soon after joined by some of the most zealous of his Roman converts to celibacy, both men and women. With

them he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and took up his residence in a monastery at Bethlehem. From this retreat he fulminated anathemas against various heretical sects. He prided himself on orthodox adherence to the established church, and his style of defending it was acrimonious in the extreme. His virulent attacks on the Pelagians so exasperated them, that they surrounded his monastery with an armed force, and he was obliged to hide himself two years. Soon after his return, his health declined under the continual pressure of toil and excitement. He died at his monastery, in the year four hundred and twenty. He has always been venerated by ecclesiastics as one of the greatest lights of the ancient church.

AMBROSE.—Ambrose was son of the Governor of Gaul. He was sent to Rome in his boyhood, to receive the best education the city afforded. He began his career as a lawyer at Milan, where he soon acquired a brilliant reputation for forensic eloquence. He was afterward invested with consular power over the provinces of which Milan was the capital. When the Arian Bishop died, in three hundred and seventy-four, a violent dispute arose between Athanasians and Arians concerning the election of his successor. Ambrose, as magistrate, deemed it necessary to be present to prevent tumultuous proceedings. He addressed them in a speech intended to allay the excitement. In the midst of his remarks, a little child called out: "Ambrose, bishop!" Whether the child thought that every man who talked to a church full of people was a bishop, and felt a wayward impulse to proclaim that idea, or whether some one instructed him what to say, is uncertain; but the exclamation was hailed as an oracle from heaven, and Ambrose was chosen bishop by acclamation of the people, in which bishops of both parties joined. He tried to avoid the honour thus conferred upon him; pleading that, though a Christian, he had never been baptized. Finding this did not avail, he escaped from Milan; but after travelling all night, he found, to his

great surprise, that he had been going round in a circuit, and with the morning light had arrived at the city gates again. At last, he was obliged to yield to the express commands of the emperor, and was accordingly baptized and ordained bishop, at thirty-four years of age. He began by distributing all his property to the church and the poor, and devoting himself to theological studies. He espoused the orthodox side, and maintained it with rather a high hand. When Justina, mother of the young prince Valentinian, appointed an Arian bishop at Sirmium, he appointed an Athanasian bishop in his stead. When she demanded, in the name of the young emperor, at least one of the churches in Milan for Arian worship, he refused; probably fearing that if one were granted, the demands would be increased. When it was urged that the emperor had power to determine all matters within the empire, and consequently the churches belonged to him, Ambrose replied: "A bishop can not alienate that which is dedicated to God." Justina attempted to take forcible possession of one of the churches; but the populace were in such an excited state, that the soldiers hesitated to make an onset. Ambrose was commanded to leave the city; but he refused to obey. He preached a sermon in which he said sneeringly: "The emperor demands a church. What has he to do with the church of the heretics?" He even ventured to compare the empress-mother with Jezebel. The people, impressed by his boldness, magnetized by his eloquence, and charmed with his noble and affable manners, were ready to sustain him in everything. They kept continual watch in the church day and night, to prevent the Arians from getting possession of it. To sustain their spirits, Ambrose introduced a custom long practised in the Eastern churches, of choirs answering each other in responsive verses. This inspiring addition to the worship excited great enthusiasm. The form of music he then introduced is still used in the churches of Milan, under the name of Ambrosian Chants, characterized by majestic simplicity and fulness of harmony.

Ambrose raised the sacerdotal character to a degree of dignity and importance previously unknown. His power over the violent and despotic Theodosius has been already mentioned. When the young emperor Valentinian was urged to have an interview with him, during the contest for the possession of one of the churches, he said to the officers who recommended it: "If I were to follow your advice, his eloquence would induce you to lay me bound hand and foot before his throne." He was the adviser and guide of several sovereigns, though he never sought to gain their favour, or avoid their displeasure. Difficult negotiations were entrusted to him, and during the frequent revolutions and disturbances which occurred, the vanquished and oppressed always found in him a powerful protector. His administration was marked by increasing grandeur in the forms of public worship, and by zealous efforts in favour of celibacy in both sexes. He wrote three books in praise of virginity, which he dedicated to his sister.

When he was fifty-seven years old, he had a violent attack of illness, during which Christ appeared to him in person, and addressed him with consoling words. The Bishop of Vercelli, who attended upon him, having gone to sleep, was waked by an angel, who said: "Arise quickly! for he is about to depart." He hastened to the bed, where he found Ambrose kneeling at prayer, and had but just time to administer the sacrament before he expired. Some who were present affirmed that they saw his soul ascend to heaven, borne in the arms of angels.

CHRYBOSTOM.—John Chrysostom was the son of a General in the Roman army, who died soon after his birth, in the year three hundred and forty-four. His young mother, Anthusa, who was a very devout Christian, withdrew from society, and devoted herself entirely to the memory of her husband, and the education of her son. In boyhood, he was remarkable for a serious earnestness of mind, and love of solitude. He studied eloquence with the famous orator Libanius, who said he should like to see him his successor

in the school, if the Christians had not stolen him. At the age of twenty, he was already a celebrated pleader at the bar. But the corrupt practices then prevalent disgusted him, and the religious impressions of childhood deepened more and more, until his fame as a lawyer became hateful to him, and he resolved to be a hermit. His mother tried hard to dissuade him, saying: "Make me not a second time a widow, I intreat thee. Awaken not again my slumbering sorrows. Wait at least for my death. Perhaps I shall depart before long. When thou hast laid me in the earth, and united my bones with those of thy father, then travel wherever thou wilt; even beyond the sea. But as long as I live, endure to dwell in my house, and offend not God by afflicting thy mother, who, whatever may be her faults, is at least guiltless toward thee." Her tears so touched his heart, that he was turned aside from his purpose. During her life-time, he lived in private apartments of her house, where her watchful love supplied him with everything, that his mind might not be distracted from religious pursuits. He studied the Scriptures and the Fathers diligently, prepared himself for the ministry, and became a reader in the church. Before he was thirty years old, his mother being dead, he joined a company of monks, who dwelt on the mountains in the vicinity of Antioch. He was greatly charmed with their mode of life, and remained with them four years. In search of more complete seclusion, he retired to a solitary cave, where he committed all the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures to memory. For two years, he did not lie down. Wakefulness and other forms of severe penance, brought on a dangerous illness, which compelled him to return to Antioch. After his recovery, he was ordained presbyter, and at the moment of consecration it is said a white dove descended on his head, which was regarded as a sign of divine inspiration. His eloquent preaching converted many Jews, Pagans, and heretics. He became so celebrated, that in three hundred ninety-seven, he was elected Archbishop of Constantinople. But such was his popularity at Antioch, that the emperor

Arcadius, son of Theodosius, caused him to be secretly conveyed away, before the citizens had time to interfere. He gave orders that all the ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries should go out six miles to meet him, and escort him into the city. His predecessor had maintained a system of luxurious hospitality at the episcopal palace; but John Chrysostom preferred a plain style of living, that he might be enabled to found hospitals, and relieve the indigent. He was so liberal in his charities, that he was proverbially called John the Alms-giver. He devoted much of his time to personal attendance on the poor and suffering. He sent missionaries to the Goths and the Scythians, to Persia and Palestine. In him the oppressed always found a protector, the sinner a sympathizing friend. He was accustomed to say: "With the Devil alone we have nothing in common; with every man we have much that is in common." He was bold, and even reckless, in rebuking hypocrisy and injustice, especially in high places. If there was controversy between the powerful and the lowly, his generous sympathies were always on the poor man's side. He required very strict morality in his clergy, and deposed several bishops for misconduct. He had a strong conviction that men have free choice to become good or evil, to believe or disbelieve; that the grace of God is always bestowed in proportion as men wish to receive it. Therefore, though ready to accept repentance, he was not prone to palliate wrong. Hence, his preaching was of a very practical, searching character, and his denunciation of sin and sinners was sometimes very severe. In one of his sermons, he asked the people of Constantinople: "How many think you will be saved in this city? What I am going to say will terrify you; but yet I must speak it. Of so many thousands, there will hardly be one hundred saved; and I doubt even of those." He was always so much in earnest in what he said, and his style of eloquence was so lively and dramatic, that people deserted the theatres to hear him thunder from the pulpit of Santa Sophia. It had become very much the custom to applaud preachers, as

well as orators, and the vanity of many was gratified by such demonstrations; but when he was interrupted by acclamations, he was accustomed to say, with serious indignation: "The place you sit in is no theatre; nor are you gazing upon actors." He showed neither fear nor favour in his rebukes. In his peculiarly bold, straight-forward manner, he bore public testimony against the extravagance of the empress Eudoxia, the profligacy of her court, and the ambition of ecclesiastics. This made him very popular among the people, but rendered him odious to the empress and her courtiers, whose rapacious avarice was often defeated by his zealous efforts to protect the property of widows and orphans. The worldly-minded among the clergy disliked his strict regulations, his simple mode of living, and his scorching rebukes to those who sought preferment in the church for the sake of honour or gain. From these causes there grew up a party extremely hostile to this truly noble and religious man; and they waited only for some occasion that would serve as a pretext to injure him. Certain monks, who had been excommunicated by Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, on account of their attachment to the tenets of Origen, fled to Constantinople. Chrysostom, always ready to help the destitute, supplied the strangers with a comfortable abode, and wrote to Theophilus beseeching him to pardon them. Instead of complying with his humane request, the haughty prelate sent messengers to Constantinople to accuse them. The monks begged the protection of the empress, who placed great reliance on the blessings and prayers of such devotees. A tangled controversy grew out of it, in which Chrysostom was involved. Theophilus, whose character was in every respect opposite, became his bitter enemy. By various artifices, he contrived to have a synod summoned at Chalcedon, to try Chrysostom. Because he took part with the excommunicated monks, they accused him of favouring the tenets of Origen, of acting contrary to ecclesiastical rules in receiving those whom a brother bishop had excommunicated, of being passionate in his

expressions, and meanly inhospitable in his style of living. What they called passionate expressions doubtless originated in the exceeding sincerity of the man. On all great occasions, he was calm and self-possessed, and he bore personal injuries with the utmost patience; but when he witnessed oppression or hypocrisy, his nature was such that he could not refrain from an honest outburst of vehement indignation. Being summoned to appear before the synod, he professed his readiness to have his conduct examined by them, or by any other assembly in the world; but he required that four of his personal enemies should be excluded from the number of his judges. This reasonable request was not granted; his non-appearance was construed into a confession of guilt, and he was formally deposed. Chrysostom at first resolved to remain with the flock whom he believed God had intrusted to his care; and they, on their part, surrounded his house and the church, to prevent his being carried away. Meanwhile, he addressed to them one of his impassioned discourses, which wrought up their zealous affection to the highest pitch. Finding there was danger of bloodshed in his cause, he stole privately away, gave himself up, and was conveyed into exile. His people received the tidings with a loud outburst of passionate lamentation. They wept bitterly; saying: "It is better that the sun should not shine, than that John Chrysostom should not preach to us." A few days after his departure, a violent shock of earthquake was felt at Constantinople; a circumstance then universally regarded as a token of God's displeasure. When the empress felt her bed rock under her, she started up with intense terror, and falling at the feet of the emperor besought him to avert the wrath of Heaven by recalling John Chrysostom. The startling event had been construed in the same way by the populace; and early the next morning they surrounded the palace, clamouring for the return of their good bishop. Accordingly, messengers were sent to bring him. The whole population, men, women, and children, went out miles to meet him, and escorted him

home with waving torches and hymns of thanksgiving.

About two months after, a magnificent silver statue of the empress was erected in front of the palace, accompanied with festivities resembling the old Pagan ceremonies. The cathedral of Santa Sophia being near by, the meeting for worship was disturbed by the noise; and Chrysostom in his sermon inveighed against such heathenish practices. The empress, being informed of it, became exasperated, and again leagued with his enemies. In consequence of which, he began a discourse by saying: "Again is Herodias angry; again she demands the head of John." Thenceforth, she became his irreconcilable enemy. Being zealously assisted by the machinations of hostile bishops, and having unlimited influence over her husband, the emperor Arcadius, Chrysostom was again sentenced to banishment. Soldiers were sent to seize him, and found him in the cathedral, celebrating the solemnities of Good Friday. They forced their way up to the altar, but the people were determined to protect their bishop. Many of them were wounded, others trodden under foot. The baptismal font was stained with blood; the bread and wine of the eucharist were spilled on the ground, and the church vessels seized as plunder. Chrysostom, foreseeing the danger of popular insurrection, exonerated the emperor, and attributed the proceedings against him to the influence of hostile bishops. In the tumult, he found means to escape from his friends, surrendered himself to the officers, and was carried away in the night. At the moment of his departure, the church took fire and was burnt down. Some accused him of having kindled it, others suspected his adherents. The city continued in an uproar several days. Wherever the partisans of Chrysostom assembled, they were dispersed by soldiers. He was conveyed to Cucusus, a small desolate town, in a mountainous and savage district of Armenia, infested with robbers. There he had much to suffer from external causes, but his faith and courage never forsook him. He wrote letters full of consolation to his friends at Constantinople, and continued to

administer paternal advice to his beloved flock, who under his guidance continued to support zealously his missions in foreign lands. He was also the means of extensive good in the district where he was placed. He bore his wrongs with such cheerful resignation, and was so unwearied in his efforts to benefit others, that he was even more admired in adversity, than he had ever been in prosperity. Many churches expressed sympathy for him, and Innocent, Bishop of Rome, declared strongly in his favour. His enemies began to fear that he would again be brought back to Constantinople in triumph. To prevent it, they resolved to place him where he could not communicate with his friends. He was accordingly conveyed, in the year four hundred and seven, to Pityus, in a barbarian district, at the extreme verge of the Roman empire. The officers who had charge of him compelled him to perform the journey on foot, with his head uncovered, under a burning sun. His body, enfeebled by previous suffering, sunk under these hardships. They carried him to a chapel on the road, where he put on white garments, and received the communion. Immediately after, he uttered a brief prayer, which he had always been accustomed to repeat in seasons of trial: "Blessed be the Lord for all things." And with those words on his lips, he expired at sixty-three years of age.

His memory was cherished with a degree of reverence and love seldom bestowed on mortals; and few have ever deserved it as he did. For a long time, there existed a party at Constantinople called Johannites. They would never acknowledge the justice of the decree by which their beloved pastor was deposed. They refused to receive the communion at the hands of his successor, but held private meetings, where the rites were performed by clergymen who were friends to Chrysostom. Bishops and clergymen in other places protested against the injustice that had been done him. To prevent a wide-spread schism, his name was introduced into the public prayers of the church, and a general amnesty granted to all his adherents. Thirty-

one year after his death, the Patriarch of Constantinople persuaded the emperor, Theodosius Second, to have his remains brought back and placed in the royal sepulchre. The emperor himself went as far as Chalcedon, to meet the procession, and bending over the coffin, implored Chrysostom in heaven to forgive the wrongs he had received from his royal parents, Arcadius and Eudoxia. The surviving Johannites, appeased by these public honours to the memory of their good bishop, at last consented to be again united with the ruling church.

The surname of Chrysostom, signifying the Mouth of Gold, was early conferred on this celebrated Father of the church, on account of his rare eloquence. His writings are very voluminous. In his commentaries, he rejected the allegorical mode of interpretation, then so prevalent, and investigated the meaning of texts grammatically.

AUGUSTINE.—Augustine was born in the year three hundred and fifty-four, of Roman parents, in Numidia, Africa. His mother, Monica, was a devout Christian at the time of his birth. Many years afterward, her husband, who was a passionate, arbitrary man, was converted, mainly by the uniform gentleness and meekness of her deportment. She tried to train her son very carefully; but he being naturally ardent and impetuous, did not easily submit to restraint. His parents sent him to Carthage to complete his education; but he disappointed their expectations, by want of application. His mind was quick, inquisitive, and acute; but he liked a rambling mode of reading, and was impatient of hard study. The intensity of his temperament also led him into irregularities, which became more and more attractive by indulgence. His father having economized closely to give him a liberal education, was so ambitious to have him become an eloquent lawyer, that dangers to morality were a subordinate consideration. His godly mother wept and prayed, and gave him good advice; but even she was unwilling to entertain the idea of an early marriage; "for she feared

lest a wife should prove a clog and hindrance to his hopes." "At Carthage," he says, "there sang all round me in my ears a cauldron of unholy loves." "Among such as these, in that unsettled age of mine, I learned books of eloquence, wherein I desired to be eminent, out of a damnable and vain-glorious end, a joy in human vanity." Before he was nineteen years old, Cicero's *Hortensius*, containing exhortations to philosophy, came into his hand, and excited in him a strong desire to control his impulses. He says: "This book altered my affections, and turned my prayers to thee, O Lord; and made me have other purposes and desires. Every vain hope at once became worthless to me. I longed with an incredibly burning desire for an immortality of wisdom, and began to arise that I might return to thee. How did I burn then, O my God, how did I burn to remount from earthly things to thee! For with thee is wisdom. But the love of wisdom is in Greek called philosophy, with which that book inflamed me. And as Apostolic Scripture was then unknown to me, I was delighted with that exhortation; but only so far that I was thereby strongly roused and kindled, and inflamed to love, and seek, and obtain, and hold, and embrace, not this or that sect, but wisdom itself, wherever it could be found. Thus enkindled, this alone checked me, that the name of Christ was not in the book. For, according to thy mercy, O Lord, my tender heart devoutly drank in this name with my mother's milk, and deeply treasured it; and whatsoever was without that name, though never so learned, polished, or true, took not entire hold of me. I resolved then to bend my mind to the Holy Scriptures, that I might see what they were. But not as I now speak, did I feel when I turned to those Scriptures. They seemed to me unworthy to be compared with the stateliness of Cicero; for my swelling pride shrunk from their lowliness, nor could my sharp wit pierce the interior thereof. I disdained to be a little one, and, swollen with pride, took myself to be a great one."

In this craving, unsettled state of mind, he became ac-

quainted with the Gnostic sect, called Manicheans. They alleged that Christians were terrified by various superstitions, while *they* appealed to reason only, and "required no one to believe, until the truth had been sifted and cleared." Allured by this promise, he was attracted to their meetings, which he zealously attended during nine years; his longing for truth was never satisfied, but he was always hoping "that something of great account, would be laid open." His father was dead, but his mother mourned bitterly over his heresy. He says: "My mother, thy faithful one, wept to thee for me, more than mothers weep for the bodily death of their children; and thou didst not despise her tears, O Lord, when streaming down they watered the ground under her eyes in every place where she prayed." He records a dream, which was a source of great comfort to her. In her sleep, she seemed to be standing on a wooden rule, and a radiant youth came cheerfully toward her, and inquired why she wept so much. She replied: "Because I bewail my son's perdition." The shining messenger smiled and answered: "Content thyself. Look! dost thou not see that where thou art, there he is also?" And when she looked, she saw Augustine standing by her, on the same rule. In telling this story, he adds: "Whence was this, O thou Omnipotent Good, but that thine ears were turned toward her heart?"

In her anxiety for him, she went to a learned bishop, and besought him to argue with her son, and bring him into the Catholic church. But he replied: "You tell me that the young man is puffed up with the novelty of that heresy, and perplexes unskilful persons with captious questions. Let him alone for a while. Only pray to God for him, and he will himself, by reading, find how great is the impiety of that error." When she continued to weep, and importune him still further, he became a little impatient, and said: "Go thy ways; and God bless thee! It is not possible that the son of so many tears can perish." These words she considered oracular, and received them "as

if they had sounded from heaven." Both of them placed great reliance on dreams and visions. His mother sought to negotiate a marriage for him, and following her advice, he wooed and was promised to a girl, who was so young, that it was agreed to delay the wedding two years. His mother prayed earnestly to God to have some vision concerning this project. But she dreamed "only vain, fantastic things," such as were brought together by her own mind, occupied on the subject. Augustine says: "These she told me of, but slighted them. For she said she could discern between the revelations of God, and the dreams of her own soul, by a certain feeling, which she could not express in words."

For some time, he taught rhetoric in Carthage, as a means of living. But, hoping for better arranged classes, he stole away from his loving mother, who would fain have detained him near her, and went to Rome. There he was visited by severe illness, to which he afterwards looked back with horror, at the thought of dying unbaptized. He says: "I was going down to hell, carrying all the sins I had committed against thee, O Lord, against myself and others, many and grievous, over and above that bond of original sin, whereby we all die in Adam. For thou hadst not then forgiven me in Christ any of these things; nor had he abolished for me, by his cross, the enmity I had incurred with thee by my sins. Had I parted hence then, whither had I gone but into fire and torments?" After his recovery, he still continued to attend the Manichean meetings, and became one of their Elect. But a teacher of rhetoric being wanted in Milan, he went thither. He says: "I came to Ambrose the bishop, known to the whole world as among the best of men, thy devout servant, O Lord; whose eloquent discourse did then plentifully dispense unto thy people the flour of thy wheat, the gladness of thy oil, and the sober inebriation of thy wine. That man of God received me as a father. Thenceforth, I began to love him; not indeed at first as a teacher of truth, but as a person kind toward myself. I listened

diligently to his preaching, trying his eloquence, whether it answered the fame thereof. But though I took no pains to learn *what* he spake, but only to hear *how* he spake, yet together with the words there entered into my mind thoughts which I could not refuse. While I opened my heart to admit how *eloquently* he spake, it also entered how *truly* he spake; but this was by degrees."

He gradually rejected the Manichean theories, but could not as yet receive the doctrines of the church. Some writings of the New Platonists came in his way, and made a strong impression on him. He says: "I therein read, not indeed in the very words, but to the very same purpose, that in the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God, by whom all things were made." Elsewhere, he says he found God the Father and the Son in the theories of Platonists, but nothing concerning the Holy Spirit; confessing that he did not understand what they meant by their Third Principle, which they called The Soul of the World. His inquisitive mind, searching everywhere for truth, led him to seek the acquaintance of an aged Christian, named Simplician, who he thought was "likely to have acquired much experience in the ways of the Lord." When he told Simplician of the Platonic books, which had interested him so deeply, the pious old man congratulated him, that such books had fallen into his hands, instead of the writings of other philosophers; acknowledging that "the Platonists, in many ways, prepared the mind for a belief in God and his Logos." He then told him that the man who translated those books from the Greek was a friend of his, named Victorinus, who, after having been many years a celebrated Platonic teacher at Rome, became a Christian in his old age. Augustine gives the following account: "Victorinus was a learned man, skilled in liberal sciences, who had read and weighed many works of the philosophers. He was the instructor of many noble senators, who placed his statue in the Forum, as a public testimony to his excellent discharge of his office. In his old age, he studied the

Scriptures diligently, and was wont to say to Simplician, 'I am already a Christian.' But his friend always replied, 'That I will not believe, till I see you in the church of Christ;' to which the philosopher would answer, jestingly, 'Do walls then make a Christian?' At last, he said, 'Let us go to the church, I wish to be made a Christian.' The dignitaries of Rome gnashed their teeth." It was customary to make profession of faith from an elevated place in the church, in sight and hearing of all the congregation. The presbyter inquired whether he would like to make his in a more private manner. He replied: "I have taught rhetoric and philosophy publicly; how much more ought I to acknowledge Christianity publicly." All the people knew him; and as he walked into the church, "there ran a low murmur through all the mouths of the rejoicing multitude: 'Victorinus! Victorinus!' Sudden was the burst of rapture when they saw him; suddenly they were hushed, that they might hear him. He pronounced the true faith with an excellent boldness, and all wished to draw him into their very heart." When the emperor Julian forbade Christians to teach from the classics, this aged man gave up the school, of which he had so long been the ornament.

The account of his conversion excited Augustine to emulation. He began to study the writings of the Apostle Paul, and they had a powerful effect on him. A young Christian from Carthage told him wonderful stories of Anthony and other holy monks, in the deserts of Egypt; and he had a longing to become as sanctified as they were. But his affectionate and ardent nature resisted the suggestion. He could not easily relinquish the idea of marriage. Ambrose, and nearly all the church Fathers of that period, zealously preached celibacy, as essential to holiness; and they seemed to him to be sustained by the words of Paul: "He that is unmarried, thinketh of the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord; but he that is married, careth for the things of this world, how he may please his wife." He describes himself as "soul-sick and tormented."

"My ancient mistresses still held me, and whispered softly, 'Dost thou cast us off? and from that moment, shall we be no more with thee for ever?' And I blushed exceedingly that I yet heard the muttering of those toys, and still hung in suspense."

He had at that time a very dear friend, named Alypius, who had pursued the same studies, been attracted by the same Gnostic theories, and shared his interest in the writings of Paul. To him Augustine generally poured forth all his thoughts and feelings; but one day, when the conflict was very sharp within him, he says: "Alypius, sitting close by my side, silently awaited the issue of my unwonted emotion; and that I might pour it forth wholly, I rose and retired so far, that even his presence could not be a burthen to me. I cast myself down under a fig-tree, and giving vent to my tears, I cried out: 'How long, O Lord, how long? Why not now? Why should not this very hour put an end to my uncleanness?' Thus was I speaking, and weeping in the bitter contrition of my heart, when I heard from a neighbouring house, a voice, as of a boy or girl, chanting, and oft repeating: 'Take up and read! Take up and read!' Instantly my countenance changed. I began to think intently whether children were accustomed to sing such words, in any kind of play; and I could not remember ever to have heard the like. So checking the torrent of my tears, I arose; for I interpreted it to be no other than a command from God to open the book, and read the first chapter I found. Eagerly I returned to the place where Alypius was sitting; for there had I laid the volume of the Apostle Paul, when I rose thence. I seized, and in silence read the first section on which my eyes fell: 'Not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh.' Instantly a serene light was infused into my soul, and all the darkness of doubt vanished away. With a calm countenance I made it known to Alypius. He looked, and saw that the following words were: 'Him

that is weak in the faith, receive.' This he applied to himself. We went to my mother, and told her in order how it had all taken place. She leaped for joy, and triumphed, and blessed God, who had given her more than she had begged of Him by her pitiful and most sorrowful groanings. For thou, O Lord, hadst converted me unto thyself, so that I sought neither wife, nor any hope in this world; standing on that rule of faith, where thou hadst shown me unto her in a vision, so many years before."

Augustine had lived fifteen years with a woman to whom he was strongly attached, and she had given birth to a son, whom he had named Adcodatus. When arrangements were made for his marriage, he had parted from this woman with mutual tears, and she took a vow of perpetual celibacy. The boy was left with him to be educated, and seems always to have been an object of the tenderest affection. When Augustine took the resolution to become a monk, he left his occupation as a teacher of rhetoric, and retired into the country with his friend Alypius, his son, and his mother. There they devoted themselves to prayer and study of the Scriptures, preparatory to baptism. When he was dangerously ill in boyhood, he had greatly desired to be baptized, and his mother had tried to accomplish it, but had been disappointed. Now it was a matter of rejoicing with them both that the rite, which would cleanse him from all his sins, had been so long delayed. Alypius and Adcodatus were to be baptized with him, and they spent their time together in reading and prayer. He calls his friend: "A most valiant tamer of the body; so as with unwonted venture, to wear the frozen ground of Italy with his bare feet." Of his son he says: "In age he is the youngest of us all; but his talents, if affection deceives me not, promise something great. He is truly chaste, waits on God, and keeps himself to Him only." His mother was a happy woman in those days. He says: "Of all of us did she so take care, as though she had been mother of us all; so served us, as though she had been child to us all." The liveliness of their faith is indicated

by the following incident, which he recorded years afterward: "When shall I recall all that passed in those holy days? Thou didst then afflict me with pain in my teeth; and when it had come to such a height that I could not speak, it entered my heart to desire all my friends present to pray for me to thee, God of all manner of health. I wrote this on wax, and gave it to them to read. So soon as with humble devotion we had bowed our knees, the pain went away. How went it away? I was affrighted, O Lord, my God; for from infancy, I had never experienced the like."

It was decided that the baptism should be administered by Ambrose, Bishop of Milan; and thither they all went, accompanied by the godly mother. They arrived at an exciting time, when the empress had demanded a church for the Arians, and when the people watched in the cathedral, night and day, cheered by the newly introduced Ambrosian Chants. To Augustine, in his tender and devout frame of mind, the effect was overpowering. He exclaims: "How did I weep, touched to the quick by the voices of thy sweetly-attuned church!" He was then thirty-three years old, and had acquired reputation for talent. The ceremony was made as impressive as possible. On that occasion the hymn called *Te Deum* was arranged for the church service: Ambrose and Augustine repeating the verses alternately, as they proceeded to the altar. Soon after this solemn scene, Augustine sold his estate, and gave most of the proceeds to the poor; reserving only a very moderate income for himself and his good mother. On their way home, she was seized with a fever, and all knew that her end was approaching. She was calm and cheerful, and full of love toward her child, whom she praised that in all his life he had never spoken to her a harsh or unkind word. She said: "All my hopes in this world are now accomplished. I see thee the servant of God, despising all earthly happiness. Why should I wish to linger any longer here?" Augustine says: "When she breathed her last, the boy Adcodatus burst out into a

loud lament; then, being checked by us all, he held his peace. I closed her eyes; and there flowed withal a mighty sorrow into my heart, which was overflowing into tears. But the childish feeling in me, which through my heart's youthful voice was finding vent in weeping, was checked and silenced. We thought it not fitting to solemnize that funeral with tearful lament and groanings; for she was not altogether dead; of that we were certain, on the grounds of her good conversation, and her faith unfeigned. What then did so grievously pain me within? It was the sudden wrench of that most sweet and dear custom of living together; that life rent asunder, as it were, which of hers and mine together had been made but one."

Not long after, he was called to part with his beloved son. He says of him: "Excellently hadst thou made him, O Lord, my God, Creator of all! He was not quite fifteen, yet in intellect he surpassed many grave and learned men. His talent struck awe into me. Him we joined with us, our cotemporary in grace, to be brought up in thy discipline; and we were baptized, and uneasiness concerning our past lives vanished from us. Soon didst thou take his life from the earth. I remember him without anxiety; fearing nothing for his childhood, or youth, or his whole self."

Not long after his baptism, Augustine was ordained Bishop of Hippo, a small town near Carthage. His administration was characterized by strict morality, hospitality, and benevolence to the poor. He often boldly remonstrated with the rich in behalf of their labourers and tenants. He would never receive any bequest to the church, if it injured the relatives of the donor; and he never used any means to urge a reluctant giver. A citizen of Hippo, who willed his estate to the church, afterward sought to buy back the papers with a sum of money. Augustine sent back both the papers and the money, saying the church accepted only such offerings as were cheerfully given. Several situations of higher rank and

greater income were offered to him, as a tribute to his intellectual ability, and upright character; but he preferred to remain with the flock first intrusted to his care. When Hippo was besieged by the Vandals, thirty-five years after, he refused to leave his people in the midst of their dangers and afflictions. He died there during the siege, in his seventy-sixth year.

He judged severely all non-conformity to the established church, and was constantly engaged in zealous controversy. Augustine though a more cultured man than Tertullian, had the same fiery character and tendency to excess. He adopted the doctrine that all human souls sinned in Adam, and that the inherent stain was physically transmitted by birth; but he carried it out to an extreme result, which had not been previously suggested; for he declared that every infant who died without having Adam's sin washed away by the waters of baptism, must remain in hell to all eternity. His writings exercised a very powerful and lasting influence on the theology of Christianity. On account of his fervid temperament, and glowing piety, painters generally represent him with the symbol of a flaming heart.

OPINIONS AND CUSTOMS OF THE LATER FATHERS.

Some of the later Fathers retained the old idea, so much dwelt upon by Tertullian, that Angels fell in love with mortal women, and produced a family of imps. But Chrysostom, Cyril, and others, declared that instead of *angels* of God, as written in the Septuagint, it ought to have been translated: "The *sons* of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them." By sons of God, they understood descendants of Seth by Enos; a family peculiarly favoured by Heaven, because they "first began to call upon the name of the Lord." The daughters of men were understood to be the descendants of Cain. The ideas concerning Pagan deities remained much the same as those entertained by the primitive

church. Lactantius says: "Evil Spirits, being adjured by Christians in the name of God, retire from the bodies of men; and being lashed by their words, as by scourges, confess themselves to be demons. They even tell their names, acknowledging that they are the same Spirits worshipped in the temples; and this even in the presence of their own worshippers; yet casting no reproach on religion, but on their own honour. It is not in their power to lie to God, in whose name they are adjured, or to the pious by whose voice they are tortured; therefore, after many howlings, they frequently cry out that they are scourged and burned, and are going out instantly." When Vigilantius protested against the honours paid to the bones of martyrs, Jerome attacked him violently. He bade him go into the churches of the martyrs where so many miracles were daily wrought, and he would be cleansed from the Evil Spirit which possessed him, and feel himself burnt, not by the wax candles which so much offended him, but by invisible flames which would force the Demon that talked within him to confess himself the same that had personated Mercury or Bacchus, or some other of the false gods. When Martin, Bishop of Tours, was zealously employed demolishing temples, he declares that the Evil Spirits who had been worshipped in them, under such names as Jupiter and Apollo, often appeared to him, and tried to stop his operations; but they had no power when he spoke to them in the name of Christ. Chrysostom, Gregory Bishop of Nyssa, and other Fathers, speak of the miraculous expulsion of Devils as a thing of frequent occurrence. The possessed persons are described as falling on the ground, tearing their hair, groaning with an inarticulate voice, and foaming at the mouth. Their faces grew black, and their eyes distorted; for "the Devil did not desist from strangling them." It is evident that the process of curing them was sometimes slow; for they often resorted to the churches as a kind of hospital. There a class of church officers, called Exorcists, took charge of them; whose business it was to pray over them, to provide their food, to keep them

employed in some innocent business for exercise, such as sweeping and dusting the church, to prevent the more violent agitations of Satan, lest he should be tempted by their idleness to renew his attacks upon them." When they were in a sober state, those of them who had been baptized were allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper, which was thought to be very efficacious in warding off the paroxysms.

Miraculous power was everywhere attributed to holy relics; a custom unknown to the Jews, but prevalent among Hindoos and Buddhists from very ancient times. Chrysostom was eloquent on this theme. He says: "Not only the bones of martyrs, but their urns and their tombs overflow with benedictions. Let us prostrate ourselves before their relics. Let us embrace their coffins. Since their bones possess such great power, these also may have some. Not only on the days of their festivals, but on all other days, let us fix ourselves to them, and intreat them to be our patrons." Elsewhere, he says: "We are not to suppose the bodies of martyrs are left without active force, like those of common men; since a greater power than a human soul is superadded to them; the power of the Holy Spirit, which, by working miracles in them, demonstrates the truth of the resurrection." "Gold never dispelled diseases, or warded off death; but the bones of martyrs have done both." Basil says: "All who are in distress or difficulty fly for relief to the tombs of the martyrs; and whosoever touches their relics acquires some share of their sanctity." Even the oil in the lamps, kept continually burning before their remains, was believed to possess a miraculous virtue. Jerome says many were cured of the bites of venomous animals by touching their wounds with it. Chrysostom testifies that he knew many cases where the application of it dispelled various diseases. Augustine says a virgin of the church in his own time was cured of a devil by it; and that a young man, who was dead, was restored to life by being anointed with it. When one of his presbyters was accused of a misdemeanor, and he had no evidence but the parties themselves, he sent them to

the sepulchre of Felix the martyr, to have it decided by his miraculous interposition ; as he says had been done to his knowledge in a case of theft at Milan.

Bones believed to be the remains of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy, were brought from Palestine, and deposited in the magnificent Church of the Apostles, built on the banks of the Bosphorus, by Constantine the Great. Fifty years after, the ashes of Samuel, the Hebrew Judge and Prophet, were brought from his native land in a golden urn covered with a mantle of rich silk. All along the road, it was delivered by one bishop into the hands of another, so that a procession continually escorted it. The emperor Arcadius went out from Constantinople, with a long train of illustrious clergy and senators, to receive the sacred deposit. The bones of Stephen, the first martyr, lay buried and unknown for nearly four hundred years. But Gamaliel, the learned Jewish Rabbi, by whom the Apostle Paul was instructed, appeared three times, in a dream, to a presbyter at Jerusalem, and told him where to find them. When they were dug up, the earth trembled all around, and a fragrance from them floated on the air, which cured, of various diseases, seventy-three of the spectators. A church was built on Mount Zion to receive the treasure thus miraculously discovered. Some of these relics were conveyed to Hippo. Augustine relates many miracles performed by them. People were cured of gout, stone, and fistulas ; the blind were restored to sight ; and five persons were raised from the dead. Two of them were carried dead to the relics, and brought back alive ; two were restored by garments that had touched the relics ; and the fifth by oil from the lamps. Augustine concludes the enumeration with an apology for telling so few miracles, out of the great number publicly known and recorded. He says that merely the certified cures, without any of the other miracles, would fill a great number of volumes. Chrysostom says, as soon as the coffin of the martyr Babylas was placed in the chapel provided for it, the oracle of Apollo in the temple near by was struck dumb at once ; so that

when the emperor Julian went to consult it, the only answer he could get from Apollo was that the dead man would not allow him to speak any longer. And when Julian commanded the bones to be carried back to Antioch, the temple and statue of Apollo were struck by lightning, and consumed at the request of Babylas.

In such a state of feeling, the possession of celebrated relics not only rendered a church attractive, but greatly increased its revenue. In Jerome's time, they were regarded as a necessary appendage to every place of worship. They became such an important article of commerce, that the graves were extensively robbed; and Theodosius the Great found it necessary to pass a law forbidding men to disturb the bones of saints. The people of Milan intreated Ambrose to procure some relics for their church; and he was very desirous to gratify them. With this thought dwelling on his mind, he went to pray in the church of the martyrs, Nabor and Felix; and as he knelt, a kind of trance, which was not exactly sleep, fell upon him. In a vision, he beheld two young men of incomparable beauty, clothed in white garments; and the Apostles Peter and Paul were with them. It was revealed to him that the two young men were martyrs, whose bodies lay near the spot where he was kneeling. He convoked his clergy, and ordered search to be made. As they approached the spot indicated, a man possessed by a devil was seized with a sudden paroxysm; the devil being conscious of the presence of holy remains. Two skeletons of gigantic size were found, with the heads separated from the necks. With them was buried a writing, which stated that they were twin brothers, named Gervasius and Protasius, who were beheaded for Christianity, in the reign of Nero. Some good man had buried their bodies in his garden, where they remained undiscovered till thus miraculously revealed to the Bishop of Milan. Three hundred years had passed since the persecution by Nero; but though they had been buried so long, there was a quantity of blood in the tomb. Ambrose ordered them to be placed under the altar in his

church. Alluding to the Lord's Supper which was laid on the altar, and called a sacrifice, he said: "Let the victims be borne in triumph to the place where Christ is the sacrifice. *Upon* the altar is he who suffered for all; and *under* the altar let them repose, who were redeemed by his suffering." Accordingly, the day after the bodies were found, they were carried in solemn procession to the church. It is recorded that many who were afflicted with diseases, or possessed by devils, crowded round the bier, and if they could but touch the drapery that covered it, they were immediately cured, and the devils which were cast out reluctantly confessed the power to which they had been compelled to submit. Augustine says: "I was then at Milan, and I knew the miracles. Not only they who were vexed with unclean Spirits were cured, (the devils confessing themselves,) but a certain man who had for many years been blind, a well-known citizen, hearing the confused joy of the people, and learning the cause, sprang forth, desiring his guide to lead him thither. When he arrived, he begged to be allowed to touch the bier with his handkerchief; which, when he had done, and put the handkerchief to his eyes, they were forthwith opened. He made a vow that for his whole life he would serve in that church. We rejoiced that he had recovered his sight, and when we went from Milan, we left him serving." Ambrose, in a sermon before a large audience, spoke thus concerning the miracle: "The Arians deny that the blind man received sight; but he does not deny that he is cured. He says, I have ceased to be blind; and he proves it by facts. He is a well-known man, formerly employed in public services, a butcher by the name of Severus. He proclaims publicly that when he touched the hem of the garment, wherewith the sacred remains of the martyr are covered, his sight was restored; and he calls those, by whose benevolence he was formerly supported, to testify to the fact." In the crowded church, Ambrose devoutly returned thanks for the wonderful vision which had been sent to inform him concerning the grave of these holy martyrs. They were reverently placed under

the altar, and the church was consecrated under the name of Gervasius and Protasius.

All these wonderful circumstances are recorded by Ambrose himself, by his secretary Paulinus, and by Augustine. The Arians, among whom were the young emperor, Valentinian Second, and his mother Justina, were sceptical concerning both the vision and the miracle. They accused Ambrose of having hired the blind man to perform a part. But the people believed that a man so signally favoured by Heaven as their bishop had been, must be divinely inspired to know the truth. This incident so much strengthened the party over which Ambrose presided, that the imperial family thought it best to desist from any further efforts to obtain toleration for Arians.

Grecians and Romans had copied the ancient and almost universal custom of invoking the spirits of departed ancestors, in cases of emergency, or when about to commence a voyage, or a journey, or any other great undertaking. This custom was transferred to the spiritual ancestors of the Christian church. Basil, while commemorating the Feast of the Forty Martyrs, thus addressed their spirits: "O ye common guardians of the human race, coöperators in our prayers, most powerful messengers, stars of the world, and flowers of churches, let us join our prayers with yours." Ephrem of Edessa says: "I intreat you, O holy martyrs, who have suffered so much for the Lord, that you would intercede for us with Him, that he may bestow his grace upon us." Jerome, speaking of the souls of martyrs, says: "They always follow the Lamb wheresoever he goes; forasmuch, therefore, as the Lamb is present everywhere, we ought to believe that they also, who are with the Lamb, are present everywhere." In the latter part of the sixth century, the custom of invoking martyrs became a formal regulation of the church.

Magnificent churches were built to martyrs, and became the general resort of the diseased and the afflicted. In the temples of *Æsculapius* it had been customary for those who sought aid from the god to lie prostrate in his temple,

waiting for dreams or visions to inform them how they could be cured; and *Æsculapius* was often supposed to appear and prescribe the suitable remedies. Those who received benefit hung up in his temple the image of a hand or foot that had been healed, accompanied by a tablet describing the cure. The same customs were transferred to the churches of the martyrs. Invalids waited there for dreams or visions, and many accounts are given concerning the visible appearance of the departed saints. Theodoret, a church historian and a Syrian bishop, in four hundred and twenty-three, says: "We frequently offer up hymns each day to the Lord in the churches of the martyrs. We pray their spirits to continue us in health; when sick, we beg them to cure us; when we undertake a journey, we beseech them to be our guides and protectors; and when we return safely, we go to their churches to return thanks to them. That those who pray to them, with faith and sincerity, obtain what they ask, is testified by the great number of offerings made to them in consequence of benefits received. Some offer the images of eyes, some of feet, some of hands, made of gold or silver, which the Lord accepts, though but of little value; measuring the gifts by the ability of the giver. These monuments proclaim the power of the dead to cure distempers; and this power demonstrates their God to be the true God."

There were some who protested against these doctrines and customs. *Vigilantius* of Gaul wrote against the exceeding reverence paid to martyrs and their relics, and he influenced many minds. He doubted the miracles said to be performed at their tombs, and rejected the idea of their intercession in heaven. The practice of keeping lamps burning before the shrines of martyrs he considered a copy of the custom in Pagan temples. This opposition greatly exasperated *Jerome*, who attacked him in his violent way, comparing him to all sorts of dragons, scorpions, and beasts of prey. He brings forward the sanction of great names as an invulnerable argument. He says: "Was the emperor *Constantine* sacrilegious, who transported the

relics of Andrew, Luke, and Timothy, to Constantinople? At whose presence the devils howl and are confounded; such devils as inhabit the wretched Vigilantius. Was the emperor Arcadius impious, who removed the bones of the holy Samuel to Thrace? Were all the bishops sacrilegious, who enshrined those precious remains in a vessel of gold, covered with silk? Were all the people sacrilegious, who went to meet it, and received it as if it were the living prophet himself? Is the Bishop of Rome impious, who offers sacrifice [the eucharist] on the altar, under which are the venerable bones of Peter and Paul? Vigilantius would call it their vile dust. Are bishops of all the cities of the world impious, who reverence relics, around which the souls of martyrs are constantly hovering, to hear the prayers of the suppliant?" "Answer me, how comes it to pass that in this vile dust and ashes of the martyrs there is so great a manifestation of signs and wonders? Thou most wretched of mortals! I see what thou art so grieved at, so afraid of. The Evil Spirit within thee, which compels thee to write thus, has often been tortured, and is now tortured, by this vile dust." But though Jerome fully believed that the souls of departed saints received the prayers of mortals, he totally denied that they were worshipped by the church. He says: "We do not adore martyrs, or angels, or cherubim, or seraphim; lest we should serve the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for evermore. But we honour the relics of the martyrs, that our minds may be raised to Him, whose martyrs they are." Augustine likewise indignantly repelled the same charge, brought by his old friends the Manicheans. He says: "We offer sacrifice to no martyr, nor to the soul of any saint, nor to any angel. We worship God only." The practice of bringing bones and ashes from the graves, and depositing them in places of worship, was more shocking to Pagans than any other peculiarity of the Christians; for in all the ancient religions, contact with dead bodies was considered polluting, and priests purified themselves before they performed worship, if even their garments had touched a bone. Those

who became Christians conquered this feeling by their belief that the bodies of martyrs had been made sanctified temples of the Holy Ghost, and would become so again at the resurrection.

Hindoos, from very ancient times, were accustomed to make pilgrimages from far and near to their Holy City, Benares; also to the tombs of celebrated saints, who had become one with God during their lifetime in this world; and to temples where the relics of Crishna, and other incarnated gods, were deposited. Buddhists made similar pilgrimages to the Holy Mountain, where was the last footprint of Bouddha, when he ascended to the celestial world; to other Holy Mountains, consecrated by the prayers and miracles of his disciples; and to shrines containing relics of those sanctified men; of which the most celebrated was the one which possessed a tooth of Bouddha in a golden box set with gems by which many miracles were said to be performed. This custom from the East also passed into Christianity. Helena, and her son, Constantine the Great, accompanied the bishop Eusebius on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and caused churches and chapels to be erected wherever Christ and his Apostles were said to have trodden. The True Cross then dug up on Mount Calvary was preserved in a silver shrine, and attracted an immense multitude of pilgrims, to whom the Bishop of Jerusalem sold small portions of the cross set in gold and gems. These fragments obtained such celebrity for curing diseases, and protecting people from danger, that all the timber in the cathedral could not have supplied the demand. But the sacred wood was declared to have the miraculous power of perpetual growth; so that it never diminished. The empress Eudoxia, wife of Theodosius the Younger, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in great pomp, and brought back to Constantinople the right arm of Stephen the martyr, the chains of the Apostle Peter, and a portrait of the Virgin Mary, painted by Luke the Evangelist. Paula, a wealthy patrician widow in Rome, and her daughter Eustochium, were converted by the preaching of Jerome, and soon after,

with a train of devout maidens, they went to Antioch, to join him and other devotees, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. They afterward went to Egypt, to visit all the spots said to be consecrated by the footsteps of Joseph and Mary. Augustine says the whole world flocked to Bethlehem, to see the place of Christ's nativity; and that pilgrimages to Arabia were undertaken, to look at the dunghill on which Job sat. From all these places relics were brought, and became lucrative sources of revenue not only to churches, but to cities, on account of the great concourse of strangers they attracted. The relics were generally deposited under the altars, or aisles, of churches; and the fame of the miracles wrought by them brought crowds of suppliants, who might be seen at all times kneeling before the altar, or prostrate in the aisles, kissing the pavement, imploring relief from disease, or lameness, praying for children, for the welfare of distant relatives, and for all manner of temporal blessings. Those who received benefit, gave money to the church, hung commemorative tablets on the walls, or presented a picture or image of the martyr, to whom they wished to express gratitude; as Buddhists and Grecians had from time immemorial been accustomed to consecrate a statue or a painting to their temples, on similar occasions.

Jerusalem, above all other places, attracted a devout multitude. Yet in the presence of perpetual worship and miracles, the Holy City was distinguished for the grossest licentiousness, robbery, theft, poisoning, and other forms of murder. Such is the testimony of Jerome, who for several years resided in the neighbouring village of Bethlehem. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, who passed through Jerusalem on a visit to the Arabian churches, in the year three hundred eighty, was so shocked by the violence and sensuality he witnessed, that he sent abroad a letter earnestly dissuading Christians from congregating there; and especially exhorting women not to undertake a pilgrimage which would expose them to much insult and scandal, and render them liable to see and hear many obscene things.

The belief in the marvellous does not seem to have di-

minated with the lapse of centuries. Arnobius, who lived in the fourth century, tells us: "In these days, Christ sometimes appears to just and holy men; not in vain dreams, but in his pure and simple form. The mention of his name puts Evil Spirits to flight, strikes their oracles dumb, deprives their soothsayers of the power of answering, and frustrates the efforts of arrogant magicians. Not because they have an aversion to his name, as the heathen pretend, but by the efficacy of his superior power." Many miracles are recorded of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan. It is said that a woman afflicted with paralysis was carried to him in her bed, and as soon as she touched his garments, she recovered her health. An obstinate heretic, who used to go and hear him merely for the sake of refuting his arguments, was converted by seeing an angel at his side, prompting the words he uttered. One day, when Ambrose went to the Governor's house, to beg mercy for a poor wretch condemned to die, he was refused admittance. He turned away, saying: "Thou thyself shalt fly to the church for refuge, and shall not be able to enter." A short time after, the Governor being pursued by enemies, did fly to the church for protection, and though the doors stood wide open, he could not find his way in, but wandered about, in strange bewilderment, till he was killed. Martin, Bishop of Tours, cotemporary with Ambrose, was the greatest of all the wonder-workers of his time. The mere touch of his garments cured the most inveterate diseases; and it is recorded that he restored three dead men to life. He obtained such extensive reputation for casting out devils, that he was appointed to the office of exorcist in the church. Epiphanius, who was Bishop of Constantia, in the latter part of the fourth century, says: "For the conviction of unbelievers, whole fountains, and even rivers, are at the present day turned into wine. At Cibyra, a town of Caria, there is a fountain, which annually undergoes this change, at the very hour when, at the bidding of Christ, the attendants at the marriage feast in Cana of Galilee drew wine from the water vessels, and presented it

to the president of the feast. Another fountain of the same kind exists at Gerasa in Arabia. I have myself drank from the fountain of Cibyra, and my brethren from that of Gerasa." Augustine tells of a pious old cobbler, who prayed for a new coat at the Chapel of the Twenty Martyrs. Some young fellows, who overheard him, made much fun of him. He walked away without minding their jeers, and presently he saw a large fish gasping on the shore. He took it to the market, and with the proceeds bought wool, which he intended to have woven into cloth. When the cook cut the fish open, she found a gold ring in it, which she carried to the cobbler, saying: "Here is the coat the Twenty Martyrs have given you." The same Father tells of a lad who was cured of palsy by being carried to an oratory containing some holy earth from Jerusalem. Hanneric, the Vandal General, being an Arian, forbid the Catholics to hold meetings in the provinces he conquered. Some of them having assembled after this decree, their tongues were cut out by his orders; but they still continued to speak, and praise the Lord. An account of this miracle was published two years after the event, by Victor, a bishop in Africa. He says: "If any one should doubt the truth of what I state, let him repair to Constantinople, and listen to the clear and perfect language of Restitutus, the sub-deacon, one of those glorious sufferers, who is now lodged in the palace of the emperor Zeno, and is respected by the devout empress." *Ænæus*, a Platonic philosopher converted to Christianity, speaks of this miracle in his work on the Immortality of the Soul. He says: "I saw the men myself. I heard them speak. I diligently inquired how such an articulate voice could be formed without any organ. I used my eyes to examine the report of my ears. I opened their mouths, and saw that the tongues had been completely torn away by the roots; an operation which physicians generally suppose to be mortal." This miracle is referred to by several later writers, and by the emperor Justinian, in one of his edicts. In after times, it was said that one of the sufferers was a

boy who had been dumb from his birth, until his tongue was cut out.

It was a custom with the Druids to borrow money, for which they gave people notes payable in another world; and these writings were buried with the dead, that they might take with them the proof of their claims. I find one similar transaction recorded of a Christian priest. Synesius, the learned Bishop of Ptolemais, early in the fifth century, had a friend, Evagrius, who resisted his efforts at conversion; requiring to have proof that the Scripture was true, which declares: "He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord, who will repay him." At last, his doubts were so far overcome, that he gave the bishop three hundred pieces of gold to be distributed among the poor, and received a written bond for the money, payable after death, in the name of the Lord. He kept the writing carefully, and on his death-bed instructed his family to put it secretly within his hand when they buried him. They did so; and three nights afterwards, he appeared in a dream to Synesius, who had not been informed of the transaction, and said: "Come to my grave, and take back your note. I have received full payment, and have written a discharge." The grave being opened, the note was found, with a receipt in full endorsed upon the back of it, in the handwriting of the deceased. This note was long afterwards preserved in the church at Cyrene, as a precious relic.

The belief that miracles could also be performed by unbelievers, through the evil agency of magic, continued to prevail generally. The degree of faith on this subject, is indicated by Lactantius. Speaking of some who declared that the soul died with the body, he says: "They would not dare to affirm this in the presence of a magician; for he would refute them on the spot, by calling up the souls of the dead, rendering them visible to human eyes, and making them foretell future events."

There are, however, indications that human reason began to put some weight into the other scale; enough at

least to make the balance waver. Though Chrysostom relates so many wonders wrought by relics of martyrs, consecrated oil, and the sign of the cross, yet in other parts of his writings, he apologizes for the diminution of miracles in his day. He says: "Paul's handkerchiefs could once do greater miracles than all the Christians of our day can do, with ten thousand prayers and tears. Because no miracles are wrought now, we are not to consider it proof that none were performed then; for then they were of use, but now they are not. In the infancy of the church, extraordinary gifts of the Spirit were bestowed, even on the unworthy; because those early times stood in need of that help to facilitate the propagation of the Gospel. But now, they are not given even to the worthy, because the present strength of the Christian faith no longer needs them." "There are some who ask: 'Why are there no persons now who raise the dead, and cure diseases?' It is owing to want of faith, and virtue, and piety in these times." In another place, he speaks of miracles as proper only "to rouse the dull and sluggish; frequently liable to sinister suspicions of being mere phantasms and illusions." He adds: "It is a proof of the greater generosity of this age, to take God's word without such pledges."

Though Augustine enumerates more than seventy miracles, within two years, within his own diocese, three of which were resurrections from the dead, he also offers an explanation of the decline of miracles. He says: "They ask why are not those miracles performed now, which you declare to have been wrought formerly? I could tell them that they were then necessary, before the world believed, for the very purpose that it might believe; but he who requires a prodigy to make him a believer now, when the world believes, is himself a greater prodigy." He also makes a statement which implies a certain degree of indifference, if not incredulity on the part of the public. He says: "Though miracles are often wrought by the name of Jesus, or by his sacraments, or by the relics of martyrs, yet they do not acquire so much reputation as did those of the

Apostles. They are scarcely ever known to the whole city or place where they occur, but for the most part are known only to a very few; and if they are told abroad, they are not recommended with such authority, as to be received without difficulty and doubting, though told by true believers to true believers." Therefore, when he heard of any miracle, he caused the parties to be examined, and if facts seemed to sustain the report, an account of them was drawn up, and publicly read to the people. But he says: "Those who hear it, retain nothing of it a few days after, and seldom take the pains to repeat it to anybody else."

It was an oriental custom to wear religious symbols marked on the forehead. The devotees of different sects in Hindostan were distinguished by such marks. Allusions made by Chrysostom and Augustine imply that in their day Christians frequently had a cross impressed in some way upon their foreheads. The cross was at first merely a sign, made by motion of the hands; but after the time of Constantine, it began to be used as an image, made of wood, silver, or gold, and often adorned with precious stones. It was considered a talisman, to cure diseases and protect from all kinds of dangers; hence representations of it abounded everywhere, in public and private, as did the Cross of Hermes, among the Egyptians. Chrysostom affirms that in his own time it had sometimes been miraculously impressed upon the garments of people. He calls it "a defence against all evil, and a medicine against all sickness." He says: "This sign, both in the days of our forefathers and our own, has thrown open gates that were shut; destroyed the effects of poisonous drugs; dissolved the force of hemlock; and cured the bites of venomous beasts." "This sign of universal execration, of extremest punishment, has now become the object of universal longing and love. We see it everywhere triumphant. We find it in houses, on the roofs and the walls; in cities and in villages; on the great roads, and in the deserts; on mountains, and in valleys; on the market-place, and on

ships; on books, and on weapons; on the bodies of those possessed with Evil Spirits; on diseased animals; on wearing apparel; on vessels of gold and of silver; on beds, and in pictures; in the marriage chamber, and at banquets; in the dances of those going to pleasure; and in the associations of those that mortify their bodies," [monks.] Augustine says: "The sign of the cross on the forehead of kings is now more precious than a jewel of his diadem." He cautioned men against the mere mechanical custom, and reminded them that it was not the outward image, or the external sign described on the forehead, that was pleasing in the sight of God, but the imitation of Christ's humility in the soul.

Other religions were made tributary to the prevailing tendency to invest Christianity with supernatural interest. The simple fact that priests of Apollo considered it profanity to perform their rites in the presence of dead bodies, was construed by Chrysostom into a miracle. He said Apollo confessed it was not in his power to utter any more oracles, because the martyr Babylas had commanded him to be silent. The Fourth Eclogue of Virgil was continually quoted as a prophecy of Christ. Eusebius, the historian, who manifests great credulity in many instances, regarded as true prophecy the acrostic attributed to the Erythræan Sibyl, forming the words Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour. He says: "Many people, though they admitted that the Erythræan Sybil was a prophetess, rejected this acrostic, suspecting it to have been forged by the Christians. But the truth is manifest. Our people have been so exact in computing the times, that there is no room left to imagine the verses were made after Christ, and falsely sent abroad as predictions of the Sibyl. All agree that Cicero had read this poem, which he translated into the Latin tongue, and inserted in his works." The simple fact is, Cicero alluded to certain verses, which partisans of Julius Cæsar wrote to serve a political purpose, and attributed them to the Erythræan Sybil. He ridiculed the poetry, and said the acrostic form implied labour and study, and

therefore could not have been uttered by any of the Sybils, who always prophesied in states of ecstasy.

Eusebius likewise quotes the following story from Plutarch. In the reign of Tiberius, a vessel sailing from Asia to Italy, passed by certain Islands in the Ægean Sea, in the evening. A voice was heard from the shore calling out to Thamus, one of the mariners on board, telling him when they came to the Palades, to inform the people that the great Pan was dead. The commander, who doubtless had the common tendency to be impressed by any sudden or mysterious utterance, resolved to obey the injunction, if circumstances seemed to favour it. When the vessel arrived at the designated place, it was detained by contrary winds, and the message was proclaimed. Whereupon, there came upon the breeze a sound as of many voices, howling and wailing. As Jesus was crucified in the reign of Tiberius, Eusebius believed these woful sounds came from Evil Spirits, lamenting that Pan was overthrown, and the kingdom of Satan in general subverted by the sacrifice of the Son of God. Christian writers of the third and fourth centuries likewise relate that when the Roman Senate decreed divine honours to the emperor Augustus, he consulted the Sibyl Tiburtina whether he ought to allow himself to be worshipped. After some days of meditation the Sybil summoned him, and pointing to the sky, showed him an altar in the opening clouds, and above it a beautiful woman with an infant in her arms. At the same time, he heard a voice saying: "This is the altar of the Son of the living God." In consequence of this vision, it is said Augustus erected an altar on the Capitoline Hill, inscribed to the "First Born of God."

These stories were often founded on some real occurrence, exaggerated or changed in the course of repetition; as was the case with regard to the oracle of Apollo silenced by the bones of Babylas, and the thunder-shower which refreshed the army of Marcus Aurelius. Desiderius Herauldus remarks: "The Christians of that time strained to their advantage all the actions, words, and writings of the

Pagans, which they often interpreted contrary to the true meaning." The candid examiner is obliged to confess that there is too much foundation for this assertion.

It was a common opinion among the Fathers that the Garden of Eden still existed in all its primeval beauty, though inaccessible; being on the summit of a high mountain, reaching into the third region of the air, near the moon. This extreme elevation protected it from the waters of the deluge. Augustine did not urge it as an essential point of faith, but he thought it improper to reject it, inasmuch as Irenæus, and other primitive Fathers, declared it to have been a doctrine taught by the Apostles. Some supposed that Enoch and Elijah both existed in the body in that terrestrial Paradise waiting the appointed time to appear on earth again and contend with Antichrist, preparatory to the coming of the Lord.

On some moral questions there was a diversity of opinion among the Fathers. Some thought it wrong to take interest for money. Lactantius differed from the generality of Christians in regarding all war as a violation of the commandment: "Thou shalt not kill." He was the last of the Fathers who clung to the belief that Christ would come visibly and establish a kingdom on earth. There was an increasing tendency to give predictions on that subject a spiritual interpretation. But the doctrine still retained its hold on popular belief, and was a frequent theme for prophets. Jerome speaks of a millennium of wine, and wheat, and fruitful marriages, as "a Jewish fable, which ought to be rejected;" but he adds that he foresaw how many people would be angry with him.

Ideas concerning animals in Paradise which Jews derived from the Talmud, they transmitted to the Fathers. Basil, describing the garden of Eden, says: "Then the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air were all tame and mild. They heard, and spoke so as to be understood without any difficulty. There was then nothing in the appearance of the serpent to excite horror. He did not crawl on his belly, but walked erect."

The mode of interpreting Scripture continued to be exceedingly arbitrary and undefined. Ambrose says when Jesus told his disciples, "Ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove," he meant the Devil by the word mountain. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, quotes the words: "Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? And one of them shall not fall on the ground without your Father." He says by the two sparrows are meant sinners, who sell themselves to sin for mere trifles; thus becoming both as one; the soul thickening into a body, as it were, by means of sin. By the ninety-nine sheep that went not astray, he understood the angels; and by the one lost sheep, mankind; inasmuch, as all mankind were lost by partaking the sin of one man. The following exposition by Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia, is as singular a specimen of natural history, as it is of Biblical interpretation: "There is no bird that manifests such love for its offspring, as the pelican. The female, while setting on her nest, cherishes her young with such tenderness, that she pierces their side with her kisses, and they die of the wounds. In three days, the male bird visits the nest, and is deeply affected at finding his young ones dead. Under the impulse of his grief, he strikes his own side, and opens wounds in it; and the blood which flows thence, infused into the wounds of the young birds, restores them to life. Thus our Lord Jesus had his side pierced by a spear, and immediately there came forth blood and water; and he dropped his blood upon his young ones; that is, upon Adam and Eve, and the prophets, and all the dead; and enlightened the world, and gave them life, by his three days' burial and his resurrection. It is on this account he said, by the prophet: 'I am a pelican in the wilderness.'"

The early Fathers applied to the person of Jesus the prophecy concerning the Messiah, which declares he would have no beauty that men should desire him. Some of the later Fathers, including human beauty in their general contempt for every thing connected with the body, adhered to the same opinion. Basil took this view of the subject;

and Cyril of Alexandria alludes to Christ's "ignoble appearance, faulty beyond all the sons of men." But this idea was generally rejected after their time. Jerome says: "Assuredly that splendour and majesty of the hidden Divinity, which shone even in his human countenance, could not but attract all beholders, at first sight." "Unless he had something celestial in features and expression, the Apostles would not have immediately followed him." Chrysostom says: "The Heavenly Father poured upon him in full streams that corporeal grace which is only distilled drop by drop on mortal men." Gregory of Nyssa applies to him all the glowing pictures of the bridegroom in the Song of Solomon. Augustine declares: "He was beautiful on his mother's bosom, beautiful in the arms of his parents; beautiful upon the cross, beautiful in the sepulchre."

The opinion that Mary lived with Joseph as his wife, after the birth of Jesus, was early ranked among the heresies. It was maintained that she was always a virgin from her birth to her death; and Joseph was represented as a very old man under whose protection she was placed, for the sake of appearances. In discussions on this subject, in all its branches, there is a strange mingling of sincerely devout feeling with the most material forms of thought and expression, which will by no means bear translation to modern ears. Eusebius and Epiphanius agree with Origen and Tertullian, in supposing that Joseph was a widower when Mary married him, and that the brothers and sisters of Jesus, spoken of by Matthew and Luke, were his children by a former wife. This opinion was violently assailed by Jerome and others. They regarded it as impious to suppose he had children by a previous marriage, and maintained that he also was perpetually chaste. It was said the word brethren was merely a general term to designate relatives. It was finally decided that Mary, the wife of Cleophas, was sister of the Virgin Mary; and that it was her son who was called "James, the Lord's brother."

A book called "The Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus,"

supposed to have been written by some of the Gnostics, was in general circulation in the third century, and portions of it are quoted by the Fathers as reliable traditions. In this Gospel the Virgin is called "the holy Mary," and represented as saying: "As there is not any child like to my son, so neither is there any woman like to his mother." Another book, called the Protevangelion, or First Gospel, supposed to have a similar origin, purporting to be written "by James the Lesser, Cousin and Brother of the Lord Jesus," is frequently alluded to by the Fathers. Joseph is therein represented as an aged man with children, who objects to marrying one so young as Mary, lest he should "appear ridiculous in Israel." But the High Priest overruled his scruples, by saying to him: "Thou art the person chosen to take the Virgin of the Lord, to keep her for him."

After the Arian Controversy, when Mary began to be called the Mother of God, the ardour of expression increased toward her, until it sounds like actual adoration. Athanasius, who lived early in the fourth century, addresses her thus: "Remember us, O most holy Virgin, and for the feeble eulogiums we give thee grant us great gifts from the treasures of thy grace, thou who art full of grace! Queen, and Mother of God, intercede for us!" Ephrem of Edessa, nearly a century later, says: "We fly to thy patronage, holy Mother of God! Protect and guard us under the wings of thy mercy and kindness! Most merciful God, through the intercession of the most blessed Virgin Mary, and of all the angels, and of all the saints, show pity to thy creature!" There was a sect called Maryanites, who believed that Mary was one of the persons of the Godhead. It is said some of them urged this opinion at the Council of Nice. The first mention of direct worship of the Virgin is by Epiphanius, who lived at the close of the fifth century. Enumerating eighty-four heresies which had sprung up, he mentions a small sect called Collyridians, which means offerers of small cakes. They emigrated from Thrace into Arabia, and seem to have brought with them the customary worship of Ceres, transferred to the Virgin

Mary, whose mother they supposed was also a virgin. Women among them, who were appointed priestesses, presided at her festival, during which small cakes, made of meal and honey, were placed in a chariot and carried through the streets, followed by a procession. They were then laid on an altar, and offered to the Virgin Mary with invocations. Epiphanius rebuked this custom. He says: "I own her body was holy, but she was no god. She continued a virgin, but she is not proposed for our adoration. She herself adored him, who having descended from heaven, from the bosom of his Father, was born of her flesh. She stands before all the saints of God, on account of the heavenly mystery accomplished in her. But we adore no saint; and as worship is not given to Angels, much less can it be allowed to the daughter of Ann. Let Mary therefore be honoured, but the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost alone adored. Let no one worship Mary." The rapturous mode of expression concerning the Virgin, and the tendency to deify her, led adherents of the old religion to call her "The New Cybele, or Mother Goddess of the Christians."

In the history of sects it has already been stated what multifarious difficulties arose, and what hot controversies were excited, before the doctrine of the Trinity was satisfactorily arranged by the frequent assembling of bishops. Some of the arguments made use of, in the course of these controversies, were very peculiar, and characteristic of the times. Augustine considered the creation in six days a proof of the Trinity; because "six is twice three." Ambrose says: "Jesus appeared to be the son of a carpenter, to signify that Christ the Son was the Maker of all things." In controversy whether the generation of the Son was voluntary, or involuntary, Chrysostom speaks of eructation as a good thing, and compares it to the production of the Logos from God; but he says it was an "eructation from the heart, not from the stomach." Lactantius, to guard against the idea that any Archangel could be equal with the Son, speaks of Angels as the *breath* of God, and

of Christ as the *Word* of God. He says: "The breathings of men are dissoluble, but the breathings of God remain, and are immortal. His silent breathings from the nostrils become Angels. But his Word is a breath emitted from the mouth, with a sound; therefore there is a great difference between the Son of God and the Angels. For though he also is a Spirit, yet since he issues from the mouth of God, with a voice, like a word, for this reason he was to make use of his voice to the people; because he was to teach with authority the doctrine of God, and communicate heavenly secrets to men."

The early Fathers were frequently quoted during the Arian controversy, to prove that there was a time when the Son did not exist; but this idea was decided to be heresy. Gregory of Nyssa says: "If there had been no Son there could have been no Father; if no beam, no sun; if no image, no substance." The question arose, if Christ was co-eternal with God, and the same as God, how he came to say: "Of that hour knoweth no man; no not even the Son but only the Father." The Council at Chalcedon decided that in Christ existed two perfectly harmonized natures, the divine and the human. Therefore, some argued that as God, he knew all things; but as man, many things were hidden from him. But some of the Fathers did not admit that Christ really was ignorant on any subject. Cyril of Alexandria says: "If God affected ignorance where Adam was, and of what Cain had been doing, why should we wonder that the Son of God affected ignorance concerning the Day of Judgment. Christ also affected ignorance, when he asked how many loaves his disciples had."

Augustine says: "If all things were made by Christ, then Mary, of whom he was born, was made by him." Cassian says: "Mary produced one who was older than herself, even her own Maker; so that she was the parent of her parent."

Some curiously inquisitive minds asked, why God did not have more than one Son. This gave rise to many

remarks, seriously and honestly made, but unfit for quotation. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, says: "The doctrine of the generation of the Son is much ridiculed; because they say it implies the necessity of a wife to God."

Discussions concerning the Third Person of the Trinity were also involved in difficulties. The question arose whether the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father, or from the Son. Some said: "If the Spirit proceeded from the Father, then he and the Logos are brothers. How then can the Logos be called the only begotten Son of God!" Others objected: "But if he proceeded from the Son, then God is the Grandfather of the Holy Spirit." The speculative tendency always very busy in some of the Eastern churches, especially at Constantinople, queried whether the Holy Ghost could also himself have had a son. Athanasius says: "Both Macedonians and the orthodox agree in supposing that the Spirit could have generated, as well as the Father, but that he did not choose to do it, lest there should be a multiplicity of gods." Some minds were troubled because the Angel Gabriel had announced to Mary: "The holy thing which shall be born of thee is of the Holy Spirit." From this ground arose a sect, who said that Christ was the Son of the Holy Ghost. Ambrose decides the question thus: "The holy, undivided Trinity never does anything separately. The Father, the Son, and the Spirit created the body of Christ. The Father, because it is said, 'God sent his Son, made of a woman;' the Son, because it is said, 'Wisdom has builded her a house;' the Spirit, because Mary was with child by the Spirit." The personality of the Spirit being much questioned, Epiphanius replied, that he assumed the form of a dove, at the baptism of our Saviour on purpose to show that he had a real person.

Unbelievers in the divinity of Christ continually asked why the Prophets, the Apostles, and Christ himself, had either not spoken at all on the subject of the Trinity, or made allusions so vague, that a doctrine deemed so important was left to be settled with so much difficulty by

repeated Councils of Bishops. The Fathers replied, that the Prophets did not mention the Son of God clearly, on account of the material tendencies of the Jews, who would immediately have thought that he was generated with passion; and so they would have been guilty of profanity. Many of the Fathers say Christ was careful to conceal his divinity, because it was necessary to keep the Devil in ignorance of the fact; for if he had known him, he would not have ventured to encounter him, and so would not have been conquered by his death; and thus the great object of his mission would have failed. Lactantius says: "Our Saviour taught that there is but One God, who alone is to be worshipped; nor did he himself ever once say that he was God. He would not have been faithful to his trust, if, when he was sent to take away polytheism, and assert the unity of God, he had introduced another beside the One God. This had not been to preach the doctrine of One God, or to do the business of Him who sent him; but his own." Athanasius says: "I will venture to assert that not even the blessed disciples themselves were fully persuaded concerning his divinity, till the Holy Spirit came upon them at the day of Pentecost; for when they saw him after his resurrection, some worshipped, but others doubted, yet they were not on that account condemned." Basil of Seleucia says: "The Apostles themselves were as ignorant of his being God, as the rest of the Jews; some of whom said he was Elijah, others Jeremiah, or one of the Prophets." Theodoret, the learned Bishop of Cyrus, says that before the crucifixion all held him to be a man; "but after his resurrection and ascension, the descent of the Holy Spirit, and the various miracles performed by invoking his name, all the believers knew that he was God, and the only begotten Son of God." Chrysostom says: "It was necessary for Christ to conceal his high dignity from his disciples; because they would immediately have told everything, through excess of joy. When he was discoursing about the creation of the human race, he did not say *I* made them, but *He* that made them. He never clearly

said that he made the world; but he signified it by the miracle of the fishes, the wine, and the loaves."

Similar reasons are given why the Apostles said so little that could be considered as evidence of the Trinity, and why even John alludes to it only in a few verses, and not very plainly. Chrysostom, speaking of the great mystery of the incarnation, says: "Mary herself, when she carried him in her womb, did not know the secret. The Devil himself did not know it. If he had not been at a loss to know whether Christ were God or not, he would not have repeated thrice, 'If thou art the Son of God.' On this account, Christ said to John, who was beginning to reveal him, 'Hold now! It is not yet time to reveal the secret of the incarnation. I must yet deceive the Devil. Keep silence now; for thus it becometh us.'" The same Father adduces the incredulity of the Jews as another reason why the Apostles dwelt chiefly on the topic of his resurrection, and were so cautious in making allusions to his divinity. He says: "The Jews had been daily taught out of their Law, 'The Lord thy God is *one* Lord, and beside him there is no *other*.' Having seen Jesus nailed to a cross, having killed and buried him themselves, and not having seen him after he had risen, if they had been told that this person was God, equal to the Father, would they not have spurned at it?" He assigns the same reason why Paul, writing twenty or thirty years after the death of Christ, is still so guarded as to say, "God who spake by the prophets," instead of saying that Christ spake by them. For the same reason, Peter, when addressing the Jews, said, "Jesus of Nazareth, a *man* approved of God among you, by miracles, and wonders, and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know." Theodoret says caution was also necessary toward Gentile converts; lest, being accustomed to worship many deities, they might think Christians taught more Gods than one. Therefore, it was that Paul spoke to them of God as raising Christ from the dead; not that Christ was unable to raise himself, but because he condescended to his hearers, as if they were

little children. From the same cautious motives, he says Paul made no mention of the Holy Spirit, but said to them: "There is one God; and one mediator between God and man; the man Christ Jesus." The same writer expresses the opinion, that Paul in the fifteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Corinthians, speaks of the subjection of the Son to the Father in terms more lowly than was necessary for the benefit of his hearers. When Macedonius and his followers said that the Scriptures did not teach that the Holy Ghost was one of the Trinity, Epiphanius replied that the want of express testimony on that point, was owing to the fact that the Holy Spirit himself dictated the Scriptures, and he was reluctant to dwell too much on his own share in the transactions there recorded. Chrysostom, alluding to the incarnation of the Son of God, says: "If Joseph needed the vision of an Angel, in order to believe the fact, how would the Jews have received it? On this account, the Apostles did not at first speak of it, but rather discoursed largely concerning his resurrection; for of this there were examples in former times, though not in all respects the same; but they had never heard of a person being born of a virgin. Nor did his mother dare to mention this; for observe how she says, 'Behold thy father and I have sought thee.' If it had been suspected, he would not have been thought to be a descendant of David; and if that were not admitted, many mischiefs would have arisen. On that account, the Angels mentioned it to Mary and Joseph only; and not to the shepherds, though they acquainted them with the fact of his being born." The same reason is given why Matthew and Luke traced the genealogy of Jesus up to Abraham and Adam.

All the Fathers, who wrote on this subject, agreed that it was necessary for Mary to have a nominal husband, in order to conceal the miraculous conception. Basil says: "Mary was married to Joseph, that the Devil might not suspect she was a virgin; for he knew that the Messiah, who was to put an end to his power, was to be born of one." Jerome suggests that one reason why Mary was

married to Joseph was that her son might appear to be of the genealogy of David. Another was that her character might not be injured, or her life endangered, as it would have been by the Law of Moses, if the miraculous circumstances had been made known. He says: "Except Mary herself, her husband, and a few others, who might have been informed by them, all persons regarded Jesus as the son of Joseph; and the Evangelists themselves, expressing the common opinion, called Joseph the father of our Saviour." Basil of Seleucia, says: "When the devils called Christ the Son of God, they did not know that he was God; for *all* uncommonly good men were called *sons* of God; and Israel was called his first-born son." Cyril of Jerusalem says: "It was necessary that Christ should suffer for us; but the Devil would not have gone near him, if he had known that. The body was the bait of death, that the dragon, thinking to swallow it down, might vomit up all that he had swallowed." Rufinus also affirms that the divinity of Christ was concealed, in order to catch the Devil, as with a bait; and he supposes the words of Ezekiel signify this, where he says: "I will draw thee out with my hook." When some objected that it was wrong to conquer the Devil by such means, Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, replied: "It is fair enough to deceive the deceiver." It was the general opinion that the body of Christ was not subject to any human necessities, and that he ate and drank merely because it was necessary to seem to do it, in order to keep the secret of his divinity. To one who thought otherwise, Hilary exclaims: "Impious heretic! You will not believe otherwise than that Christ *felt*, when the nails pierced his hands." Cyril says: "The holy and divine body of Christ had no passions." Ambrose, alluding to Christ's temptation in the wilderness, says: "See the artifice of the Lord, whereby he circumvented his adversary! After a prolonged fast, he pretended to be hungry, that he might plague the Devil, whom he had already overcome by fasting."

The Fathers agreed in thinking that the honour of par-

tially disclosing the great secret was reserved for the beloved Apostle John, whose Gospel they supposed to have been written after all the other Apostles were dead. Epiphanius says: "John found men arguing concerning the humanity of Christ. The Ebionites were in an error about his earthly genealogy, deduced from Abraham, carried by Luke as high as Adam. The Cerinthians and Merinthians maintained that he was a mere man; also the Nazarenes, and many other heretics. Therefore, he, coming last, (for he was the fourth to write a Gospel) began to call back the wanderers; saying, The Logos, which was begotten by the Father from all eternity, was not from Mary only. He was not of the line of Joseph, or David, or Abraham, or Adam. But in the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God." Jerome says: "John, the Apostle whom Jesus loved, wrote his Gospel the last of all, at the entreaty of the bishops of Asia, against Cerinthus and other heretics; especially against the doctrine of the Ebionites, then gaining ground, who said that Christ had no existence before he was born of Mary. Therefore, he was compelled to declare his divine origin." Eusebius says: "John began the doctrine of the divinity of Christ; that being reserved for him as the most worthy." Ambrose says: "The other Evangelists, who treat of the humanity of Christ, were like animals that walk on the earth; but John, contemplating the power of his divinity more sublimely, flies to heaven with the Lord, and with an open voice he proclaims that he was always with God, and that he is God." Chrysostom represents John soliloquizing with himself thus: "Why do I not write what Matthew, and Mark, and Luke, through a wise and praiseworthy fear, passed by in silence, according to the orders that were given them? How shall I speak what has been given me freely from above?" He goes on to represent John holding the pen "with a trembling hand, but rejoicing in spirit, considering how to begin the theology. Being in the body at Ephesus, but with a pure heart and holy spirit, he leaves the earth, and is

carried upward, and fishing out of the Father's bosom the doctrine of the divinity, he, in his body on earth, wrote: 'In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was made flesh, and dwelt among men.' He says: "John taught what the Angels themselves did not know, till he declared it." "John first lighted up the lamp of theology; and all the churches, even the most distant, running to it, lighted up their lamps of theology, and returned rejoicing, saying: 'In the beginning was the Logos.'"

There was a great tendency in the Fathers to deprecate the exercise of reason, and to substitute for it the authority of the church. It was settled that Scripture was the only guide, and that the right understanding of Scripture was a thing for bishops to decide. Athanasius, alluding to the doctrines of Paul of Samosata, says: "It grieves those who stand up for the holy faith, that the multitude, and especially persons of low understanding, should be infected with these blasphemies. Things sublime and difficult are to be apprehended only by faith; and ignorant people must fall, if they cannot be persuaded to rest in faith, and avoid curious questions." Basil called reasoning "the Devil's work." Cyril of Alexandria says: "In matters of faith, all curiosity must cease." Ambrose says: "When faith is in question, away with all argument." Rufinus says: "That God is the Father of his own Son, our Lord, is to be believed, and not to be discussed; for slaves must not dispute concerning the birth of their masters."

It was the universal opinion of the early Fathers, that the Logos had often appeared to Abraham and the Patriarchs. But Augustine advanced the idea that all such appearances were Angels, who took upon themselves fictitious bodies, and the Logos spoke in and by them.

The doctrine of inherent depravity in human nature, inherited from Adam's sin, early became a prevailing doctrine. Ambrose says: "We have all sinned in the first man. With the propagation of the *nature*, the propagation of the *guilt* also has passed from one to all. In him, human nature sinned." Augustine carried this doctrine to

extreme results; for the character of his intellect was such that, whatever premises he adopted, he must needs carry them out to ultimate and consistent conclusions. But his writings on the subject varied at different periods of his theological growth. For nine years he belonged to the sect of Manicheans, who, in common with many other Gnostics, believed that the souls of some men emanated from Good Spirits, and whatever sins they committed, they must eventually return to their heavenly source; that the souls of other men emanated from Evil Spirits, and by an eternal law of the universe they must forever remain exiles from the spheres of light. After Augustine was converted to the Catholic church, he was engaged in zealous controversy with his old friends the Manicheans; and in opposition to their views, he maintained that no man was wicked by nature, but only by abuse of his free will. But afterward, when Pelagius taught that every man had power to perfect himself in holiness, by divine assistance, which was always granted to him who sought it, Augustine entered the lists against him also. The sum of the doctrines he maintained in this controversy may be briefly expressed in two extracts: "The whole essence of Christian faith consists in the opposition and contrariety of two men. One is he through whom we were brought into the bondage of sin, and the other is he by whom we are redeemed from sin. One ruined us in himself, in that he did his own will; the other redeemed us in himself, in that he fulfilled not his own will, but the will of Him who sent him." "Man is by nature corrupt. He is incapable of any good, and absolutely unable to do anything for his own renovation. He cannot even will that which is good; everything must be effected by the operation of grace upon the heart." From these premises, he came to the conclusion that God had, of his own will, elected from all eternity some souls to be saved, and had predestined others irrevocably to eternal misery. No one knew who among professed Christians were fore-ordained to be reprobates; but it was every one's duty to resign himself to the divine de-

crees, with all humility, and be willing to be damned, if it was for the glory of God. After Augustine's time, the doctrines of original sin, total depravity, election, and predestination, prevailed in the church.

Origen had proved the sincerity of his Christian faith by much self-sacrifice and suffering. In his own day, and for more than a century afterward, Christians were proud of him as a man of great learning and unblemished character; and his writings exerted a great influence. But the Arians often quoted his theory of the subordination of the Son to the Father, and this began to bring him into disrepute. The severer class of theologians were offended by his doctrine that good would finally triumph over evil, and all things in the universe be restored to harmony and happiness. Jerome accused him of wishing to save all sinners, even the Devil himself. Despisers of human learning scoffed at his culture, and charged him with mingling Pagan philosophy with Christianity. But many cultivated men, especially those of mystical tendencies, revered that spiritual-minded Father, and loved his writings. Gregory of Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa, took similar views concerning the final victory of good over evil. They considered all punishment as a means of purification, ordained by divine love. They said God would not have permitted the existence of evil, if he had not foreseen that by the redemption, all rational beings would, in the end, attain to a blessed fellowship with himself. Theodore also said: "God would not revive the wicked at the resurrection, if they must needs suffer only punishment, without reformation." The Persian idea of purification by fire, and the final restoration of all things, re-appeared in a Christian form, under various modifications.

A very intimate friendship existed between Jerome and Rufinus, who, like himself, was a presbyter, and a distinguished Christian writer. They kept up a very affectionate correspondence, and always spoke of each other with the warmest praise. They both delighted in the writings

of Origen; but after the Arians appealed to them as authority, Jerome, who watchfully guarded his reputation for orthodoxy, began to attack with violence the writings he had formerly admired; and at last boasted of it, as his work, that "the whole world was set in a blaze of hatred against Origen." Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, a great persecutor of Arians and other heretics, condemned the writings of Origen, and banished from Egypt certain monks who favoured them. Because the kind-hearted Chrysostom gave them shelter, he stigmatized him as "the prince of the sacrilegious; an enemy of mankind; a filthy devil." Jerome thus commends Theophilus for his zeal against heretics: "I write briefly to assure you that the zeal of your emissaries for the faith, their activity in exploring the districts of Palestine for heretics, their perseverance in hunting the creatures to their dens, and dispersing them, will give a triumph to the whole world, and fill it with the glory of your victories. The multitude will gaze with exultation at the standard of the cross lifted at Alexandria, and the brilliant trophies won from heresy. To speak candidly to your lordship, we used to lament that you were so patient. We were ignorant of the tactics of our leader, and eager for the destruction of these wretches. But I see you kept your hand aloft so long, and suspended the blow, only to strike more terribly." Rufinus wrote in defence of Origen, and quoted some of Jerome's former praises of that learned Father. A fierce altercation ensued, in the course of which they mutually accused each other. Jerome exhausted the bitter epithets of language; and when he heard of the death of his former friend, he composed the following epitaph: "The hydra-headed monster has at length ceased to hiss, and the scorpion lies beneath the earth in Sicily."

Controversies concerning the tenets of Origen continued to disturb the peace of the church more or less for a century and a half longer. Finally, in the sixth century, when he had been dead three hundred years, the emperor Justinian, and the bishops of his time, condemned his

writings to the flames, and pronounced the opinion that Origen himself could not be saved.

Augustine expressed the general sentiment of the Catholics of his time, when he said: "No one can attain salvation, who has not Christ for his head; and no one can have Christ for his head, who does not belong to his body, which is the church." In one of his epistles, approved by a synod of bishops, he tells the Donatists: "Whoever is separated from this Catholic church, however innocently he may think he lives, yet being separated from the unity of Christ, for that crime alone he will not have life, but the anger of God remains upon him." When they complained of the violent persecutions they suffered, he vindicated the persecutors by quoting the example of Elijah, who slew the prophets of Baal with his own hand. But when he was reminded that the spirit of the New Testament differed from that of the Old, he admitted the justice of the distinction. When it was proposed to obtain penal laws to force the Donatists into the Catholic church, he and several of the younger bishops argued that men must seek to conquer by arguments only, unless they would have hypocritical Catholics, instead of avowed heretics. Honorius, the son and successor of Theodosius the Great, persecuted the Donatists with great severity. Three hundred bishops and many thousands of the clergy in Africa, were stripped of their possessions and exiled, and their people were punished and heavily fined, if they assembled together for worship. These coercive measures drove many of them into the Catholic church. Augustine, forgetful of his own argument, that force merely induced hypocrisy, warmly approved of the emperor's proceedings, and sustained it by reference to the parable concerning those who were forced to come in to the supper from the highways and the hedges. Large numbers of the Donatists still held out obstinately, and filled the country with tumult and bloodshed. The Vandals were at that time making war upon the Roman empire, and Genseric, their leader, had been converted to Christianity in the Arian form. He made common cause

with the Donatists, probably from motives of policy, and exerted himself to get the oppressive edicts against them repealed. They joined his army, helped him to conquer Africa, and fiercely retaliated the injuries they had received. All the Catholics whom they took prisoners were compelled to be baptized over again, and partake of the communion after their manner. If they refused, they were hung up with weights to their feet and cruelly scourged, or branded with red-hot iron, or had their hands, ears, noses, or tongues cut off. These cruel punishments were inflicted upon all ranks, and even upon respectable matrons and virgins of the church. Catholics complained loudly of the persecutions they themselves suffered; but they praised the Vandals for burning Manicheans at the stake; and they rejected with horror a proposition that Arians and Catholics should be mutually tolerated by Romans and Vandals. Soon after Nestorius was appointed Patriarch of Constantinople, he thus publicly addressed the emperor, Theodosius the Younger: "Purge the earth of heretics for me, sire, and I will in return bestow heaven upon you. Join me in extirpating the heretics, and we will join you in subduing the Persians." Whoever ventured to differ from his theological opinions, was whipped, or imprisoned. When some of the people complained that they had an emperor instead of a bishop, they were punished with lashes. Not long after, because he objected to calling Mary the Mother of God, he was himself forced to drain the bitter cup of persecution, which he had forced others to drink.

Now and then there were gleams of a better spirit, and wherever they appeared, even the fiercest sectarians acknowledged their divinity. Cyril of Alexandria was so violent and overbearing in his tone, that Nestorius relinquished all attempts at explanation, and refused to answer any more of his letters. Lampon, a presbyter at Alexandria, who was noted for his gentle and loving spirit, went to Constantinople, with the hope of healing the schism. He easily induced Nestorius to renew the correspondence

with his haughty episcopal brother. In his letter to Cyril, he bears the following testimony: "Nothing surpasses the power of Christian gentleness. By that man's might I have been conquered. I confess I am seized with fear, when I perceive in any man the spirit of Christian love. It is as if God dwelt in him." Theodosius, the fierce despotic soldier, truly revered the meek and gentle character of Christ, though he would have deemed it mean and contemptible for him to imitate it. In the same way, the sternest polemical soldiers of the church militant acknowledged the heavenly nature of qualities they seldom attempted to copy. Athanasius could argue thus, when his *own* party was persecuted by the Arian emperor Constantius: "Because there is no truth in Satan, wherever he gains admittance, he pays away with hatchet and sword. But the Saviour is so gentle, he says, Will any one come after me? He only knocks at the door of the soul, and says, Open to me, my sister. But if any one is unwilling to open the door, he withdraws. The truth is not preached by sword and javelin, nor by armies, but by persuasion and admonition." Yet eighty Arian bishops signed a protest, in which they accused Athanasius of robbing their churches in Alexandria, "with violence and bloodshed," and of forcing people by torture to partake of the communion in his churches. Jerome seems to have been deeply touched by the Apostle John's oft repeated injunction: "My dear children, love one another." He says: "It was worthy of him, who rested on the bosom of God, and was trusted with its secrets." Yet he himself was accustomed to denounce, as "scorpions," "dragons," "wolves," and "devils," all men who could not see theological doctrines from his own point of view.

In that transition state of the world, when a new mode of worship was being formed from multifarious scattered elements of the older times, Christian teachers were unavoidably engaged in perpetual controversy; an atmosphere always unfavourable to the exercise of love, or candour. This allowance ought to be made for the exceeding bitter-

ness of their sectarian strife; and also for the untruthfulness in which it must needs be confessed they sometimes indulged. In their anxiety to build up the church of Christ, they occasionally resorted to means well calculated to make Christianity appear disreputable to the conscientious and intelligent among Jews and Pagans. Mosheim, author of the Ecclesiastical History, expresses his fears that "those who search with attention into the writings of the Fathers of the fourth century, will find them disposed to deceive, when the interest of religion seemed to require it." Dr. Cave, author of Primitive Christianity, speaking of the much-quoted Sibylline Prophecies, inquires: "Who does not see that they were forged, for the advancement of the Christian faith?" Dr. Milman, in his History of Christianity, says: "That some of the Christian legends were deliberate forgeries can scarcely be questioned. The principle of pious fraud appeared to justify this mode of working on the popular mind. It was admitted and avowed. To deceive into Christianity was so valuable a service, as to hallow deceit itself." Eusebius, Bishop of Casarea, in his Ecclesiastical History, has a chapter with the following heading: "How far it may be lawful and fitting to use falsehood as a medicine, for the advantage of those who require such a method." In explaining the line of limitation, he cites cases from the Hebrew Scriptures, where Jehovah is described as jealous or angry; which he says was done "for the advantage of those who required such a method." The fact of making such an inquiry indicates the prevailing ideas of his time. Chrysostom, in his book on the Priesthood, distinctly declares that falsehood may be meritorious, if used for the benefit of the church. Jerome relates that Christians in Jerusalem showed certain red stones found among the ruins of the temple, and told people they were stained with the blood of Zacharias, who was slain between the temple and the altar. He adds: "But I find no fault with an error, which springs from hatred to the Jews, and a pious zeal for the Christian faith." In a letter to his patrician proselyte Eustochium, he tries to dis-

suade her from reading Pagan literature; and to enforce the lesson, he gives an account, quoted in the preceding sketch of his life, of seeing Christ come to judge the world, and of being so severely beaten by angels, for reading Cicero, that he made a solemn vow never to look into a Pagan book again. He writes to her thus: "Think not that this was any of those drowsy fancies, or vain dreams, which sometimes deceive us. For the truth hereof, I call to witness that tribunal before which I then lay, and that judgment I was then in dread of. So may I never fall into the like danger, as this is true! I do assure you I found my shoulders all over black and blue, with the stripes I then received, and which I felt, after I awoke. Ever since that, I have had greater affection for reading Divine Books, than I previously had for the study of human learning." Long afterward, when he and his former friend Rufinus were engaged in bitter disputation, Rufinus accused him of breaking his vow to Christ never again to read Pagan books; and as evidence of his assertion, adduces the fact that the writings of Jerome still continued to abound with accurate quotations from the classics. Jerome at first replied, that he made all such extracts from memory. Afterward, he wrote: "Thus much I would say, if I had really promised anything in my waking moments. But with rare impudence, he objects against me a dream of mine. Let him who criminales a *dream*, listen to the voice of the Prophets, that no confidence is to be placed in dreams." The same Father, in reply to the charge of artifice in his mode of conducting theological controversies, seeks to excuse himself by quoting precedents. He says: "Origen, Methodius, Eusebius, Apollinaris, have written many thousands of lines against Celsus and Porphyry. Consider with what arguments, and what slippery problems, they baffle what was contrived against them by the spirit of the Devil; and because they are sometimes forced to speak, they speak not what they think, but what is necessary against those who are called Gentiles. I do not mention the Latin writers, Tertullian, Cyprian, Minucius, Victorinus, Lactantius,

Hilarius, lest I be thought not so much to be defending myself, as accusing others."

The priesthood of all nations had always acted upon the system that it was necessary to deceive the mass of the people, for their own good; that it was not possible to guide them by the plain open truth. Similar motives induced philosophers to veil their doctrines, and evade direct inferences. The same idea of managing the people, for their spiritual benefit, prevailed among the Christian Fathers. Even Origen, who seems to have been an unusually conscientious man, thought it might sometimes prove useful to partially conceal the truth. He assigned the highest place in heaven to those who lived single, for the sake of religion; and the second place, to those who married but once; but he did not agree with some teachers, who maintained that the twice-married must be damned. He says: "It is, however, better for people to be deceived into the belief that the twice-married cannot be saved; and through that deception be enabled to live in purity, than to know the truth, and thereby be degraded into the rank of the twice-married; though it would indeed be better to live unmarried, or in widowhood, *without* being deceived, and with a knowledge of the fact that the twice-married may partake of a degree of salvation." The Fathers also occasionally resorted to evasions, and subtle distinctions, which resembled diplomacy. Among other objections to Christianity, it was common for Pagans to declare that no state could maintain its existence, if such precepts of non-resistance to evil were carried into practice. Augustine replied, that these peaceful maxims referred rather to the disposition of the *heart*, than to outward *actions*; that the *heart* ought always to cherish patience and good will; but *actions* might vary according to the best interest of those whose good we wished to promote.

The fear of trusting truth to find its own way, and to rest simply on its own merits, produced lamentable results, in various ways. Many spurious productions were published under the names of men whose writings were habit-

ually referred to with deference; such as Peter, Paul, Barnabas, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and others. And books really written by the Apostolic Fathers were altered and interpolated in the copying, to suit the theological views of those who transcribed them. The learned and candid Neander says: "The writings of the so-called Apostolic Fathers have, for the most part, come down to us in a condition very little worthy of confidence; partly because under the names of those men, so highly venerated in the church, writings were early forged, for the purpose of giving authority to particular opinions or principles; and partly because their own writings, which were extant, had become interpolated." Jews made similar charges concerning their history by Josephus, who was represented as speaking almost like a Christian in some cases; though it is evident, from the general character of his works, that his Jewish opinions remained unchanged. Different copies of his manuscripts do not agree in chronology, and in other particulars. Origen and Jerome allude to passages not now to be found. That manuscripts were mutilated, either by accident or design, is very evident; for scarcely any two copies could be found which were exactly alike. The celebrated passage, where he expresses a doubt whether Jesus were a mere man, exists in very few copies; and the same is said concerning his mention of James the Just, "the Lord's brother." These statements were not quoted, or referred to, by any Christian writers before the fourth century. This circumstance, combined with the fact that they are not found in many copies, and that they are obviously incongruous with the opinions of Josephus, always excited suspicions of their authenticity, in reflecting minds. At the present time, they are generally regarded by the learned as interpolations by some zealous Christian of the third century. The absence of printing at that period rendered such impositions comparatively safe from detection, especially where few had the wish to expose them.

The discipline of the church retained its early character of strictness; but as the line of demarcation between the

orthodox and all manner of heretics was more closely defined, errors of faith began to be regarded as of equal, if not of greater importance than moral delinquencies, unless of a very gross character. Those who violated their baptismal vows were not allowed to partake of the communion, and were excluded from fellowship with the church, until it was decided that they had shown satisfactory marks of repentance. They were divided into four classes, according to the degree of their sin. The first class were obliged to remain outside of the church, prostrating themselves on the earth and imploring with tears that those who were passing in would pray for them. The next class were allowed to listen to the service with the unbaptized, in the area of the church. The third class were those for whom public prayers were offered; they kneeling meanwhile. The fourth class were allowed to be present at all the ceremonies of the church, but were not permitted to partake of the Lord's Supper, or to place an offering on the altar. The communion was never refused to any dying person, however great his crime, if he had shown signs of repentance. The tendency to asceticism had increased since the time of the early Fathers. Basil maintained that clothing should be for two purposes only; for warmth and modesty. He says: "In Paradise, innocence was the only robe. Sin brought into the world the fig-leaved coat; and what should more induce us to be humble in our apparel is that clothes are monitors of our apostacy." Some objected to the use of musical instruments in churches. The introduction of women's voices into the church service was also regarded as a dangerous innovation. It was one of the charges against Paul of Samosata, that by introducing this custom he had rendered the music of the church effeminate, and seductive in its sweetness. The Gnostics, and other heretical sects, had made very effective use of fervid and ecstatic hymns; and the prejudice excited against these led many of the orthodox to require that nothing but the words of Scripture should be used in church music. Others again objected to have sacred words conveyed in melodies, which

had been used by Pagans. Athanasius required that the singing in churches should be with the slightest possible inflections of voice, that the beauty of tones might not withdraw attention from the words. Jerome says: "Not with the voice, but with the heart, must we make melody to the Lord. We are not to smooth the throat with sweet drinks, like comedians, in order that the church may hear theatrical songs and melodies. Knowledge of the Scriptures, piety, and the fear of God should inspire our songs; so that not the voice of the singer, but the divine matter expressed, may be the point of attraction; that the Evil Spirit which entered into the heart of a Saul may be expelled from those who are in like manner possessed, rather than invited by those who would turn the house of God into a theatre." The sensitive conscience of Augustine was alarmed when the Ambrosian Chants in the church at Milan brought tears into his eyes. Whatsoever was of the senses he deemed sinful; and he feared that he was moved by the sensuous luxury of sweet sounds, rather than by the devotional spirit of the Psalms.

If the Fathers in the second century found occasion to rebuke some converts for luxury in furniture and dress, it may well be supposed that it would be far more necessary when Christianity was patronized and pampered by emperors, and when it of course became a matter of custom, rather than conviction, with multitudes of professors. Wealthy converts painted their faces, and followed the fashion of colouring the hair with a golden tint. Garments richly embroidered with silk and gold were then much in vogue; the patterns representing flowers, landscapes, or hunting scenes. Christian matrons copied the fashion, but sought to manifest their piety by wearing dresses embroidered with the miracles of Christ; such as the marriage at Cana, the paralytic carried in his bed, or the blind man receiving his sight. The preachers were continually reproving such vanities. Jerome exclaims: "What business has paint on a Christian cheek? Who can weep for her sins, when tears wash her face bare, and make furrows

on her skin? With what confidence can faces be lifted up toward heaven, which the Maker cannot recognize as his own workmanship?"

But it was the same in those times, as it has been in all others. Women were quite as conspicuous for devotional tendencies, and unqualified self-sacrifice, as they were for manifestations of personal vanity. They always formed so large a proportion of the converts, that the most common sarcasm of the Pagans was that Christian assemblies were filled with women and slaves. The emperor Julian, and those who sympathized with his views, constantly reproached the men for permitting their wives to give so much to the "Galilean churches." Very many were proselyted by their wives, mothers, or sisters; and the Christian character of others was greatly influenced by such relations. Nonna, the mother of Gregory of Nazianzen, won her husband from Gnosticism, and did much to form the kindly and devout character of her son. He tells us that she was never satisfied with helping the destitute; that he often heard her say she would willingly sell herself and her children, if it were lawful, that she might bestow the price upon those who were suffering for food and clothing. Her whole life was divided between charity and devotion; and her spirit passed from the body while she was kneeling before the altar. He praises his sister Gorgonia for the extreme plainness of her apparel; and says: "The only colour that pleased her in her complexion was blushing from modesty. The only whiteness she esteemed was the pallor that came through fasting and abstinence." It was mainly through the influence of his sister Macrina, that Basil the Great was induced to relinquish his brilliant prospects as a lawyer, and devote himself to an ascetic life. Anthusa, mother of Chrysostom, devoted her life to the formation of his religious character. Monica, the mother of Augustine, converted her passionate husband by her gentleness and piety, and was a powerful agent in reclaiming her wayward son. Wealthy ladies in Rome, converted by Jerome's preaching, renounced costly clothing, sold their

jewels, and devoted their revenues to the suffering and the indigent. He says: "Ladies who could not endure to step on the filthy streets, who were fatigued to ascend a hill, who were carried by the hands of eunuchs, who considered the sunshine a conflagration, and were oppressed by the weight of a silken robe, now wear squalid and mourning garments of their own making." "They trim lamps, kindle the fire, sweep the pavement, boil vegetables, set the table, hand the cups, and run hither and thither." A patrician lady, named Fabiola, sold her estates, and with her ample revenues built and endowed the first asylum that was ever established for poor invalids. She gathered all the lame and diseased from the streets, and personally attended upon them in the hospital; preparing their food, washing their wounds, and performing for them the most disagreeable offices. When she died, all Rome mourned, as for the loss of a mother. A long procession of old and young preceded her bier, singing hymns in her praise. The streets, the windows, and the tops of the houses were crowded with spectators; and as the funeral passed along, a chorus of voices in all the churches sang, "Hallelujah!" The empress Placilla, wife of Theodosius the Younger, was constantly in the habit of visiting the poor at their own houses, and in the hospitals; washing their cups, handing them their broth, and arranging their pillows, with her own imperial hands.

The early Fathers generally spoke favourably of marriage, and though they denounced the amusements of social life, they said nothing in praise of withdrawing from its active duties. But as time passed on, the oriental element became more and more obviously mingled with Christianity. The later Fathers, almost without exception, lived and died unmarried; and nearly all of them wrote and preached earnestly in favour of celibacy. It was the leading theme of Jerome's exhortations, and he was eminently successful in gaining converts.

It was a prevailing belief among ancient nations, and was adopted by Plato, that spirits of the dead hovered

round their burial-place for some time, and afterward frequently revisited it. Therefore, they were in the habit of resorting to their tombs, to offer sacrifices, oblations, and prayers for their benefit, and also to invoke their assistance in time of need. These opinions were engrafted upon Christianity. An ordinance of the church, which continued for many centuries, prohibited having lights in graveyards, or making merriment there at night, lest the souls that came thither should be disturbed. At the celebration of the Lord's Supper, which it has already been stated was regarded in the light of a sacrifice, each time offered anew for mankind, it was customary to intercede for the souls of the dead. Husbands, wives, parents, and children, placed a gift on the altar at each anniversary of the death of their loved ones. And in return, the prayers of the church were offered for those who had fallen asleep, and for those who celebrated their memory. Individuals who had made donations to the church were publicly recommended to the Lord, by name.

Ephrem of Edessa, in his last will, requested his friends to offer constant oblations for him after his decease. He says: "When the thirtieth day shall be completed, then remember me; for the dead are helped by the offerings of the living." He seems to have supposed that Moses blessed the departed *spirit* of Reuben, though apparently he intended to bless his posterity, the *tribe* of Reuben; for he asks: "If the dead are not aided, why was Reuben blessed, after the third generation? Why does Paul say, 'If the dead rise not at all, what shall they do who are baptized for the dead? Why are they then baptized for the dead?'" Chrysostom says: "Not without reason was it ordained by the Apostles that in celebrating the Sacred Mysteries, the dead should be remembered; for they well knew what advantages would thence be derived to them." Cyril of Jerusalem says: "When the emperor condemns one to banishment, he may be induced to show him favour, if his kinsmen present a chaplet in his behalf. So we present to God the Christ who was offered for our sins, in behalf of

those who are asleep, though they were sinners." "We pray for the holy Fathers, and the Bishops that are dead, and for all those who have departed this life in our communion; believing that the souls of those for whom our prayers are offered receive very great relief, while this holy and tremendous victim lies upon the altar," [alluding to the bread and wine of the eucharist].

It had been a very ancient Hindoo idea that immersion in rivers, with religious ceremonies by the priests, purified the soul from sin, "as water cleansed the body from mud." It has been already stated that Christians imbibed the same idea concerning baptism. This belief in the efficacy of an external rite produced an increasing tendency to defer it till the approach of death; for it naturally seemed to many minds an agreeable and easy process to enjoy the pleasures of life to the utmost, and then to have all stains washed away in a few moments, preparatory to entering upon another existence. Preachers were continually combatting this inevitable tendency, by holding up warning examples of death too sudden to admit the performance of the essential rite. But their own descriptions of the mysterious efficacy of baptism had such a counteracting influence, that people generally ventured to run the risk, until frightened by an earthquake, or war, or pestilence; and then they rushed to baptism in such multitudes, that it was often difficult to find priests enough to perform the ceremonies. Cyril of Jerusalem, addressing a candidate for baptism, said: "If thou believest, thou wilt not only obtain forgiveness of sins, but as much of grace as thou canst hold." Gregory of Nazianzen says: "Baptism for adults is forgiveness of sins, and restoration of the image degraded and lost by transgression." In the case of infants, he supposed it secured their human nature in the germ from moral evil. He calls baptism "a more divine, exalted creation, than the original formation of nature." To those who found it difficult to conceive how children could be benefitted by a rite, of which they had no consciousness, Augustine replied: "The faith of the church which consecrates infants

to God, takes the place of their own faith; and although they possess as yet no faith of their own, yet there is nothing in their thoughts to hinder the divine efficacy." From the time that Cyprian had decided that children ought to be baptized as soon as they were born, because they brought with them into the world "the infection of the old death" from Adam, the doctrine had been gradually gaining ground that all unbaptized infants must be damned. The Pelagians expressed horror at this idea. They believed that the highest state of perfection and happiness in heaven could be attained only by the baptized; but they said those who died in childhood without having been thus purified, would remain in an intermediate state, where they would be exempt from suffering. Gregory of Nazianzen, and some others, believed the same concerning all those who remained unbaptized through no fault of their own. Augustine rejected this idea. Believing Tertullian's theory that the sin of Adam was physically transmitted, he declared: "There is no innocence in childhood." He said only two states could be conceived of; that of blessedness in the presence of God, and of misery expelled from Him; that unbaptized infants could not be received into the presence of God, and must therefore be irrevocably damned; though their sufferings would doubtless be lighter than those inflicted on actual sinners. Some theological writers carried out the theory so consistently, that they applied the same doctrine to babes that died unborn. It had always been a common idea among Christians that devils had possession of Pagans and heretics. In the third century, it began to be customary to repeat over them a form of words, called an exorcism, to compel the Evil Spirits to depart, preparatory to baptism. After the doctrine of original sin became a portion of the established creed, the church used the ceremony at the baptism of infants also. A council held at Carthage, in the year four hundred and eighteen, condemned the doctrine of an intermediate state for unbaptized children, on the ground that nothing could be conceived of as permanently existing between the kingdom of

heaven and perdition. The eternal damnation of all who died unbaptized was expressly affirmed. But notwithstanding the terrors of such preaching, some parents were very reluctant to have the ceremony performed on babes; for it seemed to them almost a waste of the precious remedy to bestow it on those who had committed no actual sin, and who, if they lived, would of course commit sins subsequent to baptism. To a mother in that state of mind, Gregory of Nazianzen said: "Let sin gain no advantage in thy child. Let it be sanctified from the swaddling clothes, consecrated to the Holy Ghost. You fear for the divine seal, because of the weakness of nature. What a feeble and faint-hearted mother you must be. Hannah consecrated her Samuel to God even before he was born. Immediately after his birth, she made him a priest. Instead of fearing the frailty of man, she trusted in God."

People of all religions were accustomed to the idea of sacrifice offered as an expiation for sin. Jews who became converts to Christianity, accepted the idea that Christ was a Lamb slain for atonement, instead of the Paschal Lamb annually offered by their High Priest, from time immemorial. Gentile converts accepted the same idea in lieu of the sacrifices with which they had been accustomed to avert the anger of their gods. The habit of frequently offering sacrifice was supplanted by frequent participation of the Lord's Supper, supposed to be the body and blood of Christ, each time offered anew for the expiation of sin. In consecrating the bread and wine, it was deemed very essential that the exact words in the Gospel should be used; for it was the universal impression that when the priest uttered the words, "This is my body; this is my blood;" the elements became miraculously changed into the actual body of Christ, by means of some inherent power in the holy words. When the bishop was about to finish the consecration, the curtain, which hung before the altar, was drawn up, and he raised the bread and wine, to be adored as the body and blood of Christ. Those who partook of it were supposed to receive a supernatural infusion of the

Logos into their own souls and bodies, which imparted to them a principle of imperishable life. Gregory of Nyssa says: "This bread is instantly changed into the body of Christ; agreeably to what he said, 'This is my body.' Therefore does the Divine Word commix itself with the weak nature of man, that by partaking of the Divinity, our humanity may be exalted." He explains it by saying that as bread and wine nourished and helped to form the body of the Logos while he was on earth, so after his departure the same elements were changed into his flesh and blood by an immediate miracle. Gregory of Nazianzen calls the eucharist, "A sacrifice by which we enter into fellowship with the sufferings and with the divine nature of Christ; the holy transaction which exalts us to heaven." Chrysostom, maintaining that the Holy Supper was the full accomplishment of the typical Passover, says: "This blood, even in the type, washed away sin. If it had so great power in the *type*, if death were so affrighted by the *shadow*, how he must be frightened by the verity itself!" He contemplates this institution as "the greatest proof of love Christ gave to dying men, that he should thus unite himself to them in the most intimate manner, and cause his own flesh and blood to pass into their entire nature; that he gave himself not only to be seen and touched, but to be eaten by those who desire him." He says: "As many of you as partake of this body, as many of you as taste this blood, should think of it as nothing different from that which sits above, and is adored by angels." Cyril of Jerusalem says: "After the Holy Spirit has been invoked, the eucharistic bread is no longer common bread, but is the body of Christ. He himself declared, 'This is my body,' and who shall dare to doubt it?" "Christ changed water into wine, by his will only; and shall we think him less worthy of credit, when he changes wine into blood?" Jerome says: "Our Lord Jesus invites us to the feast, and is himself our meat. He eats with us, and we eat him." Augustine says: "Because he walked here in the flesh, he gave us this same flesh to eat, for our salvation. No

one eateth this flesh without having first adored it. We not only commit no sin by adoring it, but we should sin by *not* adoring it." Eusebius of Cæsarea, whose mind had been much influenced by the writings of Origen, takes a more spiritual view of the subject. He represents Christ as saying: "Think not I bid you drink my bodily blood; but know that the words I have spoken to you are spirit and life; so that my *words* and *doctrines* are my flesh and blood. He who appropriates to himself *these*, becomes nourished with bread from heaven, and will be made a partaker of eternal life." It was the opinion of the Fathers, that the eucharist was as essential to the salvation of infants, as was the rite of baptism. Therefore it was always administered to baptized children, till after the sixth century.

In all religions, great account was made of Mysteries. Among the Jews, none but the High Priest ever went behind the veil of the Holy of Holies. If any other person had ventured to do it, the people would have expected to see him drop down dead. When Grecians celebrated the Eleusinian Mysteries, a herald proclaimed: "Go hence, all ye profane!" a form which dismissed all but the initiated. Christianity, while seeking to establish itself, naturally adopted new forms of whatever ideas or customs were strongly rooted in the minds of men. The celebration of the Lord's Supper was represented as a Sacred Mystery. Before the veil was withdrawn from the altar, a deacon proclaimed: "Holy things to holy men. Depart all ye catechumens!" a form which dismissed all but the baptized. The doctrine of the Trinity likewise was not discussed or explained in their presence. There was a public and a private doctrine, according to the general custom of philosophers. Cyril of Jerusalem says: "We do not declare the Mysteries concerning the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to the Gentiles; nor do we speak plainly to the catechumens about those Mysteries. But we may say many things in an occult way, that the faithful, who know them, may understand, while those who do not understand them can

not be hurt thereby." Augustine says: "If we asked a catechumen, 'Dost thou eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of Man?' he would not know what we mean; for Christ has not committed himself to them. They do not know what Christians receive." Chrysostom, alluding to the eucharist in the light of a sacrifice offered, says: "Truly tremendous are the Mysteries of the church! Truly tremendous are the altars!" Some of the Fathers style it "the awful solemnity;" "sublime in the eyes of angels." Jerome says: "The very chalices, and coverings of the mystic table, are not to be considered like things inanimate and void of sanctity; but they ought to be revered as much as his body and his blood." It was customary to allude to the subject in a very blind way, in the presence of the uninitiated. Augustine says: "Christ was held in his own hands. *How* was he held in his own hands? Because when he gave his own body and blood, he took into his hands—what the faithful know." Epiphanius says: "We see that our Lord took something in his hands; that he rose from table, and having given thanks, he said: 'This is my somewhat.'" After alluding to the Trinity or the Eucharist, in this mysterious manner, it was common to add: "Those who are initiated know what has been said." The Fathers assign as one reason for pursuing this course, that young Christians were thereby stirred up to greater eagerness to be admitted into the mysteries of baptism and the Lord's Supper. Another motive was to preserve the sacredness and dignity of religion. Basil says: "A thing cannot be properly called a Mystery when it is once exposed to every common ear."

Numerous miracles were ascribed to the eucharist. Ambrose tells of an intimate friend of his, a pious Christian, but one who had not yet been admitted to the more perfect Mysteries. Being wrecked on a voyage to Africa, he begged some of the initiated, who were on board, to give him a portion of their consecrated bread; without the presence of which no voyage, or journey, was considered

safe. Having received a piece, he fastened it in a handkerchief, tied it about his neck, and plunged into the sea, without troubling himself to look for a plank. "For he wanted nothing more than the armour of his faith. Nor did his hopes deceive him; for he was the first of the ship's company, who got safely to the shore." Augustine tells of a country-house near Hippo which was haunted. But when a priest went and "offered the sacrifice of Christ's body on the spot," praying fervently that the vexation might be removed, it instantly ceased.

It is obvious that some of the opinions and customs of the church cannot be traced either to the Jewish or the Christian Scriptures. All such were sustained upon the authority of tradition from the early Fathers. Epiphanius says: "We must look also to tradition; for all things cannot be learned from the Scriptures." Basil says: "In my opinion, it is apostolical to adhere to unwritten traditions." "The Apostles and Fathers, who prescribed from the beginning certain rites to the church, knew how to preserve the dignity of the Mysteries, by the secrecy and silence in which they enveloped them. What is open to the eye and the ear is no longer mysterious. For this reason, several things have been handed down to us without writing; lest the vulgar, by becoming too familiar with our dogmas, should pass from being accustomed to them to contempt for them." Chrysostom says: "The Apostles did not deliver all things by means of epistles. They made many communications without writing. Both are equally entitled to belief. It is a tradition. Inquire no further."

The later Fathers were as devotional in their habits, as their predecessors had been. They always washed their hands before entering a church; and required kings to lay down their armour and their crowns at the door, and leave their guards behind them. They fasted often, and prayed three times a day. They prayed and sang Psalms before and after eating, and never drank without making a sign of the cross over the cup. Chrysostom says: "The Devil is never so ready to ensnare us, as at meals; either by in-

temperance, indolence, or immoderate mirth; therefore, both before and after eating, we should fortify ourselves with Psalms."

The bond between Christians was exceedingly strong. They were always ready to assist each other in poverty, sickness, and trouble. The Pagans were continually surprised to see men of totally different education and habits, sympathizing with each other, and relying upon each other, like brothers of the same family. If fierce denunciations and bitter persecution of all who differed from them in theological doctrines excited the remark, "How these Christians hate each other," their unstinted kindness and truly fraternal feeling toward all within the fold excited the general remark how Christians loved each other. And their benevolence flowed copiously, not only to their own communities, near and distant, but also to poor and suffering strangers. To them the Roman empire owed its first asylums for widows and orphans, the sick and the indigent. Even the Emperor Julian set them up as an example in these respects, worthy of all imitation. It was a common custom to appoint fasts when any of the sister churches needed assistance, and the money saved from food enabled even the poorest to contribute something toward their relief. In times of sickness, their courageous kindness is said to have furnished a striking contrast to their Pagan neighbours, who had no such central bond of union. Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria, describing a pestilence in that city, says: "It was true of most of our brethren, that in the fulness of their brotherly love, they spared not themselves. Their only anxiety was a mutual one for each other. And as they waited on the sick without thinking of themselves, ministering to their wants for Christ's sake, so they cheerfully gave up their lives for them. Many who took the bodies of Christian brethren into their arms, and to their bosoms, composed their features, and buried them with all possible care, afterward followed them in death. Some of the best among our brethren, presbyters, deacons, and distinguished men of the laity, thus ended their lives; so that

the manner of their death being the fruit of such eminent piety and mighty faith, seemed not to fall short of martyrdom. With the Pagans it was quite otherwise. They drove from them those who showed the first symptoms of disease; and fled from their dearest friends. They cast the half dead into the streets, and left the dead unburied; making it their chief care to avoid contagion." Chrysostom records that in his time the church at Antioch, which consisted of about one hundred thousand persons, daily maintained three thousand widows and orphans, besides supporting the clergy, and the hospitals, assisting strangers in distress, and ransoming many Christian slaves. Basil the Great established in all the principal towns of his diocese institutions for the reception of indigent strangers, and the care of the sick. Physicians and nurses were in attendance, and every arrangement made for the comfort of the inmates. Workshops were provided for all the labourers and artisans that were needed; so that each establishment was described as having the appearance of a small town. When the brother of Basil died, he left this brief testament: "I will that all my estate be given to the poor." Paulinus, Bishop of Treves, in the fourth century, was very wealthy; but when he became a Christian, he sold all his vast estates, and distributed the proceeds among the poor. Theodoret, Bishop of Cyros, at about the same period, though he had a poor diocese, saved enough to construct a canal from the Euphrates to the town, which had previously suffered for want of water; to repair and improve the public baths; to erect two porticoes for the use of the city; and to build two large bridges. Ambrose sold the ornaments, and even sacred vessels of the churches to redeem Christians, who had been taken in war, and sold into slavery. He says: "The church possesses gold, not to treasure it up, but to distribute it for the welfare and happiness of men. We are ransoming souls from eternal perdition. It is not merely the lives of men and the honour of women, that are endangered by captivity, but also the faith of their children. The blood of redemption, which has glowed in those golden

cupa, has sanctified them not merely for that service, but for the redemption of men."

The Bishop of Nola expended his whole estate to redeem as many as he could. At last, a poor widow went to him and intreated him to rescue her only son, who had been sold to a prince of the Vandals. He told her he had not a single penny left, but he would freely give himself as a ransom. The poor woman thought he was jesting with her anxiety; but he assured her that he was in earnest. Accordingly, he accompanied her to Africa and begged the prince to release the young man, because he was the only son of a widow; offering to labour freely in his stead. The prince accepted his proposition, and employed him to work in his garden. His industry and faithfulness gained the favour of his master, who, after some time, discovered that he had been a bishop. Impressed by the greatness of such an example, the prince gave him his liberty, and promised to grant whatsoever he wished. The good man asked no favour for himself, but begged the release of all his countrymen in bondage. They were accordingly all sent home in ships laden with provisions.

Christians had the same feeling as the Israelites of old concerning allowing their own brethren to be in slavery; and a similar degree of exclusiveness led them generally not to include Pagan bondmen within the circle of their sympathies. It early began to be the feeling that one Christian ought not to hold another as a slave; the relation, even under the best circumstances, seeming inconsistent with Christian brotherhood. Many converts emancipated all their slaves as soon as they joined the church, being impelled by their own consciences, though no ecclesiastical law required it. When slaves were converted, it was common for Christian masters to emancipate them; so that baptism came to be considered a sign of freedom. Among the crowds of nominal professors, after Christianity became the established religion, there were of course many who were entirely uninfluenced by its spirit. The Archbishop of Ravenna, in the fifth century, complains of such,

who could scarcely be distinguished from the hardest masters among the Pagans, in their treatment of slaves. But as a general thing, the difference between the old and the new religion was very striking on this point. Lactantius says: "We may be asked, are there not among you rich and poor, masters and slaves, distinctions of rank between individuals? Not at all. No reason can be assigned why we call one another brethren, except that we consider ourselves equals. We measure human beings by their souls, not by their bodies. There is diversity in the condition of bodies; but to us none are slaves. We address all as brothers in the Spirit, and regard all as fellow-servants, in a religious sense." Chrysostom says: "In the bosom of the Christian church, there are no slaves, in the old sense of the word. The name exists, but the thing has ceased." "The slave glorifies Jesus Christ as his master, and the master acknowledges himself a slave of Jesus Christ. Both are subjects, both are free in this common obedience; they are equals, both as freemen and as slaves." In another place, he exhorts Christians to "buy up slaves, instruct them in the arts, and give them the means of livelihood." Chromacius, Præfect of Rome, who was converted during the reign of Diocletian, was baptized with fourteen hundred of his slaves, to whom he gave freedom, saying: "These, who are the children of God, ought to be no longer the slaves of men." He crowned this act of justice and humanity by taking paternal care concerning their means of livelihood.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FATHERS.

Nearly all the writings of the Fathers consisted of sectarian controversy, Biblical interpretation employed in its service, and fervent exhortations to celibacy; but some precious gems of morality, scattered about, indicate that the world was rising to a higher level of humanity than it ever attained under the pure and elevated, but unsympathizing teaching of the Platonic school. The following brief extracts will serve as specimens:

"God, who creates and inspires men, willed that they should be equal. He made them all capable of wisdom, imposed the same laws on all, and promised immortality to all. No one is excluded from his heavenly gifts. He makes the sun to shine equally on all, and the fountains to issue freely for all. As he furnishes food for all, and gives the sweet repose of sleep unto all, so does he give virtue and equality to all. With Him, no one is a slave, and no one master. He is the Father of all, and we are all, by equal right, his children. In his sight, no man is poor, but him who is wanting in goodness; and no man is rich, but him who abounds in virtues."—*Lactantius*.

"The poor shake with cold beneath their miserable rags, while we envelope ourselves in long floating robes of the finest silk. The poor can scarcely find a refuse morsel wherewith to appease the cravings of hunger; while we luxuriate in the choicest delicacies. We lavish the most delicate odours, as if our courage were not already sufficiently enervated. Our tables bend beneath dishes, for which all the elements have been laid under contribution; and all this is done to satisfy the avidity of an ungrateful stomach, an insatiable brute, which will soon be destroyed, together with the perishable viands that are accumulated to nourish it. The poor would think themselves happy to get water enough to quench their thirst; and we drink wine to excess, even while we feel our senses disordered by its potency. My brethren, these diseases of the soul, which infect the rich, are more grievous than the bodily infirmities that afflict the poor. Theirs are not of their own seeking; ours are what we bring upon ourselves. Death will deliver them from theirs; ours will go with us to the grave, and rise with us."—*Gregory of Nazianzen*.

"Since you alone are amenable for your own vices, or follies, what good does it do to talk of your forefathers, and rake up the ashes of the dead? One man may draw forth nothing but discordant sounds from a golden harp; another will give birth to ravishing melodies on a simple reed. Such is your history, my friend. You descended from an

illustrious race, which is to you as the harp of gold. But if you have no merit in yourself, upon what can you build your pride? What real subject of exaltation can you find for yourself in ancestors long since dead? What is all that to us? It is with yourself alone we have to do. Are you good, or are you bad? Every thing is reduced to that simple question."—*Gregory of Nazianzen.*

"What was I before I was born? What am I now? What shall I be to-morrow? I asked the learned to guide me, but I found no one who knew any more than myself. I exist. What does that word mean? Already, whilst I speak, a portion of my existence has escaped me. I am no longer what I was. Should I still exist, what shall I be to-morrow? In no one thing permanent, I resemble the water of a stream, perpetually flowing on, which nothing stops. Like the brook, in another moment I shall no longer be the same I was a moment before. I ought to be called by some other name. You seize me, now you hold me, yet I escape. Fugitive wave! never again will you traverse the space over which you have already flowed. The same man, whom you have once reflected in your waters, will never be reflected by them again, exactly as he looked in them before."—*Gregory of Nazianzen.*

"Why is it that you are rich, and your neighbour poor? Is it not that you may sanctify your abundance by your benevolence, while he may sanctify poverty by patience and resignation? Do not deceive yourself with respect to the ways of Providence. The bread that you keep shut up belongs to the hungry. The shoes which you hoard belong to the barefoot. To withhold assistance from those who are in need, when you have the means of relieving them, is not only cruel, it is unjust."—*Basil the Great.*

"Has any one made use of injurious expressions concerning you? Reply to them by blessings. Does he treat you ill? Be patient. Does he reproach you? Condemn yourself, if the reproach be just; if not, it is a mere breath of air. Flattery cannot impart to you a merit, if you have it not, nor can calumny give you faults you do not really

possess. Are you accused of ignorance? You justify the charge by showing yourself angry. Are you persecuted? Think of Jesus Christ. Can you ever suffer as he suffered?"—*Basil the Great*.

"The slanderer does injury to three persons at once. To him *of* whom he speaks ill; to him *to* whom he says it; and most of all to himself *in* saying it."—*Basil the Great*.

"Is it a misfortune to pass from infancy to youth? Still less can it be a misfortune to go from this miserable life to that true life into which we are introduced by death. Our first changes are connected with the progressive development of life. The new change, which death effects, is only the passage to a more desirable perfection. To complain of the necessity of dying, is to accuse Nature of not having condemned us to perpetual infancy."—*Gregory of Nyssa*.

"'I possessed myself of servants and maids.' Possessed, do you say? Who can be the possessor of human beings, save God? By what right can any other claim possession of them? Those men that you say belong to you, did not God create them free? Command the brute creation; it is well and good. But do not degrade the image of God! Bend the beasts of the field beneath your yoke. But are your fellow men to be bought and sold, like herds of cattle? Who can pay the value of a being created in the image of God? The whole world itself bears no proportion to the value of a soul, on which the Most High has set the seal of his likeness. This world will perish; but the soul of man is immortal. Show me then your titles of possession. Whence have you received this strange privilege? Is not your own nature the same with that of those whom you call your slaves? Have they not the same origin with yourself? Are they not born to the same destinies?"—*Gregory of Nyssa*.

"All the immense space by which we are surrounded is peopled with angels, whose eyes are continually turned toward us. The most hardened in wickedness still shrinks from observation. The thought that he is watched checks

the criminal in the fury of his passion. Can the Christian then, who knows that celestial Spirits not only behold his every action, but also read his most secret thoughts, can he ever, in mere levity and thoughtlessness, deliver himself up to evil?"—*Hilary of Poitiers*.

"There is always something of injustice and inhumanity in the possession of immense wealth, however legitimate the possession of it may be in point of law, and however honest in the sight of man may be the means by which it was acquired."—*Ambrose of Milan*.

"There are certain persons, not altogether asleep in ignorance, nor yet fully awake in the light of reason, who hold that right is nothing but that which is commonly received. Since laws and customs differ, they conclude that there is nothing binding in its own nature; but that whatsoever a man is persuaded of in his own mind, the same must be right and good. These people have not yet looked far enough into the world to discover that all nations under heaven accept, as a standard, the maxim, 'Do unto others, as ye would they should do unto you.'"—*Augustine*.

"Blessed is he who loveth God; and his friend in God; and his enemy for God."—*Augustine*.

"Your very existence is not your own. How is it then that your riches are? They belong rather to those for whom God has given them into your keeping. Wealth is a common property, like the light of the sun, the air, or the productions of the earth. Riches are to society what food is to the body. Should any one of the members absorb the nutriment which is intended for the support of the whole, the body would perish utterly; for it is held together only by the requisite distribution of nourishment to the divers parts. In the same manner, the general harmony of society is maintained only by the interchange of services between the rich and the poor."—*John Chrysostom*.

"Nobility consists not in illustrious ancestry, but in the virtues of the soul. I call the slave a patrician, though bound in chains, if I know his soul to be noble; and I

deem the patrician a slave, though invested with outward dignity, if he has an ignoble mind." "How many drunken patricians lie stupified on their couches, while their sober servants stand by. Which of these ought to be called a slave? Should the term be applied to him who has been made captive by man, or to him who is the slave of his passions? One is enslaved by external circumstances; the other carries about his slavery within him." "Let there be no wall of separation between freemen and slaves. It is better that they should serve one another; for mutual service is preferable to an exclusive and solitary liberty. Suppose a master to own a hundred slaves, who all serve him with repugnance; and then suppose a hundred souls, who help each other from affection. On which side will there be most happiness? On which will life be the most lovely? On the first, is misery and fear; everything being effected by force, and done from necessity. On the other, vengeance is banished, and all comes from free-will, benevolence, and gratitude. Such is the order of God. He himself washed the feet of his disciples, and said: 'Let him who would be your master, be your servant.'"

FESTIVALS AND FASTS.

SUNDAY AND THE SABBATH.—As the separation from Judaism increased, the custom of observing both their Sabbath and Sunday gradually changed. But even as late as the year three hundred and sixty, a Council at Laodicea deemed it necessary to forbid Christians to abstain from labour on the Sabbath, [Saturday.] In connection with this decree, they remark: "Christians ought not to Judaize and cease from labour on the Sabbath. They ought to work on that day. As Christians, they should prefer to rest from labour, if they can, on the Lord's Day," [Sunday.] Laws stricter than those of Constantine were passed by his successors. Civil transactions of every kind were forbidden on Sunday, as sacrilegious. In four hundred and twenty-five, Jews and Pagans were required to abstain from thea-

tres and festivals on that day, because the noise in the streets disturbed the devotions of those assembled in the churches. Neander, the learned inquirer into Ecclesiastical History, says: "The celebration of Sunday, like that of every festival, was a human institution. Far was it from the Apostles to treat it as a divine command; far from them, and from the first apostolic church, to transfer the laws of the Sabbath to Sunday."

AGAPE.—It has been already mentioned that the Feast called Agape gradually changed its character, as the number of worldly Christians increased. The fraternal kiss, with which it had been customary to separate in the good old times of affectionate simplicity, probably led to some abuses among those who were not pure of heart. At all events, many scandalous stories concerning these meetings were circulated by Pagan opponents, and by Gnostic ascetics. To prevent this, the church ordained that men should confine the customary salutation to the brethren only, and women to the sisters. At that period of the world, it was the common practice to eat in a half reclining posture; but the church ordered them to dispense with couches at the Agape. Notwithstanding these, and other restraining laws, intemperance and excess became so notorious, that the Council at Carthage, in three hundred ninety seven, forbade these feasts to be held in churches; considering them a desecration of the holy place. The Fathers everywhere preached against them, and they were finally laid aside.

FESTIVAL OF THE MARTYRS.—The great annual Festival among the Pagans for the Souls of all their Ancestors, had been adopted by Gregory Thaumaturgus, as a matter of policy, and appropriated to the honour of All the Martyrs. Gregory of Nyssa, in his life of that proselyting bishop, says: "The Pagans were delighted with the festivals of their gods, and unwilling to part with those delights. Therefore, Gregory, to facilitate their conversion, instituted

annual festivals to saints and martyrs." On these occasions, a great banquet was provided, and dances and pantomimes introduced, as had been the custom in the Pagan Parentalia. The gathering-place was usually at, or near the tomb, or chapel, of some celebrated martyr, where prayers were offered, and hymns sung in honour of the dead. The roads, for many miles round, were crowded with pilgrims, who went to implore the martyrs to send them good weather, abundant crops, smooth seas, and healthy children; to protect them from diseases or accidents during the year, and if they died, to bear their souls into the bosom of Christ, and intercede for them at the last day. On account of the great concourse of people, it was customary to have markets, or fairs, established near by, for the sale of provisions, and other conveniences, consequently a large proportion of the assembly was brought together merely for purposes of merriment or traffic. Some of the less strict among the bishops sanctioned the scene by their presence, after the religious portion of the ceremonies was completed; but their influence was not sufficient to restrain excesses. The health of the martyrs was often drunk to complete intoxication. Gregory of Nazianzen and Chrysostom severely denounced the luxury with which this festival was celebrated at Antioch. Many of the clergy strongly disapproved of the practice; but it was exceedingly difficult to wean the people from the old customs, which had become universally engrafted on the new faith. Basil preached against such scenes as altogether unsuitable to the solemnity of the subject, and of the places where they assembled. He reminded the people that they ought to remember how Christ whipped out buyers and sellers from the House of Prayer. As the rich, on these occasions, furnished provisions, of which the poor partook freely, the feast was often called by the old name of Agape; which was thus brought into still greater disrepute among opponents of the church. The Council of Laodicea formally condemned these festivals; but it was a long time before they were suppressed. The Manicheans, who were very

abstemious in their habits, and extremely simple in their mode of worship, frequently taunted Catholic Christians with their festivals, and multiplication of ceremonies. They said: "You have but substituted your Agape for the Pagan sacrifices. In the place of their idols, you have set up your martyrs, whom you worship with the same ceremonies they did their gods. Like them, you appease the souls of the dead with wine and with meat offerings."

LENT AND EASTER.—In addition to the weekly fasts on Wednesday and Friday, Christians held an annual fast preceding the first full moon after the vernal equinox. It was variously observed in different times and places. Some fasted several days, others abstained from animal food during several weeks. It was immediately followed by the joyful festivities of Easter, the most ancient Christian festival on record; being a continuation of the Passover, to which the Apostles, and Jewish converts, had always been accustomed. In the East, the members of churches assembled in grave-yards, on the Friday preceding the joyful Sunday, to commemorate the crucifixion. During the Festival of Easter, Constantine the Great released all prisoners, except those who had committed very great crimes; and he always distributed large donations among the poor. Theodosius the Great ordained that no lawsuits should be commenced, no accusations should be brought, and no punishments inflicted, during the continuance of the holy season. After the time of Constantine, this festival was observed with great pomp. On the evening preceding Easter Sunday, all the churches and the principal houses were brilliantly illuminated; people poured through the streets with torches, and vigils were kept in the churches till the morning dawned. The next day, all the churches resounded with Hallelujahs, and friends and relatives feasted at each other's houses. The holy season began on Palm Sunday, a week before Easter, and continued till the Sunday after Easter; including fourteen days. Not only the Jews, but all the ancient

nations, kept a festival near the vernal equinox, to welcome in the budding spring-time with thank-offerings to their gods. The Saxon word *Oster* means rising; and the German word *Osten* means the east, in allusion to the sun's rising. The Saxons had a season of thanksgiving in the spring, which they named *Ostern*, in honour of the old Teutonic Goddess of Nature, called *Ostera*. This is supposed to be the origin of the English name *Easter*, applied to the Christian festival in honour of Christ's rising. The French call it *Pâques*, and Italians *Pasqua*; in allusion to the Paschal Lamb slain at the Passover. It was early customary for the Bishops of Rome to distribute the remains of the tapers consecrated on Easter Eve. The people burned them at home, as a preservation against all manner of misfortunes.

WHITSUNDAY.—The Jewish Pentecost was likewise retained by Christians, but kept by them in commemoration of the descent of the Holy Ghost upon the disciples. As the Holy Spirit was supposed to be imparted by baptism, the day was peculiarly appropriated to the performance of that ceremony. The numerous candidates who assembled, being clothed in white robes, made a conspicuous show on the margin of rivers and ponds. Hence the festival came to be called *White Sunday*, or *Whitsunday*.

EPIPHANY.—Egyptians observed the sixth of January, as a joyful festival in honour of *Osiris* found; probably in allusion to the sun returning from the winter solstice. Christians in some countries adopted this festival. They at first kept it in commemoration of the *Star* which guided the *Wise Men of the East*; and presents were interchanged on that day, said to be in allusion to the offerings of the *Magi*; though in fact that custom, as well as the festival itself, was of much more ancient date than the birth of Christ. The Ebionite "Gospel according to the Hebrews" commenced at the baptism of Christ; and declared that when Jesus entered the water, "straightway a great light

shone round the place." Justin Martyr, who probably derived the idea from that source, says that "a fire was kindled in the Jordan." Hence, the Eastern churches often called baptism Illumination. After a time, the sixth of January, instead of being observed by Christians in honour of the miraculous star, was supposed to be the very day on which Christ was baptized; when "all the persons of the Trinity were present. The Father in a voice from heaven; the Son in the person of Jesus; and the Holy Spirit in the visible shape of a dove." In some places, many torches and fires were lighted during the celebration, to commemorate the star that guided the Magi to Bethlehem, the light that shone round the shepherds, and the fire "kindled in the Jordan." At Constantinople, it was originally called the Feast of Lights. It afterward received the name of Epiphany, from Greek words signifying The Appearance, or the Manifestation; because the Holy Ghost appeared at the baptism, and Christ was for the first time manifested as the Messiah. Chrysostom relates that during this festival people were accustomed to draw water at midnight, and preserve it carefully, believing it to possess certain miraculous powers; because Christ, by going into the Jordan, "sanctified water to the mystical washing away of sin." He affirms that water drawn at that holy season would keep pure a whole year; sometimes two or three years.

CHRISTMAS.—Most of the ancient nations observed seasons of rejoicing when the sun began to return from the winter solstice. Egyptians had two festivals of this kind; one on the twenty-fifth day of December, to commemorate the birth-day of the infant Horus, and the other on the sixth of January, to rejoice over the lost Osiris found. Persians kept a festival on the twenty-fifth of December, in honour of Mithras, the attendant Spirit of the Sun. At Rome, there was a series of festivals in the latter part of December. There was the Saturnalia, in commemoration of the Golden Age of Saturn, when all distinctions of rank

were abolished and the earth was filled with abundance. On this occasion, relatives and friends feasted each other, and interchanged presents. There was the Festival for Children, during which it was customary to give children little images. The twenty-fifth day of December was celebrated under the name of *Dies Natalis Invicti Solis*, The Birth Day of the Invincible Sun. It is not known at what season of the year Christ was born, and the custom of keeping his nativity is not mentioned till the second century, when it was observed by the Eastern churches on the sixth of January. In the Western part of the empire, the Roman Birth Day of the Sun, the twenty-fifth of December, began, in the middle of the fourth century, to be observed in honour of the nativity of Christ. The Eastern churches continued their old custom for some time after; but in the fifth century, the twenty-fifth of December was established, by decree of the church, as a festival to be universally observed. The Roman people had been attached to this holiday, from very ancient times; and it was deemed peculiarly appropriate to transfer it to the honour of Christ, who was called "the sun of righteousness," and often compared to the natural sun, illuminating a world in darkness. The Gospel of Luke represents Christ as born in the night; it was therefore customary to have the churches lighted up, and public worship performed the midnight preceding. The prayers and ceremonies, accompanying the eucharist were called *Mass*; hence the festival came to be denominated *Christmas*. Manicheans and other heretical sects, reproached the Catholics for observing the Birth Day of the Sun, with the Pagans. Leo the Great, Patriarch of Rome, in the middle of the fifth century, complains that in his time many Christians retained the Pagan custom of paying obeisance to the rising sun, from some lofty eminence; also in the morning, when they were ascending the steps of St. Peter's church. Theodosius the Younger prohibited games at Easter, Whitsunday, Christmas, and Epiphany; and ordered all the theatres to be closed, not only for Christians, but for Jews and Pagans.

BISHOPS.

The preceding pages have shown how the simple church government in the days of the Apostles had changed, when Cyprian maintained that bishops were supreme arbiters of theological truth. Early in the second century it began to be the custom for country churches to unite themselves to some church in a neighbouring city, which was thus constituted their head. Sometimes several churches in the same city united themselves under the guidance of one, and formed what was called a Metropolitan church. The Metropolitan Bishop presided over inferior bishops and clergy, when they came from the country to attend a council in the city where he resided; and all the clergy of his province were required to refer to him for advice, in any cases of difficulty; hence he came to be called Archbishop, or Chief Bishop. From the beginning of the fifth century, the Archbishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, began to take the title of Patriarchs; and to them was conceded the power of supervision over all the other bishops and archbishops within their jurisdiction. In almost every difficulty that occurred, Rome, the representative of the West, took one side, and Constantinople, the representative of the East, took the other. The supremacy of Rome was strongly urged, on the ground that the first church there was established by Peter, to whom Christ had said: "On this rock will I found my church." By the middle of the fifth century, it was decided by decrees of councils, and of the emperor, that the Patriarch of Rome was the last tribunal of appeal; and that the Patriarch of Constantinople was to take the second rank in Christendom. The increasing power of Rome was of course watched with jealousy by her old rival. The Eastern churches frequently rebelled against the decisions of the Primate; and even in the West, where alone his edicts had the force of law, they often met with strenuous opposition, till as late as the eighth century. As early as the time of Cyprian, it began to be customary to call all

bishops *Papas*, a title of respect, from a Greek word signifying Father. This was the origin of the English word Pope; which was not exclusively applied to the Roman Pontiff till the eleventh century. After the fourth century, bishops were often nominated by the emperor, instead of being elected by the people, as they had previously been.

Deaconesses, before entering upon their office, were originally ordained, like others of the clergy; but as the clerical order increased in dignity, the priesthood began to declare against this custom. Synods in the fourth and fifth centuries forbade the ordination of women; and those who had been previously ordained were required to receive the bishops' blessing in company with the laity, not with the clergy.

The belief that the Holy Spirit was transmitted by the imposition of hands at ordination led many to attach little importance to any preparation for the priesthood. This idea, combined with the tendency to consider mere external rites sufficient for salvation, produced an increasing contempt for intellectual culture. To have received the Holy Ghost, and to be able to perform ceremonies, was deemed sufficient for a priest. The more eminent teachers of the church, such as Basil and the two Gregories, sought to counteract this tendency, by representing human learning as a valuable servant to divine truth; but they were exceptions to the general rule.

In the first centuries of Christianity, the clergy married, if they chose; considering themselves sustained by the opinions of the early Fathers, and the example of the Apostles. Gregory of Nazianzen was born after his father was a bishop. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, and Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers were married. Eusebius, the historian, mentions numerous instances of married bishops and presbyters. Augustine also speaks of Catholic clergymen in his time, who had wives. For the first three hundred years, there was no ecclesiastical law or regulation to enforce celibacy of the priesthood. But a large proportion

of the most eminent of the later Fathers, sustained celibacy by eloquent writings and their own example; and monks were so venerated by the populace, for their superior sanctity, that it seemed to make a similar degree of holiness desirable, if not necessary, to all the clergy. The feeling first showed itself in opposition to second marriages. Any one in holy orders, even a clerk or a deacon, was immediately ejected from office, if he married a widow. At the Council of Nice, it was a disputed point whether those who had been married previous to their consecration, should be required to put away their wives. Paphnutius, the aged Bishop of Upper Thebais, himself unmarried, maintained that it was sufficient for the clergy to be required not to marry after their consecration; and his advice prevailed. Eustathius and his followers refused to receive the sacrament from any but an unmarried clergyman. On the other hand, Jovinian and Vigilantius disapproved of these oriental ideas concerning the sinfulness of marriage, which they said were not sustained by the teaching of Christ, or the example of his Apostles, and in their practical effect were unfavourable to morality. Some, even among the bishops, thought such rigid rules likely to produce secret vice, and, therefore, they refused to ordain unmarried deacons. But the Bishop of Rome, at the close of the fourth century, issued a letter positively forbidding any clergymen of the higher orders to live with their wives. A man of thirty years old, who had not married a widow, and who had had but one wife, might be a sub-deacon. If he lived ten years in strict continence, he might become a priest. If he lived ten years more in the same way, he might be promoted to the rank of bishop. This injunction was repeated by several councils; but met with more or less opposition from some of the clergy. Early in the sixth century, the emperor Justinian declared all children of clergymen illegitimate, and incapable of any hereditary succession or inheritance.

The lavish donations of Constantine, and the law authorizing his subjects to seek salvation for their own souls

by bequeathing estates to the church, to the detriment of their natural heirs, rendered the church exceedingly wealthy. The religious reverence and theological fears of the people, induced profuse liberality to monks and priests, which successive emperors sought to check by restraining laws. The ecclesiastical revenue was divided into four parts. One for the poor, one for the expenses of public worship, one for the inferior clergy, and one for the bishops. In the early times, salaries were merely sufficient for a moderate competence; but they were gradually enlarged, until the bishops in cities lived much more like princes, than like Paul the tent-maker. They dwelt in splendid palaces, gave sumptuous dinners, made lavish presents, and conferred important benefits, as a means of obtaining political influence, and popular favour, to be used for the aggrandizement of the church. Jerome thus loudly complains of the state in which he found the clergy of Rome, toward the close of the fourth century: "I am ashamed to say it, but there are men, who seek the priesthood, and become deacons, only that they may see women with less restraint. Dress is all their care. Their hair is curled with tongs; their fingers blaze with diamond rings; they will scarcely touch the ground with their feet, so afraid are they of a little dampness or dirt." He charges all the ecclesiastics of Rome with hunting for legacies, with making use of the sacred name of the church to extort money for their own emolument, from the fears of the dying, or the devotion of the living. The law of Valentinian, prohibiting the clergy and monks from receiving bequests, he acknowledges was just. He says: "I complain not of the law, but that we have deserved such a law." Ambrose and Augustine likewise admit that ecclesiastical avarice made such restraining edicts necessary. The church at Rome especially had become very wealthy and powerful. The bishop was the confidential adviser of illustrious ladies, the distinguished guest of patricians and princes. Such a position was of course a prize to excite the avarice and ambition of men. In the year

three hundred and eighty-four, Ursinus and Damasus violently contended for it. Their adherents fought, and one hundred and thirty-seven dead bodies remained in the church; the price which Damasus paid for his victory. The candid Pagan, Ammianus, who was their cotemporary, thus alludes to these factions, in his History of Rome: "I am not astonished that so valuable a prize should inflame the desires of ambitious men. The successful candidate is sure that he will be enriched by the offerings of matrons; that as soon as his dress is arranged with becoming care and elegance, he may proceed in his chariot through the streets of Rome; and that the sumptuousness of the imperial table will not equal the profuse and delicate entertainments provided by the taste and at the expense of the Roman Pontiff. How much more rationally would those Pontiffs consult their true happiness, if they would imitate the exemplary life of some provincial bishops, whose temperance and sobriety, plainness of apparel, and humble deportment, recommend their pure, unpretending virtue to the Deity, and to all his true worshippers."

Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, in Spain, complained at the Council of Sardica, that bishops went to court so frequently with demands having no connection with their calling; merely to secure places of honour and profit for individuals they wished to patronize, or to manage for them some worldly concerns. Theophilus, Bishop of Alexandria, was so ambitious to erect splendid edifices, that he paid comparatively little attention to the spiritual welfare of his flock. He was so grasping of funds, that a wealthy widow, who wished to have a thousand gold pieces employed in clothing the poor women of that city, entrusted them to a benevolent presbyter, charging him to keep the transaction secret from the avaricious bishop. He discovered it, however, and persecuted the good presbyter to such a degree, that he fled into the desert. Even there the anger of Theophilus pursued him and the monks that sheltered him; and a prolonged quarrel in the church was the consequence.

Gregory of Nazianzen was so disgusted with the clerical competition he witnessed, that he exclaimed: "Would to heaven there were no primacy, no eminence of place, no tyrannical precedence of rank, and that we might be distinguished only by eminence in virtue! But, as things now are, the distinction of a seat at the right hand or the left, or in the middle; at a higher or lower place; of going before, or aside of each other, has given rise to many disorders among us, to no salutary purpose whatever, and has plunged multitudes into ruin." When Chrysostom visited the Asiatic churches, he deposed thirteen bishops for misconduct. He declared that licentiousness, and the habit of selling ecclesiastical preferments, had more or less contaminated the whole order; and he expressed a conviction that the number of bishops who would be saved was fewer than those who would be damned. Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, in the third century, was conspicuous for his luxurious style of living. He held a civil office, upon which he prided himself, and was accustomed to ride through the streets accompanied by guards, and followed by a multitude of attendants; and he sat upon a splendid throne when he presided at ecclesiastical assemblies. He exacted large contributions from the opulent, much of which he was accused of spending for his own gratification. He dressed with elaborate elegance, kept a luxurious table; and theological opponents, who attacked his heretical views concerning the Logos, said that two beautiful women were his companions in the episcopal palace.

A singular instance of compromise with regard to theological opinions occurred in the case of Synesius of Cyrene, said to have been a descendant of Hercules. He was a Platonist, or rather an eclectic philosopher, distinguished for his elegant style of writing, and knowledge of classical literature. At the close of the fourth century, he became a convert to Christianity, though not according to the prescribed pattern. But his character for eloquence, learning, and integrity, stood so high, that Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria, was desirous to rank him among the bishops.

He was reluctant to assume the clerical office, for many reasons. He said that he loved classic literature and philosophy, and would by no means consent to relinquish them; that he was much addicted to field-sports, and should continue to be so; that he did not believe in the resurrection of the body, and had no sympathy whatever with the prevailing views concerning celibacy. Being still urged, notwithstanding this candid avowal of his opinions and habits, he consented to become Bishop of Ptolemais, in Egypt. With admirable frankness, he said to those who were to ordain him: "God, and the law of the land, and the holy hand of Theophilus the bishop, have bestowed on me my wife. I therefore solemnly declare, and call you to witness, that I will not be plucked from her; nor will I consent to live with her in secret. But I hope and pray that we may have a large family of virtuous children." In consideration of his distinguished talent and learning, and his well-known probity, a compromise was agreed upon, and he was permitted to enjoy his own habits and opinions unmolested. For twenty years he presided over his diocese with great energy and dignity, and with a scrupulous regard for the welfare of his people. He continued to devote his leisure to literary pursuits, and his writings have been much admired both by ancient and modern scholars. Dr. Milman thus describes them: "They blend, with a very scanty Christianity, the mystic theology of the later Platonism; but it is rather philosophy adopting Christian language, than Christianity moulding philosophy to its own uses."

The proceedings of Constantine at the Council of Nice had greatly increased the tendency to clerical pride. He had voluntarily taken a seat lower than the bishops, professing that it was not for him to assume authority, in ecclesiastical matters, over the successors of the Apostles, whom God had appointed his vicegerents on earth. The vantage-ground thus accorded to the clergy, they ever after claimed as an inalienable right. The son and successor of Constantine was denounced as a heretic, and excluded from councils,

on the ground that no layman, even though he were an emperor, had any right to be present at the discussions of bishops. The administration of the sacrament was refused to the Arian emperor, Valens; and even the orthodox Theodosius was obliged to acknowledge himself inferior in ecclesiastical concerns. It had been customary for the emperor, when at church, to sit within the railing, which separated the congregation from the officiating priests and their attendants. But when Theodosius attempted to enter within the sacred enclosure of the church at Milan, Ambrose, with a gesture of dignified politeness, pointed to a lower seat reserved for the emperor, at the head of the laity. The imperious Theodosius yielded to this assumption of clerical superiority, and the people applauded an arrangement which placed the lowest of the deacons above their monarch in spiritual rank. When messengers from the Arian empress Justina and her son accused Ambrose of tyranny, in not allowing the imperial family one church in Milan for their own mode of worship, he proudly replied: "In ancient times priests *bestowed* empire, they did not condescend to *assume* it. Kings have desired to be priests, rather than priests to be kings." Martin, the pious but illiterate soldier, who afterward became Bishop of Tours, was invited to dine with the emperor Maximin. When wine was brought, the monarch passed the goblet to the bishop, expecting and wishing to receive it from his holy hand after he had drank of it. But Martin passed it to his presbyter, not deeming it proper that even an imperial layman should take precedence of a priest; and Maximin, though of a haughty and ferocious temper, was not offended. The empress, to do all possible honour to the holy man, tended the table herself. She afterwards picked up the crumbs he dropped, and preserved them as sacred relics. Princes were continually reminded that the civil power was merely earthly and transitory, while the authority of bishops was derived from God himself, and extended beyond this world into the next; that priests were as much superior to kings, as the soul was to the

body. The people, of course, paid homage to a power acknowledged to be above royalty, and claiming to be derived from heaven. When Athanasius returned from exile, the people of Alexandria waved incense before him as he passed through the streets. Jerome calls Epiphanius "a shining star among bishops, a pattern of ancient holiness, to whom the people flocked in crowds, offering their little children to his benediction, kissing his feet, and catching the hem of his garment." Chrysostom says when the Bishop of Antioch came to Constantinople, the multitudes went out to meet him, and as many as could come near him kissed his hands and his feet. Jerome says the populace sometimes sang hosannas to their bishop, as they had done to Christ. Paul of Samosata was displeased when he entered a church, if the audience did not receive him with applause; and the hosannas introduced as an occasional salutation to the bishops, became a prominent part of the ceremonial of his church. Ambrose says that kings and princes did not disdain to bow their necks to the knees of the priests and kiss their hands, and it is recorded that this was the customary respect paid to himself.

The universal adulation and homage to bishops, though grounded in religious reverence, was not unmingled with selfish policy, and fear of their great authority in spiritual and temporal concerns. Of all the power lodged in their hands, none was more dreaded than that of excommunication. In the early days, a person guilty of misconduct was expelled from the church by vote of the community to which he belonged. But this power gradually passed from the people into the hands of bishops; and as time went on, the forms increased in severity. The ancient Druids practised terrible forms of excommunication, by which every person was forbidden to furnish the culprit with food, or fire, or to minister to his necessities in any way, whatever might be his sufferings. The awful anathema often included whole families, and even nations. This custom, which gave the priesthood great power, was

imitated by the Christian church. Athanasius excommunicated one of the clergy in Egypt, and transmitted orders to the churches to refuse him the use of either fire or water. Synesius excommunicated a magistrate who grievously oppressed the people of Libya, and who could not be persuaded to alter his despotic course, by any remonstrances or exhortations. Synesius at last expelled him from the church, and issued orders to all other Christian churches, on pain of being considered guilty of schism, not to allow him to partake of the sacrament, to hear prayers, to attend worship, or even to be buried with any Christian ceremonies. Private citizens were required to exclude him from their tables and their houses, on pain of being themselves excluded from religious privileges. His accomplices were included in the sentence, and even their wives and children, who had no participation in their crimes. This sentence was very terrible, because men believed that it shut them out from heaven; involving as it did the necessity of dying without Christian sacraments, which they regarded as absolutely necessary to expiate the sins of the soul. The guilty magistrate quailed before this dreadful prospect. He submitted to the bishop, acknowledged the justice of his sentence, and amended his ways.

In the days of primitive Christianity, those who committed any misdemeanour confessed their fault before the whole congregation, and were publicly prayed for. But in the fifth century, the Bishop of Rome substituted the custom of private confession to the clergy, who prescribed what penance they thought proper. This practice greatly increased the power of the priesthood.

With the increasing wealth and power of the church, subdivisions of rank gradually multiplied. Instead of the deacons and presbyters of the ancient time, elected by the congregation, and claiming no preëminence among their brethren, there were now patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, exorcists, readers, and door-keepers. But with all this pomp of retinue, and the luxury and worldly-mindedness so conspicuous in many of the

clergy, there were many bishops and priests, especially in the country towns, who were real blessings to mankind. Men of true piety, and unostentatious benevolence, such as the candid historian Ammianus describes. Men who lived plainly themselves, and appropriated their revenues to the building of hospitals, alms-houses, bridges, and fountains; who patiently instructed the ignorant, and sympathized with the suffering; to whom the dying could intrust their widows and orphans, secure that their rights would be courageously defended against the machinations of the cunning and the powerful; to whom the indigent and the oppressed could go in their troubles, and find such friends as the good Bishop of Nola, who sold himself to redeem the widow's only son. And even the high-handed assumption of power, which would be intolerable in our day, sometimes exerted a salutary restraining influence in those rude, superstitious times. We cannot otherwise than reverence and bless Ambrose for using his authority to fetter the tyrannical temper of Theodosius, and secure the people from outbursts of his despotic violence. In the records of those stormy times, when the rights of the common people were so entirely overlooked, there are some beautiful instances of the mediation of bishops, turning the hearts of kings when no other earthly influence could have prevailed. At the close of the fourth century, the citizens of Antioch rose in open rebellion, on account of oppressive taxation. Flavianus, the bishop, was old, and at that time very ill; but knowing the passionate temperament of the emperor Theodosius, and anxious to avert his vengeance from the people, he hastened with all speed to Constantinople. As soon as he entered into the emperor's presence, he said: "I have come as the deputy of our common Master, to address this word to your heart: 'If ye forgive men their trespasses, then will your Heavenly Father also forgive your trespasses.'" The festival of Easter was then approaching, and he alluded to it as a peculiarly fitting season to show clemency. The haughty and violent soldier was as susceptible as a woman to religious impressions.

The exhortation of the aged prelate melted him at once. He replied: "How can it be a great thing for me, who am but a man, to remit my anger toward men, when the Lord of the world himself, who for our sakes took the form of a servant, and who was crucified by those to whom he was doing good, interceded with his Father, in behalf of his crucifiers, saying: 'Forgive them, since they know not what they do.'" He promised to forget the offences committed against his government, and to institute inquiries into the real causes of grievance. Flavianus hastened back to his anxious people, and arrived in season to proclaim the joyful tidings before Easter.

When Priscillian and his followers were condemned to death for heretical opinions, by influence of Spanish bishops, Ambrose and Martin, and most of the bishops of Italy and Gaul exclaimed against it as an act of cruelty and a dangerous precedent. When Meletius, Bishop of Antioch, was exiled by the Arian emperor Constantius, his people, who were devotedly attached to him, resisted the execution of the decree. They assembled in great numbers on the road and threw stones at the magistrate who was conveying him out of town. But Meletius exhorted them to patience, and spreading out his mantle, protected the Præfect with his own body.

COUNCILS.

Synods were early held at Jerusalem, Ephesus, and Rome, to settle the dispute between Eastern and Western churches, concerning the day on which Easter should be observed. Toward the end of the second century, Provincial Synods were adopted; and it soon came to be an established custom for the bishops of all the towns to meet, every spring and autumn, in the capital of the province where they resided, to settle the disputed questions continually arising. To these were added occasional councils, as emergencies required. Heresies within the church occupied most of their attention, though Jews and Pagans re-

ceived a full share. Seven councils were held at Carthage to decide whether those who had been frightened into any concession or evasion in times of persecution should be re-admitted to communion with the faithful; and whether it was necessary to re-baptize heretics, who wished to return to the bosom of the church. After Christianity became established as the state religion, the emperors occasionally summoned General Councils, to which bishops from all parts of the empire were invited. These assemblies were generally very discordant, and one council frequently reversed what the preceding had established. Nevertheless the idea began to prevail in the fourth century, and soon became an established opinion, that the deliberations of assembled bishops were under the especial direction of the Holy Ghost; that their decisions were therefore infallible; and consequently the salvation of the soul depended on unquestioning belief in whatever they decreed. The famous Simon Stylites, speaking of the fourth General Council, says: "In my declared attachment to the faith of the six hundred and thirty holy fathers assembled at Chalcedon, I take my stand upon an actual revelation of the Holy Spirit. If the Saviour is present among two or three gathered together in his name, is it conceivable that among holy fathers so numerous and eminent, the Holy Spirit should not be present throughout?" Gregory the Great, Patriarch of Rome in the sixth century, alluding to the Council of Nice, which settled the equality of the Son with the Father, to the Council of Constantinople which settled the equality of the Holy Ghost with both, and to the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon which settled the dispute concerning the divine and human natures in Christ, says: "I believe as fully and fervently in the Four Councils, as I do in the Four Gospels."

Yet the spirit manifested in these councils often seemed the reverse of holy, and there were few indications of the clearness and certainty to be expected from men supernaturally guided. According to Socrates, the Christian historian, the bishops assembled at the Council of Nice presented

the emperor with numerous letters of accusation against each other; many of them founded on personal animosity. Constantine, in his zeal to protect Christianity from ridicule or reproach, burned these slanderous documents, and advised mutual forbearance and concession. The same historian, describing the discussions in that council, whether the Son of God was created or begotten, compares it to a battle in the night, where men are unable to discern on which side they are fighting. At the Council of Ephesus, Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, violently hurried through the decisions before all the bishops had arrived, though a magistrate sent by the emperor Theodosius Second, demanded delay. Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, who refused to call Mary the Mother of God, was deposed and condemned as a second Judas. One of the bishops declared that, "having presumed to falsify the doctrines of orthodoxy, he deserved every punishment, both from God and man, as did he who counterfeited the imperial coin." John, Patriarch of Antioch, arriving after the sentence was passed, convened a synod of thirty bishops, who deposed Cyril, and described him as a monster born for the ruin of the church. The adherents of the two parties fought with words and blows. The cathedral was stained with blood, and the streets were kept in a perpetual tumult. Nestorian bishops were obliged to ask for a guard from the emperor, either to remain at Ephesus in safety, or return to their churches without peril. The magistrate finally interfered, dispersed this riotous council by force, and placed the deposed bishops in safe custody. A second Council was called at Ephesus, about eighteen years later, to decide concerning the heresy of Eutyches, who taught that Christ had but one nature. A great concourse of monks assembled, and silenced opposition by violent threats and clamorous outcries, which drowned the voice of any speaker they did not approve. The presence of soldiers, sent by the emperor, likewise served to intimidate the minority. Blank papers were placed before the bishops, which the monks and soldiers compelled them to sign, to

be afterward filled up with whatever the ruling party thought proper. The contest was so rude, that Dioscurus, Patriarch of Alexandria, is said to have buffeted and kicked Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, to such a degree that he afterward died of the wounds and bruises he had received. This council took the ground that Christ had but one nature. They sought to maintain by Scripture, that heresy was a sin against God, and far greater than any possible sin against men. When one of the bishops attempted, in a conciliatory way, to explain in what sense he understood the doctrine of two natures in Christ, many voices vociferated: "Burn him alive! Let him be cut asunder, as he has sundered Christ!" A Council at Chalcedon, two years later, reversed the decrees of the second Council at Ephesus, which was thenceforth styled "The Synod of Robbers." At the Council of Chalcedon, ten Egyptian bishops, of venerable age, begged that they might not be required to sign an anathema against Eutyches, till they could ascertain what was the opinion of the new Patriarch of Alexandria, about to be elected; for so despotic was his authority, that if they declared opinions independent of him, they could not be certain of their lives, when they returned to their own country.

That such scenes of fierce altercation were painful and humiliating to good men might be readily supposed, even if there were no record of it. Some of moderate temper continued to take part in councils, hoping to regulate the spirit of contention, and believing that the humanizing influences of Christianity could not be extended, unless the church could be established in unity of doctrine. Others became thoroughly disheartened and disgusted, and avoided all such assemblies. Gregory, Bishop of Nazianzen, who had much experience of councils, says: "I am so constituted, that, to speak the truth, I dread every assembly of bishops; for I have never yet seen a good end of any one. I have never been present at a synod which did more to suppress evils, than to increase them. An indescribable thirst for contention and rule prevails in

them. I am weary of struggling with holy bishops, whose jealousies render harmony impossible, and who make light of the interests of the faith, in pursuit of their own quarrels." Again he says: "They fight, and run into schism, and divide the whole world for the sake of thrones. The Trinity is a mere pretext for their wrangling; the true cause being an incredible spirit of hatred." Constantine had commanded that the public establishment of post-horses should gratuitously afford every facility for the journeys of bishops, and that during their sessions they should be sumptuously maintained at the public expense. This became a heavy charge; for it required many and prolonged meetings to settle questions, which every curious mind could ask, but which no finite understanding could possibly explain or comprehend. The historian Ammi-anus says: "The highways are covered with troops of bishops, galloping from every side to the assemblies which they call synods. And while they labour to reduce the whole sect to their own particular opinions, the public establishment of post-horses is almost ruined by their frequent and hurried journeys." Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, thus laments the perpetual discord: "It is a thing equally deplorable and dangerous that there are as many creeds as opinions among men, as many doctrines as inclinations, and as many sources of blasphemy as there are faults among us; because we make creeds arbitrarily and explain them as arbitrarily. The Homocousian is rejected, and received, and explained away, by successive synods. The partial or complete resemblance of the Father and the Son is a subject of dispute for these unhappy times. Every year, nay, every moon, we make new creeds to describe invisible mysteries. We repent of what we have done; we defend those who repent; we anathematize those whom we have defended. We either condemn the doctrine of others in ourselves, or our own doctrine in that of others. Thus reciprocally tearing each other in pieces, we have been the cause of each other's ruin." Again he says: "The East and the West are in a perpetual state of restlessness and

disturbance. Deserting our spiritual charges, abandoning the people of God, neglecting the preaching of the Gospel, we are hurried about from place to place, often to a great distance, some of us infirm with age, or feeble with ill health, sometimes obliged to leave our sick brethren on the road. The whole administration of the empire, the emperor himself, the tribunes and the commanders, at this fearful crisis, are occupied with the lives and condition of the bishops. The people are by no means unconcerned. The whole brotherhood watches in anxious suspense the result of these troubles. The public post-horses are worn out with our journeyings."

These sectarian controversies were often intertwined with personal quarrels, growing out of mutual jealousy, and competition for power. The Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople were always rivals, and prone to sustain opposite sides in every dispute. A similar state of feeling grew up between Alexandria and Constantinople; for as the church of Alexandria was said to be founded by Mark the Evangelist, the Patriarch thought it gave him a claim to be the acknowledged head of the Eastern churches. Councils summoned under such circumstances, and in such a temper, settled the theological doctrines of the Christian world. Men were required to believe their decisions infallible; and it was customary to conclude their decrees with this declaration: "Whosoever teaches any other doctrine than this, let him be accursed." This remained the state of things for centuries; but as the central power of the church at Rome grew stronger, the decisions of councils were pronounced not to be infallible, till they had received the sanction of the Pope.

HERMITS AND MONKS.

The first volume of this book proves that monastic associations existed at a very early period of the world in the forests of Hindostan. It also shows that their old theological doctrine, which attributed all evil to the existence

of Matter, led the ancient anchorites of that country to hate their bodies, and to inflict upon them all manner of tortures for the good of the soul. Ancient Egypt, whose religious theories so much resembled those of Hindostan, probably had some modification of the same institution; though I am not aware of any proof that it was so, except the mention of associations called Gymnosophists and Therapeutæ.

Jews, who entertained different views concerning the origin of evil, never manifested such abhorrence of the body. There were individual ascetics among them, such as the Nazarites, devoted to the Lord by a special vow; and it is recorded that some of the prophets went without clothing, wounded themselves with sharp instruments, or remained for a long time in one position. But these things appear to have been done merely as symbolical of some event they prophesied; while Hindoo devotees resorted to similar practices, as means of atoning for sins, or of laying up a store of extra merit, to procure additional rewards in Paradise. The Essenes resembled Pythagorean communities, and both had many features in common with the old Hindoo associations. Perhaps both found their model in ancient Egypt; for there is evidence, derived from various sources, that two classes of ascetics existed in that country before the introduction of Christianity. The Gymnosophists, or naked philosophers, who lived in communities on the banks of the Nile, appear to have been regarded by Apollonius as similar to the associations of devotees in India. The Therapeutæ, described in the chapter on the Jews, in many of their customs and regulations bore a striking resemblance to the Pythagorean communities, and the Braminical schools. Eusebius the historian, thinks they were converts of the Apostle Mark, who is supposed to have founded the first church at Alexandria. But in all that is recorded of them, there is no trace whatever of Christianity. Moreover, Philo, who probably died before there was a church gathered at Alexandria, gives a detailed account of the Therapeutæ, whom he describes as already an ancient sect in his time.

A good deal of curiosity concerning "the wise men of India" was manifested by various writers in the first centuries of Christianity. Apollonius visited them. Plotinus was on his way thither, attracted by their fame. Origen evidently had some knowledge of them. Bardesanes the Gnostic, and Porphyry the New Platonist, describe them in a way implying some information concerning the Buddhists also. That some Christian converts began to imitate the East India Fakeers, as early as the time of Irenæus, seems to be indicated by his allusion to men who lived alone on the mountains, without clothing, subsisting on herbs like wild beasts. These idle ascetics appear to have reproached pious Christians who manufactured articles, which were purchased by their Pagan neighbours; but Irenæus speaks of them and their advice with disapprobation; and says such men had no correct idea what Christian life ought to be. There was certainly nothing in the teaching of Christ, or the example of the Apostles, to favour such customs. The utmost Paul said concerning a life of celibacy was, that those who chose to devote themselves to it would have more freedom from worldly cares. The early Fathers, even the stern Tertullian, commended marriage. But the Gnostics who spread so widely in all parts of the Christian world, were thoroughly imbued with Hindoo theories, derived from some source or other. The superior strictness of many of those sects was often brought into comparison with orthodox Christianity, and their example and arguments doubtless had a good deal of influence in favour of celibacy. From the earliest periods, some individuals chose to impose such a vow upon themselves as a means of devoting themselves to religion with more uninterrupted freedom. What Christ said to the rich man was very generally understood to imply that renunciation of property was essential to Christian perfection. Therefore, if such devotees had estates, they sold them, and distributed the proceeds among the destitute; and whatsoever they earned, over their very simple wants, was given to the poor. But in the early days of the church,

this class of members bore no resemblance to the self-torturing Fakeers of India. They lived in Christian families, were cheerful and diligent, and sold the proceeds of their industry to whomsoever wished to purchase.

PAUL.—The first Christian hermit, of whom there is any record, was a youth named Paul, born of a noble family in Thebes. He was not impelled by a desire to devote himself to monastic life; but during the reign of Decius, persecution raged with such terrible violence in that part of the world, that he hid himself in the desert, to escape from death, or from continual temptations to abjure his faith. He found a cavern, near which were some palm trees and a fountain. He fed on the dates and drank from the stream; and when his clothes dropped off, he substituted a garment of braided palm leaves. He became so much attached to that mode of life, that when the Christian churches were safe from outward dangers, he had no wish to return to the world. He is said to have lived ninety-eight years in the desert, seen by human beings at very rare intervals, and spending his time in meditation and prayer. He does not appear to have made any attempts to proselyte others to his mode of life, and there is no account that any were attracted to reside in his neighbourhood.

ANTHONY.—Anthony is considered the father of Christian monasticism. He belonged to an old and rather wealthy Egyptian family, near the Thebaid. They spoke the Coptic language, the ancient vernacular tongue of Egypt. The Coptic families generally neglected education, because it involved the necessity of acquiring the Greek and Latin languages, in which all the literature of that period was written. Anthony was brought up piously, but without intellectual culture. It even seems doubtful whether he knew how to read. In boyhood he was of a serious and meditative cast of mind, little inclined to worldly learning. He attended church constantly, and all

he heard there was deeply impressed upon his memory. His parents died before he was twenty years old, and the care of a younger sister devolved upon him. Like all the people of those old times, he was prone to look for supernatural guidance in sudden exclamations, or whatever passage of a book was first opened. One day, as he walked toward the church, his thoughts were occupied with the days of primitive Christianity, when the disciples held all things in common. He entered just as the preacher was reading: "Go sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor." Believing that these words were particularly addressed to him, he gave away all his lands to the inhabitants of his native village, on condition that they would never trouble him or his sisters about taxes, or any other worldly matters. His other property he sold, and divided the proceeds among the poor, reserving only a small income for the support of his sister. Soon after that, his mind was again impressed, while in church, by hearing the words: "Take no thought for to-morrow." Regarding this as a direct admonition from the Lord, he gave away the little property he had reserved for the maintenance of his sister, and placed her under the protection of some pious virgins of the church. Being now free from all earthly cares, he sought out a venerable old hermit in the neighbourhood and took up his residence near him. The mountains and deserts of the Thebaid abounded with caves and grottoes, well adapted for anchorites. Anthony found many devotees inhabiting these solitudes. Whether any of them belonged to the Therapeutæ, or had belonged to them, is not stated. But it is recorded that whenever he heard of any remarkable ascetic, he travelled to see him, staid with him some time, learned from him all that he could, and returned to his own cell to imitate whatever he deemed admirable in his penances and devotions. He supported himself by the labour of his own hands, and gave the overplus of his earnings to the poor. His fervent piety and rigid austerity excited great reverence, though he was so young. But inwardly he had many conflicts with what

he considered Evil Spirits. His heart yearned for his sister, the beloved playmate of his childhood. Sometimes he thought of the comfortable food and clothing, and the pleasant relatives he used to enjoy, and the devils tempted him to ask whether he had done wisely to sacrifice all these, for such a dreary life of perpetual self-denial. He struggled hard against these promptings of nature. He fasted almost to starvation, and prayed in agony of spirit, till great drops of sweat stood on his forehead. The devils finding whisperings were vain, attacked him with visible temptations. They raised up visions of tables laden with delicate viands, and of beautiful women, who poured out sparkling wine, and sought to allure him by smiles and blandishments. He resolved to flee from all human beings, and subject himself to still more rigid penances. He betook himself to a distant grotto in the rocks, which had been used for a tomb. He slept but little, and that on the bare earth, and often went without food for two or three days in succession. In this state of exhausted nature and excited nerves, he had terrible visions. "The Devil fearing the whole desert would soon be filled with holy hermits, came upon him one night, with a whole troop of demons, and beat him so unmercifully, that he lay on the ground like a dead man." One of the hermits he had left behind was accustomed to carry him bread. When he arrived, the day after this disaster, he found Anthony stretched on the sands of the desert, apparently dead. He summoned assistance, and carried him to his native village, where his relatives and friends assembled to watch over the body. Anthony waked in the night, and seeing the company asleep, he roused the hermit, and insisted upon being carried back to his tomb in the desert. The hermit obeyed his orders, and left him alone. Anthony shouted to the Devil: "Ha! thou tempter! Didst thou think I had fled? Here I am again. I have strength to fight thee still." He remained in this sepulchre a long time, avoiding the sight of human beings, fasting and praying, and practising the most rigid austerities. He after-

ward retired to a distant mountain, where he spent twenty years in an old ruined castle. The fame of his great holiness attracted visitors, and a band of hermits wished to have him for their spiritual guide. He finally consented to their intreaties. Many joined themselves to him, and new comers continually solicited to be trained by him in the monastic life. The desert swarmed with hermits, who lived in separate cells, and met together for devotional exercises. Those who served a novitiate with Anthony had their faith and patience tried in various ways. Sometimes he ordered them to draw water out of a well for the whole day, and pour it on the ground; sometimes to weave a basket and pull it to pieces continually; sometimes to rip a garment, sew it, and rip it again. If these tasks were performed without questions, and without signs of weariness, it was a sign of their growth in grace. Often he related to them his own experiences, by way of encouragement. Upon one occasion, he said to the younger monks: "For your instruction, I will speak what I have seen concerning the devices of devils. As often as they blessed me, I cursed them, in the name of the Lord. Sometimes they would come like an army of horsemen, fully equipped, threatening me; but when I made the sign of the cross they vanished. Sometimes, they would fill the house with wild beasts and with serpents; then I sang Psalms. Sometimes they came in the dark, with a shining appearance, and said: 'Anthony, we have come to give you light;' but I shut my eyes and prayed, and the light of the wicked was extinguished in a moment. Sometimes they came reciting Scripture; but I stopped my ears and would not hear them. Sometimes they came clapping, whistling, and dancing; but when I prayed, or sang Psalms, they began to whimper and cry, as if unnerved. Many a time, a tall devil displayed before me the appearance of gold in the desert, that I might touch it; but when I sang Psalms, it melted away. Oftentimes they lashed me with whips; but when I said: 'Nothing shall separate me from the love of Christ,' they turned and scourged each other."

He fasted almost continually, and wore a coarse hair shirt, which he never took off. In cold weather, he added the skin of an animal for a mantle. He never washed himself, not even his feet. He was ashamed of the necessities of the body, and disliked to have any one see him eat or sleep. Multitudes came from all countries to see the celebrated saint. Those who were in trouble went to him for consolation. Those who had disputes, agreed to settle them according to his decision. The diseased were brought to him to be cured, and those who were afflicted with fits, had the devils cast out of them by his prayers. "A great many of the afflicted were healed by merely sitting outside of his door, believing and praying there." Those whom he could not cure, he taught to cultivate a patient submission to the divine will. Those who were at enmity, he exhorted to imitate the forgiving spirit of Christ. He checked the monks in their tendency to place excessive value on miraculous gifts. He was accustomed to repeat to them: "Let us not rejoice that Spirits are subject to us, but rather rejoice that our names are written in heaven; for that is a witness of our virtue; but to expel Evil Spirits is a grace, which Christ has bestowed upon us."

The continual throng of people so disturbed his meditations and prayers, that he escaped to a distant mountain near the Red Sea. Some wild palm trees, and a spring of water furnished him with nourishment; and the wandering Arabs, awe-struck by his appearance, reverently brought him bread. The monks, whom he had left, discovered his retreat, after a while, and would have furnished him with food; but he preferred to save them the labour of sending it. He procured tools, and sowed some of the neighbouring land with grain and vegetables, which served for his own support, and for the refreshment of strangers, who again began to resort to him. He also wove baskets, and gave them in exchange for articles of nourishment. He exhorted those who came to him to remember that it was not he, but Christ, who wrought the cures. To a military officer, who besought him to heal a diseased daughter,

he said: "I also am a man, like thyself. If thou believest in the Christ, whom I serve, only depart and pray to God in faith, and it will be done." Wild beasts that came to drink at the spring, injured his crops of grain; but he exorcised them in the name of the Lord, and they were so over-awed, that they never ventured near the place again. He was then old, and alone, and the monks begged to come once a month to bring him olives and oil. Those who went to carry him food, often heard many voices, and as it were the clashing of arms. Sometimes, they saw him on the mountain at night, surrounded by wild beasts, or praying, or fighting with apparitions. "The Devil let loose upon him nearly all the hyenas of the desert. They came out of their holes, and surrounded him, grinning, and threatening to bite. Anthony said to them: 'If ye have received power against me, come on! I am ready to be devoured. But if the Devil has put this into your heads, begone this moment! I am the servant of Christ.' And they hurried away, as if driven by the whip of his word." After his death, a story was circulated, that when he was ninety years old, a vision informed him there was a hermit in the desert more ancient and more holy than himself. Whereupon, he took staff in hand, and went forth to find Paul, the first Christian anchorite. Many miracles are recorded concerning his journey, and the interview between the two aged saints. Among other things, it is related that Anthony, passing through a deep narrow valley, encountered a Satyr, with a horned head, and goats' feet, who bowed reverently before him, and said: "I am one of those creatures, which haunt the woods, whom the blind Pagans worship as gods. But we are mortals, as thou knowest; and I come to beseech thee that thou wouldst pray for us to thy God, who is my God, and the God of all." When Anthony heard these words, tears trickled down his venerable face, and stretching his aged arm toward Thebes, he exclaimed: "Such are your gods, O ye Pagans! Woe unto you, when even such as these confess the name of Christ, whom ye, blind and perverse

generation, deny." Jerome tells this story, and adds, "though some may consider such an apparition improbable, yet all the world knows that a Satyr was brought to Alexandria, by the emperor Constantine, and his body preserved for the edification of the curious." The Satyr was doubtless an Ourang Outang.

Anthony went to Alexandria but few times in his life, and only on extraordinary occasions. When he was nigh sixty years old, being informed that the emperor Maximin was cruelly persecuting the Christians, he immediately proceeded to Alexandria, visited those who were in prison, offered them religious consolation, and exhorted them to remain stedfast unto death. His influence so stimulated the zeal and courage of Christians, that the governor commanded all monks to leave the city. Others escaped, or concealed themselves; but Anthony boldly pursued his course; and such was the renown of his sanctity, that no one ventured to touch him.

In three hundred fifty two, when he was a hundred years old, Athanasius and other bishops sought to avail themselves of his powerful influence to arrest the spread of Arianism. At their urgent request, he left his mountain and travelled four hundred miles, to Alexandria, where he preached zealously against Arianism, as the *last* heresy, the immediate forerunner of Antichrist. "Believe me," said he, "the whole creation is angry with them, for putting the Creator and Lord of all things, the Eternal Word and Wisdom of the Father, in the number of creatures." His appearance in that excitable city produced a great sensation. His long thin hair and flowing beard, of silvery whiteness, his mild serene aspect, his kindly manners, and his uncouth raiment, were well calculated to make a deep impression. The populace, of all religions, thronged about him, trying to touch his staff, or his garments, that they might be cured of diseases. Even Pagan priests and philosophers went to church, for the sake of seeing and hearing the wonderful hermit. More were converted to Christianity during the few days he staid

there, than during a whole year at other times. He cured many of diseases and insanity, and cast out many devils. When he was passing out of the city gate, to return to his solitary mountain, a woman ran after him, calling out: "Stop! stop! thou man of God! My daughter is wofully afflicted with devils. Stop, I pray thee!" When the woman came near him, her daughter was suddenly jerked down on the ground by the demon; but Anthony prayed over her, and she rose up well.

Constantine the Great, and his sons, wrote to Anthony, as to their spiritual father. Being unused to courtly customs, and not knowing how to answer an imperial letter, he was at first reluctant to receive it; but being reminded how much they had done for Christianity, he listened to the letter, and dictated an answer, in which he exhorted them to make just and humane laws, to be charitable to the poor, and to remember that Christ was the only true eternal king. He knew all the Scriptures by heart, though it seems doubtful whether he could read them, even in the Coptic translation. A learned Pagan, who visited him, inquired how he could endure to live without books. He replied: "Which was first, letter or spirit?" Being answered, he rejoined: "The healthy spirit needs no letters. My book is the whole creation; the Word of God, which always lies open before me. I can read it whenever I please." To some, who ridiculed Christians for excess of faith, he said: "What *we* know by faith, *you* seek to prove by arguments; and often you cannot even *express* that which we behold clearly in spirit." To an abbot, who asked what he ought to do, he replied: "Trust not in your own righteousness, and regret nothing which is already past." To Didymus, a learned Christian teacher in Alexandria, who had been blind from his youth, he said: "Be not troubled that you are in want of such eyes as enable even flies and gnats to see, but rejoice rather that you have the eyes by which angels see, by which God is beheld, and his light received." Synesius, the learned philosopher, while he was yet a Pagan, expressed great reverence for

Anthony. He compared him to Hermes and Zoroaster; and spoke of him as one of those rare men, the flashes of whose spirit enabled them to dispense with culture.

When he had lived one hundred and five years, he felt that his soul was about to be released from his emaciated frame. He retained his mental faculties, and talked of his departure with cheerful faith. The ancient custom of embalming bodies was still retained by many of the Egyptians, especially when the deceased had been venerated as a saint. These mummies, being carefully enveloped and sealed up, were placed on couches and preserved in some recess of the house. Anthony, wishing to guard against undue reverence for his remains, earnestly besought his friends the monks to bury him secretly, and reveal to no man the spot where he was laid; saying it would ill become him to be more highly honoured than the patriarchs of old, and Christ himself, who were all buried. A few of his disciples retired with him to a solitary place, grieving deeply that they should soon look upon his venerable face no more. They kissed his feet, and bathed them with tears, exclaiming: "O Anthony, father, instructor, friend, how can we live on earth without thee?" But he comforted them with the prospect of eternal reunion, and while they were praying around him, his spirit passed gently away from the body it had so much abused.

Athanasius, who greatly revered his memory, wrote his biography, from which the preceding account is abridged. In the preface he says: "I have inserted nothing but what I knew to be true, from my own acquaintance with the saint, whom I often saw, or from what I gathered from one who long ministered to him, and poured water on his hands." He makes no allusion to the miraculous interview with the hermit Paul, which was probably not spoken of in his day.

PAUL THE SIMPLE.—The earliest and oldest of Anthony's disciples is said to have been a hard-working, ignorant peasant, who retired into the desert at sixty years old, on

account of his wife's misconduct. Anthony was at first unwilling to receive him, thinking monastic life would not prove suitable for him. To prove him, he prescribed tasks more severe and difficult than usual. He never allowed him to eat or drink until evening, and then merely sufficient to sustain life. Once, when a visitor brought a pot of honey, he ordered Paul to pour it on the sand, and gather it up carefully in a shell, without mixing any dirt with it. The honest peasant obeyed these, and many other similar commands, without asking any questions, or betraying the slightest impatience. Finding that nothing could tempt him to disobedience or anger, Anthony received him as a brother monk, and was accustomed to hold him up as a pattern to younger disciples. Sometimes he had occasion to blush for his extreme ignorance. Once, when some learned monks were conversing with Anthony concerning Christ and the prophets, Paul inquired which of them was born first. Anthony made a customary sign to him, which signified that he was to hold his tongue. Paul retired to his cell, and when any one spoke to him, he returned no answer. Anthony perceiving that he persevered in this for a long time, asked him one day why he did not speak. He meekly replied: "Because you, my father, ordered me to hold my tongue." Anthony, turning to his disciples, said: "Verily he rebukes us all; for often we do not attend to the voice of God himself, while he obeys my slightest word." On account of the ignorance and child-like innocence of the man, the other hermits called him Paul the Simple, and believed that his soul was very near to God.

One day they brought to Anthony a young man who was possessed by a remarkably furious devil. He tried to rend all who approached him, and uttered the most shocking blasphemies. Anthony said: "This man is possessed by one of the most powerful order of demons, whom I have not received grace to command; but Paul the Simple has the necessary grace." So saying, he went with them to the hermit's cell, and said: "Paul, you must

drive the demon out of this man, and heal him, so that he may return home, and glorify the Lord." "But do you drive him out, my father," replied Paul. "I have not leisure," said Anthony; "I have other matters to attend to." So he left the possessed young man, and returned to his cell. Then Paul addressed an ardent prayer to God, and in all simplicity said to the demon: "Father Anthony commands you to go out of this man, that when he is well he may glorify the Lord." But the Devil answered: "I will not go out, you poor beggar-man." Then Paul laid his sheepskin mantle on the shoulders of the demoniac, and said: "Now go out, will you? Father Anthony commands you." But the Devil replied by abusing Father Anthony. "You *shall* go out," said Paul, "or I will go and tell Jesus Christ, and I give you my word that he will treat you as you deserve." But the Devil blasphemed Christ also, and declared he would not go out. Then Paul went out of his cell, and ascended a rock on the mountain, and there he stood at noon-day, like a pillar of stone, under the scorching sun of Egypt. Weary with his unavailing efforts, in the extreme simplicity of his heart he prayed thus: "Jesus Christ, you who were crucified under Pontius Pilate, I declare to you that I will not eat nor drink this day; I will stand here on this rock and starve, if you do not listen to me, and drive the Devil out of that man, that he may be delivered from torment." "Immediately, as if God were afraid of vexing a man whom he tenderly loved, the demon was heard crying from the cell, where the young man had been left, 'I am going! I am going! I am going! I am going! Paul's humility and simplicity compel me to fly; and I know not where to go.' He departed that instant, and took the form of a dragon, more than a hundred feet long, crawling toward the Red Sea."

Rufinus, the friend of Jerome, has recorded that this same Paul the Simple could tell the disposition and thoughts of people, by merely looking at them; and that he could also see their attendant angels. One day, as he stood at the door of a church, seeing the brethren pass in

to celebrate the Lord's Supper, he saw, with his spiritual eyes, that their angels had bright joyful countenances, as if well pleased with the state of their hearts. But one man went in, whose countenance was dusky; demons pulled him by the nose, and his guardian angel followed sadly at a distance. At that sight, Paul threw himself on the ground and wept bitterly. In vain the brethren tried to persuade him to go in with them to partake the sacrament. He refused to be comforted, and remained outside weeping and praying for the wretched man. When the people came out of church, he watched to see if any change had taken place; and lo! the man came out with a bright and happy face; the demons had left him, and his angel was rejoicing. When Paul told him what he had seen, the man confessed that he had been a fornicator, but that his heart had been deeply touched by passages of Scripture read in the church, that he had prayed earnestly to Christ, and promised to sin no more.

Rufinus, and Sozomen, the Christian historian, give accounts of Paul the Simple.

HILARION.—Hilarion, one of the most celebrated of the old saints, was born in Palestine, and sent to the Alexandrian schools. He had been educated in the old Roman religion, but the fame of Anthony, which was then spreading through Egypt, kindled his young imagination. He went out to the desert to see him, and remained with him some months. After the death of his parents, he returned to his native place, with several monks, divided all his share of the property with his brothers and the poor, and at fifteen years old retired into the solitude of a neighbouring desert, where he commenced a mode of life in imitation of Anthony. Finding that the Devil tried to tempt him with visions of beautiful women, and luxurious feasts, he subdued his body by protracted fasts, and when he ate, he confined himself to a few dried figs and the juice of herbs. He laboured incessantly digging the ground, singing Psalms meanwhile, to keep away evil thoughts. He be-

came so attenuated that his bones could hardly hang together. This severe discipline had the same effect on his nerves, that is recorded of the ancient devotees in Hindostan. "On a certain night, he heard the crying of children, the wailing of women, the bleating of sheep, the lowing of kine, the roaring of lions, and the tramp of an army. He knew the tricks of demons, so he fell on his knees, and made the sign of the cross on his forehead. All of a sudden, a coach with glowing wheels came rushing toward him; but he called aloud on the name of Jesus, and the earth opened and swallowed it up. Then he began to sing: 'The horse and his rider hath he cast into the sea.'"

Jerome, who wrote the life of Hilarion, from which this account is taken, has recorded many miracles performed by him. He had been twenty-two years in the desert, many monks had joined him, and his fame had spread throughout Palestine, when a woman who had been blind ten years was brought to him. She told him she had spent all her money on physicians, and begged him to cure her. He replied: "If you had given to the poor, what you have squandered on doctors, Jesus, the true physician, would have healed you." But when she continued to beg for mercy, he spit on her eyes, and immediately she received her sight.

"A Christian kept horses to run in the chariot races at the circus, against his rival, a chief magistrate of Gaza, and a worshipper of idols. Now this rival employed a magician, who, by certain incantations, made his horses run very swiftly, while he checked the speed of the Christian's horses. The latter went to Hilarion to ask assistance. The venerable saint thought it a silly business to waste his prayers about; he therefore said: 'Why not sell your horses and give the money to the poor, for the salvation of your soul?' The man answered that it was an ancient custom to observe the chariot races; that he did not do it from choice, but was bound as a magistrate to take part in them; that he came rather as a servant of God for aid against those who insulted the church of Christ. There-

fore, at the request of the brethren who were present, Hilarion filled with water the earthen cup out of which he was accustomed to drink, and gave it to the petitioner. He took it and sprinkled his stable, horses, chariot, and charioteer; also the bars of the starting place in the circus. His competitor ridiculed the action, but he was confident of victory; nor were his hopes disappointed. His horses flew like the wind, while those of his rival were impeded. The wheels of his chariot glowed, and the other party could scarcely keep sight of them. The populace exclaimed that their god had been conquered by Christ. The defeated party were furious, and demanded that Hilarion should be punished as a Christian enchanter. The victory being manifest, however, both in these games, and in many afterwards, caused great numbers to embrace Christianity."

Men and animals possessed with devils were constantly brought to Hilarion, and he cured them all. Among the rest, a mad Bactrian camel was dragged to him by thirty men. "The beast's eyes were bloodshot, he foamed at the mouth, his lolling tongue was swollen, and his roaring was terrible. When the old man told them to let him loose, they all ran away. But he walked up to the animal, and standing with outstretched hands, said: 'You are not going to frighten me, you Devil, big as you are! It is all the same to me whether you take the body of a small fox, or a huge camel.' The furious beast came up as if he would devour him; but instantly fell down, and lay with his head to the ground. All wondered to see such tameness follow such ferocity. But the old man told them the Devil often took possession of beasts, because he had such burning hatred against men, that he desired to destroy not only them but their property. He said no one ought to be disturbed because two thousand swine had been killed by demons, at the Lord's command; because that was the only way by which spectators could be convinced that such a multitude of demons had gone out of a man."

"One day, as he returned from the garden, he saw a man lying before his door, whose whole body was para-

lyzed. He wept, and stretching out his hand over him, said: 'In the name of the Lord Jesus, I say unto thee rise up and walk.' With wonderful quickness, while the old man was yet speaking, the members of the paralytic received such strength, that he began to rise."

When he was in Epidaurus, there was a terrible earthquake, which caused the sea to break over its bounds, and threaten a second deluge. The inhabitants, fearing the town would be completely overwhelmed, led Hilarion to the beach, and placed him there as a bulwark against the encroaching waters. "He drew the figures of three crosses in the sand, and stretched forth his hand against the waves. It is incredible to what a height the swelling sea rose and stood before him. After raging for a considerable time, as if indignant at the obstacle, it retired by degrees to its proper boundaries. This fact is affirmed, in all that region, to this day; and mothers teach it to their children, that they may transmit it to their posterity."

He was unable to stay long in any one place, because the fame of his miracles drew such multitudes round him, that he was oppressed by their constant demands upon him. When it was rumoured that he was about to leave Palestine, ten thousand people, men, women, and children, assembled and implored him to stay. Jerome says: "Others may admire his miracles, his incredible abstinence, his knowledge, and his humility; but for my part, nothing so astonishes me as his ability to tread all that glory and honour under his feet. There flocked to him bishops, priests, companies of clergymen and monks, of Christian women, too (a great temptation), and from all sides a multitude of the common people, besides mighty men and judges, that they might get some bread, or some oil, on which he had pronounced a blessing. But he thought only of solitude."

He died at eighty years old, requesting to be buried in his garden, in the hair shirt and rustic cloak, which he had worn for many years without having them changed, or even washed. However, his remains were too valuable to

be left in an obscure place. They were secretly taken, carried to a monastery, and buried with great solemnity.

MARTIN.—But none of the old saints wrought so many and such great miracles as Martin; who was first a valiant soldier in the army of Constantius, then a rigid monk, and finally the zealous, uncompromising, orthodox Bishop of Tours, in the year three hundred and seventy. In all these capacities, from youth to death, he was characterized by great sobriety, purity, serenity of temper, and unbounded benevolence. One of his young disciples, not yet baptized, chanced to die in his absence. When Martin returned, after three days, he found him a corpse, laid out for the funeral. "Feeling himself filled with the Holy Spirit, he commanded all the brethren to leave the cell where the body lay. He then prostrated himself on the corpse, and prayed. After a while, he rose a little, looked steadfastly on the countenance of the deceased, and prayed. In about two hours, the youth began to open his eyes. Then Martin lifted up his voice to the Lord, and made the cell resound with thanksgiving." The brethren rushed in, astonished to find him alive, whom they had left dead. He was baptized immediately, and lived many years afterward. He was accustomed to relate, that when he left the body he was brought before the Judge, "who sentenced him to dark places, among the common herd of departed spirits." [This was because he had died unbaptized.] "Then two angels suggested that this was he for whom Martin was praying; whereupon, they were ordered to convey him back to life again."

There are several other instances of raising the dead, recorded by the biographer of Martin. He says also that, "at Paris, while he was entering the gate of the city, to the horror of all, he kissed a leper, and gave him his blessing, though the man's face was deformed by the disease. The leper was instantly cleansed; and the next day he came to the church with a clear skin, to give thanks for his cure." Diseased people were cured by having a letter

from Martin laid upon the breast. The blind received sight, when he touched their eyes with his cloak. "It is known that angels often visited his cell and held conversations with him. He kept the Devil, too, so closely and distinctly under his eye, that the fiend, whether he retained his proper shape, or assumed various disguises, could never hide himself from the view of Martin. Many a time he tried mischievous tricks upon the holy man. One while, he would personate Jupiter; more frequently Mercury; often he presented himself with the countenance of Venus, or Minerva. But Martin always met him with an undaunted spirit, and protected himself with the sign of the cross and the weapon of prayer."

Sulpicius Severus, an ecclesiastical historian, who wrote toward the close of the fourth century, was a personal friend of Martin, and wrote a biography of him, which is still in existence. Among other marvellous things, he relates that the Devil one day appeared to Martin, "shedding round himself a purple splendour, clothed also in a royal robe, crowned with a diadem of gold and jewels, wearing golden slippers, with a serious aspect and a smiling face, so as to appear like anything rather than the Devil. Martin, who was at prayer in his cell, was dazzled at first, and both kept silence for some time. The Devil began by saying: 'I am Christ. Being about to descend upon the earth, I have resolved first to manifest myself to you.' Receiving no answer to this declaration, he had the audacity to repeat: 'Martin, why do you hesitate to believe? I am Christ!' Then the Spirit revealed to Martin that it was the Devil, not God. And he said: 'The Lord Jesus did not foretell that he would come clothed in purple, and with a glittering crown. I will not believe that Christ has come in any other dress than that in which he suffered; and bearing the marks of his cross.' At that word, the Evil Spirit vanished like smoke, and filled the cell with such a stench, as to afford indubitable evidence that he was the Devil. Lest any one should think this story fabulous, I aver that I heard from

Martin's own mouth the circumstances as I have related them."

He informs us Martin's popularity was so great, that an incredible multitude assembled out of the city and all the neighbouring towns to give their suffrages to elect him bishop. "But some of the bishops who were summoned to consecrate him, resisted his election; alleging that he was a contemptible person, of mean countenance, dirty clothing, and shaggy hair; unworthy of the bishop's office. By people of sound mind this madness of theirs was derided." After he became bishop, he continued to be a monk, lived in a small cell, and wore the same mean apparel. His admiring biographer says: "I declare truly, that if old Homer himself were to rise from the dead, he could not do justice to this subject; so much above the power of language are the merits of Saint Martin. Not an hour, nor even a minute passed, in which he was not engaged in prayer; for however employed, he never suffered his mind to relax from its devotional frame. Happy man, in whom there was no guile! Judging nobody, condemning nobody, never rendering evil for evil! For he had attained to such a degree of patience under injuries, that although he was the chief priest in his diocese, yet he might be injured with impunity by the lowest of the clergy; nor did he ever, on that account, remove them from their places, nor cease to treat them with all possible kindness. No one ever saw him angry, or disturbed, or sorrowful, or laughing. He was always the same; bearing in his countenance a sort of heavenly cheerfulness. He seemed to have risen above the weaknesses of human nature. There was nothing in his mouth but Christ; nothing in his heart but piety, peace, and compassion. There were some who envied his miracles and his purity of life, and hated in him what they were conscious of not possessing. But he had few persecutors; very few indeed, except the bishops." The biographer concludes by saying: "If any one reads this work without believing it, he will sin. I am conscious that I have, under the influence of

love to Christ, faithfully related well-known facts, and have adhered to the truth in all my statements."

For centuries after the death of Martin, the most astounding miracles continued to be performed at his tomb, which became a place of resort for people of all nations, of whom multitudes were converted to the Christian faith by the marvels they witnessed.

MONASTERIES.—It is recorded of the Therapeutæ in Egypt that their reverence for Mosaic ceremonies gradually diminished, and that great numbers of them became converts to Christianity. It seems most likely these were the hermits, whom Anthony found in the deserts, whom he was accustomed to visit, and to take for examples. Therefore, when he drew around him a band of devotees, whom he guided, the customs introduced bore a strong resemblance to those anciently observed in the forests of Hindostan, whence Egypt had derived the model of such institutions. Anthony's disciples lived in separate huts, or caves, and only met together at stated hours, for devotional purposes. Such isolated devotees were called Anchorites, from Greek words signifying those who live alone. Their collection of hermitages was called a Laura, which means an open space.

Long before Anthony died, an Egyptian monk, named Pachomius, believed he heard the voice of an angel, saying it was not the will of God that he should devote himself entirely to his own spiritual perfection, but rather that he should seek to be an instrument of good to his brethren. Accordingly, he assembled a band of anchorites, who agreed to occupy separate cells enclosed in one large building. The regulations and ceremonies introduced were said to have been revealed by an angel; but they were exactly like those of the ancient Therapeutæ, and so were the titles bestowed on the various officers of the institution. It will be sufficiently obvious to every observing reader that there was also a striking resemblance to Buddhist Lamaseries, as described in the chapter on Thibet. As the monks of

Pachomius ate at one common table, they were called Cœnobites, meaning those who live together. He, as head of the establishment, was called Abbot, from a Hebrew and Syriac word signifying Father. The association was divided into classes, according to their degrees of spiritual progress. Each class had its own presiding officer, and its allotted tasks. Pachomius was opposed to a life of idle contemplation, and the inmates of his establishment were as diligent as the occupants of Buddhist Lamaseries. They were agriculturists, basket-makers, weavers, tailors, carpenters, tanners, and whatsoever other trade was needed. They raised and manufactured all that was wanted among themselves, and sent a great deal to the markets. Each department had its own steward, and all gave in their accounts to a general steward, who had oversight of the income and expenditure of the whole association. All that remained of their funds, after their own necessities were supplied, was distributed in the prisons, or sent to the poor, the aged, and the diseased. Very strict inquiry was made into the character of every one who wished to be admitted. He was required to make solemn asseveration that he was legally entitled to act for himself, that he had committed no crime, from the consequences of which he wished to seek refuge, that he could submit to perpetual chastity, be strictly obedient to superiors, cheerfully renounce his property, and consent never to call anything his own. If he answered all these questions satisfactorily, he was still required to serve a season of probation, to test his qualities. When he entered, he shaved his head, and changed his name.

This first Christian Monastery was erected on the island of Tabenna, in the Nile. Pachomius died in three hundred forty-eight, and during his life-time, it numbered three thousand inmates. It increased so rapidly, that in the first half of the fifth century, less than a hundred years from its commencement, there were fifty thousand monks included within its rules. Beggars and travellers always received gratuitous food and shelter; as had been the case with the ancient anchorites and the Braminical associations

in Hindostan, and with the Lamaseries of the Buddhists. The well-ordered industry of these Monasteries not only supplied the wants of all the poor in their own vicinity, but ships were built at their expense, and whole cargoes of grain and vegetables were sent to the destitute in foreign lands. The monks wore long linen tunics, fastened with a girdle, to which they added a sheep-skin cloak in winter. They usually went barefoot, but sometimes wore wooden sandals, to protect them from the extreme heat or cold. They lived on bread and water, to which, on festal occasions, was sometimes added the luxury of a little oil, or salt, an olive, or a fig. They ate in companies of tens, and in perfect silence. They were bound to obey their superiors without remonstrance, or question. Each had his separate cell, with a mat on the floor, and a roll of palm leaves, which served for a seat by day, and a pillow by night. Every morning, evening, and night, the sound of a horn summoned them to prayer. At each meeting one of the brethren rose up, and standing in the midst chanted a Psalm. On stated occasions, portions of Scripture were read. No one spoke, or sneezed, or sighed, or yawned, or even looked up. If affecting passages were read, they wept in silence, unless some over-charged heart relieved itself by an involuntary sob. If the happiness of heaven was described, a very gentle murmur sometimes intimated the satisfaction of the audience. No one was allowed to have more than enough for daily subsistence; and so strict was the vow of poverty, that no man was allowed to say my tunic, or my sandal. Such expressions were punished with six lashes. Every one was obliged to do his share of the work. It was a proverb with them that a labouring monk was tempted by only one devil, but a lazy one with a legion.

These early Egyptian monks were generally true to their professions. They had no lands, or revenues, and would accept of none. It being discovered after the death of one of their number, that he had laid up a hundred shillings from the proceeds of his labour, they buried the money

with him, repeating over his grave: "Thy money perish with thee." The discipline was exceedingly strict. The slightest deviation from the rules was punished by penance of some kind, and more serious offences by incarceration and scourging. Unquestioning obedience to superiors was inculcated as the highest virtue, and was sometimes tested by extravagant trials; such as being ordered to walk through a heated furnace, or to plant a staff in the ground, and water it till it blossomed. Complete suppression of all the natural affections was required. Cassian tells the story of a man named Mucius, who begged to be admitted to a monastery. He had with him a son of eight years old. They were placed in separate cells, lest the sight of the child should inspire a sinful degree of tenderness in his father's heart. The boy was dressed in rags, and left so filthy as to be a disgusting object even to parental love. He was frequently beaten, to ascertain whether any remains of "carnal affection" would force tears from his father's eyes. The historian says: "Nevertheless, for the love of Christ, and from the virtue of obedience, the heart of the father remained hard and unmoved." As a final test of his implicit submission, he was ordered to throw the child into the river. He proceeded to obey, as cheerfully as if it were the command of God; exalted and strengthened in his mind by the idea that he was imitating the example of Abraham. But the brethren interposed, and "as it were rescued the child from the waters." Cassian relates this as if it were the highest effort of Christian heroism; and Mucius attained such holiness by this process of heart-stifling, that he became a bishop.

Basil the Great travelled in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, to make himself thoroughly acquainted with monastic rules. He returned to establish a monastery in the forests of Pontus, on a plan very similar to that of Pachomius. Basil agreed with him in disapproving of idle meditation. Prayer and psalm-singing had their stated seasons, but were not allowed to encroach on the hours appropriated to labour. The money obtained by the diligent pursuit of

various trades, after defraying the expenses of their own very abstemious mode of life, was appropriated to the maintenance and education of orphans, of all classes and religions. Other children were received, if parents gave their consent, certified by witnesses; but none of these young pupils were compelled to take vows of celibacy. In all these institutions the ties of kindred were regarded as entirely subordinate to spiritual relationship. Basil pronounced him "a slave to carnal nature," who loved a brother in blood more than a brother in the religious community. He lived twelve years in the monastery endowed with his wealth, and strictly conformed to its rules of poverty and abstinence. After he was chosen Archbishop of Cæsarea, he made frequent journeys to visit such associations, and wrote them many letters of advice and encouragement.

The later Fathers expressed unbounded admiration for these institutions, where many of them passed more or less of their time. The following extract from the writings of Gregory of Nazianzen sounds very much like the praises of holy anchorites, which abound in the ancient Sacred Books of Hindostan: "How dearly do I love to represent to myself a pious hermit, who has subjugated his senses to the dominion of reason; who, though still confined to earth, yet stands on its outmost boundary; and who from day to day emancipates himself from the ties by which he may yet be linked to human beings. Elevated above external objects, breathing a life altogether spiritual, he has relinquished commerce with men, except what may be required by the duties of charity, or the actual necessities of life. He communes with his own thoughts; he occupies himself with God; he has neither voice nor language for anything, but to converse with Him, to bless and glorify Him. Solely bent on the discovery and contemplation of eternal truth, he catches it at intervals, in characters of radiant light; and the sublime and lofty ideas he conceives of its perfections remain imprinted on his mind, free from all the fugitive deceptive phantoms and shadows, with

which they would be obscured by earthly things. Thus the interior of his soul becomes a mirror, in which God is pleased to reflect the rays of his divinity, and to manifest the splendours of his glory. Joined to blessed Spirits in this region of light and peace, he maintains celestial intercourse with them, and feeds upon his grand and solid hopes of a future life."

Basil says: "Let us suppose a solitude like the desert, in which I now am; where the pious exercises of a religious life, uninterrupted by outward things, afford continual nourishment to the soul. Can you imagine felicity more desirable than that of imitating on earth the life that angels lead in heaven? To commence the day with prayers and sacred hymns, to mingle with our labour the holy songs which make it still more pleasant, and diffuse perpetual serenity. We become purified by this majestic equilibrium in the movements of our souls; by not permitting the tongue to indulge in idle conversation; the eyes to dwell on the vain glory of outward things; the ears to introduce to the soul anything effeminate or frivolous, like mere earthly music, or the heartless jests of trifling minds. The soul, secured by these precautions from outward distractions, and the temptations of the senses, elevates itself to contemplation of the Deity. Enlightened by the rays, which shine forth from his Divine Essence, it rises above its own weakness; freed from temporal cares, corporeal necessities, and the affections of earth, it devotes all its powers to the search after immortal good."

Chrysostom says: "The stars in the firmament are not so numerous as the solitaries in Egypt. With them, contemplation is not idleness. Not contented with renouncing earthly things, with being crucified to the world, they exercise their bodies with laborious occupations, the produce of which, distributed by the hands of charity, contributes to the support of the poor. In the night, they watch, and sing praises to the Lord. During the day, they pray and labour with their hands, copying the example of the great Apostle. If St. Paul, occupied as he

was with the government of all the churches, could yet find time for manual labour, how much more are men removed from the tumult and distraction of cities called upon to occupy their leisure with everything that may be useful to others, as well as to themselves. Thus do these virtuous solitaries argue. Before the day has dawned, anticipating the orb of light, they are already on their feet, singing praises to the Creator. More fortunate than Adam himself in his terrestrial Paradise, and comparable to the angels alone, they sing with them, 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace and good-will toward men.'"

The "majestic equilibrium," which Basil praised so highly, and which was preserved in the monasteries under his guidance, did not long continue a characteristic of monastic life. Ancient Egypt shared the temperament, as well as the theology, of Hindostan. To the high, bright tone of aspiration there always echoed a minor third of sadness. There was something of exuberance in their whole character; a tendency to excess, in festivity and in penitence. In both countries the climate produced such results, as it did lotus blossoms and deadly serpents. The hot sunshine of Africa poured fire into the temperaments, and thence into the theology, of Tertullian and Augustine. When Christianity was introduced into that part of the world, it took a character of extravagant zeal, and rigid asceticism. No other Christians fasted so often and so long, as those of the North African churches. There the Donatists and Montanists wrought themselves up to a frenzy of devotion and a furor of intolerance. In that region, above all others, it was natural that monasticism should first unite itself with Christianity. It was also natural that the same asceticism, which introduced the institution, should soon manifest itself in excesses similar to those practised by the devotees of Hindostan. An Alexandrian named Heron, who joined a company of hermits in the Desert of Nitria, often lived there months on nothing but wild herbs and the bread of the eucharist. He frequently travelled thirty miles into the desert, under a

scorching sun, without food or drink, constantly repeating passages of Scripture. Perpetual contemplation of his own state of mind induced a belief that he had arrived at spiritual perfection, and could not possibly commit sin. From this there was an extreme reaction. The string of the bow snapped from extremity of tension. He was seized with an uncontrollable restlessness. He returned to Alexandria, and plunged into all sorts of amusement and sensuality. Excessive dissipation brought on severe illness; and after terrible struggles, mental and physical, he at last attained to a calm and cheerful state of mind. Arsenius, a learned man, who had been tutor to the emperor Arcadius, became disgusted with the world, and retired into the desert. He contrived to invent a method of discomfort from the quiet and useful employment of mat-weaving. The water in which the leaves were soaked he changed but once a year; considering the foetid smell a suitable penance for the perfumes he had enjoyed when he was a courtier. On Saturday evening, it was his custom to lie down at the setting of the sun, and continue in fervent prayer till the rising sun shone full upon his face. Onofrio lived in a deep cave in the deserts around Thebes. For sixty years, he never saw a human being, or uttered a single word, except in prayer. He wore no covering, except a few twisted leaves. His hair and beard grew uncut, till he resembled a wild beast. In this state, a hermit, who was travelling, discovered him crawling on the ground, and was doubtful what sort of animal it might be. When he discovered that it was a human being, and learned the privations and sufferings he had endured for more than half a century, he was filled with wonder and reverence, and fell at his feet to receive a blessing. John of Lucopolis formed a small cell for himself on the summit of a lofty mountain in Thebais. There he lived fifty years, without opening his door, without seeing the face of a woman, and without tasting any food prepared by cooking. Five days of the week he spent in silent meditation and secret prayer. On Saturdays and Sundays, he opened a

small window, and gave audience to the crowd of supplicants, who came to him from all quarters, to have devils expelled, diseases cured, and the future predicted. He answered their questions, and drew up with a string the fruit and vegetables supplied by their charity. Theodosius the Great sent a messenger to him to inquire what would be the result of his projected war with Eugenius. He respectfully proposed the question, and received assurance of a certain though bloody victory. This greatly excited the emperor, and stimulated the courage of his troops to verify the prediction. The prosperous result greatly increased John's fame as a prophet.

Hermits generally lived in low, narrow, wooden huts, with a palm-leaf mat on the ground, and a bundle of leaves for a pillow. Some constructed cells in such a way that they were compelled to sit doubled up in a most uncomfortable manner. Some exposed themselves to the fury of storms and sunshine, unsheltered, on the tops of mountains. Some lived in deep caves, where not a ray of light could penetrate; some in the clefts of steep, inaccessible rocks; some in the most retired chambers of ancient tombs; some in the dens of wild beasts; and some in iron cages, with weights hung to their arms or feet. Some retired to districts where no rain fell, and where they could obtain no drink but the dew, which they lapped up from the rocks. Some never cut their nails, or combed their hair or beard. Some wore a coarse garment unwashed, until it dropped off in rags; others were partially screened by a few plaited leaves; others were entirely uncovered, except by their long flowing hair, which they never cut. Sleep, being a refreshment to the body, was regarded as sinful. One hour of unbroken slumber was deemed sufficient. They were wakened by each other often in the night to attend prayers and watch; the precise time being determined by the position of the stars. They lived on berries, roots, and vegetables, drank water only, and even from this abstemious diet fasted often; sometimes for days in succession. If, by any accident, they happened to look

upon a woman, they inflicted upon themselves severe penance for the crime. One of them allowed his sister to visit him, at her urgent entreaty; but he shut his eyes during the whole interview. The natural instincts which they tried so zealously to repress acquired exaggerated importance in their imaginations. This is manifested in the sorrowful struggles recorded by the gentle Gregory of Nazianzen; in the general testimony of monks and anchorites that the devils had a peculiar proneness to appear to them in the forms of women; and in the following passionate outburst of confession from Jerome: "Oh, how often in the desert, in that vast solitude, parched by the sultry sun, did I fancy myself in the midst of luxurious Rome! Plunged in an abyss of bitterness, I have thrown myself on the floor of my solitary cell. My limbs were rough with the friction of coarse hair-cloth; my skin, dried and blackened in the sun, was like that of an Ethiopian, and my complexion was livid as a corpse. I groaned and wept throughout the day; and if, in spite of my resistance, drowsiness overcame me at night, my bones, which scarcely held together, clashed on the naked earth. I say nothing of my food. In the deserts, even those who are ill never permit themselves to drink anything but water. If they took anything that required the aid of fire in its preparation, they would accuse themselves of sensuality. Yet even I, who, from fear of hell, had condemned myself to this dungeon, with no other companions than scorpions and wild beasts, often imagined myself in the midst of dancing girls. Fires boiled up in this body prematurely dead. Criminal remembrances, desires, and regrets, overwhelmed me. I shrunk from my very cell, seeming to dread its walls as the accomplices of my thoughts. I penetrated to the inmost recesses of the desert, or wandered on the summits of mountains, or hid myself in the cavities of rocks. I went and came, not knowing where to seek refuge from myself, until at last I threw myself at the foot of the cross, bathing it with my tears, that flowed in rivers, and which I wiped with my hair. I strove to sub-

due my rebellious nature by fasting a whole week. I frequently passed entire nights uttering loud cries, until the Lord himself dispersed the tempest that raged within me, and restored peace to my soul."

The tendency to asceticism, which had strongly manifested itself in the Syrian sects of Gnostics, produced the extremest results when monasticism prevailed in that country. In Syria and Mesopotamia were bands of hermits called *Graziers*, because they fed only on grass and herbs. They lived unsheltered in the forests, or on the sides of mountains, continually praying and singing psalms. When the stated hour for eating arrived, each one took a knife and cut as many herbs as he wanted; and this was the only care they took for temporal concerns.

SIMEON STYLITES.—A Syrian shepherd named Simeon devoted himself to the austere life of a hermit when he was only thirteen years old. It is recorded that he once caused himself to be locked up in a cell, to fulfil a vow he had made to fast forty days. He persisted in his resolution, though a friend took the precaution to place bread and water within his reach. He was found senseless, but survived. For twenty-eight years he went without food one hundred days in the course of each year. During his protracted fasts, he stood till he could stand no longer, then sat, but at last fell down half dead. Finally, he took up his residence on the top of a column, nine feet high, and seven in circumference. There he stood for nine years, like an image on its pedestal. As the pillar admitted of no other posture than standing, he tied himself to a beam fastened to it, to prevent falling when he underwent very severe fasts. He afterward ascended a column sixty feet high, and only three in diameter at top. It was about thirty miles from the city of Antioch. There he stood twenty-eight years, enduring the scorching sunshine of the climate, and the cold of winter. He was called *Stylites*, from a Greek word meaning a column. He made but one meal in a week, and that a very light one. When

he slept, he leaned against a sort of balustrade. He spent the day in prayer till three o'clock in the afternoon, then preached to the audiences collected round the foot of his column, and answered the various requests that were brought to him. By practice, he had learned to assume various attitudes while engaged in prayer. On solemn festivals of the church, he stood with his hands stretched out, so as to resemble a cross, from the setting of the sun to its rising, without a wink of sleep. While praying, he continually bowed so low as to touch his toes with his head. These performances excited the wonder and admiration of spectators. One of them counted his bowings, till he came to twelve hundred and forty-four, and then he gave up the task. His pillar was constantly surrounded by crowds of invalids, who besought his prayers and went away miraculously cured. Devotees from all parts of the world, even from India and Arabia, came to obtain his blessing. Churches often sent delegates to ask his advice, which he gave in the form of letters. Theodosius the Younger frequently consulted him, both in political and theological emergencies. Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, the pious historian of that period, says: "The holy Simeon, being placed in a middle region, as it were, between heaven and earth, conversed with God, and glorified him with the angels; offering up supplications from man to God, and drawing down blessings from heaven for men." He testifies to many miracles performed by Simeon, of which he says he was himself a witness. He heard him foretell a famine, a pestilence, and a destructive irruption of locusts: all of which took place. He likewise correctly foretold the death of one of Theodoret's enemies a fortnight before it happened. A man who made a vow to God, in the presence of Simeon, never to eat animal food, was afterward tempted to eat a chicken; but when he tried to taste it, the flesh turned to stone. Theodoret says there were many eye-witnesses of this miracle, who handled the fowl, and found the breast to be a compound of bone and stone. This celebrated devotee expired on his column, about the

year four hundred and sixty. During the thirty-seven years he passed in this manner, he was seldom left in solitude. In addition to the innumerable people cured by his prayers, it is recorded that some were cured by his touch. His miracles converted many to Christianity, and the celebrity he acquired induced many anchorites to imitate his mode of penance. The highest dignitaries of church and state formed a procession to convey his body to Antioch; and the possession of it was considered a greater safeguard to the city than walls or armies.

Of course, these unnatural modes of life tended to irritate the nerves and bewilder the mind. Effects similar to those produced on the ancient anchorites of Hindostan are recorded concerning Christian ascetics. Considering every pleasant reminiscence, and natural impulse, as a temptation of the Devil, they lived in a perpetual state of vigilant anxiety, or mournful contrition. Feeble in body, and excited in mind, they doubtless saw fiery visions, which they supposed to be Evil Spirits, and heard mysterious noises, which they mistook for the howling and hissing of Demons. The places they chose for their residence also contributed to render their imaginations more impressible. Night settling down over the vast solitude of the desert; mighty mountains, shrouded in dark clouds, revealed by fitful flashes of lightning; shrieks of the stormy winds; howlings of wild beasts; the fantastic shadows of moonlight; to hear and see all these, and be alone with them, for ever alone, required great strength both of body and mind. And even without external sources of solemnity and awe, the firm belief that fiends were always lurking near them, to tempt their unwary souls to hell, was of itself enough to drive men mad, when made a subject of perpetual contemplation. Some grew sceptical about the existence of a God, or of themselves. They regarded all things as phantoms, and creation as a self-moving show. Some rushed into furious licentiousness, from the idea that where the soul was holy, the body could commit no sin. Insanity

manifested itself in so many forms, that in the sixth century it became necessary to establish a hospital at Jerusalem for lunatic devotees. But indefinite degrees of insanity often passed for inspiration; and multitudes continued to be attracted toward a mode of life, which gave them such influence over their fellow men. The degree of veneration paid to Christian hermits and monks appears to have been fully equal to what was accorded to the ancient anchorites of Hindostan, when the world was many centuries younger. The holiest of these devotees were believed to be invested with miraculous power, which in many cases was imparted to the garments they had worn, the staffs with which they walked, and the vessels they had handled. It was supposed that they could cast out devils by their prayers; cure diseases by a touch, a word, or even a distant message; perceive the secret thoughts of men; foretell future events; cause iron to swim, and dead trees to blossom; pass safely through fire; handle serpents uninjured; and compel devils and wild beasts to obey their commands. All these things are recorded as of frequent occurrence in the lives of remarkable saints. The bishop Theodoret, a man of learning, benevolence, and sincere piety, was in the constant habit of visiting celebrated hermits in their caves, and monks in their cells. He thus made a great collection of their maxims and miracles, which he recorded in his Ecclesiastical History. He affirms that both himself and his father were often cured of distempers, by applying a piece of the girdle of a holy monk named Peter, "whose garments wrought wonders, like those of the Apostle Paul." He tells of a noble and wealthy lady at Antioch, who became delirious, could not recognize the members of her own family, and obstinately refused to eat or drink. It was generally believed that she was possessed by a devil; but physicians said she had a disease on the brain. All medical aid having proved vain, her husband applied to a celebrated monk, named Macedonius. When the holy man entered the room, he addressed a fervent prayer to God, and ordered some cold

water to be brought. As the physicians had forbidden her to drink water, he requested every one to leave the apartment; he then made the sign of the cross over a goblet of water, and himself gave it to the lady to drink. As soon as she had swallowed it, her senses began to return. She recognized the Holy Father, reverently kissed his hand, and soon recovered her health completely. Whatever these renowned devotees said concerning theological doctrine, or modes of worship, was supposed to be expressly revealed to them by the Holy Spirit, and was therefore obeyed as reverently as had been the oracles of Ammon, and of Urim and Thummim. Emperors visited them in their cells, to consult them on affairs of state; their benediction was esteemed an important prelude to every great undertaking; and they were frequently summoned from seclusion to preside in episcopal palaces. It would have been altogether inconsistent with the constitution of human nature, if such extreme adulation and profound deference had not excited spiritual pride. Symptoms of it do in fact abound. Simeon Stylites had a vision of a flaming chariot from heaven, guided by an angel toward his column. The angel urged him to ascend the chariot, saying the Heavenly Spirits were longing to receive him. Simeon had already placed his right foot on the step, when it was suggested to him to take the precaution of making the sign of the cross. He did so, and immediately the chariot vanished; being a mere phantom sent by Satan to deceive him. His right foot was sprained, and he said it was done in his attempt to mount the visionary vehicle. Some monks, whose minds were better balanced, regretted the excessive tendencies of many of their brethren, and occasionally cautioned them against the results. Nilus thus addressed one of the imitators of Simeon: "Whoever exalts himself shall be abased. You have done nothing worthy of commendation, in having stationed yourself on a lofty pillar; yet you covet the greatest praise. Look to it, lest you be extravagantly lauded by mortals, and hereafter be obliged to appear wretched before the eternal God,

because you were intoxicated here by the undeserved praise of men."

Extravagances of asceticism were generally more conspicuous among anchorites of the deserts and mountains, than in the monasteries. Such institutions were often under the guidance of wise and prudent men, and in the beginning, visionary tendencies were much checked by the salutary influence of useful occupation. But the industrial character of the early establishments soon changed. An idea began to prevail that buying and selling was detrimental to holiness, by occupying the mind too much with external affairs, and bringing saints into contact with worldly men. Martin, who was afterward bishop, established a monastery in a very secluded spot, about two miles from Tours. It was enclosed between a river and precipitous mountains. There was but one way of access to it, and that was extremely narrow. He began with eighty disciples, most of whom lived in holes they had scooped out among the steep rocks. Himself, and some others, constructed very small wooden cells for their habitations. They raised barely enough for their own scanty subsistence. There was no buying or selling, to create a fund for charity, as in other monasteries. The elder members of the community did nothing but read the Scriptures and pray, and the juniors copied the Scriptures, and the Lives of Saints. They all wore coarse garments of camel's hair, fasted often, and rarely left their cells, except to assemble for prayer. The biographer of Martin says: "What made this more wonderful, was that many of them belonged to noble families, and had been far differently educated. Most of them subsequently became bishops; for what city or church could do otherwise than desire to have pastors from the monastery of Martin?" There gradually grew up classes of monks who gave especial prominence to the Hindoo doctrine of a divine intuitive science, obtained by those who had completely subjugated the senses. They thought they had attained to a state of spiritual perfection, which no longer needed the Scripture,

or any other external aid: that they were a sufficient law unto themselves, being constantly guided by immediate revelations of the Holy Spirit. They considered labour a degradation to the soul, and lived by alms only. These were the origin of what were afterward called Mendicant Friars. What might at first have originated in sincere fanaticism, before long degenerated into shameless imposture. Tribes of importunate beggars roamed about the country in monkish costume, committing all manner of licentiousness and deception, and often robbing the charitable who sheltered them. This was carried to such an extent, that in some places monks came to be regarded as a nuisance. When a band of them came from Jerusalem to Carthage, about the middle of the fifth century, the populace ridiculed and cursed them, as they passed through the streets. So loud was the remonstrance against the abuses of monasticism, that Chrysostom was obliged to write several books in defence of the system. But through evil report and through good report, these associations continued to spread, till they covered the whole face of the Christian world. Jerome estimated the number of monks and anchorites in Egypt only, at seventy-six thousand in his time. There were at that period five thousand monks in the Deserts of Nitria, near Alexandria, who could be immediately rallied by sound of trumpet to attack Jews, Pagans, or heretics. They often committed terrible devastations under the covering of zeal for religion. The abstraction of such large and ever-increasing numbers of men from the various trades and occupations also became a serious evil. The emperor Valens published an edict, in which he styled the monks "those followers of idleness," and commanded that they should serve in the army.

The idea that the perfection of human nature consisted in complete estrangement from the senses was oriental in its origin, and thoroughly oriental in its character. It did not find its way into Europe, till introduced with Christianity. Some tendency that way was indeed indicated by the general celibacy and extreme temperance

of philosophers. But this element, which they brought from Egypt, was tempered by the active and joyous spirit of Greece, and by the restraining sense of Roman dignity. The grove in which Plato taught was full of beautiful statues, and he always wore stainless garments of fine and soft material. His followers the New Platonists, though tending more and more to oriental doctrines, were always gentlemen in dress and manners. The majestic and the beautiful was the pervading character of Grecian and Roman temples, and their houses were adorned with images of joy and grace, such as dancing nymphs, frolicsome Cupids and laughing Bacchantes. Among people descended from such ancestry, monasticism could not fail to meet with some repulsion. A monk was never seen in Rome, till Athanasius introduced a few of the companions of Anthony the Hermit, in the year three hundred and forty. Their emaciated bodies, dirty dress, and matted hair, excited horror and disgust, which was very slowly conquered by stories of their superior sanctity and supernatural power. When Jerome went there, a little more than forty years afterward, he found that the very few who had been converted to the monastic practices taught by Athanasius, were regarded by the Roman people as "ignominious and vile." But his fervent exhortations soon kindled wonderful enthusiasm on the subject. Roman Senators, wealthy matrons, and beautiful young maidens of patrician rank, were seized with longing to leave their luxurious palaces, and purchase eternal happiness and glory, by renouncing all the pleasures of the world in some narrow cell of a monastery. The zeal thus kindled caused a great deal of domestic disappointment and unhappiness. There had always been more converts to Christianity among women, than among men. It often happened that noble Romans retained their attachment to the old worship, while their wives and daughters were Christians. Young men, influenced by their mothers and sisters, suddenly resolved to become monks, when their fathers had opened for them a brilliant career as lawyers, magistrates,

or military officers; and the pride of patrician friends was mortified to see them exchange their elegant and perfumed robes for the squalid dress of monks, and in lieu of dignified offices occupy themselves with weaving mats and baskets. Beautiful young girls, for whom wealthy marriages had been arranged, took upon themselves vows of perpetual celibacy, and no persuasion or threats could change their purpose; the vexation of ambitious relatives, and the grief of affectionate parents, were extreme. All who did not share the enthusiasm detested monks in general, and Jerome in particular. It was much the same in other cities. In Constantinople, parents appealed to the government to have some legal measures taken to prevent their children from being persuaded to desert their homes. But Chrysostom preached from the pulpit of Santa Sophia that all who thus wished to expose their offspring to the temptations of the world must expect misery here, and eternal perdition hereafter. The number and wealth of the monasteries increased continually; for in Christian countries, as it had always been in Hindostan, alms given to a monk was considered as so much paid toward the salvation of the donor's soul. They gradually monopolized the practice of medicine, as had been done among Hindoos and Buddhists. They cured diseases by their prayers and exorcisms, and they cultivated a knowledge of herbs to assist their miraculous power.

There were Christians who strongly remonstrated against these doctrines and customs. Jovinian of Rome, though himself a monk, disapproved the exaggerated importance awarded to celibacy. He urged that it was by no means peculiarly Christian, since the priests of Isis and of Cybele always took upon themselves a similar vow. He said the union of Christ and his church would never have been typified by marriage, if there were anything wrong in the relation. He exhorted those who chose to lead a single life, for the sake of freedom from worldly cares, to be careful not to pride themselves upon it, as a great merit and distinction; since the married could be truly religious also.

Jovinian appears to have been one of those men, whose good sense restrains them from extremes. Jerome could not accuse him of selfish reasons for depreciating the value of celibacy; for he scrupulously observed his own monastic vow. But he reproached him with wearing clean linen garments, and making frequent use of the bath; as if cleanliness were incompatible with religion. Vigilantius, who so greatly exasperated Jerome by protesting against invocations to martyrs, and the burning of lamps before their relics, likewise provoked his wrath by writing against the doctrine that celibacy was essential to holiness. He maintained that there was no authority for it in the teaching of Christ, or the Apostles. He urged that Paul had merely required bishops and deacons to have but one wife, and that he sanctioned the election of a bishop who had a wife and children. He protested against monastic life, as a desertion of social and domestic duties, and as a warfare with nature, well calculated to produce secret immorality. He denied that virgins had any higher merit than widows, or married women, unless they excelled them in good works; and he maintained that it would be far more acceptable to God to spend money judiciously for the industrious poor at home, than to send alms to indolent monks at Jerusalem. These views gained favour with many minds. They were approved by some even among the clergy, who candidly admitted that excess of rigour did produce secret licentiousness. But this opposition served to stimulate zeal on the other side, and failed to arrest the progress of monasticism.

NUNS.

It has been stated that in very early times there were individuals, both among men and women, who voluntarily devoted themselves to a single life, for the sake of more leisure for religious pursuits. These "virgins of the church," as they were called, generally lived in Christian families, and assisted in the care of the household. Cyprian calls these celibates, "the flower of the ecclesiastical tree;

the most illustrious portion of Christ's flock," and tells them that the best mansion in the Heavenly Father's house is reserved for them. It was early the custom for women thus dedicated to live in the houses of clergymen, whether married or unmarried. Many of them were poor, and were glad to obtain a comfortable home by the management of household affairs; and to the sincerely devout among them the opportunities for religious instruction, which such situations afforded, would doubtless be very precious. The title of "spiritual sister," usually bestowed upon them, would naturally be attractive, from the spiritual equality it expressed. Such a mutually helpful relation might have been generally pure and salutary in the primitive days, when there were no Christians except those who became so through conscientious conviction. But after a time, it became customary for these virgins to receive pecuniary assistance from the church, and this would naturally induce many to join, who had no higher motive than selfishness. That some of them were not very seriously impressed is implied by Cyprian's finding it necessary to preach to them against painting their faces, and colouring their hair of the fashionable tint. He asks if they are not afraid their Maker will not know them for his own work, when their bodies rise from the dead. Under such circumstances, their residence in the houses of unmarried clergymen would naturally give rise to suspicion. Cyprian says: "The church often complains of her virgins, and groans at the scandalous stories told of them. Their glory and dignity are profaned." He gave orders that those who were living in the houses of unmarried clergymen should immediately depart. Several of the Fathers allude to the custom with disapprobation. Jerome, who never sacrificed strength to delicacy, describes it in coarse, sarcastic terms. Basil wrote to an old presbyter of his diocese to dismiss his "spiritual sister," though he was seventy years old, lest his example should prove a stumbling-block to younger ecclesiastics. The Council of Nice formally condemned the practice, and forbade clergymen

to have any woman reside in the same house with them, except a mother, sister, or aunt. But the evil had become so extensive and deeply rooted, that the emperor was obliged to pass very strict laws on the subject.

When Pachomius established the first monastery, he likewise founded a separate institution for women vowed to celibacy. They received the name of nuns, from a Coptic word signifying mother; a term of respect, applied to them, as holy father was to the monks. As women had few profitable employments, Pachomius made it a rule that the expenses of the nunneries should be defrayed by the monasteries. Women were as emulous of this kind of sanctity as men. Jerome says there were nearly twenty-eight thousand nuns in Egypt in his day. When Athanasius introduced monks at Rome, they proselyted a lady named Marcella, who with a few other devout women retired into seclusion, and devoted herself to celibacy and prayer. But that mode of life had not then become fashionable at Rome, and her example was not praised or followed. When Basil the Great established his monastery in Pontus, he built a nunnery on the other side of the river, where his mother and his sister Macrina presided over a community of pious women. The three sisters of Theodosius the Great made a vow of perpetual celibacy, which was inscribed on a golden tablet set with gems, and presented by them to the cathedral at Constantinople. They lived in religious community with a company of devout maidens, who had taken the same vow. They were exceedingly abstemious, fasted often, and spent their time praying and singing Psalms. Their example was eulogized as the perfection of human virtue. The enthusiasm for monastic life, which Jerome's preaching excited at Rome, was peculiarly conspicuous among women. His argument, that "as the Lord had angels to attend upon him in heaven, he ought also to have angels devoted to him on earth," proved very attractive to young maidens, who felt a degree of spiritual dignity in resolving to become "the spouse of Christ." Jerome was fond of applying to this

subject all the glowing descriptions of the bridegroom in the Song of Solomon; and if he had been painting earthly love with a free pen, some of his pictures could scarcely have been more impassioned. This mingling of earth and heaven in his eloquence had a powerful influence over the devout and susceptible nature of women. Under its influence, the young, the beautiful, and the wealthy, renounced the world and its pleasures, assumed coarse garments, and devoted themselves to poverty, chastity, and obedience. Ambrose had similar success in his diocese. Many parents tried to keep their daughters out of hearing of his eloquence, lest he should induce them all to become nuns. The most distinguished among Jerome's converts at Rome were the widow Paula, and her daughter Eustochium, descendants of the Scipios and the Gracchi. Paula impoverished her own family, to bestow her great wealth on the church. The enemies of Jerome attributed his influence over them to human love. He admitted that both the ladies were attached to him, but solemnly denied that he ever made any base or selfish use of his influence. They left kindred, friends, and country, and accompanied by a number of women, who were excited by a similar religious enthusiasm, they joined Jerome and a band of monks in a pilgrimage to Bethlehem. There Paula built and endowed a monastery and two nunneries. Jerome presided over the first, and herself and Eustochium over the others. When she left Rome, a younger daughter and a little son watched her departure with looks of sorrowful intreaty. But without turning to take a farewell glance, she raised her tearless eyes to heaven, and went forth to the Holy Land. Jerome eulogizes this as the sublimest height of self-denying piety. Paula died in her nunnery, and he boasted that she did not leave a farthing to her daughter, but many debts.

The Fathers were lavish in their praises of women who thus dedicated themselves to the Lord. Jerome calls monks and nuns "the precious gems and flowers of the church." He says: "Marriage replenishes the earth, but

virginity peoples heaven." "There must be vessels of wood and of earthen, as well as of gold and of silver." Chrysostom says: "Transport yourself in imagination into Egypt. You will there see a new Paradise, more beautiful than the richest gardens; innumerable troops of angels in human forms; entire nations of martyrs and virgins. There the weaker sex rival the most fervent solitaries in their virtues. A holy phalanx of pious Amazons, not armed, as of old, with bucklers and javelins, keep themselves continually on their guard against an enemy the most subtle and dangerous of any." Elsewhere, he says: "It is a life worthy of heaven, and not inferior to that of angels."

It was the same with Christianity as it always has been with all sects. In the beginning all the members of it were in earnest; all were deeply impressed by the new aspects of truths presented to their minds; in a word, all were religious. But after Christianity was patronized by the state, multitudes received it as an inheritance, or merely adopted it as a custom. It was easy to do so, because the church itself laid so much stress on external ceremonies, such as baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the sign of the cross. To these was added the old Hindoo idea that donations to priests, and alms to monks, were so much paid toward the expiation of sins and the increase of future rewards. The more Christianity set itself up in opposition to nature, and demanded entire suppression of the instincts and affections, the more the separation widened between the worldly class and the religious. Hindoo rationalists and moralists had asked, centuries before, how the business of the world was to get on if all devoted themselves to celibacy and contemplation. The same theory introduced into Christianity gave rise to similar reflections. The result was, that men engaged in active pursuits came to regard religion as incompatible with the necessary business of life; as an affair belonging to priests and monks only. They supposed their own duties adequately performed if they paid the consecrated class for the perform-

mance of ceremonies, which they declared to be essential to salvation. If such men were exhorted to become sober and devout, it was common for them to reply: "I have worldly duties to perform; I am neither priest nor monk." Augustine, alluding to this line of separation, says: "As the Pagan who would be a Christian hears rude words from the Pagans, so he among the Christians who is striving to lead a better and more conscientious life must expect to hear himself mocked by Christians themselves, who will say: 'You are really a very righteous man; a second Elijah or Peter; you must have descended from heaven.'" Elsewhere he says: "As soon as a man begins to despise the world, to refrain from revenging injuries, and from the accumulation of riches, to walk faithfully in the ways of Christ, and think of nothing but God, we must expect Christians themselves to remark: 'What is the man about? What can have entered into his head?'"

GENTILES.

It has been already stated that Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others of the early Fathers, had such reverence for Plato, that they thought he must have been inspired by a degree of the Logos, which inspired the Hebrew Scriptures. Some of the later Fathers retained a portion of this feeling. Eusebius says: "Plato alone, of all the Greeks, reached to the vestibule of truth, and stood upon its threshold." Lactantius calls him "the wisest of all philosophers." Augustine declares that any Platonist might become a Christian by merely changing a few words and sentences. But this very similarity, combined with the eclectic tendency of the new Platonists, induced an increasing hostility to philosophy, and to classic literature in general, as a polished and insidious enemy, likely to destroy the individuality of Christianity by fusing all systems together. Jerome says: "The vain words of philosophy, in the doctrines of Plato, kill the infants of the church, and are turned to divine vengeance and blood to them." He

has himself told us that he was so in love with the rich, harmonious Greek, and the majestic Latin, that he tried to do penance for his besetting sin, with "the hisses of Hebrew;" and that angels were obliged to come to his assistance and scourge it out of him. Yet some of the old leaven seems to have remained after that castigation; for he always continued to quote the classica. Rufinus, seeking to heap accusations on him, brings it against him, as a very serious charge, that he employed monks on the Mount of Olives to copy portions of Cicero. He says: "I have held the sheets in my own hands. I have read them. He cannot deny that when he came from Bethlehem, he brought one of Cicero's Dialogues with him; and that, in his Greek Paganism, he gave me a volume of Plato."

Lactantius complains that Pagans pertinaciously defended their religion, because they derived it from their ancestors; deeming it impiety to question what had been handed down from very ancient times; that they reproached Christianity with being a new worship, unlike anything that had ever been approved by kings, lawgivers, or philosophers. To meet this objection, Christians claimed the revelations made to Hebrews as the fountain of their religion, and affirmed that they were not only as old as the world, but were also the only revelations of divine truth that had ever been given to mankind, before the advent of Christ. Eusebius, in his efforts to give antiquity to Christianity, affords a curious example how words may be pressed into the service of theological theories. He asserts that the Hebrew patriarchs had the same faith and the same worship as the Christians, and even the same name. To prove this position, he quotes: "The Lord said, Touch not mine anointed." As the word Christ signifies anointed, he thence derives the inference that God called them Christs, or Christians. Augustine says: "What is true and good in the writings of Pagans should be used for the service of Christianity; since it was not created by themselves, but, like their gold and silver, was dug out from stores everywhere provided by Divine Providence." He

also says: "That which is now called the Christian religion existed among the ancients; nor was it wanting from the beginning of the human race till Christ came in the flesh; from which time the true religion, which had always existed, began to be called Christian."

Jewish converts of course retained the fixed idea of their nation, that God never inspired any but his chosen people of Israel. They adopted the opinion of Aristobulus, Philo, and Josephus, that any fragments of truth found in the writings of Plato and other philosophers must have been borrowed from Hebrew sources, while all that was false in their teaching came from the Evil Spirits whom they worshipped as Gods. They succeeded in firmly fixing this idea in the minds of the Christian Fathers. Some said Plato had conversed with the prophet Jeremiah in Egypt. Others said he went to Egypt for the express purpose of studying the Hebrew Law and the Prophets; and that he became acquainted with them through the medium of the Greek translation called the Septuagint. They did not explain how it happened, that Plato, having taken all that trouble, never made the slightest allusion to the Hebrews or their books, though he continually referred to the learning of the Egyptians. The total dissimilarity between his writings and those attributed to Moses was explained by the assertion that all of truth in Plato could be found in Moses by allegorical interpretation. Augustine for a time maintained this Jewish theory concerning Plato, but he subsequently retracted it; being convinced that Plato was born near a hundred years after Jeremiah was in Egypt, and that the Hebrew Scriptures were not translated into Greek till sixty years after Plato's death. Lactantius and Jerome likewise acknowledged that chronology would not sustain such a theory. Then a conjecture arose that the Grecian philosopher, during his stay in Egypt, must have conversed with some learned interpreter of Moses. This opinion, which satisfied Jewish exclusiveness, generally prevailed among Christians. That Hebrew patriarchs and prophets were directly inspired by the Logos—that is, by

Christ himself—was universally maintained; but the old idea that the best philosophers might have been thus inspired, though in a lesser degree, was rejected by all the later Fathers. The learned among them acknowledged that the doctrine of One God was very anciently taught in Egypt. Lactantius says: "Thoth, or Hermes, a most ancient philosopher, instructed in all kinds of learning, and therefore called Trismegistus, [thrice greatest,] wrote many books concerning the knowledge of divine things; wherein he asserts the majesty of One Supreme God, calling Him, as we do, God and Father. Lest any one should inquire his name, he said that he was without any name; that is, ineffable and incomprehensible."

To rightly estimate the opposition to Christianity manifested by many good and sincere men among the Pagans, it is necessary not only to make allowance for the strong attachment men naturally feel for the ancient faith of their nation, but it is also just to remember that Christianity did not then present itself to reflecting minds with the same aspect it now does in the most enlightened parts of Christendom. The alleged efficacy of mere external rites naturally excited distrust, when so many manifested a lax morality, and selfish policy, after being baptized. Spurious Gospels, abounding with marvellous and childish tales, were then in general circulation; and prophecies by Sibyls, which learned Pagans knew to be forged, were constantly appealed to in confirmation of Christianity. Allegorical interpretations of Homer seemed to the Fathers like foolish conceits; but the symbolical interpretations which they gave to the Scriptures, Old and New, seemed quite as forced and unmeaning to Grecian and Roman minds. They had been accustomed to regard Jews in very much the same light that we regard Hindoos; as a people of small intellectual culture, and strongly wedded to strange, unsocial customs. Not being educated to consider Moses inspired, they did not look at his laws through the glorifying medium of reverence, but judged them with the same freedom that we judge the laws of Menu, Minos, or Numa.

The bold and sublime, but rough style of the Hebrew Prophets was offensive to ears accustomed to flowery rhetoric, and the harmonious versification of Grecian and Roman poets. Moreover the allusions and metaphors were so Jewish, that much of their significance was lost upon other nations. Therefore, notwithstanding the strong inducements to accept a religion on which successive emperors lavished funds and honours, there still remained a considerable class of educated minds strongly, though silently attached to old religious ideas, clothed in the robes of refined philosophy. And though the indigent and the helpless were sure of shelter and nourishment in the arms of the mother church, there were still many peasants, who believed that their flocks would not multiply, if they ceased to offer oblations to Pan, and that their harvests would be unblest, without an altar to Ceres in the fields.

As the new religion grew more powerful, it became less merciful toward the old. It was the general belief that all Pagans, who lived before the world had heard of Christ, could not possibly be happy in another world; not even the wise and virtuous Socrates, and the excellent Phocion. And no Christian entertained a doubt that every Pagan must be eternally damned, whatever might be his degree of moral worth, if he worshipped the ancient gods, after the religion of Christ had been offered to him. At the beginning of the fifth century, when the persecuting Cyril was Archbishop of Alexandria, a learned and beautiful woman, named Hypatia, was head of the school of New Platonists in that city. She gave lectures on philosophy, and her uncommon eloquence and graceful manners attracted very large audiences. She is said to have been free from pedantry, strictly virtuous in character, and eminently modest in her manners. She was under the protection of her father, who was also a philosopher, and their house became the resort of all the learned and distinguished. Orestes, Governor of Alexandria, was frequently their guest, and she was supposed to have great influence over him. A jealousy arose that this influence was exerted

unfavourably to Cyril. He and his monks began to utter calumnies concerning her friendship with Orestes; though it does not appear that she was guilty of any other offence than that of exerting extraordinary talent and learning to render the old religion attractive in its mystic veil of Platonism. The monks of the neighbouring deserts, who prided themselves on contempt for human learning, were much displeased by the applause her eloquence excited; and their enmity increased to hatred. As Hypatia was returning home from one of her lectures, she was seized by a mob of these violent devotees, who dragged her through the streets into one of the churches, murdered her, stripped off all her clothing, tore her limb from limb, and burned the mangled remains to ashes. Theodosius the Younger, who was then emperor, either did not dare to punish this terrible outrage, or he had no will to do it.

The decrees of the church and the laws of the state manifested the same hostility toward the vanquished religion. Whoever allowed his daughter to marry a Pagan priest was expelled from the Christian church, and not permitted to receive the sacrament even in the hour of death. When Justinian became emperor, in the year five hundred and twenty-seven, he appointed a bishop to hunt out all who were suspected of secret attachment to the old worship. Their silence was not sufficient. They were ordered to make ready for baptism or death. Seventy thousand were discovered; mostly in the Asiatic provinces. They were immediately converted into as good Christians, as outward ordinances could make them. Photius, a man of patrician rank, stabbed himself rather than submit to the enforced ceremony. The emperor caused his corpse to be ignominiously exposed.

JEWS.

It is not recorded that any dispute ever arose between the Apostles and their countrymen whether Christ was the Logos; or concerning the question of his divinity, in any form. The only complaints which Jews brought against

the disciples of Jesus were, that they ate forbidden articles of food with foreigners; that they profaned the temple by bringing Greeks into it; and that they admitted the uncircumcised to associate with them, even in their worship. The Psalmist says: "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made;" and similar expressions abound in the Old Testament. But Jews never entertained the idea that this Messiah was to be an impersonation of the Word; and the idea that God could have a son was very shocking to their established mode of thought. Eusebius says: "If any Jew be asked whether God has a Logos, he will say, 'Certainly.' Every Jew will say that He has one or more of them. But if asked whether God has a Son, he will deny it." Elsewhere he says: "If any one suppose that the Son is a mere *word*; quiescent in the Father when He is quiescent, but active when He made the world; resembling the word of man, which is quiescent when we are silent, but active when we speak, it is evident that he interprets according to human reason, as the Jews do, and that he denies the true Son of God." The Rabbi Jonathan says: "The Messiah and Moses will appear at the end of the world, one in the desert, the other at Rome; and the Logos will march between them."

As soon as the doctrine of the Messiah's divinity was made known to the Jews, they controverted it most strenuously, as an idea totally at variance with their strict belief in the unity of God. Basnage, in his History of the Jews, says: "Christians and Jews separated at the second step in religion. Having adored together one God, absolutely perfect, immediately afterward, they find the abyss of the Trinity, which separates them entirely. The Jew considers three persons as three Gods; and this shocks him." This obstruction in the path was probably the principal reason why so much fewer Jews than Pagans were converted. The following remarks, by Herbanus, a learned Jew, in the fifth century, in controversy with a Christian bishop, express the substance of what they always said on the subject: "The prophet Moses pronounces

a dreadful curse upon the children of Israel, if we should ever receive any other God beside the God of our fathers. God himself strictly orders us, by the prophets, saying: 'There shall be no other God in thee, nor shalt thou worship a strange God.' Why, then, should you make any words on the subject?" "It is grievous to me to desert the God of the Law, whom you also acknowledge to be the true God, and to worship a younger god, not knowing whence he sprung." "Whence do you derive your faith in the Father, Son, and Spirit, and introduce three strange gods?" "Where did any prophet foretell that the Messiah was to be a God-man, as you say?" "Why did not God order Moses and the prophets to believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but yourselves only, who have lately discovered it, as you pretend?" Another of their writers says: "Moses commands to worship only one God. He makes no second like him, or unlike him, as you have done. If you can produce a single expression in Moses to this purpose, do it. That saying of his, 'A prophet shall the Lord your God raise up unto you, of your brethren, like unto me, hear him,' is not said of the son of Mary. But even if this be granted to you, Moses says the prophet shall be like himself, not like God; a man, not a deity." What Isaiah prophesied concerning Emanuel, which means God with us, they interpreted by their own ancient custom of giving significant names to children. Eusebius says: "The Jews teach, I know not how, that all those things were said of a common child." Those who adopted the Cabalistic idea that Adam Kadman created the world, that he appeared as the earthly Adam, and would again appear as the Messiah, seem to have been a small minority, both among Jews and the Christianized Jews called Ebionites.

To meet the objections started by their opponents, the Christian Fathers said God spoke to his Logos, when he said: "Let us make man after our own image." But Jews replied that God then addressed his conclave of ministering angels. In answer to their demand for proofs from the

Old Testament, the Fathers said that the Godhead of the Messiah was predicted, but purposely veiled. Eusebius says: "The prophets, who foretold concerning Christ, concealed their treasure in obscure words." Epiphanius says: "Adam, being a prophet, knew the Father, Son, and Spirit, and knew that the Father spake to the Son, when he said, 'Let us make man.'" Chrysostom says: "When Moses said the world was made by God, not by Christ, he accommodated himself to the stupidity of his hearers; and justly, because it would not have been proper to give those meat, who had need to be fed with milk." It was generally maintained that the doctrine of the Trinity was hidden from the Jews, on account of the danger of their relapsing into their old tendencies to worship other gods than Jehovah. The Fathers said it was for this reason that Christ and his Apostles purposely concealed it. Eusebius says: "The multitude of the Jews were kept in ignorance of this hidden mystery, when they were taught to believe in one God only, on account of their being frequently drawn into idolatry. They did not know that God was the Father of the only begotten Son. This mystery was reserved for the Gentile church, out of special favour to them."

The virginity of Mary was likewise opposed to Jewish habits of thought and feeling. Their theories concerning the creation of man did not recognize an eternal principle of Matter, the origin of evil. Consequently, they did not hold the human body in contempt. The mother of the largest family was the woman most honoured among them; and there are indications that the idea of giving birth to the long-expected Messiah was a cherished hope among Hebrew women. Learned Rabbis denied that Isaiah predicted the Messiah would be born of a virgin. They said the Hebrew word thus translated in the Septuagint simply signified a young woman. They ridiculed what some of the Christian Fathers said concerning the miraculous birth of Christ, differing from all other births. They asked: "If this were so, why was Mary represented as going to the temple to make offerings for purification?"

If the warfare had been confined to words, it would have been better and more creditable to both parties. But unfortunately many causes were at work to increase the hostility always felt by a long-established church toward a non-conforming sect. After the introduction of Christianity, Jews began to attract more attention from other nations than they had previously done. This was partly owing to the fact that they had grown with the growth of the world. They formed a large, wealthy, and enterprising class in all the principal cities of the Roman empire, and there were many men among them who commanded respect by their learning and their virtues. In the early times, Jews had little zeal for making converts. But intercourse with foreigners, and the rapid spread of Christianity, roused in them a spirit of proselytism; and at a time when the Pagan religion was undermined by general scepticism, some devout minds were solemnly impressed with sublime passages from the Hebrew Scriptures, and with the worship of one God, of whom no image was allowed to be made. In large cities considerable numbers of the populace were converted by Jewish magicians, called *Goetæ*, whose wonderful skill they believed to be miraculous. The later Jewish writers were accustomed to trace the miracles of Christ to magic. They said he had power over Evil Spirits, because he had learned the secret and ineffable name of God, expressed only by a mysterious sign, and had dared to utter it.

After our era, Jews were brought into notice in one way peculiarly annoying to themselves. They were constantly identified with the seceders, whom they so much abhorred; for when Christianity began to be a troublesome element in Roman affairs, magistrates regarded the sect as merely a peculiarly refractory portion of the Jews. This induced a habit of mutually vilifying each other, to repel the charges brought by Romans. The breach widened continually, and when Christianity became the paramount influence of the state, Jews were deprived of the protection and toleration they had enjoyed under emperors of the old

religion. Constantine, in his edict concerning the observance of Easter, declares that it was unsuited to the dignity of the church to follow "that most hateful of all people, the Jews," in their celebration of the Passover. He enacted that if the Jews should stone a Christian convert, or otherwise endanger his life, all concerned in it should be burned alive. He prohibited all Christians from becoming Jews, under pain of arbitrary punishment. He forbade Jews to hold Christian slaves; assigning as a reason that those who had been made free by the blood of Christ ought not to be slaves to the murderers of the prophets, and of the Son of God. They were constrained to take upon themselves certain public offices, which were burdensome and avoided by others. Some degree of justice was, however, observed. The right of Roman citizenship was not taken from them, they chose their own officers to regulate their markets, and their Patriarchs and Rabbins were exempted from military duty and civil offices, the same as the Christian Archbishops and their clergy.

In Spain it was customary for landholders and peasants to keep a joyous festival in the spring time, and at the gathering of the harvest. Many of them were Jews; and according to the devout custom of their nation, before they partook of the banquet, they prayed to God that even in the land of the stranger he would send sunshine and dews to produce abundant crops. A Council held at Illiberis forbade Jews to assemble with Christians on such occasions, lest the blessings pronounced by them should render unavailing the powerful benedictions of the church.

Constantius passed laws still more severe than those of his father. The Jews were very heavily taxed and burthened in every way. They were forbidden, under pain of death, to hold Christian slaves, or marry Christian women. The old edict of Adrian, forbidding them to approach Jerusalem, was renewed. A painful pilgrimage it must have been, had it, been allowed; for their Holy Mountain lay desolate, while the glittering cross, surmounting the splendid church on Mount Calvary, might be seen from

afar. Under the short administration of Julian all these oppressive enactments were abolished, and he proposed to rebuild their temple, as has been already stated; but Jovian restored the old state of things.

These persecutions of course excited bitter animosity in the objects of them. When disturbances occurred, the Jewish population, especially in reckless Alexandria, rushed to the aid of Pagans, or Arians, and often committed frightful excesses. Christians availed themselves of every pretext to insult, harrass, and plunder the Jews; and Jews lost no opportunity to retaliate.

After the time of Jovian, several of the emperors were inclined to restrain the animosity of the bishops toward the Jews, who were everywhere a numerous and useful class of citizens. Maximus commanded the Christians to rebuild at their own expense a synagogue which they had wantonly destroyed at Rome. Theodosius the Great gave the same orders concerning a synagogue demolished at Callinicum. The outrage occurred at a great distance from the jurisdiction of Ambrose, but he felt called upon to remonstrate with the emperor concerning the intended restitution. He expressed disapprobation of such acts as setting fire to synagogues, but asserted that no bishop could conscientiously contribute anything toward building a place of worship for Jews. He also said, somewhat inconsistently: "I myself would willingly assume the guilt, and say, I have set this synagogue in flames; at least in so far that I have urged on all; that there might be no place left in which Christ is denied." From the pulpit, he preached in the same strain he had written. The emperor, who was at Milan, yielded his sense of justice to the zeal of the bishop, and the Jews were left without a synagogue. But he recognized the right of their Patriarchs to judge and punish members of their own community, according to their own laws, and Roman magistrates were forbidden to interfere in such cases. When near the close of his life, and away from the influence of Ambrose, he issued an edict of toleration to the Jews, and ordered that all who pillaged or

destroyed their synagogues should be punished according to the discretion of the magistrate.

Where two classes of people were so hostile to each other, occasions were never wanting for a quarrel. Brawls in the streets were continually occurring between Jews and Christians, upon the slightest provocation; and Jews, being the party out of power, were not very likely to obtain a candid hearing. At a place not far from Antioch, some Jews in a state of intoxication manifested their rancorous animosity in a manner they would not have ventured to do while sober. They mocked at Christ in the public streets, and erected a cross, on which they fastened a Christian boy, whom they scourged till he died. They were rigorously punished; but the transaction deepened popular hatred of the Israelites. Some years afterward, a mob of Christians plundered a synagogue at Antioch. The Roman Governor represented the case to the emperor, Theodosius the Younger, who commanded the clergy to make restitution; but they appealed to Simeon Stylites, who remonstrated with the emperor. Theodosius could not resist the intercession of such a celebrated saint. He granted his request, and wrote him a letter soliciting his prayers, addressed to the "Holy Martyr in the Air." The magistrate, who had exerted himself to preserve justice from being warped by intolerance, was removed from office.

In the excitable city of Alexandria, where Jews were always numerous, commotions were more frequent than elsewhere. At the theatre, a quarrel arose between some of the Hebrew population and one of the partisans of Cyril the archbishop. Cyril threatened to make all the Jews responsible, if such scenes were not prevented. This threat excited the Hebrew populace, who well knew that he always availed himself of every pretext for persecution. They raised a false alarm that the church was on fire in the night, and when the Christians rushed out, they fell upon them and killed many. The next morning, the archbishop, without waiting for any examination into the affair, or any warrant from the civil authorities, led on an army

of monks to attack the Jewish citizens, who were unarmed, and not aware of danger. Synagogues were demolished, houses pillaged, many Jews slaughtered, and all the rest driven out of the city. There were forty thousand Jews in Alexandria, and a large proportion of them were wealthy. Orestes, the Governor, as a matter of policy, wished that such a large and valuable class of citizens should feel security in the possession of their property. He accordingly represented to the emperor that compensation ought to be made for the extensive robberies committed, and the buildings destroyed. Five hundred monks attacked him, as he was riding through the street. In vain he protested that he was a Catholic Christian. One of the great stones they hurled at him, made the blood gush from his head, and nearly cost him his life. He was generally popular, and the citizens rose in his defence. The monks were driven back to their deserts, and the man who had thrown the stone was put to death. But Cyril caused his body to be taken up, and accorded to him all the honours of a martyr, who had fallen in defence of the church.

Justinian, who was a great persecutor of Jews and heretics, passed laws more severe than any of his predecessors. He forbade the reading of the Talmud, and compelled Jews to keep their Passover on the same day that Christians observed Easter.

A similar state of feeling existed between Christians and Samaritans. On Easter Sunday the Samaritans, for some unexplained reason, broke into the church in their city of Sichem, killed a great many people, and cut off several fingers from the hands of the bishop, who held fast to the consecrated bread, he was just about to administer in the sacrament. It was wrenched from him, and treated with the utmost fury and contempt. The bishop fled, and sought redress from the emperor Zeno, showing his mangled hands, and quoting the prophecy of Jesus to the woman of Samaria: "The time shall come when ye shall worship God, neither on this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem." The Samaritans had built no temple on Mount Gerizim; but

the ancient veneration for the holy place continued, and on its summit they offered their devotions. At the request of the bishop, the emperor not only severely punished the Samaritans for the outrages they had committed, but ordered them to be expelled from Mount Gerizim, and caused a chapel to the Virgin Mary to be erected on its summit. It was necessary to build a strong wall round it, and place an armed guard to watch it. A small party of Samaritans clambered up the precipitous side of the mountain and slew the guard.

Justinian passed very severe laws against the Samaritans. They were deprived of all dignities, and not allowed to hold any office whatsoever, civil or military; "lest they might have opportunity of judging and punishing Christians; even bishops." These stringent measures produced furious insurrections, in which many Christians were killed, and their churches destroyed. The Samaritans were finally expelled from Sichem, their capital city, and forbidden to enter it again. In litigation, where one or both parties were Christians, the testimony of a Jew or a Samaritan was inadmissible. Those who adhered to their religion were not allowed to inherit property. To provide for cases where the wife became a convert to Christianity, while the husband remained a Jew, or a Samaritan, it was enacted that the true religion should rule. The unbelieving father was bound to maintain his children, but the believing mother was invested with authority to regulate their education and marriages. These laws had the intended effect of causing many of the Samaritans to submit to baptism.

When there was great competition among conflicting sects to increase their number of proselytes, when converts were rewarded with worldly advantages, and driven by legal disabilities, frequent deceptions were the inevitable result. Those among the Jews, who had no sincere reverence for any religion, made a traffic of being baptized in several places, managing to receive banquets and presents for their trouble. This was carried to such an extent, that it became necessary to pass laws that no Jew should be

baptized without previous inquiry into his character, and serving a period of probation. An instance is recorded of the detection of one of these hypocrites by miracle. When he would have entered the pool, the water recoiled from him, as if conscious that he had often made traffic of the ceremony.

The Jewish population always sided with the Arians in times of disturbance, and when Arians were in power, they always protected the Jews. This probably arose from mutual sympathy, growing out of the fact that both were persecuted by the dominant church. How much evil might have been averted, if Christians had obeyed the gentle precepts of their founder, is proved by the fact that both Jews and Pagans were prompt to manifest gratitude toward those who treated them with justice and moderation. The published letters of Sidonius Apollinaris, Bishop of Clermont, contain several epistles from eminent Jews, full of friendly feeling. Basil the Great aimed at impartial justice in the administration of his episcopal office, and in debate with theological opponents, he was always courteous. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, also manifested a candid and kindly disposition. At the funeral of both these prelates there was a great concourse of Pagans and Jews, and Israelites mingled their voices with Christians in Psalms of lamentation.

HERETICS.

The spirit manifested toward Christians, who departed in any respect from the Catholic standard, was hardly less bitter than that exhibited toward Pagans and Jews. Various disputes, which germinated in the Nestorian controversy, long continued to divide and subdivide the church. The Asiatic and Egyptian clergy were generally followers of Eutyches, called Monophysites; while the Western clergy were strenuous advocates for the decree of the Council at Chalcedon, which condemned Eutyches. In four hundred eighty-two, five hundred assembled bishops decided that the decrees of the Synod of Chalcedon might

be supported by bloodshed, if necessary. There were a multitude of monks in Jerusalem, who espoused the Monophysite cause, and pillaged and murdered their opponents. The sepulchre of Christ was stained with blood shed by furious combatants; one side maintaining that he had two natures completely united in one *nature*, the other that he had two natures completely united in one *person*. The Bishop of Alexandria was constantly guarded by two thousand soldiers; and for two years he contended with the people of that city, who were violently opposed to the decree at Chalcedon. At last, they besieged him in his cathedral, murdered him, burnt his corpse, and scattered the ashes to the winds, to prevent his relics from being honoured. Many thousands were slain in consequence of this theological splitting of a hair. Such a state of excitement existed, that the smallest spark was sufficient to kindle a devouring flame. The Apocalypse of John represents angels and cherubim continually singing before the throne of God, "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty!" As this was supposed to express the Trinity, it became customary, in the fifth century, to sing this in the churches, under the name of the Trisagion, Thrice Holy. A Monophysite bishop, in his zeal to represent the one nature of Christ as God, added the words, "who was crucified for us." This practice was copied at Constantinople and some other places. The opposite party regarded it as a blasphemous and dangerous heresy to represent God as crucified. The emperor Anastasius took one side, and the Patriarch of Constantinople took the other. Two adverse choirs in the cathedral sang the Trisagion; one without the additional phrase, the other with it. They strove to drown each other's voices, and when their lungs were fatigued, they attacked each other with clubs and stones. A mob of men, women, and children, led on by an army of monks, went about the streets, shouting and fighting. The statues of the emperor were broken, he hid himself to save his life, and was finally compelled to abdicate. Sixty-five thousand Christians were slaugh-

tered before the insurrection was quelled. This was the first war between Christians on account of theological differences.

In the first half of the sixth century, a complete separation took place between the Catholic Church and the Monophysites. They formed independent churches in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, and appointed their own patriarchs. They soon divided into sects. Controversies arose among them whether the body of Christ was created or uncreated; whether it was corruptible or incorruptible. Some of them arrived at the conclusion that the three persons of the Trinity were three gods. This sect, called Tritheists, were rejected as heretics by the Monophysites, as well as by their opponents.

In connection with the discussion concerning two *natures*, arose the query whether Christ had two *wills*. Believers in one will were called Monothelites, from Greek words having that meaning. Many of the Eastern clergy favoured that view, but considered controversy on the subject unnecessary and injudicious. The clergy at Rome were displeased with this advice, and pronounced the doctrine of the Monothelites heretical. Bishops were summoned to assemble in that city. They signed a sentence of condemnation on St. Peter's tomb, and rendered it more emphatic by mingling sacramental wine with the ink. After prolonged controversy, it was finally settled that two wills, divine and human, were perfectly harmonized in Christ.

The controversy with Macedonius likewise left a wake behind it. The equality of the Holy Spirit with the two other persons of the Trinity was settled by decree of council; but new discussions arose concerning what was called "the procession of the Holy Ghost." Scripture declared that the Spirit was sent by Christ; which led some to infer that he proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father. Others rejected this as involving the idea of double parentage, and maintained that he proceeded from the Father only. In five hundred eighty-six, the Council of Toledo added three words to the creed established by

the Council of Constantinople, and made it declare "the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father, *and the Son.*" This gave great offence to the churches in the East. Rome decided that "the Holy Spirit is eternally from the Father and the Son; and he proceeds from them both eternally, as from a single principle, and by one single procession." The churches in Constantinople persevered in maintaining a different opinion on this subtle question, and the contest ended in complete separation from the Catholic church.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

It was in this state of things, that Gregory the First, commonly called the Great, became Patriarch of Rome in the year five hundred ninety. His father was a Roman senator, and his mother was a woman of uncommon endowments. She was a devout Christian, and watched most carefully over his youthful education. Her pious tendencies are indicated by the fact that while he was yet a babe, she dreamed the holy hermit Anthony appeared to her, and foretold that her son would be a bishop.

Gregory commenced his career as a lawyer with distinguished success. He became a member of the senate, and was employed in various other services of honour and trust. He was Prefect, or Governor of Rome, and resigned the office after having fulfilled its duties with great ability and integrity, for twelve years. Satiated with worldly success, his spirit craved something more satisfactory and abiding; and he longed for religious seclusion. On the death of his father, he inherited a large fortune, which he immediately devoted to pious and charitable purposes. His paternal mansion, on the Celian Hill, was converted into a monastery, and hospital for the poor, dedicated to the Apostle Andrew. A small cell was reserved for himself, and thither he retired from the world, taking upon himself the usual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. His time was divided between prayer, devotional studies, and attention to the poor. When a terrible pestilence

raged at Rome, he devoted himself most assiduously to the care of the needy and the suffering. The Pope, Pelagius Second, employed him as his secretary; and when he died, the popular voice immediately named Gregory as his successor. He wrote to the emperor, intreating him not to ratify the choice of the people; it being his earnest wish to devote himself to the quietude of religious seclusion. Finding that his election was confirmed, he fled from the city, and hid himself in a cave. Tradition says those who were sent to search for him were guided to the place of his concealment by a celestial light. He was brought back and solemnly installed in the high dignity of the Roman Pontiff, with far more power and splendour than had ever belonged to the old Pagan office of Pontifex Maximus.

Gregory was the first Pope who assumed the title "Servant of the servants of God." He discharged the duties of his elevated station with an unusual degree of humanity and wisdom, if we judge him by the standard of that age. When the Jews in Sardinia appealed to him, in consequence of some outrages they had suffered, he commanded that the synagogues, which had been taken from them and converted into churches, should be immediately restored. He forbade any interference with the worship of the Jews, and severely rebuked those whose zeal led them to place in the synagogues images of the Virgin Mary and of the crucified Christ. At the same time, he sought to proselyte them by a process more kindly and considerate, though it appealed to selfish motives; he offered remission of taxes to all converted Jews. He exerted himself to the utmost to prevent the "cruel and impious" traffic in Christian slaves, and to redeem from bondage to Jews or Pagans all who were Christians, or who professed a wish to become Christians. He advised bishops to sell the church plate, if necessary, for this purpose, as a service well-pleasing in the sight of God. Before he was Pope, his compassion had been greatly excited by some young English captives offered for sale in Rome. He formed the design of going as a missionary to England, and had in fact started on his

journey; but his services were so much needed at home, and he was so much beloved by the people, that they induced the Patriarch of Rome to send after him, and forbid his departure. He returned accordingly; but the sight of those beautiful youths, so desolate and sad in the markets of a foreign land, made an impression on his soul which he never forgot. It was one of the earliest acts of his administration to send missionaries to England. His zeal for the general dissemination of Christianity was very great. He not only sent missionaries to neighbouring nations, but to Huns, Bactrians, Persians, Medes, East Indians, and Chinese. He displayed similar zeal for the conversion of Jews and heretics, and for the advancement of monasticism. He rigidly enforced the celibacy of the clergy; a regulation which still continued to meet with a good deal of opposition. Its tendency was to guard the wealth of the church; for married bishops and priests would have been likely to use the ecclesiastical revenues for the benefit of their own families; and the effect would have been, in those times, to establish an hereditary priesthood. Gregory not only protected the wealth of the church, but greatly increased it. The distinctness and prominence which he gave to the doctrine concerning Purgatory, proved a valuable source of revenue. The idea that the soul, after death, went to some place where it was purified by fire, was a feature common to the oriental religions, and the Gnostic systems, and was also introduced into Platonism. Origen, and Clement of Alexandria, thought it was proved by the Christian Scriptures. Most of the Fathers so construed the third chapter of Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians. That prayers, oblations, and penances of the living could affect the condition of the dead, was another idea which pervaded the oriental religions; particularly the Braminical and the Buddhist. The early Christian Fathers also inculcated it as a duty to offer prayers and oblations for the deceased; on the ground that such ceremonies were a benefit to their souls. This conviction was strengthened by the feeling that though original sin was

washed away by baptism, penance was required for sins committed after baptism. Gregory the Great defined these doctrines with more precision; and from that time henceforth they were invested with accessories both terrifying and attractive to the imagination. Purgatory was represented as a region on the borders of hell, where souls not good enough to enter heaven were detained, for a longer or shorter time, to be purified by suffering. One spark of its fire was said to cause more agony than any bodily pain that could be endured, or conceived of, in this world. Prayers offered for the dead, and donations given to churches and monasteries in their behalf, would lessen the intensity and shorten the term of this probationary suffering. Priests were paid for reciting these prayers; and as tenderness for the departed, whether founded in affection, remorse, or pride of family, is one of the strongest feelings in the human heart, masses repeated for the dead became a source of great emolument. Gregory's administration was marked by increasing splendour in the decoration of churches, the richness of ecclesiastical costume, and the pomp of ceremonies and festivals. He revised the ritual of worship, and arranged the liturgy as it has ever since been preserved. He introduced chants sung by male voices in unison, and himself trained choristers to perform them. The voices of the whole congregation had heretofore joined in the music of the church, but it was thenceforth intrusted to trained bands of singers. These Gregorian chants, supposed to have been formed on the model of the old Greek chorus, with more complex modulation, remained for centuries the orthodox standard for all church music, from which it was considered a sort of heresy to deviate. The pomp and ceremony thus introduced, and the ecclesiastical authority established over the minutest forms, had a great effect to dazzle and overawe the ignorant; especially barbarian converts, to whom the Pope did indeed appear like God's vicegerent upon earth, and his attendant bishops, priests, deacons, and choristers, like so many ministering angels. This increase of Roman greatness

was by no means pleasing to many of the Eastern churches. In fact, the splendid pontificate of Gregory was a constant struggle for power with his competitor, John, Patriarch of Constantinople.

But if his ambition was great, his benevolence was perhaps even greater. He was truly a kind shepherd to the poor of his flock. When told that a beggar had died of hunger in the streets of Rome, he seemed to consider himself personally responsible. He imposed penance on himself, and for several days refrained from the administration of his priestly office, as one unworthy to appear before the Lord. It is related of him that when he was only a monk, a beggar presented himself at the gate of the monastery. Being relieved, he came again and again. At last, Gregory had nothing to give him but a silver porringer, in which his mother had sent some nourishment to sustain him during his penances. He gave that also to the beggar. After he became Pope, it was his daily custom to invite twelve poor men to sup with him. One night, he observed that thirteen were at the table. When the steward was asked the reason of this, he replied that there were but twelve. Gregory inquired no further; but after supper, he privately asked the unbidden guest who he was. He answered: "I am the beggar, whom thou didst formerly relieve so often at the monastery. I am now called The Wonderful; and whatsoever thou shalt ask of God, through me, thou shalt obtain." Then the charitable Pope knew that he had entertained Christ.

Innumerable miracles are recorded of him. His Secretary declared that while he was writing, he had often seen the Holy Ghost perched on his shoulder in the form of a dove. Once, when a man was present in the church, who doubted that the bread and wine were really changed into the body and blood of Christ, Gregory prayed that he might be convinced; whereupon, Jesus himself descended upon the altar, with his cross and crown of thorns.

Gregory died at sixty-four years of age, fourteen years

after he was chosen Pope. He suffered much from physical infirmities, said to have been induced by severe fasts and vigils, while he was a monk. He left numerous writings, which have been frequently published. A book of Dialogues, written at the end of the sixth century, has been ascribed to him; but many suppose the sanction of his name was assumed without authority. These Dialogues describe monks in Italy as curing all manner of diseases; walking on the water as freely as on dry land; turning rivers out of their course; suspending the arm of an executioner in mid air, so that he was unable to lower it to behead a Christian; replenishing vessels of wine and oil miraculously; and having pieces of gold, fresh as if just from the mint, dropped into their laps from heaven.

SLAVERY.

Slaves in the Roman empire were those who had been taken captive in war, or poor men sold for debt. Being subject to the arbitrary will of their masters, their condition was dreadful in the extreme. Even Nero compassionated their situation so far as to forbid masters to expose their slaves to be torn by wild beasts. Adrian decreed that the master who killed a slave, except for a lawful cause, should be put to death. Antoninus Pius ordained that whoever punished a slave unreasonably should be compelled to part with him. The altars and statues of the gods, and many of the temples, were places of refuge for abused slaves, from which they could not be forced by their masters, till their complaint had been inquired into; and if they had been cruelly dealt by, they could demand to be sold to another master.

Constantine the Great passed a law that masters should not punish their slaves "except with moderation." Justinian also passed several laws restricting the power of masters. But the efforts of Christian emperors, and of the bishops, were mainly directed against Christians being held in bondage by Jews or Pagans. Constantine prohibited

Jews from holding Christian slaves, under pain of confiscation of property. This law apparently fell into disuse; for laws were subsequently passed forbidding Jews to attempt to convert their Christian slaves. A Council at Orleans in five hundred and forty, enacted that if a Christian slave was required to perform any service incompatible with his religion, and the master proceeded to punish him for disobedience, he might find an asylum in any church; that the clergy of that church were on no account to give him up, but to pay his value to the master. Another council the next year enacted that if a Christian slave, under the same circumstances, should seek the protection of any Christian whatsoever, he was bound to shelter him, and to redeem him at a fair price. Any Jew, who proselyted a Christian slave by promises of freedom, forfeited all his slaves. The slave, who had agreed to such a condition, was pronounced unworthy of freedom, and the contract with him was rendered null and void.

Jews, being more engaged in merchandize than any other class of people, became the principal traders in slaves, which were exchanged for other commodities. Gregory the Great was much troubled by the fact that Christians often came into the possession of Jews by this process. He ordained that no Jew or Pagan who wished to embrace Christianity should be held in bondage by any but a Christian. If a slave expressed such a wish within three months after he was bought, the purchaser was obliged to accept the market price offered by any Christian. If he was kept longer than three months, he was free without being paid for; it being evident that the Jewish slave-merchant kept him for his own service, not for sale. The Council of Macon, in five hundred eighty-one, forbade Jews to hold Christian slaves at all, or to sell Christian slaves to any but Christians. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of bishops and the decrees of councils, the cruel traffic continued to prevail extensively. Different provinces were under different jurisdictions; many of the clergy could not read the decisions of councils; and those who were acquainted with

such decrees, sometimes cared more for pecuniary profit, than for humanity to Christian brethren. In a Council held at Toledo, in six hundred fifty-five, complaint was made that "even the clergy, in defiance of the law, sold captives to Jews and Pagans."

It has already been stated how great sympathy was expressed in the churches for Christians carried into captivity, and how general was the custom of raising contributions, and even of selling the church-plate, for their relief. But the Jews of old would sell any into foreign bondage except those of their own faith; and Christian humanity was limited by a similar theological boundary. No decrees were passed prohibiting either Jews or Christians from holding in bondage those who were *not* Christians, or to prevent Christians from owning each other. The Council at Chalcedon, in the middle of the fifth century, forbade convents to receive slaves without the consent of their masters; and threatened excommunication for the offence. The reason assigned was "that the name of God may not be blasphemed;" that is, that the church should not be accused of exciting insubordination. Basil the Great made it a rule that slaves, who sought refuge in the monasteries he founded, should be sent back with an admonition, unless their masters had ordered them to do something contrary to the law of God.

After the Pagan temples and statues were destroyed, slaves, who had been accustomed to fly to them for safety in emergencies, began to take refuge in churches. During the reign of Theodosius Second, several slaves in Constantinople sought shelter in the sanctuary of the principal church, to escape from the wrath of a cruel master. There, for several days in succession, worship was disturbed by attempts to regain them. When, at last, resort was had to force, the slaves, in their desperation, killed one of the ecclesiastics, wounded another, and then put an end to their own lives. This and similar occurrences led to the enactment of a law to protect the inviolability of church asylums; passed in four hundred thirty-one. It was then

enacted that not only the altar, but whatever formed any part of the church buildings, should be an inviolable place of refuge. It was forbidden on pain of death to remove forcibly those who fled thither unarmed. When a slave sought shelter there, the clergy were ordered not to delay longer than a day to give information of it; but the master was required to grant full forgiveness, and promise to receive him back without inflicting any punishment. Whoever violated such a promise was expelled from communion. Excommunication from all the churches was likewise the punishment decreed by several councils, for the crime of killing a slave.

Though Christian emperors and bishops enacted no laws which indicate the recognition of the institution itself as a crime, indications abound that such a conviction pressed on the individual consciences of Christians. Manumissions at baptism were very frequent; still more frequent at the approach of death. A latent consciousness of wrong is betrayed by the following form in common use on such occasions: "Almighty God having blessed us in our day with health of body, we ought, for the salvation of the soul, to turn our thoughts somewhat to the cutting off from the number of our sins. Therefore, in the name of God, for the good of my soul, and redemption from my sins, I have set at liberty my slave," etc. How boldly some of the Fathers rebuked the iniquitous system has been already shown by extracts from their writings. A similar spirit was manifested by the best of the monks. Nilus, who in the fifth century retired from a dignified station in Constantinople to a monastery on Mount Sinai, in his writings especially inculcates compassion for slaves, "whom a mastership of violence, destroying the fellowship of nature, has converted into tools." A monk named Eloi, called "the Glory of his Age," was in the habit of attending all the slave-sales he could hear of, buying up large numbers of them and setting them free. He then offered them the choice of entering a monastery, or of returning to the countries whence they had been brought. The Abbot Isidore

of Pelusium, writing to a master in behalf of a slave who had begged for his intercession, says: "I did not suppose that a man who loves Christ, who knows the grace which has made all men free, could still hold a slave." The celebrated Benedict, a truly religious man, established the following rule for his monasteries: "The Abbot shall not prefer one to another, except for obedience and faithfulness. He shall not rank one born free above one who was a slave before his conversion; for whether bond or free, we are all one in Christ Jesus. With God there is no respect of persons." The Abbot Theodore, in his will, left this injunction to his monastery: "Never make a slave of man, who is made in the image of God; either for your private service, or for the monastery, or for the cultivation of the fields." A great many slaves became monks, and many were chosen bishops. It was requisite that they should be previously emancipated; but in general this was easily accomplished; for it was deemed a sort of impiety to place any obstacles in the way of a slave, who wished to devote himself to a religious life. Perhaps this class of people were found to be a useful check upon the pride of nobles. At all events, there was in many portions of the empire an increasing predilection for ordaining bishops who had been slaves. The Archbishop of Treves, in the ninth century, declares that a large proportion of the bishops were of servile extraction, and commonly took sides against the nobility. Some remonstrated with the bishops for habitually giving such candidates a preference, and felt obliged to quote, in favour of the free-born, the declaration that "God is no respecter of persons."

CHURCHES, IMAGES, AND SAINTS.

The churches were not only asylums for slaves, but for debtors, who could thus gain time for the bishops to interfere in their behalf, or raise money for their relief. In times of invasion, or civil war, the conquered took refuge there. Ambrose protected multitudes from the sword,

during the frequent revolutions in the Western part of the empire. The noble-hearted Chrysostom, always ready to shelter the unfortunate, extended the powerful arm of the church over every victim of arbitrary violence, whether patrician or peasant. When Alaric the Goth captured Rome, the churches of Peter and Paul, and the chapels, were places of universal refuge. Amid the general uproar, not a single Gothic soldier touched those consecrated spots; on the contrary, they themselves conveyed thither many women, children, and aged people, whose helplessness excited their compassion. This was the more commendable, because the Goths were Arians, and the churches in Rome were Athanasian.

The privilege of asylum was of course abused, as the increasing number of churches rendered sanctuaries easy of access for criminals of all sorts; and the clergy must have been more than human, if they had not made the great power, which this custom conferred upon them, sometimes subservient to purposes of ambition or avarice. The Pagans had made great complaints of justice defeated, or evaded, by criminals taking refuge in their temples. In process of time, similar complaints were made concerning the abuse of sanctuary in the churches; but in the latter case, the evil was more extensive; for a single city in Italy contained more asylums for criminals and debtors, than there had formerly been in the whole of Greece.

The earliest Christians met in each other's houses for devotional exercises. When Gentile converts became numerous, they had, in some places, the use of domestic chapels, belonging to wealthy proselytes, who had previously devoted them to the worship of Pagan deities. Sometimes they assembled in the woods, or at the burial-place of martyrs, whose tombs, covered with red cloth, in memory of their blood, served as altars on which to place the bread and wine of the eucharist. If there were no such tombs in the vicinity, moveable boxes, covered with cloth, were often used for the same purpose. When persecution raged, the faithful met together at night in caves, or in the

large subterranean burial-places called catacombs. Under the emperors who tolerated Christianity, churches began to be built, but in very simple style. The father of Gregory of Nazianzen, though bishop of only a small diocese, built one at his own expense. They generally faced the east, as was the custom with the temples of all nations. Jewish converts retained their national dislike for sculpture and painting, always closely associated in their minds with the idea of idolatry; and the early Christian Fathers imbibed a similar feeling, in the course of their efforts to overthrow a system of worship abounding with pictures and statues. Epiphanius, who was a bishop in the middle of the fourth century, was of Jewish extraction. When he visited Palestine, he was surprised to find a curtain hanging over the door of the church, whereon was painted a likeness of Christ. He says: "When I saw the image of a man hanging up in the church, contrary to the authority of the Holy Scriptures, I immediately tore it, and advised them to use it as a winding-sheet for some poor man's burial." The congregation being somewhat troubled by this summary proceeding, he sent them another curtain, but without painting. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, declared strongly against images. He says he once saw in a woman's possession two figures, wearing the philosopher's robe, which she said were Christ and Paul. But he made her give them up; lest it might seem that Christians, like idolaters, carried about an image of their God. Tertullian mentions pictures of Christ upon communion cups, as though it were the custom in his day. These cups were of various materials, according to the wealth of the church; of wood, crystal, onyx, silver, and in some cases gold. The most common representations on them were the Crucified Jesus, and the Good Shepherd, carrying a lamb on his shoulders. On the walls of an ancient cemetery near Rome, is an ill-drawn figure, with short robe and sandals, his arms outstretched, in the act of prayer. There is a glory round his head, and above it the inscription, Paulus Apostolos, the Apostle Paul. It is supposed to be as old

as the second or third century. The glory, or halo, with which it became customary to represent holy personages, was copied from the Pagan artists, who represented their deities crowned with rays, or the head surrounded by a luminous circle, to indicate that they dwelt in fulness of light. It is supposed that it began to be customary to paint the interior of churches with emblems, as early as the close of the third century. A cross was the most common emblem; sometimes a lamb with a cross; or a lamb standing on a mound, whence four rivers flowed, to represent the four Gospels; an anchor represented faith; the old Hindoo emblem of a triangle with an eye in the centre, was a symbol of the Trinity. At the commencement of the fourth century, a Council at Elvira forbade objects of worship to be painted on the walls. After the time of Constantine, the churches rapidly increased in number and magnificence. The columns and the pavements were of the most beautiful and highly polished marble. They contained shrines of martyrs set with precious stones, and their relics covered with rich embroidery, or cloth of gold, before which lamps of gold or silver were continually burning. The smoke of frankincense, which for ages had filled the temples of Hindostan, Egypt, Jerusalem, Greece, and Rome, now floated round the Christian altars. Marble basins filled with holy water, stood in the porch of Christian churches, to sprinkle those who entered; as was formerly the case in the vestibule of Pagan temples. Early in the fourth century, wealthy men who founded churches, introduced the custom of presenting images and pictures, in memory of some martyr or saint; as it had formerly been the custom to consecrate a statue, or a painting, to some temple, as a thank-offering for benefits received from the gods. Churches dedicated to martyrs were enriched by such gifts, more than others; on account of the cures supposed to be performed by them. Like the ancient temples of Apollo and Æsculapius, they were hung with tablets inscribed with golden letters, with pictures representing cures, and with eyes, hands, and feet, made of

silver or gold. One of the earliest descriptions of Christian painting is that of the church at Nola, in Italy, built in honour of Felix, the Martyr. On the colonnades were painted passages from the history of Moses and Joshua, Ruth and Naomi, and other characters in Scripture. As little children receive ideas from pictures before they can read, so those paintings afforded some degree of instruction to the crowds of illiterate pilgrims who annually flocked to the shrine of St. Felix; for, however rude the impressions they received, they were at least a degree above the mere sensual pleasures of the banquet provided on such occasions. Gregory of Nyssa, brother of Basil the Great, describing a church where the relics of Theodorus the Martyr were deposited, says: "The artist has here shown his skill in the figures of animals, and the airy sculpture of the stone; while the painter's hand is most conspicuous in delineating the high achievements of the martyrs. The figure of Christ is also beheld looking down upon the scene." It early became a custom to have the ground plan of churches in the form of a cross. They went on increasing in magnificence and beauty, until finally a church was built over the tomb said to be St. Peter's, at Rome, the cost of which has been estimated at over forty-three millions of dollars.

The ancient Hindoos and Egyptians were accustomed to carry about with them little images and symbols of their deities, which they considered as amulets to protect them from evil. Among these symbols, the Cross of Hermes was conspicuous. Greeks and Romans never travelled by land or sea, without tying about their necks small images of the Goddess of Fortune, or of the household gods, called Lares, which represented the spirits of their good ancestors. After the time of Constantine, it became customary for Christians to wear a cross as a protection from evil. Those made of the wood of the true cross found in Mount Calvary, were, of course, believed to possess superior efficacy. The wood was cased in gold, often set with pearls or diamonds. Sometimes there was a ruby or carbuncle at each

extremity and in the centre, to denote the five bloody wounds. In the sixth century, it became customary to have an image of Christ embossed on the cross, which was thus converted into a crucifix. Small images of Christ, of his Mother, the Apostles, and the Martyrs, were also worn about the neck, as amulets.

Not only ancient ceremonies were adopted with merely a change of object, but in some cases the images and emblems themselves were retained, with simply a change of name. The statue of a river-god was named the Jordan; Orpheus with his lyre was called Christ; and the image of Apollo was made to personate the Good Shepherd. In the oldest pictures of the Virgin Mary, the face was covered with a blue veil; from which it might be inferred that they were representations of Isis, taken from Egyptian temples, and produced under a new name. Ancient pictures of the Virgin and her Child are so much like the representations of Isis with her infant Horus, that one might easily be mistaken for the other. It was the universal custom to represent Pagan deities accompanied by some emblem sacred to them, as Jupiter with his eagle, and Minerva with her owl. In very ancient nations, as in Egypt and Chaldea, the emblem was sometimes joined to the deity. Thus Osiris is often represented with the head of a hawk, and Isis with a cow's head; the hawk and the cow being symbols consecrated to them. Among the curiosities dug up at Nineveh, winged animals abound, as they did in the sculptures of Egypt; and so do human figures with wings and with the heads of animals. Similar things are found in the earliest specimens of Christian Art. The prophet Ezekiel describes a vision of four living creatures which he saw. One had the face of a man, one of a lion, one of an ox, and one of an eagle. The Jewish Rabbins considered them typical of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Daniel; but Christians applied them to the four Evangelists. In the recess over the altar, in the most ancient Christian churches, it was common to represent a man's head and shoulders, with wings, to indicate Matthew;

a lion's head on a man's shoulders, with wings, for Mark ; the head of an ox, with wings, for Luke ; and an eagle, with a glory round its head, for John. These winged animals are generally represented as holding a volume of the Gospels. In some places, John is represented with the body of a man, and the head and clawed feet of an eagle. Sometimes the four stand in a row, with human bodies, each holding a gospel in his hands ; Mark with a lion's head, Luke with the head of an ox, and John with the head of an eagle. The resemblance to the Egyptian deities is very striking. In later times, artists separated the emblem from the figure, and represented Mark accompanied by a lion, Luke by an ox, and John by an eagle. In some very ancient churches, and on some of the old Christian tombs at Rome, may still be seen effigies of Peter and Paul ; also on old glass lamps in the Vatican. In some cases, Christ is represented as a lamb with a glory round his head, and six sheep in a row on each side of him, to signify the twelve apostles. Sometimes he stands in the midst of the sheep, as the Good Shepherd, with a lamb in his arms. In an old Roman church, built in the sixth century, he is represented standing on the clouds, with the Book of Life in his hand, and the river Jordan flowing at his feet.

Augustine states that the form and person of Christ were entirely unknown, and painted with every variety of expression ; also that there were no authentic portraits of his mother, or of the apostles. Eusebius of Cæsarea says that Abgarus, King of Edessa, in Mesopotamia, wrote to Jesus, inviting him to come and cure him of a disease ; and that Jesus replied, promising to send one of his disciples to him after his ascension. For the authenticity of this correspondence, Eusebius refers to public registries in the city of Edessa, which he had himself read. The letters were regarded as genuine in his time ; and it was afterward said, that with his answer Jesus sent to Abgarus a perfect likeness of his face, miraculously impressed upon a napkin. It was concealed in a niche of a wall, whence it was

brought out by a bishop, early in the sixth century. It was regarded as a divine protection to the city. Some very old pictures of Christ have been found in ancient cemeteries; but they merely embody the ideas formed of his character. The hair is parted in the middle of the head, and falls in long masses over the shoulders. The expression of the face is mild, serious, and plaintive.

Lucian, the Pagan, mockingly describes Paul, as "the bald-headed Galilean with a hook-nose." Ancient traditions of the Fathers also describe him as a small thin man, with bald head, aquiline nose, high forehead, sparkling eyes, and long flowing beard. They describe Peter as a robust old man, with broad forehead, large features, fearless expression, thick gray hair, and short curly beard. The oldest pictures extant are according to these traditions.

After the Council of Ephesus had anathematized Nestorius, theological zeal multiplied images and pictures of the Virgin, bearing the inscription "Mother of God." There is no evidence that the church recognized them as sacred before the beginning of the sixth century. Their general diffusion and popularity throughout the Western churches dates from the time of Gregory the Great. On a tablet in the church of St. Dominick, at Rome, is the following inscription: "Here, at the high altar, is preserved that image of the most blessed Mary, which, being delineated by St. Luke, the Evangelist, received its colours and forms divinely. This is that image with which St. Gregory the Great, as a suppliant, purified Rome; and the pestilence being dispelled, the angel messenger of peace, from the summit of the Castle of Adrian, restored health to the city, and the Queen of Heaven rejoiced." Pictures and images of Christ and the Virgin abounded everywhere before the end of the sixth century. The picture of the Virgin, said to be painted by Luke, brought by the empress Eudoxia from the Holy Land, was considered a celestial safeguard to the city of Constantinople. When the emperor led his army to battle, it was carried on a superb

car, in the midst of the troops. Houses were supposed to be protected by the presence of such pictures and images; and soldiers fought with more confidence under their guardianship. Incense was waved, and lamps kept burning before them, in the churches. Their aid was implored in emergencies, and many were the miracles believed to be wrought by them. Images and pictures of saints and martyrs were supposed to possess similar efficacy, though less in degree.

Many people objected to these customs; and in the eighth century the opposition was embodied in a numerous sect called Iconoclasts, which means image-breakers. Leo Third, emperor in the East, favoured their views, and gave orders that the images in churches should be demolished, and the pictures covered with plaster. A council at Constantinople decreed that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the Eucharist, were blasphemous, and that the kissing of images, and burning lights before them, was a renewal of Paganism. The emperor ordered a statue of Christ above the gate of his palace to be destroyed. But a crowd of zealots, principally women, shook the ladder so violently, that the men fell on the pavement and were killed. The Pope, Gregory Second, applauded the women for their piety, and defended the images. He maintained that the Pagan statues were fanciful representations of Demons, at a time when God had not visibly manifested himself; while the likenesses of Christ, his mother, and the saints, were proved to be genuine by a thousand miracles, and by their antiquity also, having been in use ever since the apostolic age. The cities of Italy swore to defend the Pope and the images. The emperor Leo was excommunicated. Successive emperors supported the Iconoclasts, and for more than a hundred years the East and the West were in conflict. Several battles were fought, and many people put to death. Councils in the East condemned images, while Councils in the West inflicted punishment upon all who maintained that religious honours should be paid to God alone. At last, the Pope was victorious, and an an-

nual festival was observed in commemoration of the triumph of the images.

The martyrs took the place of the old tutelary deities. Every nation, every city, every trade, every household, and every individual, was under the protection of some particular saint, whose images or pictures they especially venerated. Some of the oldest pictures of the Virgin had Lucas inscribed upon them. It was probably the name of some obscure artist; but it was supposed to signify Luke the Evangelist, who, on that account, became the tutelary saint of painters. A martyr named Agnes was the protector of flocks; probably because her name signified a lamb. A martyr named Phocas was the guardian of sailors. During a voyage, the crew always set a plate for him, believing that he was invisibly present at their meals. Each day, they took turns in purchasing the plate; and when the vessel arrived safely in port, the money thus collected was distributed among the poor, in token of gratitude to their tutelary saint. The old autumn festivals in honour of Ceres, were transferred to the Virgin Mary; and in many places the peasants laid the first flowers and the last fruits upon her altar, as they had been accustomed to do for the Pagan goddess.

CANONIZATION.

The number of saints multiplied so fast, and so many old customs were transferred to the worship of fictitious personages, that a Council at Frankfort, in the eighth century, deemed it necessary to prohibit the invocation of any new saints. At last the Pope decided that only those should be regarded as true saints, whom the church authenticated by certain public ceremonies, called canonization. This custom has been thought to resemble the Roman apotheosis, by which emperors and great men were placed among the gods. But ceremonies of apotheosis were sometimes performed for the living, while saints were never canonized till after their death. Nearly all the Fathers

and the celebrated monks were canonized, and, of course, received the title of Saint. The zealous Tertullian was not canonized, because he became a Montanist. The good and great Origen met with the same fate, because the Arians found a defence for their doctrines in his theory of emanations; while, by a singular chance, George, Bishop of Alexandria, was sainted, although he was an Arian. He became wealthy by furnishing the army with bacon; and after he was forced upon the people as a bishop, he made himself odious to all classes by his greediness for gain, his tyrannical temper, and his persecuting spirit. But as the populace murdered him during the reign of Julian, he was considered a martyr to Pagan animosity, was canonized, and became the renowned St. George, the guardian saint of England. The emperor Constantine had double honours. His Pagan subjects, by ceremonies of apotheosis, placed him among the gods, whose worship he had abjured, and Christians afterward placed him among the saints, by process of canonization. In the Eastern parts of the empire, it was common to stamp medals with a monogram, signifying Jesus, Mary, and Constantine.

ROSARIES.—The anchorites of ancient Hindostan were accustomed to say their prayers on strings of Lotus seeds, or cords with knots tied at intervals. The Buddhists used strings of berries, or beads, for the same purpose. In the sixth century, the Benedictine monks are said to have repeated their prayers according to a series of beads on a string. This custom afterward became universal in the Catholic church. The poor used the stones of olives, and other hard seeds; but the wealthy wore the rosary as a rich ornament, formed of gold, pearl, agate, and other precious stones.

AUTHORITY OF TRADITION.—The traditions of the Fathers were decided to be of equal authority with Scripture; and such doctrines or customs as derived no support from Scripture were sustained by appeals to tradition, on the

ground that they had been orally transmitted from the Apostles. But the authority of the Fathers was not acknowledged, if in any of their views they departed from the standard of the church. Thus the writings of Tertullian, after he became a Montanist, were not accepted as authority, and the writings of Origen were condemned and burned.

CHRISTIAN SACRED BOOKS.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.—For some time after the death of Christ, his followers had no other Sacred Books than those of the Old Testament. Hebrew being a language unknown to scholars until after the establishment of Christianity, the Fathers depended entirely on the Greek translation of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint. It has been stated, in the chapter on the Jews, that the Alexandrian Jews added to that version several books, which they regarded as sacred, though not as strictly canonical. These books are what we now call the Apocrypha of the Old Testament. The Septuagint being held in very great reverence by the Hellenistic Jews, and by the early Christians, there grew up a tendency to consider all the books it contained as equally sacred. Origen accepted the book of Baruch, which, in the Alexandrian version, was appended to the prophecies of Jeremiah. He also quoted from the story of Susanna, as genuine Scripture. To some who expressed doubts on that point, he replied: "Consider whether it is not well to think of those words, 'Remove not the ancient landmark, which thy fathers have set.'" The learned De Wette says: "There can be no doubt that the most celebrated teachers of the second and third centuries made frequent and public use of the writings we call apocryphal. They pronounce them inspired and divine, quote them as authorities, and regard them with the same esteem as the canonical writings. The Wisdom of Solomon, and of Sirach, the Books of Macabees, Tobit, and Judith, are most frequently appealed to."

Several of the Fathers believed that Ezra restored the

mutilated Pentateuch, and other books of the Old Testament. They doubtless received this idea from Alexandrian Jews, who drew that inference from the fourteenth chapter of the second book, purporting to be written by Esdras [Ezra]. In that chapter, Ezra is represented as saying to the Lord: "The world is set in darkness, and they that dwell therein are without light. For thy Law is burnt; therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or the works that shall begin. But if I have found grace before thee, send the Holy Spirit into me, and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning, which was written in thy Law; that men may find thy path, and that those in the latter days may live. And the next day, behold a voice called me, saying, Esdras, open thy mouth and drink! Then I opened my mouth, and he reached me a cup, full as it were with water, but the colour of it was like fire. And I took it and drank; and when I had drunk of it, my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my breast; for my spirit strengthened my memory." In the Book of Esdras, it is stated that it was written by Ezra, who was captive in Babylon. But the most learned critics generally agree that it was written by some Jewish convert to Christianity, well acquainted with Rabbinical traditions. The Book of Wisdom, ascribed to Solomon, is supposed by Biblical critics to have been written by some Alexandrian Jew, about a century before Christ. It contains internal evidence that the writer was imbued with the ideas of Plato.

The habit of sustaining doctrines by quotations from the apocryphal books led to a great deal of trouble in controversies with Jews of Palestine, who had always disliked the Septuagint, and regarded with aversion the new books it contained. The Septuagint varied in some respects from the Hebrew original, and different copies of the Septuagint did not agree together. Origen complains that many errors had crept in, "from the negligence of some transcribers, and the boldness of others." To obviate difficulties arising from this state of things, he undertook the immense

labour of revising the copies of the Septuagint, and the translations from it, comparing them with the Hebrew, and giving the different readings in five distinct columns. Prideaux says: "The copies which went about in Origen's time, for use among Hellenistic Jews and Christians, were very much corrupted, through the mistakes and negligence of transcribers, whose hands, by often transcription, it had now long gone through. By comparing many different copies and editions, he endeavoured to clear it from errors of transcribers; and also, by comparing the Septuagint with the Hebrew original, to clear it from the mistakes of the first composers also; for many such he found in it, not only by omissions and additions, but also by wrong interpretations made in it by the first authors of that version. The Law, which was the most exactly translated of all, had many of these, but other parts a great many more." Printing was then unknown; and as Origen's learned work consisted of many volumes, it was seldom copied, not only on account of its bulk, but from the difficulty of finding Christians who understood Hebrew. It was, however, exceedingly valuable for reference in later times.

In Jerome's time, copies of the Septuagint had become yet more changed by transcribers. A Latin translation had been made from the Greek before the middle of the second century; and as Latin was the vernacular language of the Roman world, such versions naturally multiplied rapidly. Augustine says: "The number of those who have translated the Scriptures from Hebrew to Greek may be counted; but those who have translated the Greek into Latin cannot be counted." These various versions had fallen into lamentable confusion. Passages had been put in, and others taken out, or altered by transcribers, to sustain some doctrine they favoured, or overthrow some doctrine which they deemed heretical. Scarcely any two copies could be found exactly alike, and the discrepancies were often of a serious character. All sincere believers were alarmed by such a state of things. Damasus, Patriarch of Rome, entreated the learned Jerome to try to re-

medy the evil. Accordingly, in the latter part of the fourth century, he carefully compared the Greek and Latin translations of the Old Testament with Hebrew originals; and Latin copies of the New Testament with the most approved manuscripts in Greek. "His object being to retain existing expressions, as far as possible, and not to introduce new ones, except where the true sense had entirely disappeared." He encountered innumerable difficulties, not only on account of the inextricable confusion of Latin copies, but because the Greek also had been much altered, by carelessness or design. He complains that he found the copies very unlike in different places. Jews, in the course of their controversies, continually accused the Christian Fathers of falsifying texts, to suit their own polemical purposes; and the Fathers retorted the charge upon them. These mutual accusations doubtless grew in part out of the fact that the Septuagint version differed from the Hebrew Scriptures in some particulars, and also contained several books which the Fathers were accustomed to quote as authority, but which were never regarded as either canonical or sacred by Palestine Jews.

A learned Jew, who had been converted to Christianity, was employed by Jerome to instruct him in Hebrew. He says: "I sweat in learning a foreign tongue, only for this reason, that the Jews might no longer insult the churches, by charging them with the falsity of their copies of the Scriptures." The task was an arduous one. The Hebrew language, on account of the exclusive habits of the nation, and their discouragement of literature, was concise, meagre, and limited. A sentence in Hebrew required twice as many words to express it in Latin. Punctuation was not in use in those days. The Hebrews omitted vowels in their writing, as did the Egyptians in their hieroglyphics. Of course, the translator, when he inserted them, was obliged to rely solely upon the sense of the context. If an English writer should express a word by p t, it would be left for a translator to judge whether he meant pat, or pet, or pit, or pot, or put. Prideaux says: "It must be confessed

that there are in Hebrew several combinations of the same consonants, susceptible of different punctuations, and thereby make different words, of different significations; and therefore, when put alone, have an uncertain reading. But it is quite otherwise, when they are joined in context with other words." In "The Englishman's Hebrew and Chaldaea Concordance to the Bible," it is stated that the same Hebrew word has four different English meanings in four different places. In Genesis 2: 7, it is translated *nostrils*; in Genesis 3: 19, it is translated *face*; in Genesis 27: 45, it is translated *anger*; in Exodus 34: 6, it is translated *suffering*. It was for the judgment of the translator to decide whether the last-mentioned verse should be translated: "The Lord thy God, merciful and gracious, long-nostrilled, long-faced, long-angered, or long-suffering." Other similar instances are adduced to show the extreme difficulty of translating Hebrew correctly. The habits of many Jewish copyists created other obstacles. Notwithstanding their great reverence for the words of Scripture, they were prone to sacrifice correctness to the neat appearance of their manuscripts. If they made a slight mistake, they left it un erased, for fear of a blot; and if they wrote part of a word at the end of a line, they often began the word again on the next line, in order to make the lines appear even.

Jerome was remarkably well-fitted for the task, by his great learning, his laborious diligence, and especially by his long residence in Palestine, and consequent familiarity with the language, traditions, and localities of the country. His version has always been highly commended by scholars. De Wette calls it "perhaps the best work antiquity can boast." But he incurred much obloquy at the time. Converts from the Hellenistic Jews had deeply impressed upon Christians their own great reverence for the Septuagint. The early Fathers agreed with them in believing that every single word of the translation had been miraculously inspired by the same Holy Spirit, who inspired the original Hebrew authors. Palestine Jews had been greatly shocked at the impiety of their Alexandrian brethren,

when they translated their Scriptures into Greek; and a majority of Christians were equally shocked at Jerome, for supposing that the Greek translation could have any imperfections. Rufinus indignantly asked how such impiety could be expiated, that perverted the very Law itself into something different from what the Apostles handed down. He complains that "the whole history of Susanna, which formerly afforded an example of chastity to the churches, is cut out by this fellow, cast away, and neglected."

Neander remarks: "This appeared to many, even to those who did not belong to the class of ignorant persons, a great piece of impiety—to pretend to understand the Old Testament better than the seventy inspired interpreters! better than the Apostles, who had followed this translation, and who would have given another, if they had considered it necessary! To allow one's self to be so misled by Jews, as for their accommodation to falsify the writings of the Old Testament!"

A bishop of one of the churches in Africa tried to introduce the corrected version of the Scriptures, but was forced to lay it aside, for fear all his people would desert him. One of the translator's cotemporaries published a letter in Jerome's own name, in which he was represented as feeling great remorse for what he had done. But Jerome immediately disclaimed any such feeling concerning a task, which he had conscientiously undertaken, at the earnest intreaty of the Patriarch of Rome. He translated the Apocryphal Books into Latin, and spoke very favourably of Tobit in the Preface. He says the church permitted no one under thirty years of age to read the beginning of Genesis, or the Song of Solomon, or the beginning and end of Ezekiel; that the mind might be in its greatest vigour to attain a perfect knowledge of the mystical sense of those portions of Scripture. Spiritual-minded Hindoos were accustomed to consider all descriptions of sexual love, in their Sacred Books, as typical of the complete absorption of the human soul into the Supreme Soul of the universe. The voluptuous imagery of the Song of Solomon was alle-

gorically interpreted by Christians, to signify the perfect union of Christ with his bride the church.

Though Jerome's version found many advocates among the learned, it was not received into general use for two centuries. Gregory the Great acknowledged that he used the best old version, and the new likewise, for evidence; and the new version was thenceforth considered sanctioned. As the use of two versions caused confusion, one was made from both, forming the Latin Bible used by the Catholic church, well known under the title of The Vulgate, which signifies the common edition; for originally the word vulgar was merely used to designate what was common. The Vulgate contains all the Books we call Apocryphal, except the Books of Esdras. Jerome, and some other theologians of his time, did not consider those Books canonical. But the church generally received them, as it did other portions of the Old Testament, as an inspired guide.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.—The Christian Scriptures, called the New Testament, are composed of separate writings, very different from each other. First, there are four biographies of Christ, obviously fragmentary; some containing incidents and discourses which are omitted in the others. Second, there is a journal of the trials of Christianity when it first began to spread abroad from Palestine. Third, there is a series of letters written by the first Christian missionaries to the churches they had founded, containing such advice, encouragement, or reproof, as their situation required. Lastly, mysterious visions, regarded as prophetic, and supposed to have been written by the Apostle John, in his old age.

The first of the biographies, by Matthew, one of the Twelve Apostles, is supposed to have been written in Palestine, and the only one written in Hebrew, [Aramæan, or Syro-Chaldaic.] It more abounds with references to the peculiar customs of the Jews, than any of the other biographies; and seems to aim particularly at conciliating and converting that people. It contains a genealogy of Jesus

through David, up to Abraham; the line in which the Messiah was expected by the Jews. It relates his birth in Bethlehem, and refers to an ancient Hebrew prophecy concerning that city of David. It describes his being carried into Egypt, and adduces his return as a verification of Hosea's words: "When Israel was a child, I called my son out of Egypt." This seems like the Rabbinical mode of interpretation; for Hosea obviously alludes to the bringing of the *tribes* of Israel out of Egypt, in the childhood of that people. In the book of Matthew, Christ is represented as charging his Apostles not to go "into the way of the Gentiles, or enter into any city of Samaria;" an injunction exceedingly Jewish in its character, and not mentioned in the other Gospels. Jerome noticed that Matthew quoted passages out of the Old Testament differently from the other Evangelists; that he did not appear to use the Septuagint, but to translate from the ancient Hebrew to the modern Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldaic, which was spoken in the time of Christ. Learned commentators in modern times have made the same observation. In fact, the whole Gospel bears marks of having been written before Christianity began to spread among the Gentiles. It cannot be precisely ascertained at what period Matthew wrote his recollections of the sayings and doings of Jesus. Dr. Henry Owen, in his *Observations on the Four Gospels*, thinks there is evidence that it was written A. D. 38; which would be two years after the crucifixion, according to the general supposition that Christ was thirty-six years old when he died. Jones, in his *Canonical Authority of the New Testament*, supposes it to have been written A. D. 41. Dr. Lardner in his *Credibility of the Gospel History*, dates it A. D. 64. The writings of Paul make no allusions to its existence. The Apostles were doubtless in the habit of describing orally the example and maxims of their holy Teacher; and this would excite a desire to have them recorded. Matthew would naturally be selected for that purpose; for having been a publican, or tax-gatherer, he would necessarily be familiar with writing; an accomplish-

ment very uncommon among the class to which the other Apostles belonged. That there was an ancient copy of a Gospel believed to have been by Matthew, and written in the modern Hebrew dialect, called Aramæan, is affirmed by Irenæus, Tatian, Origen, Jerome, and many other of the Fathers. There was a current tradition, from very early times, that Barnabas carried everywhere with him a Gospel written in Hebrew, by the hand of Matthew; and that when any were diseased, or possessed with devils, he laid it on their bosoms, and they were healed. Eusebius states that Pantæus, a Christian writer of the second century, found in India a Gospel according to Matthew, which had been left there by Bartholomew, one of the Twelve Apostles; and that it was written in Hebrew. To this statement, Jerome adds that Pantæus brought the Gospel back with him to Alexandria, and that it was written in Hebrew letters. The learned Neander thinks there is satisfactory evidence that Bartholomew carried a Hebrew Gospel with him; and he adds: "It was probably that compilation of our Lord's discourses, by Matthew, which lies at the basis of our present Gospel according to Matthew."

In the very earliest days of the church, the Judaizing Christians, already described under the name of Ebionites, had but one Gospel, and that was in Aramæan Hebrew. They believed it to be an authentic account of the sayings and doings of Jesus, as related by the Twelve Apostles, and recorded by Matthew. Epiphanius, who was originally a Jew, says it did not contain the two first chapters. Of course, the miraculous conception, the visit of the wise men, the flight into Egypt, and the slaughter of the children at Bethlehem, were omitted. It began with the baptism of Jesus; on which occasion, it declared that a great light shone all over the place, and fire burst forth from the Jordan. The copy used by the sect called Nazarenes appears to have differed in some respects from the Gospel used by the other Ebionites; for Jerome, who saw the manuscript, alludes to it as containing the two first chapters, and makes some quotations from them. The Ebion-

ites considered Christ a mere man, with no peculiar circumstances preceding or attending his birth. But the Gospel used by the Nazarenes appears to have adopted the Cabalistic notion that the Wisdom of God was a feminine Spirit, the mother of Adam Kadman, or The Primal Heavenly Man, who appeared as the earthly Adam, and was to reappear as the New Adam, the Messiah. For this Gospel declared that the Holy Spirit was the *mother* of Christ. She is represented as descending upon him at baptism, and thus saluting him: "My Son, in all the prophets I expected thee, that thou shouldst come, and I might find in thee a place of rest; for thou art my resting place; thou art my first-born son, who reignest forever." Christ also is represented as saying: "My mother, the Holy Spirit took me by one of my hairs, and conveyed me to the holy mountain Tabor." In Gnostic theories, the Divine Wisdom, under the name of Sophia, figures very conspicuously, as the mother of Christ. This idea of a Mother of Spirits might have been derived from the writings of Philo, or the Cabalists, or from this Nazarene Gospel.

It seems likely that the Ebionite Gospel was in use in Justin Martyr's time; for he makes the following quotation from the Gospel of Matthew with which he was acquainted: "When Jesus came to the river Jordan, where John was baptizing, as he descended into the water, a fire was kindled in Jordan." When Jerome undertook the revision of both the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, at the close of the fourth century, he examined the Nazarene copy of Matthew. He says: "Matthew was the first who composed a Gospel of Christ; and, for the sake of those among the Jews who believed in Christianity, he wrote it in the Hebrew language and letters; but it is uncertain who translated it into Greek. Moreover, the Hebrew copy itself is to this time preserved in the library of Cæsarea. The Nazarenes, who live in Berea, a city of Syria, granted me the favour of writing it out." Again he says: "The Gospel which the Nazarenes and Ebionites use, which I lately translated out of Hebrew into Greek, is by most

esteemed the authentic Gospel of Matthew." Epiphanius says the Nazarene Gospel was more entire than the Ebionite. Iræneus, Eusebius, and Epiphanius say that the Gospel received by the Nazarenes and Ebionites was the Gospel of Matthew, altered in some things, according to their different sentiments. Ebionites broke off all communication with other Christians, in the time of Adrian, as already described. Being disliked by both Jews and Christians, they dwindled away, and in the fifth century, no traces of them were left. Christians would be likely to take little interest in the Hebrew copy of their Gospel, which few could read; and it was either destroyed or lost.

There appears to have been a Greek translation of Matthew very early in existence; for Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Ignatius, and Justin Martyr are represented as quoting from it. There has been much controversy concerning the two first chapters, as they have been handed down to us. The reasons given for doubting their authenticity may be briefly stated as follows: They are acknowledged to have existed in the Greek copies only. Though much has been written concerning Herod, by both Jewish and Gentile historians, none of them allude to such a monstrous act of cruelty, as the slaughter of all the children in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. Several of the old Greek manuscripts, now in existence, begin at the eighteenth verse of the first chapter. In the British Museum, is an ancient Greek copy written in capitals. It is supposed to be twelve hundred years old, and is known as the Harleian Manuscript. The genealogy of Christ is separated from the Gospel, in the following manner:

“Thus far the Genealogy.”

“Here begins the Gospel according to Matthew.”

The same separation is made in a manuscript used by the ancient Britons, now in the Cottonian Library, in England; also in Latin copies, written in red ink, in Anglo-Norman characters, about the beginning of the eleventh

century. Eusebius, speaking of Symmachus, an Ebionite, who was learned in Greek and Hebrew, says: "Symmachus was of the Ebionites, who suppose Christ to be a mere man, born of Joseph and Mary. There are now Commentaries of his, in which it is said that, disputing about the Gospel of Matthew, he eagerly defends that heresy." This Ebionite Commentary, probably disputing the account of the miraculous conception, in the first chapter of Matthew, was destroyed or lost, as was the case with all writings deemed heretical; therefore posterity has had no opportunity to judge impartially concerning their merits. Those who maintain the authenticity of the two first chapters of Matthew, urge that they exist in the Syriac translation, the most ancient manuscript now extant; also that Irenæus alludes to the flight into Egypt, and that he, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, all speak of the genealogy as a portion of Matthew's Gospel. Many suppose that Matthew left a Hebrew Gospel with the Jews, and, after he travelled abroad, wrote a Greek translation of it, to which he appended the two first chapters, for the use of the Gentiles; and this opinion is sanctioned by high authority in antiquity.

The second biography of Jesus was written by Mark, the nephew of Barnabas. He was not one of the Apostles, and it is not recorded that he was ever with Jesus, or that he was among the disciples when the Holy Ghost descended upon them. Peter, in his first Epistle, calls him his son, and it has thence been inferred that he was converted to Christianity by his preaching. He is supposed to have been the son of the pious woman mentioned in the twelfth chapter of the Acts, at whose house the early disciples had met to pray, when they were surprised by the sudden appearance of Peter, whom an angel had conducted out of prison. Mark accompanied the Apostles in their missionary travels. Paul speaks of him as "profitable in the ministry," and alludes to him as being his companion in Rome. Nothing more is related of him in the Scriptures. But there was a tradition among the Fathers

that he afterward went into Asia, where he met Peter, and returned with him to Rome. It is supposed that he there wrote his Gospel, under the direction of Peter. No one knows at what time it was written; but as Peter was believed to be in Rome during the reign of Nero, it is supposed that the Gospel was written sometime between A. D. 63 and 67. This account rests on the authority of early tradition, and of writings attributed to Clement, Bishop of Rome, said to have been ordained by Peter. These writings state that Peter's hearers at Rome were very desirous to have written down what he related to them about Christ; and that they did not desist from intreating Mark to do it. At last they prevailed upon him; and Peter gave it his sanction, as an authentic record, that might be read in the churches. A considerable portion of this Gospel is word for word like Matthew; but, being intended for Gentile converts, it passes over much that was adduced by Matthew to prove Jesus was the Messiah. It gives no account of his birth or childhood, but begins with his baptism. Quotations from Hebrew prophets, and allusions to Jewish customs are avoided, and words and phrases not likely to be understood by Gentile Christians are explained.

The third biography of Jesus was written by Luke, who accompanied Paul in many of his missionary labours. Eusebius states that he was a native of Antioch; but the intimate knowledge of Jewish doctrines, customs, and ceremonies, displayed in his writings, has led to the conclusion that he was either a Jew, or of Hebrew parentage. It is not known when, or by whom, he was converted to Christianity. He is described as a man of education, and the style of his Greek is said to corroborate the statement. Paul calls him "the beloved physician." He does not appear in connection with Christianity for many years after the death of Christ, and it is not recorded that he was personally acquainted with any of the Twelve Apostles. Biblical critics suppose that he wrote his Gospel not far from A. D. 63, which was nearly thirty years after the crucifixion. In his introduction, he apparently alludes to spurious

Gospels, which probably had begun to be written by that time; for they were very numerous in the second century. He says: "Forasmuch as *many* have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses, and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee, in order that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed."

This Gospel bears very evident marks of being written for Gentile converts. Matthew traces the genealogy of Jesus up to Abraham, whom the Jews considered the progenitor of their nation; but Luke traces it up to Adam. The two genealogies are very unlike, both in names and the number of generations. Between David and Jesus scarcely any of the names are similar; and Matthew gives only twenty-six generations, while Luke gives forty-one. Matthew dates the birth of Christ in the reign of Herod, king of Judea, but Luke dates from Augustus the Roman emperor. Luke mentions a census taken by the Roman government, as a reason why Jesus was born at Bethlehem, when his parents were on their way to Jerusalem to be taxed. After the forty days necessary for the purification of his mother were completed, according to the Law of Moses, he says they returned "into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth." Matthew makes no mention of Nazareth, until after Christ had begun his public ministry; and he says that Herod's command to slaughter all the young children was confined to the coasts of Bethlehem. That village was five miles south of Jerusalem; but Nazareth was fifty miles north of it. Of course, there would be no necessity of flying into Egypt from Nazareth. Luke makes no mention of the visit of the Three Magi, guided by a miraculous star, of the slaughter of the infants, or the flight into Egypt. But he relates several things not mentioned by the other Evangelists. Among them are the miraculous

circumstances attending the birth of John the Baptist; the appearance of the angel Gabriel to Mary; the visit of Mary to Elizabeth; the vision of the shepherds; the prophecies of Simeon and Anna when the infant Jesus was carried into the temple to be circumcised; his disputation with the learned doctors of the Law when he was twelve years old; the story of the penitent thief on the cross; and of Christ's walking to Emmaus with his disciples after his resurrection.

The fourth Gospel is less biographical, and more doctrinal and spiritual than the others. It is attributed to John, the beloved Apostle, and confidential friend of Jesus; and is supposed to have been written at Ephesus, in his old age, after Jerusalem was destroyed, the Jews scattered abroad, and all the other Apostles dead. It was written for a foreign people, in a foreign land, and a foreign tongue. Irenæus declares that John was urged to do it by the bishops of Asia Minor, in their anxiety to refute Cerinthus, the Gnostic, who adopted the old Hindoo idea concerning the illusive nature of incarnations, and said that Christ only *appeared* to have a human body. John is the only one of the Evangelists who describes blood and water flowing from the side of Jesus when he was pierced by the Roman soldier; a circumstance which could not have happened, if he had been merely a spiritual phantom, as Cerinthus taught. John likewise expressly says: "The Logos was God, and was made *flesh*, and dwelt among men." Some of the later Fathers, who lived after the Arian controversy, said John wrote his Gospel to refute the Ebionites, who maintained that Jesus was born of human parents, like other mortals. The account of the woman, to whom Jesus said, "Go thy way, and sin no more," is omitted in most of the oldest manuscripts, and in the Syriac translation. Tertullian strongly objected to the story, as seeming to favour licentiousness. Chrysostom, when he wrote a Commentary on the whole Gospel of John, left it out. Jerome and Augustine state that in their time the Greek Christians did not insert it in their copies.

The verse in the fourth chapter, concerning an angel's troubling the pool of water, is wanting in some manuscripts.

The Book of Acts takes its name from the Latin word *Acta*, meaning Records. It is a very clear and circumstantial journal of the progress of Christianity during the first thirty years of missionary labour; supposed to be written A. D. 63 or 64. The Fathers unanimously attributed it to Luke the Evangelist; and this opinion is sustained by internal evidence. The Apostles Matthew and John make no mention of the ascension of Christ. Mark and Luke, who were converted after that event, allude to it indefinitely in their Gospels; but in the Acts of the Apostles, it is stated, that while he was talking with his disciples, after the resurrection, he visibly ascended into the clouds. "And while they looked stedfastly toward heaven, as he went up, behold two men stood by them in white apparel, and said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into heaven? This same Jesus, who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven."

The Apocalypse is a series of visions, or Revelations, from Heaven, to the Apostle John, either at Ephesus, or in the island of Patmos; supposed to have been written A. D. 95 or 96. It has given rise to more theories, and excited more controversy, than any other book in the Christian Scriptures. In the first ages, it was not unanimously accepted. Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian, speak of it as received among the inspired writings. Athanasius is of opinion that the Egyptian churches so received it. But before the sixth century, only a portion of the Eastern churches received it as canonical. Jerome says it was rejected by the Greek churches in his time. Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa, classed it among spurious books. Eusebius says: "Some reject the Apocalypse of John, but others class it with the acknowledged books." One of the arguments brought against its being written by the Apostle John was, that one of the churches it addressed was the church at Thyatira, which was not in existence till after

the death of John. Epiphanius met that objection by saying that John doubtless wrote prophetically; foreseeing that there *would* be a church at Thyatira. A Council at Laodicea, in three hundred and sixty, did not include it in the canon; though Laodicea was one of the churches to which it was addressed.

Concerning some of the Epistles, there was also much division of opinion among the Fathers of the church. Clement of Alexandria believed the Epistle to the Hebrews was from the hand of Paul; but Irenæus and Tertullian did not. De Wette says: "Origen had doubts, more or less strong, concerning the Epistle to the Hebrews; the Epistle of James; the Second Epistle of Peter; the second and third Epistles of John; and the Epistle of Jude." Origen says: "Peter left one acknowledged Epistle; that he wrote a second is doubted." "The thoughts of the Epistle to the Hebrews are admirable, and not inferior to any of the writings acknowledged to be apostolical; but the style and arrangement belong to some one who remembered the thoughts of the Apostle, and wrote commentaries on the words of his teacher. If any church receive this as the epistle of Paul, let it be commended therefore; since the men of old time did deliver it to us as Paul's, not without cause. But who it was that wrote the epistle, of a truth God only knows. Before our time, it was the opinion of some that Clement, Bishop of Rome, wrote that epistle; of others, that it was written by Luke, who wrote also the Gospel and the Acts." Didymus says: "It is not to be concealed that the Second Epistle of Peter is forged; and although it is published, yet it is not in the canon." Clement of Alexandria says: "Let it be understood that the Epistle of James is spurious." Jerome says: "The Epistle was published in James's name, by some other person; and in progress of time it obtained authority." The following verse in John's first Epistle is believed by very many to have been interpolated, either by design of some transcriber, or by the accidental insertion of some marginal note into the body of the text: "There are three

that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one." This passage is said to be wanting in the most ancient Greek manuscripts, in more than forty of the Latin translations, and in all the translations made before Jerome's time, in Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, and Persian; also in the ancient Armenian versions. It was not quoted by any of the Fathers preceding Jerome. The learned Neander says: "It is undoubtedly spurious; and in its unguine shape testifies to the fact how foreign such a collocation is from the style of the New Testament." The Rev. George Campbell, a distinguished Scotch divine, in the Preface to his Translation of the Gospels, says: "Many interpolations crept in by remissness of transcribers. Some few, however, appear to have been the result of design. After the Arian hereay enlisted the passions of belligerents, there appears to be some ground for ascribing to the pride and jealousy of polemicists a design to foist into the text some words favourable to their distinguishing tenets. Some of these were soon detected; others have continued for many generations."

Eusebius of Cæsarea, who lived in the third century, before any councils of the church had established what books belonged to the canon, attempted to answer the oft-repeated question, "Which of the writings that pretend to belong to the New Testament, really do belong to it?" In making his catalogue he followed "the tradition of the church," by which he meant the prevailing opinion of all the Christian communities, both oral and written, as far as he could ascertain it. He divides the Christian Sacred Writings into three classes. First, those *universally* received; as the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles from Paul, one Epistle from Peter, and one from John. In the second class, he places those which were doubted of by *some*; as the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse of John. In the third class, he places those doubted of by *many*; as the Epistle of James, the Second Epistle of Peter, the Second and Third Epistles of John, and the Epistle of Jude. He says the Four

Gospels were pronounced canonical by the Apostle John.

Polycarp quotes from several books of the New Testament, especially from Paul's Epistles, and the First Epistle to Peter; which shows how very early those writings were in circulation. The early Fathers all testify that all the churches in their time agreed in accepting, as undoubtedly authentic and inspired, the Four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, thirteen Epistles from Paul, [exclusive of the Epistle to the Hebrews,] the First Epistle from Peter, and the First Epistle from John. Irenæus calls them "The Divine Scriptures"—"The Oracles of God"—"The Lord's Scriptures." Clement calls them "The God-inspired Scriptures." The four biographies of Christ very early received the name of *Evangelis*, from Greek words meaning Good Tidings. In later times, they were called Gospels, from Saxon words having the same signification.

Nearly a hundred years elapsed, after the death of Christ, before there was any entire collection made of the Christian Sacred Writings. The Canon had been nearly or quite settled, by general usage, and the authority of learned Fathers of the church, before Councils made any decisions upon the question. The rule assumed by the Fathers was to limit their choice to such books as were written either by Apostles, or disciples of the Apostles; but this was not invariable—for the writings of Luke were included within the Canon, and those of Clement at Rome were excluded, though both were believed to have been companions of Paul. The testimony of the oldest ecclesiastical writers, and the authority of the church, formed the basis on which faith in the genuineness of the books rested. Origen says: "Among the Jews, many pretended to prophesy, and were false prophets. So likewise in the New Testament, many have attempted to write Gospels, but all are not received. You must know that not only four, but many Gospels have been written; from which those that we have are selected, and handed down by the churches. The church receives Four Gospels." We approve nothing but what the church approves." Augustine, who wrote

nearly two centuries later, says: "The church follows this rule with respect to the canonical Scriptures. It prefers those which have been received by *all* the Catholic churches, to those which some do not receive. And respecting those not received by all, it prefers those received by the *greatest number* of churches, and churches of the *greatest authority*, to those admitted by fewer churches, and of less authority."

Questions concerning the authenticity of books were occasionally brought before councils. A Council at Laodicea, in three hundred sixty, forbade the reading of uncanonical books, and gave a list of those which were canonical; from which the Apocalypse of John, and the books of the Old Testament, which we call Apocryphal, were excluded. But a Council convened at Hippo, in three hundred ninety-three, accepted Ecclesiastes, The Wisdom of Solomon, Tobit, Judith, and the two books of Maccabees, as canonical.

As the New Testament was written in Greek, there was little difficulty in transmitting it perfectly to posterity. The structure of the language did not render it so liable to mistakes, as was the Hebrew; and its phraseology could be easily explained by comparison with cotemporary literature. The errors which have crept in do not in the least affect the spirit and moral teaching of the Gospel; and, therefore, are of little consequence. Scholars who have examined critically, find that they arise principally from inserting into the text explanatory notes, originally written on the margin, by transcribers.

The Bible was divided into the Old and New Testament, because that word means Covenant. The old books were regarded as God's covenant with the Jews, and the new as his covenant with the human race. Both were received by Christians as of equal authority. Origen says: "That the Logos wishes us to be wise may be shown from the ancient and Jewish writings, which we use, and which are believed by the church to be no less divine than those written after the time of Jesus." This joining of the old with the new was inevitable, according to the laws of human nature; but if it had some good effects, it was also

productive of evil. The Old Testament contained much that was vastly superior to anything the barbarian nations had been accustomed to receive in the form of religion; such as the thoughtful kindness to the poor everywhere enjoined, and the omnipresent guardianship of One Invisible God, in whose sight the heavens themselves were not pure. But on the other hand, the equal acceptance of the Old Testament, *as a rule of life*, and combining them both together in the instruction of the people, greatly impeded the humanizing influence of the New Testament. Moses commanded men to put out eyes, and knock out teeth, in retaliation for similar injuries; but Christ said: "Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you." Thus the two furnished equal authority for the good and the evil in man's nature. Intolerance, vengeance, and cruelty, rebuked by the New Testament, found plausible examples and excuses in the Old. This incongruity was felt by some, even in the first centuries, as is very plainly manifested by Gnostic writers. A Gothic Bishop, when he translated the Old Testament, omitted the Books of Kings, saying he feared they would increase the love of fighting, to which the Goths were already too much addicted.

If we strive to divest ourselves of the habitual predilection for Christianity, which education imparts to us, and endeavour to approach the Gospels in the same spirit that we should examine the Sacred Books of Hindostan or Persia, it appears to me that even in that state of mind, we cannot fail to be struck with their great superiority over all the other religious teaching, which God, by his various messengers, has given to mankind. There are variations in the statements, because they were formed of recollections which had been often and reverently repeated by the Apostles to mixed audiences, long before they were recorded. Some would naturally give more prominence to particular reminiscences than to others; especially as they were written at different times, in different places, and intentionally adapted to the class of people for whom they

were prepared. But the character of Jesus is shown in the same heavenly light by all; gentle, benevolent, self-denying, forgiving, not satisfied with forms, but seeking for the spirit within them, indignant only toward hypocrisy and oppression, full of reverence for God, and love for man. We feel, in reading the record of his words and actions, that he was indeed a son of God; and that the picture must be a photograph portrait of a living original, made by the sunlight of truth; since the imagination of man has never risen to so high a conception of holiness and love.

If we turn from internal evidence to the external, we find it in the remarkable simplicity of these books. There is no attempt to conceal disparaging circumstances. It is frankly told that the family and townspeople of Jesus did not believe in his divine mission; that when a voice from heaven "glorified his name," the people, who stood by, "said it thundered;" that some of his disciples were ambitious to have high offices of honour in his earthly kingdom; that one of them betrayed him unto death, for a reward in money; that they all deserted him in his hour of danger; that Peter, in care for his own safety, thrice repeated a falsehood, swore to it, and then wept bitterly for what he had done; that after the resurrection of Jesus, when his disciples saw him, "they worshipped him, but some doubted." There is an artlessness in all this, which appeals strongly to the candid mind. Judging of these biographies merely as we would judge of any other human testimony, it would lead us to conclude that the writers were aiming to record things honestly, just as they appeared to their own minds.

As I have given samples of the best and of the most objectionable in the Sacred Books of other religions, I will also insert brief specimens from the Christian Scriptures:

"Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind.

"This is the first and great commandment.

"And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.

"On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."

"Blessed are the poor in spirit: for their's is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted.

"Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth.

"Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled.

"Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

"Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

"Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.

"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for their's is the kingdom of heaven.

"Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely, for my sake.

"Rejoice, and be exceeding glad: for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the prophets which were before you."—*Gospel by Matthew.*

"And they brought young children to him, that he should touch them: and his disciples rebuked those that brought them.

"But when Jesus saw it, he was much displeased, and said unto them, Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the kingdom of God.

"Verily I say unto you, Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein.

"And he took them up in his arms, put his hands upon them, and blessed them."—*Gospel by Mark.*

"I say unto you there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.

"A certain man had two sons:

"And the younger of them said to his father, Father, give me the portion of goods that falleth to me. And he divided unto them his living.

"And not many days after, the younger son gathered all together, and took his journey into a far country, and there wasted his substance with riotous living.

"And when he had spent all, there arose a mighty famine in that land; and he began to be in want.

"And he went and joined himself to a citizen of that country; and he sent him into his fields to feed swine.

"And he would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat: and no man gave unto him.

"And when he came to himself, he said, How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare, and I perish with hunger!

"I will arise, and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee,

"And am no more worthy to be called thy son: make me as one of thy hired servants.

"And he arose, and came to his father: But when he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion, and ran, and fell on his neck, and kissed him.

"And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and in thy sight, and am no more worthy to be called thy son.

"But the father said to his servants, Bring forth the best robe, and put it on him; and put a ring on his hand, and shoes on his feet.

"And bring hither the fatted calf, and kill it; and let us eat and be merry:

"For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is found. And they began to be merry.

"Now his elder son was in the field: and as he came and drew nigh to the house, he heard music and dancing:

"And he called one of the servants, and asked what these things meant.

"And he said unto him, Thy brother is come; and thy father hath killed the fatted calf, because he hath received him safe and sound.

"And he was angry, and would not go in: therefore came his father out, and entreated him.

"And he, answering, said to his father, Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment: and yet thou never gavest me a kid, that I might make merry with my friends:

"But as soon as this thy son was come, which hath devoured thy living with harlots, thou hast killed for him the fatted calf.

"And he said unto him, Son, thou art ever with me, and all that I have is thine.

"It was meet that we should make merry, and be glad: for this thy brother was dead, and is alive again; and was lost, and is found."—*Gospel by Luke.*"

"Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.

"And though I have the gift of prophecy, and understand all mysteries, and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.

"And though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.

"Charity suffereth long, and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up.

"Doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil;

"Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth;

"Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

"Charity never faileth."—*Paul to the Corinthians.*

"And I saw heaven opened, and behold, a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war.

"His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew but he himself.

"And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God.

"And the armies which were in heaven followed him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.

"And out of his mouth goeth a sharp sword, that with it he should smite the nations: and he shall rule them with a rod of iron; and he treadeth the wine-press of the fierceness and wrath of Almighty God.

"And he hath on his vesture and on his thigh a name written, KING OF KINGS, AND LORD OF LORDS.

"And I saw an angel standing in the sun; and he cried with a loud voice, saying to all the fowls that fly in the midst of heaven, Come and gather yourselves together unto the supper of the great God;

"That ye may eat the flesh of kings, and the flesh of captains, and the flesh of mighty men, and the flesh of horses, and of them that sit on them, and the flesh of all men, both free and bond, both small and great.

"And I saw the beast, and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against him that sat on the horse, and against his army.

"And the beast was taken, and with him the false prophet that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the beast, and them that worshipped his image. These both were cast alive into a lake of fire burning with brimstone.

"And the remnant were slain with the sword of him that sat upon the horse, which sword proceeded out of his mouth, and all the fowls were filled with their flesh."—*Revelation of St. John the Divine.*

The reverence paid to the Bible, after the church had

decided of what books it ought to be composed, partook of the same external character as other tendencies of the time. While the most palpable violations of its prevailing *spirit* were sanctioned, it was heresy to doubt that every book, nay every single *word*, was directly inspired by the Holy Spirit, and was therefore a rule for life, and a standard in matters of science, as well as of faith. Hebrews and Buddhists were accustomed to wear scraps of their Sacred Books for amulets; and it was common for the Christian populace to wear portions of the Gospels about their necks, supposing they would have efficacy, similar to the cross and the eucharist, to protect them from Evil Spirits, from diseases, and all manner of disasters.

Very few copies of the Bible, made before printing was invented, are now in existence. Butler, a learned and candid writer, belonging to the Catholic church, wrote a work in the nineteenth century, called *Horæ Biblicæ*, [BIBLE HOURS.] He therein says: "The New Testament was probably all written in Greek, except the Gospel of Matthew, and Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews." "There are not known to be in existence, at present, any original manuscript in the autographs of the authors; and there is no evidence that any of those autographs existed in the third century." "Very few of the old manuscript copies of the entire New Testament remain. Of those that have been discovered, the greater part contain the Gospels only. Very few have the Apocalypse. In the oldest specimens, several leaves are wanting, sometimes replaced in writing of much later date. All the manuscripts have obliterations and corrections; some made by the writer himself, others by persons of a subsequent time." The Alexandrian copy, said to have been brought from Egypt, is preserved in the British Museum. It is written on parchment, in Greek, and contains the Old Testament, in the Septuagint form, most of the New Testament, and the Epistles of Clement, Bishop of Rome, to the Corinthian church. Some date it from the close of the fourth century, others not till the latter half of the sixth. Some suppose that the most an-

cient manuscript of the New Testament now existing is preserved at Cambridge University in England. It contains the Four Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, in Greek and Latin. The parchment is much torn and mutilated, and ten leaves are supplied by a later transcriber. Some say it was written in the second century, others in the fifth. Another copy, supposed to have been written in the fifth century, is preserved in the Vatican Library, at Rome. It originally contained the whole Bible in Greek.

SPURIOUS BOOKS.

The apocryphal Gospels and Epistles in circulation in the first centuries were numerous. Many of them were doubtless written by Gnostics; for it was their belief that any person endowed with the Gnosis was as perfect a medium of Divine truth as the Apostles themselves; and some considered themselves even more completely enlightened. There was the Gospel of Cerinthus; the Gospel according to the Twelve Apostles; the Gospel to the Egyptians; the Gospel of the Birth of Mary; Protevangelion, or First Gospel of the Birth of Christ, ascribed to James, "the Lord's brother;" the Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus, ascribed to the Apostle Thomas; the Gospel of Nicodemus, sometimes called the Acts of Pontius Pilate; the Acts of Paul and Thekla; the Book of Hermas, the Shepherd; the Doctrines of the Apostles; the Apocalypse of Peter; the Ascent of Isaiah; the Epistle of Barnabas; the Clementine Homilies; and many others. According to Origen, some classed the Ebionite Gospel of Matthew among them. Speaking of spurious books, he says: "There are some who place among them the Gospel according to the Hebrews; a volume with which Hebrew Christians are especially pleased."

Epiphanius supposed that Luke, in the introduction to his Gospel, alluded to the Gospel of Cerinthus; and Jerome conjectured the same concerning the Gospel of the Egyptians; suppositions which indicate the great antiquity

of those books. About the end of the second century, when Gnostic sects were numerous, the fabrication of new Gospels, and alterations of the old, prevailed to a great extent; and it was a very common practice to write under the name of some Apostle, or other person eminent for holiness; by which means an extensive circulation was obtained, and responsibility, which might sometimes have proved dangerous, was avoided. It was not often easy to discover whence or how these manuscripts came into circulation. The early Fathers found them in existence, and revered by the people, and being exceedingly credulous, they sometimes received and quoted, without due examination, whatever tended to glorify Christ, or his Apostles.

The Gospel of the Birth of Mary is among the works preserved in Jerome's writings. It is said that some obscure sects, in the first centuries, believed it was written by Matthew. This Gospel declares that Mary was of the royal lineage of David. It states that an angel appeared to Joachim, her father, and to her mother Anna, and foretold to them the birth of a wonderful daughter. The Jews never had the custom of consecrating virgins to the temple, as was the case in many other countries. But the author of this Gospel states that the angel commanded them to carry their child to the temple, to be brought up there, devoted to the Lord, and carefully kept from all communication with the common people, that her character might be above all possibility of suspicion. The angelic vision was obeyed, and Mary was placed in the temple, as soon as she was weaned. There she had daily conversations with angels, and was so familiar with their glorious appearance, that she was never surprised to see her room suddenly filled with celestial light. When she was fourteen years old, a voice from the Mercy Seat ordered the High Priest to summon all the unmarried men of the lineage of David, to choose from among them a husband to the Virgin, by means of the prophecy of Isaiah: "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a flower

shall spring out of its root." The High Priest therefore ordered them all to bring rods, resolving to bestow Mary on him whose rod blossomed when laid upon the altar. Joseph came among the rest; but being a very old man, he lingered behind the others, not wishing to enter into competition for the prize; whereupon, a dove alighted on his rod, and thus signally pointed him out, as the chosen of heaven.

In the Gospel of the Birth of Christ, which assumed to be written by the Apostle James the Less, Joseph is represented as reluctant to marry Mary, after he had been designated by the miracle of the dove and rod, saying: "I am an old man, and have children; but she is young, and I fear lest I should appear ridiculous in Israel." But the High Priest said to him: "Joseph, thou art the person chosen to take the Virgin of the Lord, to keep her for him;" and he reminded him that the judgments of the Lord descended upon those who refused to obey him. Joseph being afraid, took her home, and bidding her farewell, said: "I will leave thee in my house; but I must go and mind my trade of building." In this book it is stated that Jesus was born in a cave, three miles from Bethlehem, when Joseph was on his way to Jerusalem to be taxed. Tertullian and Origen probably borrowed the idea from this source; for they both speak of his having been born in a cave. The visit of the Wise Men from the East is described in this book. When Herod heard of them he inquired what sign they had seen, that brought them to Bethlehem. They answered: "We saw an extraordinary large star, shining among the stars of heaven; and it so outshone all the other stars, that they became invisible. We knew thereby that a great king was born in Israel; and therefore we are come to worship him." In consequence of this information, Herod ordered all the young children in and about Bethlehem to be slaughtered. This Gospel is described as written in Hebrew, and signed, "I, James, wrote this at Jerusalem." It was brought from the Levant, translated into Latin, and published in Switzer-

land, in 1552. It is said to have been publicly read in some of the Eastern churches.

The Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus, written under the name of the Apostle Thomas, contains an accumulation of miracles. It declares that the cave where Jesus was born was filled with light at the moment of his birth; "greater than the light of lamps and candles, and greater than the light of the sun itself." The divine infant "spake from his cradle, and said to his mother Mary, 'I am Jesus, the Son of God; that Word, which thou didst bring forth, according to the declaration of the angel Gabriel; and my Father hath sent me for the salvation of the world.'" It is stated that when Joseph and Mary arrived in Egypt with their child, the great idol in the temple cried out: "'The unknown God hath come hither, who is truly God; nor is there any one beside him, who is worthy of divine worship.' At the same instant, the idol fell down; and at his fall, all the inhabitants of Egypt ran together." "The priest, who ministered to the idol, had a son three years old, who was possessed with a great multitude of devils. Going to the inn, he found Joseph and Mary. And when the Lady Mary had washed the swaddling clothes of the Lord Christ, and hung them out to dry upon a post, the boy possessed with the devil, took down one of them, and put it upon his head. And presently the devils began to come out of his mouth, and fly away in the shape of crows and serpents. From that time, the boy was healed by the power of the Lord Christ." When his father inquired concerning the matter, he replied: "'I went to the inn, and found there a very handsome woman; with a boy, whose swaddling-clothes she washed and hung on a post. I put one of them on my head, and immediately the devils fled away.' The father, exceedingly rejoiced, said, 'My son, perhaps this boy is the Son of the living God, who made the heavens and the earth; for as soon as he came among us, the idol was broken, and all the gods fell down.'" "Jesus was playing with other Hebrew boys, by a running stream; and he took soft clay from the banks, and formed

of it twelve sparrows. A certain Jew, seeing what he was doing, went to his father Joseph, and said: 'Thy boy is playing by the river-side, and profaneth the Sabbath.' Then Joseph called to him and said: 'Why doest thou that which it is not lawful to do upon the Sabbath day?' Then Jesus, clapping the palms of his hands together, said to the sparrows: 'Fly away! and while ye live, remember me.' So the sparrows flew away with noise. And the Jews were astonished, and went and told their chief persons what a strange miracle they had seen wrought by Jesus." "A certain schoolmaster, named Zaccheus, said to Joseph, 'Thou hast a wise child. Send him to me, that he may learn to read.' When he sat down to teach Jesus the alphabet, he began with the first letter, Aleph; but Jesus pronounced the second, and the third, and said over the whole alphabet to the end. Then he opened a book, and taught his master the Prophets; and Zaccheus went home wonderfully surprised at so strange a thing."

This Gospel of the Infancy was much quoted in early times, and several of the stories it relates have ever since been believed by many members of the Catholic church. Eusebius and Athanasius both record that when Joseph and Mary arrived in Egypt, they took up their abode in Hermopolis, a city of Thebais, in which was a superb temple of Serapis. They visited this temple, carrying with them the infant Jesus. What was their astonishment to see the great idol, and all the inferior gods, fall prostrate before them! The priests fled with horror, and the whole city was filled with alarm. Sozomon, a Christian historian of the fifth century, likewise relates the story. It was cited as a remarkable verification of Isaiah's prophecy: "Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt, and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it."

Extracts in the first volume of this work show several striking points of resemblance between the ancient Hindoo and Hebrew Sacred Records. In some cases, even *names*

are synonymous; the sons of Noah, for instance. The names of the first man and woman are Adim and Iva, in Sanscrit. In these spurious Gospels of Christianity, the observing reader will be reminded of the stories told of Crishna, in Sacred Books of Hindostan, quoted in the first volume of this work. Sir William Jones was so much struck with various coincidences, that he thought the Hindoos must have seen these spurious Christian Gospels, and copied from them. It does not seem to have occurred to him that the reverse might have been the case; and that Egyptian Christians, being frequently in communication with India, were very likely to become acquainted with Hindoo legends.

Many of the ancients supposed that the Book called *The Shepherd of Hermas*, was written by the Hermas whom Paul salutes, at the close of his Epistle to the Romans. Others assigned a later date, and attributed it to the brother of Pius, Bishop of Rome, in the second century. It consists of three books, occupied with a succession of visions, intended to convey instruction to the church, and to impress upon the mind the superior sanctity of celibacy. The following brief sample will serve to give some idea of it: "Behold I saw a great beast, as it were a whale; and fiery locusts came out of his mouth. The height of the beast was about a hundred feet. I began to weep, and to pray unto the Lord that he would deliver me from it. Then I called to mind the words I had heard: Doubt not Hermas! Wherefore, I delivered myself boldly unto the beast, which came on as if it could have devoured a city. I came near unto it; and the beast extended its whole length upon the ground, and put forth nothing but its tongue, nor once moved itself, till I had quite passed by. Now the beast had upon its head four colours; first black, then blood-red, then golden, then white. After I had passed by it, there met me a virgin well adorned, as if she had just come out of her bride-chamber; all in white, having a veil over her face, and covered with shining hair. I knew by my former visions that it was *The Church*; and

thereupon I grew the more cheerful. She said: Did nothing meet you, O man? I replied: Lady, there met me such a beast as seemed able to devour a whole people; but, by the power and mercy of God, I escaped it. She replied: Thou didst escape it well, because thou didst cast thy whole care upon God. For this cause, the Lord sent his angel and stopped the mouth of the beast, that he should not devour thee. Go, therefore, and relate to the elect the great things God hath done for thee. And say unto them this beast is a figure of the trial about to come. If ye shall have prepared yourselves, if your hearts be pure and without spot, ye may escape it. Cast all your cares upon the Lord. He can turn away his wrath from you, and send you help and security. Wo to the doubtful! to those who shall hear these words and despise them. It would be better for them that they had not been born. Then I asked concerning the four colours upon the head of the beast. She said: The black denotes the world in which you dwell. The fiery red denotes that this age must be destroyed by fire and blood. Ye are the golden part, who have escaped out of it. For as gold is tried by the fire and made profitable, in like manner are ye tried, who live among the men of this world. The white colour denotes the time of the world which is to come, in which the elect of God shall dwell; because the elect shall be pure and without spot, unto life eternal. Wherefore, do not thou cease to speak these things in the ears of the saints." Hermas teaches that the Apostles descended into Hades, to baptize the pious personages of the Old Testament. He recommends frequent fasting, and adds: "Above all, exercise thy abstinence in this, to refrain both from hearing and from speaking what is wrong. Cleanse thy heart from all pollution, from all revengeful feelings, and from all covetousness. On the day thou fastest, content thyself with bread, vegetables, and water, and thank God for these. But reckon up what thy meal on this day would have cost thee, and give the amount to some widow or orphan, or to the poor. Happy for thee, if with thy

children and whole household thou observest these things."

The Epistle which went under the name of Barnabas, companion of Paul, was known to the Alexandrian church in the second century. It contains singular specimens of the forced, allegorical mode of interpretation, which the Christian Fathers seem to have learned from Jewish Rabbins. It is therein stated that the Hebrew priests were ordered not to wash with vinegar the inwards of the goat offered in expiation for the sins of the people, in order to foreshadow that when Christ should offer his flesh "for the sins of a new people," they would give him vinegar to drink, mixed with gall. It was ordained by Moses, as a process of purification, that a red heifer should be burned; that a piece of scarlet wool and hyssop should be tied on a stick and dipped in the ashes, to sprinkle the people. The author of this Epistle says: "That heifer was Jesus Christ. And why was the wool put upon a *stick*? Because the kingdom of Jesus was founded upon the *cross*; and therefore they that put their trust in him shall live forever." According to the Greek method of notation the letter T signified three hundred, the letter I ten, and H eight; of which fact the following use is made in the Epistle of Barnabas: "Abraham circumcised three hundred and eighteen men of his house. What, therefore, was the mystery that was made known to him? The I H, which make eighteen, denote Jesus. And because the cross was that by which we were to find grace, he adds T, which is three hundred, and forms the figure of the cross. Wherefore, by three hundred and eighteen he signified Jesus and his cross." The ancient *Egyptian* cross was in the form of T. He adds: "He who has put the engrafted gift of his doctrine within us, knows that I never taught to any one a more certain truth; but I trust that ye are worthy of it." Again he says: "Why did Moses say, Ye shall not eat of the swine? He meant thou shalt not join thyself to such persons as are like unto swine; who while they live in pleasure forget their God." "He says also, Thou shalt not eat the eagle, nor the hawk, nor the kite, nor the crow; that

is, thou shalt not keep company with such kind of men as know not how to get themselves food by their labour, but injuriously ravish away the things of others." "Neither shalt thou eat of the hyena; that is, Be not an adulterer, nor a corrupter of others. And wherefore so? Because that creature every year changes its kind, and is sometimes male and sometimes female." "Why might they eat such animals as cleave the hoof? Because the righteous liveth in this present world, but his expectation is fixed upon the other. Behold, brethren, how admirably Moses commanded these things. Speaking as concerning meats, he delivered great precepts to them in the spiritual signification of those commands. They, according to the desires of the flesh, understood him as if he had only meant it of meats. But the Lord has circumcised our ears and our hearts, that we might know these things." This Epistle thus exhorts Christians to be in readiness for the second coming of Christ: "Be ye taught of God; seeking what it is the Lord requires of you, and doing it; that ye may be saved in the day of judgment. For the day is at hand in which all things shall be destroyed, together with the Wicked One."

The book called the Ascent of Isaiah was evidently written by some one imbued with Gnostic tendencies. It describes the progressive descent of Christ from his radiant home above, through "the seven heavenly spheres," gradually changing his form, during the journey, into the likeness of the inhabitants of each sphere; so that his superiority was always veiled. At last, he arrived on earth, and assumed the appearance of a mortal man.

A remarkable book, called the Clementine Homilies, was in general circulation, and had great celebrity. It professed to be written by Clement, Bishop of Rome, in the first century, and to give an account of his conversion, and of his travels with the Apostle Peter. But the name of Clement was assumed, on account of its authority with the church. Scholars say it can be clearly proved to have been written about a century after his death. At that

period, Gentile Christians and Judaizing Christians were in opposition to each other; Gnostics were attacking Judaism; and Christians were contending with Gnostics. The book appears to have been written by some one who had combined Jewish, Gnostic, and Christian ideas, and who wished to present a common ground of conciliation to the conflicting parties. He adopts the idea of the Cabalists that the Wisdom of God was feminine. He called her by the Greek name *Sophia*, and said: "God himself rejoices in her alliance." His ideas concerning the First Adam and the Second Adam were also very similar to those entertained by many Jews. He describes Adam Kadman, the First Adam, as "Lord of All, existing before the worlds;" first manifested on earth in the form of Adam, afterward as Enoch, Abraham, and Moses. Lastly he took the form of Jesus, was crucified, and ascended to the heaven whence he came. "Changing the forms of his appearance, he passed through the course of ages, until reaching his own times, he was, by God's grace, anointed in recompense for his toils, and blessed with eternal repose." "The first prophet was Adam; in whom, if in any one, formed as he was immediately by the creative hand of God, that which is the immediate efflux of the Divine Spirit dwelt." "God, the alone good, bestowed every thing on the man created after his own image. Full of the divinity of his Creator, and as a true prophet, knowing all things, he revealed to his children an eternal Law, which has neither been destroyed by wars, nor corrupted by godless power, nor hidden in any particular place, but can be read of all men. The appearance neither of Moses nor of Jesus would have been necessary, if men had been willing of themselves, to come to a knowledge of what is right. But since this original revelation, which should have been transmitted by the living word, from generation to generation, was corrupted, over and over, by impure additions, proceeding from an Evil Principle, new revelations were requisite to counteract these corruptions, and restore that original revelation. And it was always that

Primal Spirit of Humanity, the Spirit of God in Adam, which reappeared, in manifold forms, and under various names." Supposing the Law of Moses to be a new revelation, to restore the primitive truths taught by Adam, this author exalted the Pentateuch above other books of the Hebrew Scriptures; but he maintained that it had been written many times over, and that many foreign elements had been introduced into it. The Father of Mankind appeared as Moses, to trust the Jews with the preservation of primal truths. He appeared as Jesus, for the especial purpose of delivering to his other children, the Gentiles, that pure primitive religion, which had been constantly handed down by a consecrated few among the Jews. The author of the Homilies says: "Jesus loved men, as none but the Father of the Human Race could love his own children. His greatest sorrow was that he must be striven against by those, in their ignorance, for whom he strove as his children. He loved them, though they hated him; he wept over the disobedient, he blessed them that blasphemed him, he prayed for his enemies; and these things he not only did himself, as a father, but also taught his disciples to pursue the same course of conduct toward men, as their brethren." "The same primitive religion is to be found in the pure doctrine of Moses and of Christ. He who possesses the former may dispense with the latter; and he who possesses the latter may dispense with the former; provided the Jew does not blaspheme Christ, whom he knows not, nor the Christian blaspheme Moses, whom he knows not. But he who is accounted worthy of attaining to the knowledge of both, to find in the doctrine announced by both but one and the same truth, is to be esteemed a man rich in God; one who has found in the old that which has become new, and in the new that which is old. The Jew and the Christian owe it entirely to the grace of God, that they have been led to a knowledge of the Divine will, by these revelations of the Primal Man, repeated under different forms, one by Moses, another by Christ." "He who is under no necessity of seeking for truth, who has no

doubts, who *knows* the truth, by means of a higher Spirit, dwelling *within* himself, which is superior to all uncertainty, he alone obtains knowledge of the truth, and can reveal it unto others."

The reverence for apostolic traditions led to a collection of ecclesiastical laws, called Apostolical Constitutions and Apostolical Canons. These also were ascribed to Clement of Rome, whose acquaintance with Peter would enable him to receive them from high authority. Neander supposes them to have been formed gradually, out of different fragments, from the close of the second into the fourth century.

There was an ancient tradition that before the Apostles dispersed to proclaim Christ in all lands, they drew up a Confession of Faith, to which each one contributed an article. This has ever since been known under the name of the Apostles' Creed. In the early times, it was devoutly believed to be the work of their own hands; but this idea has long since been acknowledged to be without foundation. It cannot be traced beyond the fourth century, and the author is unknown. Before A. D. 600 it existed in the following form: "I believe in God the Father Almighty; and in Jesus Christ, his only Son, our Lord, who was born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary; was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was buried; and the third day, he rose again from the dead, ascended into heaven, sitteth on the right hand of the Father; whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Church; the remission of sins; and the resurrection of the flesh. Amen." It was afterward altered, so as to read: "Who was *conceived* by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary;" "I believe in the Holy *Catholic* church, and the *communion of saints*." It was also added, that after Christ "was crucified, dead and buried, *he descended into hell*."

Several of the spurious Gospels and Epistles were publicly read in the churches, and were often quoted by the Fathers, in a manner that implies they regarded them as

of equal authority with canonical Scripture. The great number of church pictures illustrating those Gospels, and still revered in all Catholic countries, proves that their authority was very extensive. Perhaps none of the apocryphal books were held in higher estimation, in the first centuries, than the Shepherd of Hermas. Irenæus cites it as "the Scripture." Clement of Alexandria says: "The book of the Shepherd is disputed by some; on whose account it is not placed among the acknowledged books. But by others it is judged most necessary. For which reason, it is now publicly read in the churches, and I have understood that some of the most ancient writers used it." Origen says: "I think Hermas was the author of that book called the Shepherd. It seems to me a very useful writing, and, as I think, is divinely inspired. It is admitted into the church, but not acknowledged by all to be divine." Eusebius and Jerome say it was publicly read in the churches, though not esteemed canonical. Jerome praised it in his catalogue, but afterward pronounced it apocryphal and foolish. Rufinus expressly styles it "a book of the New Testament."

The Epistle of Barnabas was also much quoted by the Fathers; and some of them considered it genuine. Clement of Alexandria speaks of it as "read in most of the churches." Apparently it must have been extant in Justin Martyr's time; for it contains his statement that the efficacy of Moses' prayer was owing to his arms being extended in the form of a cross; and both of them speak of the cross as allegorically signified by every *stick, tree, and bit of wood* in the Old Testament.

NATIONS CONVERTED TO CHRISTIANITY.

In some countries, Christianity began to spread by means of Christian captives taken in war, who became missionaries among their conquerors; and when a king, queen, or other influential person, became a proselyte, the multitude followed their lead. The baptism of barbarians by hundreds and thousands, by no means implies that they

understood the spirit of Christianity, or imbibed its principles. The crowd, as usual, followed the example of the powerful; and those who led them were often converted by some dream, or omen, the cure of a disease, or the fortunate event of a prayer or a vow. Miracles constantly wrought at the tomb of St. Martin, Bishop of Tours, were a fruitful source of additions to the church. The people of Gallicia, and the Suevic prince in Spain were converted by them. There were baptismal fonts near the Guadalquivir, which were miraculously replenished every year, on the evening before Easter. These caused many conversions.

The Goths were early converts to Christianity. When they made their first inroads into the Roman empire, they carried off many Christians among their captives; and the conquered gained spiritual ascendancy over the rude minds of their conquerors. As early as the time of Constantine, a Gothic bishop was sent as delegate to the Council at Nice. Bishops from those countries afterward visited Constantinople, at a time when Arianism was the religion of the emperor, and of nearly all the people in that city. Thus it happened that the Goths received Christianity in the Arian form, and so it was transmitted to the different branches of their nation. These Christianized barbarians were as fierce in their zeal to convert Catholics, as the Catholics had been to convert Arians. They fined, banished, and persecuted them in various and cruel forms. Long after Arianism was vanquished in other parts of the Christianized world, it remained in full force among various Gothic tribes; and this difference was the cause of perpetual and rancorous hostility. But finally, Goths gave in to the argument that all other nations had yielded to Catholic supremacy, and that they alone disturbed the unity of the church. One of their kings, who had consented to be baptized, was not deterred by being told that all his Pagan ancestors were undoubtedly in hell; but when the Catholic missionary assured him that all his Arian relatives must be damned

also, he drew back his foot after he had placed it in the water.

When Clovis, king of the Franks, and founder of the French monarchy, first heard an account of the death of Christ, he exclaimed: "If I had been there, at the head of my valiant Franks, I would have revenged him!" He married Clotilda, a princess of Burgundy, who was a devout Catholic. For some time, he resisted her efforts to convert him. He allowed their first child to be baptized; but as the babe died soon after, he repented the concession he had made, and said to his wife: "If he had been consecrated in the name of my Gods, he would not have died; but being baptized in the name of your God, he could not live." Clotilda was not discouraged by this unlucky event. She availed herself of every opportunity to induce him to relinquish the worship of idols. One day, when he was going to battle, she said to him: "My lord, to insure victory, you must invoke the God of the Christians. He is sole Ruler of the Universe, and he is styled the God of Armies. If you address yourself to him with confidence, nothing can resist you. Though your enemies were a hundred against one, you would be sure to triumph over them." The king came very near being defeated. When he saw his cavalry flying in all directions, he spread out his arms toward heaven, and exclaimed: "Oh Christ, whom Clotilda invokes as Son of the Living God, I implore thy assistance! I have called upon my gods, and I find they have no power. Deliver me from my enemies, and I will be baptized in thy name!" His troops rallied, fought desperately, and finally gained the victory. He was solemnly baptized at Rheims, on the twenty-fifth of December, A. D. 496. According to the wish of the queen, it was made an occasion of great pomp. There was a procession of bishops and priests, with a long train of monks, carrying crosses, and singing the liturgy. Immediately after baptism, he was anointed, according to the mode of inaugurating Christian kings. It is recorded that the Holy Ghost, in the form of a white dove, descended from heaven with a vial

of celestial oil for the occasion. His sister, and three thousand of his court and army, were baptized the same day. He soon after caused a whole line of princes to be assassinated, to make way for his ambition. But he spared no pains to secure the good-will of the clergy; and the Patriarch of Rome conferred on him the title of Most Christian Majesty, which the French kings have ever since retained.

The Burgundians and the Visigoths, who had been converted to Christianity by Arian bishops, had taken possession of some provinces in Gaul. Clovis said to his assembled warriors: "It grieves me to see the fairest portions of Gaul possessed by Arians. Let us march against them; and having vanquished the heretics, by God's aid, we will divide their fertile provinces among us." Clotilda approved of this resolution; and begged her husband to remember that donations for pious purposes would propitiate the Deity, secure the powerful prayers of his faithful servants the bishops, and bring down a blessing from heaven on his pious undertaking. Her words pleased the king, and he replied: "Wherever my battle-axe shall fall, there will I erect a church, and dedicate it to the Holy Apostles." And he hurled the axe from him with a strong arm. On his march to invade the Arians, he turned aside to visit the sepulchre of Martin of Tours. They were performing religious ceremonies in St. Martin's church, and Clovis charged his messenger to take particular notice what was chanted at the moment they entered. The words were of good omen; but to make success still more secure he offered prayers and costly oblations at the tomb. Among other things, he made a present of his favourite war-horse. He afterward wished to redeem the valuable animal with one hundred pieces of gold; but the miraculous power of the saint kept the horse enchanted in the stable, till he offered six hundred pieces.

Clotilda survived her warlike and victorious husband; and after her death, she was canonized by the church. She seems to have had a degree of worldly ambition rather

inconsistent with saintly character. Her younger sons made war upon their eldest brother, and took his children captive. They so far respected the feelings of their aged mother, as to offer to spare her grandsons, provided they were devoted to monastic life. She passionately replied: "Better my descendants should be dead, than become shaven monks!" Two of the princes were stabbed. The third made his escape to a monastery, and afterward became the famous Saint Cloud.

Gaul, conquered by the orthodox Clovis, submitted to the Catholics. Spain, which had for awhile been Arian, under Gothic conquerors, was restored to the Catholic church by voluntary conversion of the Visigoths, under King Recared; who forthwith proceeded to persecute the Arians, and burn their books, as his predecessor had done toward the Catholics. He sent ambassadors to Gregory the Great, with costly offerings of gold and gems. The Pope received them graciously, and in return for their rich presents, conferred on Recared the title of Catholic Majesty, and sent him a small piece of the True Cross, a few hairs from the head of John the Baptist, and a key made of iron filings from the chain of St. Peter. The Lombards now remained the only Arian nation; but their queen was induced to aid Catholic missionaries to convert the people. Thus, after three hundred years of incessant wrangling, of mutual murders, and burning of each other's books and churches, the metaphysical controversy concerning the Trinity was hushed, and the unity of the Catholic church at last established.

In order to introduce Christianity into Scandinavian countries, missionaries deemed it necessary to make many concessions to their fierce converts. To eat horse-flesh in honour of Odin, and take as many wives as they chose, were their principal stipulations. Plurality of wives was granted, as a politic compromise; but horse-flesh was interdicted, on account of its association with idolatry. After they consented to be baptized, they had great carousals in honour of Christ, and the Apostles, and the martyrs, and

all the saints. On these occasions, they drank horns full of strong liquor, as they had been accustomed to do in honour of their old gods; until at last, the Christian festivals became such scenes of tumultuous revelry, that the better sort of men avoided them. So superficial was their conversion, that the whole mass might have been easily turned back had any unlucky accident happened before there was time for the new worship to become fixed as a habit. While Catholic missionaries were holding conference with priests of Odin assembled in Iceland, a messenger brought tidings that a volcanic eruption had done great damage in a neighbouring district. The Icelandic priests at once said: "Odin has done this, to manifest his displeasure that there are men among us who propose to abandon his worship." A Christian convert reminded them that the soil on which they were then standing was formed of lava, from an eruption centuries ago. He inquired what it was that offended the gods then; and the priests were vanquished by his sensible argument. When Bishop Poppo tried to introduce Christianity into Jutland, he convinced the people of the truth of his doctrine by thrusting his hand into a red hot iron glove, and drawing it out uninjured. The people seeing this, rushed in crowds to be baptized by the worker of miracles. This circumstance is said to have introduced trial by ordeal into that country; the bishop's method of appeal to Heaven being considered as efficacious to ascertain the truth in legal disputes, as it had proved in theological.

When Gregory the Great wished to convert the English, a monk named Augustin was chosen for the purpose; he having already attained celebrity by raising the dead, restoring sight to the blind, and various other miracles. Accompanied by forty other monks, he went to Kent, where he was kindly received by Ethelbert the king, whose wife Bertha was a Christian. Augustin permitted no coercive measures to be used, but so great was the power of his miracles, that he is said to have baptized ten thousand converts in one day. His success was rewarded

by being appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, with authority over all the English churches. There had been converts to Christianity in Wales, as early as the second century, and churches were established there, which had never submitted to the jurisdiction of Rome, but continued to follow many of the old customs of the Eastern churches. Augustin tried to induce the bishops to unite with the churches he had formed in England. But they answered that they could not lay aside their old customs, and conform to the ceremonies and institutions prescribed by Rome, without first obtaining the free consent of all the people. A synod was convened, where they agreed to meet Augustin. As he did not rise to receive them, or show them any mark of courtesy, they formed an idea that he was a proud ambitious man, and felt more than ever desirous to preserve their independence. They therefore declined his offers of alliance, and when he exhorted them to conform in the manner of observing Easter, and of administering baptism, they excused themselves; saying: "We owe no more to the Bishop of Rome than the love and brotherly assistance due to all who believe in Christ. But to our own bishop we owe obedience; and without his leave, we cannot alter any of the ordinances of the church." In consequence of this, Augustin proceeded to depose the bishops, without accusing them of any crime, and without the formality of a council. Not long afterward, twelve hundred Welsh monks were slaughtered, and their monastery destroyed, by the King of Northumberland; and suspicion rested upon Augustin as the instigator of the massacre. But he is described as "a most learned and pious man, an imitator of primitive holiness, frequent in watchings, fastings, prayers, and alms; earnest in rooting out Paganism; diligent in building and repairing churches; extraordinarily famous for the working of miracles, and cures among the people." He always walked when he visited his provinces, and often travelled barefoot. The skin on his knees had grown hard by perpetual kneeling at his devotions. Yet Gregory the Great felt it necessary

to admonish him for being unduly puffed up, with the honours he received.

During the reign of Constantine, a woman named Nino, who had vowed herself to celibacy and prayer, fled from Armenia, because the Christians in that region were fiercely persecuted by the Persians, who were making a convulsive effort to restore and perpetuate the worship taught by Zoroaster. She took refuge in Iberia, a country of Asia now called Georgia. The people were rude and warlike, and, as usual with such tribes, they had an instinctive reverence for whoever devoted themselves to the service of the Deity, under circumstances of peculiar self-denial. The complete seclusion, the severe fasting, and continual prayers of the Armenian woman inspired respect and awe. It happened that a child belonging to the tribe was taken ill; and, acting under the influence of the universal belief in Asia, that whoever was holy could cure diseases, they brought the child to Nino. She told them she was not acquainted with any remedy for the disease, but she would pray to her God for help. She did so, and the child soon afterward recovered. The queen was informed of this, and when she was afflicted with severe illness, she sent for the devout Armenian. Nino declined the invitation, saying, with becoming humility, that she was no worker of miracles. The queen then insisted upon being carried to her, and besought prayers for her recovery. She complied with this request, and the invalid was soon after restored to health. The king wished to send a rich present; but his consort assured him that the Christian woman despised all earthly goods; that the only thing in which they could please her would be to join in worshipping her God. In the fulness of her gratitude, and perhaps hungering and thirsting for better spiritual food than had yet been offered to her, she listened eagerly to the instructions of her pious physician, and became a convert. Her husband also was greatly impressed by the cures the stranger had performed, which she reverently attributed to the power of the God in whom she believed; but he was held back by fear of

offending the old deities, and also by the danger of rendering himself unpopular among his subjects, who were bigoted worshippers of Aramazd, the Ormuzd of the ancient Persians. One day when he was wandering alone through a thick forest, he became enveloped in a dense fog, and was unable to find his way. Awe-struck by the uncertain light, and by the silent solitude of the place, he began to reflect upon what he had heard of those Superior Spirits, who guide the destinies of men. The thought passed through his mind that if he should be safely restored to his companions, he might become a worshipper of the Christian's God, of whom his wife told such marvellous things. At that moment, the sun suddenly burst forth, and illumined the foliage with a wondrous glory. The wavering mind of the monarch hailed the beautiful omen. He saw in that golden radiance a symbol of the light of truth, dispersing all mists from the soul. He rejoined his companions, to whom he related what had happened. He sent for the Christian captive, and became converted by her. He began to instruct the men among his subjects, and the queen the women. They sent to Rome for religious teachers, and were baptized. The people were at first exceedingly averse to a change in the national religion, but, after much opposition, the temple of Aramazd was pulled down, and a Cross was raised upon its ruins. It is recorded that the erection of the first Christian church was attended with miracles. A heavy column of stone resisted all the efforts of the workmen to raise it. But Nino spent the night in praying that they might be assisted, and the next morning, the pillar rose of its own accord, and stood erect. The people, when they witnessed this, shouted in praise of the Christian's God, and were generally baptized. The king entered into alliance with Constantine the Great, who sent him valuable presents, and a Christian bishop. The popular feeling toward the temple of Aramazd was transferred to the Cross, the possession of which soon came to be regarded as the great safeguard of the nation.

Tiridates, king of Armenia, was a bigoted worshipper

of the old gods of his country. He put in prison one of his subjects who had become a Christian, and who refused to offer sacrifices to Anaitis, a goddess resembling the Venus of the Romans, and the Astarte of the Syrians. Gregory the Christian languished in prison fourteen years. Meanwhile, the king's sister had become converted; and when a terrible pestilence broke out, she ventured to advise that he should be released, as a means of arresting the plague. The king, being himself afflicted with the deadly malady, and greatly alarmed, accepted her counsel. He was cured by Gregory, and the pestilence soon after abated. Believing this to be a sign of approval from Heaven, the monarch consented to be baptized; and his example was soon after followed by all his nobles and the people. Priests were sent for from other countries; four hundred bishops were consecrated, and churches erected everywhere; though not without strenuous resistance. The Christian prisoner who had effected all this, was appointed archbishop of the kingdom, and became famous under the name of Gregory the Illuminator. The Province of Dara, considered the sacred region of Armenia, obstinately resisted the innovation, and fought desperately for the preservation of their ancient altars and temples. Every Christian church erected there was built under the protection of troops. The prolonged contest was at last decided by a bloody battle, which was commemorated by the following inscription on a monument:

" THE LEADER OF THE WARRIORS WAS ARGAN,
THE CHIEF OF THE PRIESTHOOD,
WHO LIES HERE IN HIS GRAVE,
AND WITH HIM ONE THOUSAND THIRTY-EIGHT MEN.
THIS BATTLE WAS FOUGHT FOR THE GOD-HEAD OF KISANE,
AND FOR THAT OF CHRIST."

This was the first war for the introduction of Christianity. But it cannot with truth be said that Christianity made its way by persuasion, and by appeals to the inward consciousness of men, except for the first three hundred years.

Theodosius suppressed Pagan worship by the sword, and dragged the gods of antiquity at his chariot-wheels. Justinian completed the work in the same spirit. The thousands who performed their ancient rites in secret were ferreted out, and allowed no choice between baptism and death. The same course was pursued toward the Samaritans. They resisted. Twenty thousand were slain; twenty thousand sold into slavery to Persians and East Indians; and the remainder saved their lives by consenting to be baptized. It has been computed that one hundred thousand Roman subjects were slaughtered in the course of Justinian's efforts to establish the unity of the Christian church. Charlemagne drove Paganism from Teutonic Europe at the point of his spear. In his attempts to force the Saxons into Christianity, which he doubtless did from motives of state policy, he incurred a war of thirty years' duration. At last, Wittikind the Great, Duke of Saxony, was compelled to submit. The only alternative allowed them was death or baptism; and he with his whole army submitted to the ceremony, which made them Christians. When the Saxons, under King Ethelwolf, fought with the Danes, they, in their turn, offered the same choice to those who were taken prisoners; and Danish vikings, or pirates, were baptized by hundreds on the battle fields, to escape the gallows, which was ready to receive them. King Olaf, who was afterward canonized, and became the patron saint of Norway, demolished the temples and altars of Odin, introduced Christianity among his subjects by an armed force, and allowed them no alternative but slaughter.

Every one knows how the wealth and power of the church went on increasing, until the Pope came to be universally acknowledged as the Vicegerent of God upon earth, the infallible medium of the Holy Ghost. When the empire broke up into independent nations, Rome became the ecclesiastical centre of the world, as it had formerly been of the civil power. So subservient were kings to priests, that princes held the Pope's stirrup while he

mounted his horse, and for the slightest offence against the church, their subjects were forbidden to supply them with food, water, or fire, on pain of similar excommunication themselves.

The number of Catholics at the present time is estimated at about one hundred and forty millions.

SEPARATE CHURCHES.

GREEK CHURCH.—But neither the zeal of missionaries, nor the sword of kings, succeeded in making the Catholic church quite universal. The continual rivalry between the Patriarchs of Rome and Constantinople, at last terminated in open schism; and the adherents of the latter took the name of the Greek church. The point of doctrine on which they separated was concerning the mode in which the Holy Ghost came into existence. The church at Constantinople maintained that he proceeded from the Father *only*; but the Roman church decided that he proceeded from the Father *and* the Son. The Patriarch of Rome excommunicated the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria, in the fifth century. Various attempts to reunite were afterward made, but they were followed by renewed excommunications. The Greek church assumed entire independence, and were governed by their own Patriarch and bishops. In nearly all respects, their doctrines and ceremonies are like those of the Catholics. They accept the traditions of the Fathers as of equal authority with Scripture; believing them to have been orally transmitted from the Apostles. The lower order of their priests are allowed to marry once, provided it be not to a widow.

They invoke the Virgin and the saints, whose pictures abound in their churches and houses, sometimes set with precious stones. But they retain the opinion which caused the Iconoclast warfare, and allow no sculptured images. On the strength of this distinction, they express abhorrence of the Catholics, as idolaters.

Their numbers are computed at seventy millions.

NESTORIANS.—The adherents of Nestorius, after they were excommunicated, sought protection in Persia, and gained proselytes in various Asiatic countries. The doctrine taught by Nestorius, that Christ had two natures, human and divine, was afterward received into the creed of the Catholic church; but as the Nestorians persisted in calling Mary the mother of Christ only, and refused to style her Mother of God, they remained excommunicated, and formed an independent establishment. Their doctrines, worship, and church government are like those of the Greek church; but they abominate pictures as well as images, and allow no image in their churches except the cross. When an image of the Virgin was presented to them by missionaries, they exclaimed: "We are Christians, not idolaters." It is supposed that some of them, when they fled from persecution, after the decision of the Council at Ephesus, took refuge in Hindostan; for churches maintaining the same faith and worship were found centuries afterward on the coast of Malabar. They were called Christians of St. Thomas, on account of a tradition that Thomas the Apostle travelled into India, carried the Gospel there, and became a martyr to the bigotry of the Bramins. But the tomb shown as his is now believed by many scholars to be the grave of a Nestorian bishop, by the name of Thomas. The Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus, mentioned among spurious books, as purporting to be written by the Apostle Thomas, is said to have been read in these churches on the Malabar coast as late as the sixteenth century. These Christians of St. Thomas united with other Nestorians in Mesopotamia and Syria, under one church government. The whole number is computed to be about three hundred thousand. They are generally called Syrian Christians, because they have the ancient Syrian version of the New Testament, and use the same language in their worship.

ARMENIANS.—Another independent church was formed in Armenia, which agreed with the Greek concerning "the

procession of the Holy Ghost," but differed both from that and the Roman on the question whether Christ had one nature or two natures. They are the remains of the Monophysites, who so long kept up a warfare against the decree of the Council at Chalcedon. To this day they teach the doctrine of Eutyches, that Christ had but one nature, and that even his body was of a divine incorruptible substance. The Armenian church agrees with the Greek in believing that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father only. It was long before they became reconciled to images, but they now venerate images of the Virgin and the saints. Their Patriarch lives in a monastery on Mount Ararat, which is much resorted to as a place of pilgrimage. The number of Armenians is estimated at two millions. There are also Monophysite Christians remaining in Abyssinia, who retain many Jewish customs. They circumcise their children, keep Saturday as the Sabbath, and observe the laws of Moses concerning articles of food. They admit no one to the Lord's Supper till he is twenty-five years of age; maintaining that no one is accountable for sin before that time, and that all who die earlier are sure of salvation. In Egypt there is a small remnant of the disciples of Eutyches, called Copts. These and the Abyssinian Christians are all that remain of the once powerful churches in Africa, where Tertullian, Cyprian, and Augustine lived and laboured. Some travellers have mentioned a Gospel of Thomas, read in various Christian churches in Asia and Africa, and adopted by some as their only rule of faith. It seems likely that this is the apocryphal book mentioned under the title of *The Infancy of Jesus*; purporting to be written by the Apostle Thomas.

Christians of all churches are accustomed to offer their prayers in the name of Christ; and it is a prevailing belief that faith in the atonement of his blood will save the greatest sinner; even if he does not repent till he is on his death-bed. Among the titles commonly bestowed on Jesus, are "The Messiah; The Anointed One; The Holy Son of Mary; The Only Begotten Son of God; The Word

of God ; The God-man ; God manifested in the flesh ; God of God ; The Mediator and Intercessor for the sins of mankind ; The Lamb who was slain from the beginning ; The Sacrifice for all sin ; The Redeemer of the world."

The birth of Christ was not introduced as an era among the nations, until five hundred and twenty-seven years after that event. Dionysius Exiguus, abbot of a monastery in Rome, was the first author of it. In the beginning, there was considerable variation between the eras adopted by churches in different parts of the world ; and differences of computation still remain. But nearly all Christian nations place the birth of Christ four thousand and four years after the Creation ; in the seven hundred and fifty-third year of the building of Rome. Some learned men suppose it to have occurred two years earlier ; others say four years. Not being introduced as an epoch until after several centuries had elapsed, it is not surprising that some discrepancies occur in the reckoning.

The entire number of Christians, of all denominations, is computed at about two hundred and fifty millions.

MOHAMMEDANISM.

"I ask myself if all that host,
 Whose turban'd marbles o'er them nod,
 Were doomed, when giving up the ghost,
 To die as those who have no God?
 No, no, my God! They worshipp'd Thee;
 Then let no doubts my spirit darken,
 That Thou, who always hearest me,
 To these, thy children too, didst hearken."

J. PIERPONT.

ACCORDING to Arabian traditions, when Hagar and her son were dying with thirst, and she implored God for relief, the angel Gabriel descended and stamped on the ground; whereupon, a fountain sprang forth in the desert, on the very spot where the city of Mecca now stands. Abraham loved Ishmael better than Isaac, and often visited him in his exile; being conducted by a miraculous horse, that enabled him to perform the journey in half a day. Nevertheless, when the boy was thirteen years old, he prepared to sacrifice him, having been thus commanded by God three times in a dream. Eblis, [the Devil,] wishing to prevent such an act of piety, gave warning to Hagar and her son; but they both replied: "If he believes it to be the will of Allah, let it be done." But when all was in readiness, Gabriel appeared with a ram, which he ordered Abraham to sacrifice instead of Ishmael. This ram was the same that Abel offered; and since that time it had been pastured in Paradise. The Jewish Talmud, in relating a similar story of Isaac, says an Angel brought the ram from Paradise, where it pastured under the Tree of Life, and drank from the rivers that flowed therefrom. Ishmael became a famous hunter and warrior, and married

the daughter of a king in south Arabia. He had twelve sons, the founders of twelve tribes. Abraham, who took great interest in his prosperity, wished to have the worship of One Supreme God established among them. Allah had sent down from heaven a temple for Adam, but at the time of the Deluge, He had caused it to be again drawn up into heaven. Abraham prayed earnestly that the model of it might be revealed to him, and Gabriel brought it in answer to his prayer. He then assisted Ishmael in building a temple precisely like it, on the spot where he had prepared to sacrifice him to the Lord, close beside the miraculous fountain. The Angel appointed to prevent Adam from eating the forbidden fruit had been changed into a diamond for his neglect. The diamond had been given to Adam, but was afterward drawn up into heaven with his temple. When Gabriel brought the model to Abraham, this precious stone was also sent from Paradise for him to rest upon; and it was ever after preserved in the House of Prayer, which he and Ishmael erected.

The descendants of Ishmael were hunters and herdsmen, and, like their cousins the Israelites, lived thus for ages, without attracting the attention of more civilized portions of the world. It is recorded that Caab, son of Ishmael, was accustomed to assemble the people in the temple every Friday, and instruct them concerning the God taught by Abraham. Families that spread into the adjacent country built altars for themselves, but all were in the habit of repairing to the temple erected by Abraham, which was called the Caaba, from the name of the zealous preacher. Notwithstanding his constant exhortations, idolatry increased among his relatives; insomuch that when his grandson died, Mecca was the only place where the doctrine of One God was taught.

When Christianity became the established religion of the Roman empire, Arabians were in a condition which indicates that their opinions and customs had been principally derived from Chaldean and Egyptian sources; and such would be the natural result of traditional teaching,

derived by Ishmael from his Chaldean father and Egyptian mother. A large majority of them worshipped Spirits of the Stars, whom they called "Sons of God" and "Daughters of God." They named the Supreme Being Allah Taaba, and considered the Spirits his subordinate agents in the creation and government of the world, and mediators between Him and mortals. Polytheism produced the same results there as elsewhere. The Supreme God became a mere abstract idea, and the inferior deities were the only objects of popular adoration. Opinions and customs varied in different parts of the country, but there was a general resemblance in doctrines and modes of worship. All professed to derive their system from Sabi, the son of Seth, and were therefore called Sabians. They prayed three times a day: at sunrise, at noon, and at sunset. They observed three annual fasts; offered sacrifices of men and animals; made a yearly pilgrimage to Mecca, where they performed many ceremonies; and occasionally made pilgrimages to Harran in Mesopotamia, rendered sacred by some connection with the history of Abraham. Some of them made devotional journeys into Egypt, where they sacrificed a cock and a black calf, offered prayers, and burned incense before the great pyramids, which they believed to be the sepulchres of Seth, and his sons Enoch and Sabi. The Arabians, from the most ancient times, universally practised circumcision, and abstained from pork. In some of the tribes, society was divided into castes. Some sects believed in the transmigration of souls, and some introduced into their worship the sexual symbols, which Hindoos and Egyptians revered as Emblems of Life. When a relative died, it was the general custom to sacrifice a camel on his grave, that he might have an animal to ride upon when his body rose from the dead. In the vicinity of Persia, the doctrines of Zoroaster had become considerably mixed with the old Arabian traditions. Some sects supposed that the souls of wicked men would be punished during nine thousand ages, and then all would be forgiven, and become good.

The seven days which constitute our week were successively appropriated to the worship of the seven Planetary Spirits, to each of whom a temple was erected. The one built at Mecca is said to have been originally consecrated to the Spirit of the planet Saturn. Each tribe considered itself under the especial protection of some tutelary deity. Therefore, one tribe peculiarly devoted itself to the Spirit of the Sun, another to Jupiter, another to Sirius, and another to the star in the Bull's eye. But the temple at Mecca, which contained the ancient Caaba within its enclosures, was the central place of worship for all the Sabians.

Jews had settled in different parts of Arabia long before the Christian era; and when Jerusalem was destroyed, large numbers of them took refuge there. They gained many proselytes, some of whom were powerful chiefs, whose example influenced whole tribes. This is not surprising, considering how much common ground there was between them and the descendants of Ishmael. Both revered Abraham as their ancestor; both received as sacred nearly the same accounts of the creation, the deluge, and the patriarchs; and both followed the Egyptian customs of circumcision and abstinence from pork.

When Nestorius was persecuted by the dominant Christian church, some of his adherents took refuge in Arabia, where they established churches, made some proselytes, and had a bishop. The followers of Eutychea, belonging to that branch of Monophysites called Jacobites, likewise found shelter there from the storm of persecution, and converted some of the natives to their form of Christianity. There were differences of opinion among the Arabian Christians. Some believed the soul died with the body, and would rise with it at the resurrection; others regarded that doctrine as a great heresy. Nestorians denied that Mary, a mortal woman, could be the mother of that portion of Christ's nature which was divine. But another Christian sect adored her as one of the Trinity; an idea which might have originated in the fact that some Jewish Chris-

tians represented the Holy Spirit as the *mother* of Christ.

Jews and Christians in Arabia competed with each other in proselyting the Sabians. Upon one occasion they challenged each other to a public discussion, which continued three days. Early Christian writers give a miraculous account of it. They say that on the third day of the disputation, the advocate of the Hebrew religion remarked: "If Jesus is really in heaven, and can hear the prayers of his worshippers, call upon him to appear, and then we shall be convinced." The Jewish portion of the audience cried out: "Yes; show us your Christ, and then we will believe that he is the Messiah." Whereupon, there came a loud clap of thunder, followed by vivid lightning; and Jesus appeared walking on a purple cloud, surrounded by rays of glory, crowned with a diadem, and bearing a sword in his right hand. He hovered over the assembly, and proclaimed, with a loud voice: "Lo, I appear in your sight! I am Jesus, whom your fathers crucified." When he had said this, he disappeared in the clouds. The Christians exclaimed: "Kyrie eleison!" which signifies, "O Lord, have mercy on us!" The Jews were struck blind by the vision, and did not recover their sight till they were all baptized.

But efforts to convert the Arabians were only partially successful. A great majority of the people continued to worship the Spirits of the Stars, under the form of images made to represent them. The Caaba contained three hundred and sixty images, either in human form, or in the shape of lions, eagles, bulls, and other creatures that represented the constellations. Three goddesses, named Al Lata, Al Uzzah, and Manah, were called "Daughters of God;" and their images were regarded with peculiar veneration. One of them held a babe in her arms, as the Egyptian Isis was represented with her infant Horus. Every family had images of household gods, to which prayers were offered in sickness or trouble, also when they set out on a journey, and when they returned. During the last month of every year, a great concourse of pilgrims

travelled to Mecca, to offer vows and sacrifices, return thanks, and present images, or other gifts, to the temple. They put off their garments before entering on the consecrated ground, and walked naked round the Caaba seven times, throwing a stone each time, because they believed that Abraham drove away the Devil with seven stones, when he appeared on that spot and tried to tempt him not to sacrifice Ishmael, as the Lord had commanded. They reverently touched the stone which Gabriel had brought down for Abraham to rest upon; travelled seven times to the neighbouring mountains, looking on the ground, to imitate Hagar's search for water; drank from her miraculous fountain, and carried home some of the holy water. They sacrificed goats, sheep, and camels, part of which they ate, and distributed the remainder among the poor. Before they returned home, they cut off their hair and their nails, and burned them in the sacred valley of Mina. They wore amulets to protect them from evil, and had faith in the magical power of charms and talismans.

Such was the state of things in Arabia, when the celebrated Mohammed Ben Abdallah, commonly called Mahomet, was born at Mecca, five hundred and sixty-nine years after the birth of Christ. He was a lineal descendant from Ishmael, in a straight line, from eldest son to eldest son. He belonged to the Koreish, the most eminent of all the tribes. Ten of their principal men were hereditary governors of Mecca, and guardians of the Caaba. The family of Hashem, into which Mohammed was born, belonged to that honoured class. The offices they held involved responsibility, as well as credit; not only on account of the annual concourse of pilgrims, but because Mecca was a privileged place of sanctuary, like the Cities of Refuge appointed by Moses. Abdallah, the father of Mohammed, died without property, soon after the birth of his son. His mother Aminah, who was noted for her beauty, worth, and intelligence, died when he was six years old. His father's eldest brother, Abu Taleb, became guardian of the orphan. He was an upright man, and educated the boy conscien-

tiously, according to the best ideas of his age and country. He was a merchant, engaged in inland trade, and as his nephew was destined to follow the same business, he frequently took him with him on distant excursions, while he was yet a lad.

In youth Mohammed was observable for integrity, thoughtfulness, and strictness in the performance of devotional exercises. He was rather taciturn, but when he did speak, it was with earnestness and sincerity. His companions were accustomed to call him *Al Amin*, The Faithful. He had large dark eyes, full of feeling, his complexion was fresh and glowing, his teeth brilliantly white, his mouth finely formed, and his whole countenance luminous with an expression of intelligence and frankness. He was above the medium stature, his limbs well-proportioned, and his movements graceful. By the influence of his uncle, he became agent of a widow with considerable property in Mecca, named *Khadeejah*. He managed her business with so much honesty and discretion, that he won her confidence and gratitude, which ripened into personal affection, cordially reciprocated by him. He was only twenty-five years old, and she was forty. She had been distinguished above all other women in Mecca for amiability and beauty; and though she had survived two husbands, her face was still handsome, and her figure graceful. This marriage placed Mohammed in easy circumstances. Little is recorded of him during the next fifteen years. He was constant in his affection for *Khadeejah*, very temperate in his habits, just in his dealings, scrupulous in keeping his word, kind and generous to his relatives, extremely liberal to the poor, and strict in the performance of religious exercises. The sacred stone, on which Abraham sat, was once stolen from the *Caaba* and carried off by a sect, who were in hopes of thereby attracting pilgrims to their city. They would not restore it for a long time, though the people of Mecca offered five thousand pieces of gold. But not succeeding in their project of attracting pilgrims, they finally sent it back; and the keepers of the *Caaba* proved its iden-

tity by its peculiar property of swimming on water. A dispute arose as to who should have the honour of replacing it in the temple; but the people manifested their respect for Mohammed by unanimously deciding that he was the most worthy.

All his relatives worshipped after the manner of the Sabians. How far he conformed to it, and what influences induced him to become dissatisfied with it, are not known. Jews were numerous, and much engaged in trade. In the course of his commercial expeditions he would be very likely to meet them, and to hear them express horror of idolatry. It is said he was on terms of intimacy with a learned Jew, and with a Persian named Salman, who having been converted to Judaism, and afterward to Christianity, in some form or other, finally became a Moslem. It is not improbable that he was likewise somewhat acquainted with the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians settled in Arabia, who seem not to have been in a very enlightened condition. When he was fourteen years old, travelling with his uncle to a Fair in Syria, he lodged with Bahira, a Nestorian monk, who had been a Jew; and some say he again spent the night with him, at a later period of his life. Whatever he learned must have been taught orally. During his lifetime, writing began to be introduced among the descendants of Ishmael; but when he was young, no Arab, not even the wealthiest and best educated, was taught to read or write; and it is supposed he always remained ignorant of those useful accomplishments. But Khadeejah had a cousin, named Warakah Ebn Nawfal, a proselyte to Christianity, who could read and write Arabic and Hebrew, and was tolerably well versed in the Scriptures. Mohammed had manifested devout tendencies from early youth; his mind was eager and inquisitive, and his memory remarkably retentive. Under such circumstances he could hardly fail to have heard much from Khadeejah's relative, which would make a deep impression on him, and form subjects of contemplation, to occupy his serious and thoughtful mind, during his jour-

neys through the deserts. The Arabs were in a very rude state, and had many barbarous and superstitious customs. Those not engaged in trade were generally herdsmen. In many parts of the country, they were much addicted to robbery and marauding excursions, as their cousins the Israelites had been. Mohammed appears to have loved those wild tribes, with the old Asiatic feeling for descendants from a common ancestor. He had heard how Moses received communications from Jehovah, when he retired to the sublime solitude of a mountain; how he was divinely directed to lead the tribes of Israel away from the degrading influences of idolatry, and teach them that the One Supreme God was the only suitable object of adoration; and how those rude tribes, thus bound together by a common faith, and a central place of worship, became a wealthy and powerful nation. In this there was much to excite a fervid, energetic temperament. If God had listened to the prayers of Moses, on Mount Sinai, and commissioned him to be a great prophet to the descendants of Isaac, why should He not also listen, on Mount Hera, to the earnest entreaties of a descendant of Ishmael, who also derived his existence from Abraham, a worshipper of the One True God?

Through what states of preparation his soul passed is unknown. It is only recorded that he strictly observed the annual Arabian Lent, called the Fast of Ramadan, which continued thirty days. On such occasions, he was always accustomed to retire to a cave in Mount Hera, near Mecca, and spend the month in solitude and prayer. No one can tell whether severe fasting, and prolonged efforts to concentrate all his thoughts on spiritual subjects, so affected his nerves, as to produce vivid dreams, or apparent visions. If so, he would honestly consider them miraculous, because that was the universal faith of the age in which he lived. It was the old Sabian belief, corroborated by the testimony of every Jew and Christian, with whom he conversed.

In the fortieth year of his age, while fasting during the

month of Ramadam, in the cave on Mount Hera, he informed Khadeejah that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him, and told him he was appointed to be a prophet, to abolish idolatry, and teach the worship of One God. Previous conversations had doubtless prepared his wife for this communication. She listened with reverent joyfulness, and swore, by Him in whose hands her soul was, that she believed he was ordained to be the prophet of his people. She soon communicated the tidings to her cousin, Warakah Ebn Nawfal, who was also ready to believe. He said Moses had predicted that a prophet like unto himself would arise, and that Jesus had promised not to leave his disciples alone, but to send them a Comforter. He thought there was no reason to doubt that the same Angel, who had appeared to Moses, had been sent to Mohammed; but he did not live long to assist in propagating that belief.

From that time henceforth, Mohammed considered it his mission to destroy idolatry, and restore the worship of One God, as taught by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus; which religion he said both Jews and Christians had corrupted by their superstitions. A favourite slave, named Zaid, believed his master was divinely inspired, and his faith was rewarded by immediate emancipation. Not long after, Mohammed's cousin Ali, a fiery-hearted, spontaneous, generous lad, the son of Abu Taleb, became a proselyte. The next convert was Abubeker, a man of high standing in the Koreish tribe, who soon gained over some other influential men in Mecca. To them Mohammed preached, according to the communications he received from the angel Gabriel. His two leading doctrines were the unity of God, and unquestioning submission to the Divine will; therefore he called his system Islam, which means submission. Things went on in a quiet and rather private way for three years, during which he had only thirteen followers, including the members of his own family; but they all prayed incessantly that the faith might be extended, and they zealously devoted themselves to its advancement, in every possible way. At the end of that time, he caused

a banquet to be prepared, and invited forty relatives, all of them descendants of his great-grandfather Hashem, who had been a man of note in his day. When they had assembled, he told them of the visits of the Angel, and said: "God Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him. I know of no man in all Arabia who can offer his kindred anything more excellent than I now offer you; happiness in this life, and felicity in that which is to come. Who among you will assist me in my mission? Who will be my brother, and vicegerent?" They all seemed doubtful what to think or say. The youthful Ali, then only fourteen years old, seeing them hesitate thus, started up, and exclaimed: "Oh prophet, I am the man! Whoever rises against thee, I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, and rip up his belly. O prophet, I will be thy brother and vicegerent." Mohammed embraced the ardent youth, and desired those present to listen to him, and obey him, as his deputy. Whereupon, many of them laughed, and told Abu Tâleb he must now prepare to submit to his son. The coldness of his kindred did not abate the zeal of Mohammed. He seized every opportunity to converse either with friends or strangers, concerning the doctrine of One Invisible God. He openly condemned or ridiculed some of the popular usages, rendered sacred by the sanction of ages. To those whom he saw worshipping after the manner of their country, he said: "You pray to idols, that you rub with oil and wax, and the flies stick to them. I tell you they are nothing but wood." The Koreish, supposing he assumed to be a prophet for the purpose of making money, offered to make a collection for him, to appoint him chief of the tribe, and marry him to any woman he wished, if he would desist from the course he was pursuing. His uncle, the beloved guardian of his childhood, besought him to keep silence, and not risk his own safety, and that of his relatives, by proclaiming such opinions. He burst into tears, and replied: "It is a faith approved by God, and He has appointed me to be its apostle. If they would put the sun in my right hand, and the

moon in my left, and give me the whole earth for a possession, I could not disobey the commands of God." When pilgrims arrived, or the people assembled on festival days, he delivered to them messages from the angel Gabriel against idolatry. His uncle Abu Tâleb sought to counteract these efforts, saying: "Citizens and pilgrims, do not listen to these impious novelties. Stand fast in the worship of Al Lata, and Al Uzzah." He had, however, a strong affection for his nephew, and did his utmost to protect him from his numerous enemies. Many of the Koreish were jealous of the influence exerted by the Hashem family, and this heretical teaching afforded them a good opportunity to seek to weaken it. They reproached Abu Tâleb for protecting his blasphemous relative; saying: "Thy nephew reviles our religion. He accuses our wise forefathers of ignorance and folly. Silence him quickly; lest he kindle discord and excite tumult in the city. If he perseveres, we will draw our swords against him and his adherents, and thou wilt be responsible for the blood of thy fellow-citizens." As the Prophet could not be induced to desist, they violently attacked him and his followers, and he was frequently obliged to change his residence, to save his life. Once, when he was proclaiming his prophetic mission to an assemblage of pilgrims, he was well nigh killed by the stones thrown at him. His uncle Abu Tâleb appears to have believed in his sincerity, though he had no faith in his mission. He encountered the enmity of his tribe by openly protecting him, and providing secret places of refuge when he could do no better. The more the danger increased, the more did the good Khadeejah strive to soothe and encourage her persecuted husband. She never doubted that he was indeed a prophet sent by God; and she felt as if she was performing a great duty in consecrating her property to his support and defence. Once, when he had been preaching to the people, and returned in the evening, the house was surrounded by furious men, who pelted it with stones and other missiles, and called upon him to appear, that they might kill the

man who blasphemed their gods. Khadeejah, perceiving there was no chance for him to escape, went forth into the midst of the mob, and demanded whether her countrymen had lost the Arabian sense of honour, that they could do so mean a thing as to attack the house of a woman. Her rebuke made them ashamed, and they dispersed without doing any further injury. But the animosity of the Koreish increased to such a degree, that the Prophet gave the more timid of his followers leave to withdraw from Mecca. In the fifth year of his mission, sixteen of them, among whom were one of his own daughters and her husband, took refuge in Abyssinia. The persecution continued to increase, and two years afterward they were followed by seventy or eighty more. They were all kindly received by Nejashy, king of that country, who was either partly or entirely a convert to Christianity. When they asked for his protection, they said: "We have been driven from Arabia because we believed in a prophet, whom God hath sent; the one whom Jesus promised. He forbids murder, robbery, gambling, oppression, and adultery. He enjoins us not to eat blood, or the flesh of any creature that died of itself. He commands us to worship One Invisible God, and no other; to pray often, and give a tenth of our income to the poor." Nejashy, highly pleased with this account, replied: "The Most High God sent Jesus with the same injunctions. What does your prophet say of *him*?" They answered: "He says Jesus was the Word of God, whom a virgin conceived by the breath of the Holy Spirit." "Prosperity be with you, and with him from whom you came!" exclaimed the king. "He must be that prophet on whom the Son of Mary pronounced blessings. If the duties of my royal station did not hinder me, verily I would go and assume the office of bearing his shoes. No one shall molest you." The Koreish sent to demand them, but he refused to give them up, and he afterward became a convert to the faith of Islam.

Persecution produced the usual effect. The new doctrines spread so rapidly among the tribes, that the exas-

perated Koreish entered into a league not to buy or sell, marry or give in marriage, or in any way hold intercourse with the descendants of Hashem, unless they would give up Mohammed to the vengeance of their offended deities. They entered into this covenant with solemn formalities, and to invest it with greater sacredness they placed a record of it in the Caaba. The relatives of Mohammed refused to renounce him; and the tribe divided into factions, which contended with each other during three years. At the end of that time, Mohammed told his uncle Abu Tâleb, leader of the Hashemites, that God had manifested his displeasure at the Koreish league, by causing a worm to eat every word out of the document placed in the Caaba, except His own sacred name. Abu Tâleb, being in some way convinced that the writing had actually disappeared, went to the leader of the Koreish and made a statement of it; declaring that if it proved false, he would deliver his nephew into their hands; provided they would agree to cancel the league, if it proved true. They acquiesced, and were much astonished to find the record obliterated, as he had said. But though their covenant was thus rendered void, animosity between the factions remained as strong as ever. That same year, which was the tenth of Mohammed's mission, his kind guardian Abu Tâleb died, at the age of eighty. Some say he embraced the faith of Islam on his death-bed; others deny it. Very soon afterward, Khadeejah died. She was sixty-five years old, and had lived with Mohammed a little more than twenty-four years; during which time she brought him two sons and four daughters. While she lived, no other woman shared his affections, and he never seemed to desire the acquaintance of any; a very remarkable fact, considering he was fifteen years younger than herself, and lived in a country where polygamy was sanctioned by law and universal custom. He buried her with his own hands; and that year was ever afterward named by him and his followers The Year of Mourning.

The animosity of the Koreish became more active after

he was deprived of the guardian uncle, who had so long loved and protected him. They intercepted supplies of water, and injured him and his adherents in so many ways, that he fled to Tayef, sixty miles from Mecca, accompanied by his favourite freed man Zaid. He was received coldly by the principal inhabitants, and when he had been there a month, the populace rose against him, while he was attempting to preach to them, and drove him from the city. He returned to Mecca, where he found his followers greatly disheartened by the unpromising aspect of his affairs. He kept up his courage, however, and continued to preach boldly to the pilgrims, and all others who would hear him. Six members of a Jewish tribe of Arabs, who lived at Yathreb thus became believers in his inspiration, and when they returned home, they warmly commended him and his doctrines.

In the twelfth year of his mission, he declared to his followers that he had made a journey from the temple in Mecca to Jerusalem, and had thence ascended through the seven heavens into the presence of God, and back again to Mecca, in one night. This excited so much distrust, that many left him. Others said if "Moses conversed with God face to face," they knew not why a similar privilege might not be granted to the prophet whom Moses had promised should be "like unto himself." The zealous convert Abubeker declared if Mohammed affirmed it, that was sufficient for him; he believed every word he uttered. His undoubted reliance confirmed some who were wavering; and the idea that Mohammed, who had heretofore received communications through the medium of the angel Gabriel, had been actually admitted to the Divine Presence, and taught by God himself, greatly increased the sacredness with which their faith invested him.

Meanwhile, the pilgrims, who had gone back to Yathreb favourably impressed with Mohammed's teaching, had sown some seeds of doctrine in that city. That same year twelve men came from thence, and had a meeting with the Prophet on a hill near Mecca. They took a

solemn oath never to worship images, or kill their children, or steal, or commit fornication, or forge calumnies, and to obey the Prophet in all things reasonable. These proselytes, having received his blessing, were sent home with one of his experienced disciples, to give them still farther instruction in his doctrines. The next year, being the thirteenth of his mission, the Prophet met seventy-five more converts, in the night time, at the same place. He told them frankly that he had many and powerful enemies, and might soon be compelled to fly from his native city. If they sought to protect him, they might become involved in great dangers; therefore, unless they were very firmly persuaded in their own minds, they had better leave him to seek assistance elsewhere. They asked what reward they were to expect if they happened to be killed in defence of him and his doctrines. He told them they would thus make sure of the joys of Paradise; whereupon, with solemn formalities, they pledged themselves to his service. He chose twelve from among them, who were invested with the same authority that the Apostles of Christ had over the other disciples.

When the Koreish heard that his doctrines were thus extending abroad, and that he had formed a league with certain influential men in Yathreb, they resolved to prevent his leaving Mecca. It was agreed that a man should be selected from each of the forty tribes, and every one should pledge himself to plunge a knife in Mohammed's heart. This array of numbers was intended to prevent the Hashemites from revenging the murder of their kinsman; their power being altogether inadequate to a contest with all the tribes. The conspiracy came to the Prophet's knowledge. He said it was revealed to him by the angel Gabriel. He escaped by night in disguise, with his friend Abubeker. His generous-hearted cousin Ali assumed his garments, and laid himself down on the Prophet's couch to await the assassins. They came at the appointed hour; but they respected the nobleness of the action, and did him no injury. Meanwhile, the fugitives had concealed them-

selves in a cave, about three miles from Mecca. There they remained three days, and the son and daughter of Abubeker secretly conveyed them food. The Koreish sent scouts in every direction to search for them. One of these parties passed directly by the cave, but did not enter. As the sound of their trampling passed away, the trembling Abubeker remarked: "We are only two." "There is a third with us," replied Mohammed; "it is God himself." Some of the Prophet's followers say the Koreish were struck with sudden blindness, and could not see the cave. Others affirm that a spider was sent to spin a web across the entrance, and a pigeon was sent to weave a nest and lay two eggs. The pursuers, being deceived by those indications, took it for granted that no one could have recently entered there. Jews had a similar tradition concerning David; of whom the Talmud relates that the Most High sent a spider to weave a web across the mouth of the cave where he was hidden from the anger of Saul.

The fugitives remained in the cave three days. The pursuit having abated in that time, their friends furnished them with camels and a guide, and they escaped by night, through a rocky and desert country, to Yathreb, which was a hundred and seventy miles from Mecca. This is called the Hegira, which signifies Flight. It was the commencement of Mohammed's prosperous career as a prophet; therefore, his followers adopted it as their era. It occurred six hundred and twenty-two years after the birth of Christ, when Mohammed was fifty-three years old.

The wanderers met with a cordial reception from the believers at Yathreb. Mohammed bought a piece of ground, and built a small house and a place of worship; both characterized by extreme simplicity. There he stood and preached every Friday, leaning against a palm tree. It was several years before he indulged himself with the use of a chair. Afterward, a rude pulpit was made of rough timber. His fervour and eloquence gained converts rapidly. In a short time, there was scarcely a family to be found which did not contain more or less believers.

Before his flight from Mecca, the Prophet had always declared that he was appointed merely to preach One Invisible God, and the duty of submission to His decrees; that he had been invested with no authority to compel people to embrace the true religion: But after the Koreish attempted to murder him, he taught that it was highly meritorious to fight with unbelievers. It is said he was personally present in twenty-seven military expeditions, in nine of which he gave battle. On one of these occasions he was severely wounded, and narrowly escaped with his life. This somewhat shook the faith of his adherents; but he soon restored his authority by telling them the defeat was sent as a punishment for their sins, and to admonish them to be more zealous in the performance of religious duties. This, combined with the assurance that every one who died fighting for the faith of Islam was sure to go directly to Paradise, re-assured their faith and renewed their enthusiasm.

At the commencement of his career he strongly favoured the Jewish religion, and taught his followers to turn toward Jerusalem when they prayed. There are indications that he might have formed a friendly alliance with them, if they had not persevered in treating his claims with the utmost contempt. Three years after the Hegira, he led a band of his followers against the Jews of Koreidha, who had aided the Koreish against him. Nearly seven hundred men were dragged to the market-place in chains, massacred, and thrown into one common grave. The conquerors took possession of all their goods, and carried their women and children into bondage. He afterward took the principal Jewish city in Arabia, and completely subdued all the descendants of Isaac in that region.

With success, his power over the minds of men increased of course. Though he lived with extremest simplicity in the midst of his followers, wore no pontifical robes, and assumed no regal state, he ruled them with the combined authority of pope and king. They believed everything he touched imbued with supernatural virtue. They reverently

picked up the hairs that fell from his head, and preserved them as relics; and every one was eager to obtain some of the water in which he had washed. His residence at Yathreb rendered the city sacred; and it was thenceforth called *Medinat al Nabi*, The City of the Prophet; known to Europeans under the name of Medina. The most distinguished and venerated guardians of the holy Caaba had never received a thousandth part of the homage accorded to him. The shrine at Mecca was held so sacred by all Arabians, that it was an object of importance to the Prophet to be allowed to make a pilgrimage thither with his adherents, who fully believed that he was sent by God to restore the religion of Abraham, as it had been originally taught in that place. The animosity of the Koreish rendered such an attempt dangerous; but six years after the *Hegira* his cause had acquired such strength, that he started for Mecca, with an escort of fourteen hundred armed adherents. When he arrived at the boundary of the sacred territory, the Koreish sent him orders not to enter the city. He had determined to besiege the place, when an ambassador arrived, proposing a ten years' truce, on certain conditions. He and his followers were permitted to visit the temple unarmed, and perform the customary rites of pilgrimage, with the agreement that they would all leave the city at the expiration of the third day. Eighty of the Koreish had entered Mohammed's camp in disguise, and were discovered by the Prophet, who pardoned the spies, and allowed them to return unmolested. It is said this act of generosity occasioned the truce. But it is most likely that the accounts they carried back served to intimidate his enemies, and that he had sufficient sagacity to foresee such would be the result. For the ambassador, who was sent to negotiate a treaty, returned, saying: "I have seen the princes of Persia and the emperors of Rome; but I have never seen a king among his subjects like Mohammed among his followers." The Koreish retired to the neighbouring hills, while the pilgrims from Medina performed their acts of worship within the consecrated ter-

ritory. Mohammed departed with his train on the third day; but during that time he succeeded in converting three influential men among the Koreish. The next year, the Prophet sent messages to various chiefs and princes, inviting them to embrace the only true religion. Some returned a respectful answer, accompanied with gifts. Others replied very contemptuously. One of his ambassadors, to a Grecian district in Syria, was put to death. He sent his freed man Zaid with three thousand men to revenge the insult. Victory was gained, after severe fighting, but Zaid was slain. The Prophet loved him, and had adopted him; for he had always been faithful and affectionate, and he was the first man who believed in his inspiration. When they told him Zaid was dead, he answered calmly: "He has done his master's work, and he has gone to his master. All is well with him." But when the corpse was brought home, the daughter of Zaid found the stern old warrior weeping over it like a sorrowing child. "What do I see!" she exclaimed, in astonishment. He answered: "You see a man weeping over his friend."

The Koreish having violated some articles of their treaty, Mohammed marched against Mecca with ten thousand troops. He ascended a hill near his native city, and prayed with a loud voice that Gabriel and three thousand angels might be sent to his assistance. Though these celestial auxiliaries were invisible, his followers had the most implicit faith that they were in attendance. They rushed furiously to the attack, and the Koreish, taken by surprise, offered slight resistance. The chiefs fell at the feet of their conqueror, who sternly demanded, "What right have you to expect mercy from a man whom you have so persecuted?" They answered: "We trust to the generosity of our kinsman." "You shall not trust in vain," he replied; and they received life and liberty, on condition of embracing the faith of Islam. Only ten in the city were condemned to die, and six of those were afterward pardoned. All the idols in the temple, and on the neighbouring mountains, were destroyed, to the great grief and dismay

of their worshippers. The temple became a mosque, and the ancient Caaba the point toward which all believers in the Prophet turned when they prayed, as Jews did toward the Ark of the Covenant. The diamond from Paradise, on which Abraham rested, had long been known as "the black stone." Moslems say the frequent touch of Pagans had changed its colour, but its purity and lustre will one day be restored. The Prophet touched it, and thenceforth it became more sacred than it had ever been.

The man who began by saying he was merely sent to preach the truth, not to compel men to accept it, and who probably honestly thought so, while he was untempted by power, now began to announce that he was ordained to destroy monuments of idolatry everywhere, without regard to holy places, months, or days. He sustained himself by the example of Moses and Joshua, whom God had sent on a similar mission. He included Jews and Christians under the term idolaters. The first, because he said they styled Ezra "the Son of God." The second, because they worshipped Christ as God; prayed to the Spirits of Martyrs; paid homage to images, pictures, and relics; and in some cases believed the Virgin Mary to be one of the Trinity. Had the Jews treated him respectfully in the early days of his mission, when Jerusalem was his *kebla* for prayer, he would probably have made common cause with them; and very likely he might have done much toward verifying their ancient prophecy that they should conquer many nations, and finally subdue the whole earth. But he seems never to have forgiven the scorn with which they treated him. He had far greater aversion to them than to Christians. He often denounces them in the Koran, and during the latter part of his life he persecuted them with peculiar severity. But savage as were the Arab tribes, it must be admitted that they were somewhat less so, than the Hebrews had been under Joshua. In their efforts to extend what they believed to be the true religion, they were often cruel, tyrannical, and avaricious of plunder. Like their Hebrew

relatives, they seized "vineyards they had not planted," and "harvests they had not sowed," and said they did it in obedience to the commands of God. But they did not exterminate idolatrous tribes, with all their women and babes, without offering them a chance for escape. They always proffered the alternative of submission or battle. If they fought and were conquered, they could save their lives, and be admitted to equal privileges with their invaders, by assenting to their simple creed: "There is but One God, and Mohammed is his prophet." Exceptions were made in favour of those who received some Sacred Book for the guide of life; as did Jews and Christians. Such could purchase liberty to follow their own religion, by paying tribute; though they were deprived of many of the civil privileges enjoyed by "true believers," and were supposed to have no hopes of salvation in the world to come. This was done to express Mohammed's reverence for any laws which he believed to have been originally revealed from heaven, how much soever he supposed them to have been afterward corrupted.

Layard, in his very interesting book on the Remains of Nineveh, says: "One of the first acts of Mahomet, after he had established his power, was a treaty with the Nestorians, securing them protection and certain privileges. They were freed from military service, their customs and laws respected, their clergy exempted from tribute; and it was expressly declared that when a Christian woman entered into the service of a Mussulman, she should not be compelled to change her religion, to abstain from fasts, or to neglect her customary prayers and ceremonies. This document is rejected by some European critics as a forgery; but its authenticity was admitted by early Christian and Mahometan writers. A letter from the Patriarch Jesuabius is evidence of the Mahometan toleration of Nestorians. He writes: 'Even the Arabs, on whom the Almighty has in these days bestowed the dominion of the earth, are among us. They do not persecute the Christian religion; on the contrary, they commend our faith, and

honour the priests and saints of the Lord, conferring benefits upon his churches and convents." The Nestorians were doubtless regarded with peculiar favour, because they would never allow any picture or image to be placed in their churches.

During twenty-four years, Mohammed lived with one wife, devotedly attached to her, and her only. After her death, he married twelve wives, all widows, except Ayesha, the daughter of his early and zealous friend Abubeker, whom he espoused when she was only nine years old. In addition to these, he had two handmaids; one of whom gave birth to a son, named Ibraheem; the only child born to him after the death of his first wife. The members of this seraglio occupied separate apartments round his dwelling at Medina. His followers were not allowed to marry more than four wives; the limit fixed by Jewish laws. But he said he was himself exempted from that rule by revelations from Gabriel, which are inserted in the Koran. This extension of privilege was also in conformity to the decisions of Jewish Rabbis, and was sustained by the example of David and Solomon; whom both Jews and Christians believed to be supernaturally guided and inspired. He already had several wives, when he chanced to see the wife of his freed man Zaid. She was very beautiful, and he became violently enamoured. Zaid, who loved him with strong personal affection, and revered him as the chosen ambassador of the Most High, offered to divorce her for his sake. Mohammed at first refused, and struggled a while with his passion. But a verse of the Koran was revealed to him, which sanctioned the proceeding, and he added the handsome Zaynab to his hareem. There was no Nathan the prophet in Arabia, who dared to rise up and rebuke him; and it must be confessed there were some features in King David's treatment of Uriah even more discreditable to a servant of God, than were Mohammed's dealings with Zaid.

In the midst of all these irregularities, his good old Khadeejah never seemed to lose her strong hold upon his

affections. After her death, he loved and trusted Ayesha more than any of his wives; partly on account of her youth and beauty, partly from his strong affection and gratitude for her father. Yet when this petted favourite, years after his first companion was in her grave, ventured to ask: "Do you not love me better than you did Khadeejah? She was old, and a widow. Am I not better than she was?" He replied warmly: "No; by Allah, there never *can* be a better woman than Khadeejah. She helped me when I was poor; she believed in me, when others despised me; she was devoted to me, when all men persecuted me." He was accustomed to say that there were four perfect women, who had more beautiful palaces in Paradise, than any other women. These were his wife Khadeejah, his daughter Fatima, the sister of Moses, and the mother of Jesus.

With the exception of voluptuous tendencies in the latter part of his life, and great fondness for perfumes, Mohammed was exceedingly frugal and temperate in all his habits. He never tasted of wine or intoxicating drinks. He sometimes ate animal food, and he was very partial to honey and milk; but his common diet was barley bread, dates, and water. Sometimes months passed without his eating anything that required fire for its preparation. A cloak spread on the ground served for his bed, and a skin filled with date leaves was his pillow. He rode on a blanket instead of a saddle, mended his own garments and sandals, milked the goats, and ate the same food as his servants, seated with them on the ground. He manifested an attentive kindness to children, and always gave the first salutation to whoever he met, even if it were the meanest beggar. He declared that he would always persist in doing such things, that they might thenceforth be deemed meritorious by those whom his example could influence. It was allowable for him to divide lands of the conquered, because God had given to him the possession of all the earth; and to take whatever he chose from the spoils of war, beside receiving a fifth part when division was made.

Of course, an immense amount of wealth came into his hands. But he was so generous to his friends, and so exceedingly liberal to the poor, that he never accumulated. From the large sums that came to him, he reserved merely enough to maintain his family; and even from that fund he imparted so liberally to the necessities of others, that the close of the year found him destitute. On one occasion, it is said he even gave away his last shirt. His followers have a tradition that an angel once appeared to him, and offered to change the whole wilderness around Mecca into gold for him. But he raised his hand toward heaven, and said: "O Lord I desire to be filled one day, and thank Thee, and be hungry another day, and supplicate Thee." His followers placed implicit reliance on his veracity and justice, which they declare was unimpeachable. His cruel treatment of the Jews of Koreidha was the darkest stain upon his character. It cannot be excused, even on the ground of mistaken theological zeal; for there was great similarity in their opinions, and there was nothing in their practices to excite his animosity against image-worship. With this exception, he was, on the whole, more merciful than Asiatic conquerors have generally been. Human nature is such a problem, that it is not easy to decide how far his aggressions upon others might have been sanctioned by the honest, though mistaken, convictions of his own conscience. He seems to have been sincerely persuaded that there was no salvation for those whose faith was erroneous; certainly not if they were idolaters. It is related of him that he went to visit his mother's tomb. As he gazed upon it, he burst into a flood of tears, and said: "I asked permission of God to visit my mother's grave, and it was granted to me; but when I asked leave to pray for her soul, it was denied."

He was extremely devotional in his habits. He never destroyed a piece of paper on which he knew that the name of God was written in any language, or by the followers of any religion. He was diligent in prayer. Ali has re-

corded that he sometimes prayed all night, and that "from convulsive weeping his breast sounded like a boiling pot; so extreme was his awe of God." He fasted several days in every month, beside observing with great strictness the annual fast of Ramadam. He never mentioned the faults of others, or bestowed much praise. He often smiled, but never laughed. He was taciturn, as Arabians generally are; but he had an insinuating politeness, and was always courteous and affable, especially to inferiors. The Hashem family were distinguished by a large dark vein in the middle of the forehead, which swelled when they were excited. When Mohammed was angry, this became very prominent, and "the perspiration fell from his brow like pearls." But though naturally of a violent temper, he acquired great control over himself. It was one of his maxims that "he who can command his own soul is bravest of the brave." Returning from battle, he said he was going from a small contest to a great one. Being asked what he meant, he replied: "The conflict with our own souls, where we always have to encounter the worst of our enemies." He was never disturbed by the destruction of worldly goods, and was habitually gentle; but "if he heard that truth or equity had suffered, he was so angry for the Lord's sake, that no one could stand in his presence till the truth was vindicated." Though he dressed with such rude simplicity, associated daily with all sorts of men, and performed the most menial offices for himself, there was a dignity about him, which inspired veneration. The Persian Book of Traditions concerning him declares that "while he spoke, the company inclined toward him, and were silent and still, as if a bird were perched on their heads." "The Most High inspired such awe of him in the hearts of men, that notwithstanding his humility, condescension, and clemency, no one could look him directly in the face; and a trembling, which lasted two months, fell on every infidel and hypocrite who approached him." "Light radiated from his countenance, as from the full moon; and his smooth erect neck resembled a polished silver statue." He was of

illustrious lineage, of unequalled nobleness, knowledge, and generosity; his words sweeter than honey; and for gracefulness a proverb." Of course, some allowance must be made for these accounts, considering the partial source whence they come. But a man who lived on an equality with his servants and soldiers, and yet impressed them with so much reverence, as to give rise to such traditions, must have been a remarkable character. To estimate him justly, it is necessary to remember that he was brought up among a fierce and ignorant people, and that he scarcely knew anything of the world beyond Arabia. His views concerning Christianity cannot surprise us, if we reflect what was its condition at that period; especially in the countries that came under his notice. Different sects persecuted each other even unto banishment and death; bishops contended for power, and were often unscrupulous about the means; the cross was considered an efficacious amulet to expel devils from haunted houses, and from the bodies of men; churches were filled with pictures and relics, before which the multitude prostrated themselves, praying for health and harvests; and in every house were images of apostles or martyrs, to which prayers were offered before and after a journey. It is not surprising that a religion without a priesthood to contend for wealth and power, with unadorned places of worship, few ceremonies, and a creed without abstruse doctrines, which merely taught belief in one God and submission to his decrees, should have impressed some minds favourably in comparison. Had Christianity been in harmony with the precepts and practice of its founder, the sword of Mohammed could not have displaced it in so many countries.

His system was a reproduction of old ideas, from various sources. He retained many of the Sabian traditions, and borrowed from Jews, Christians, and Persians. Judging from the quotations and allusions he makes, his knowledge of the Christian Scriptures was mostly confined to the Spurious Gospels, mentioned as having been in general use in the first centuries; which continued to be received

and revered by churches in the East much longer than by those in the West.

As a reformer, Mohammed was most undoubtedly a benefactor to his country. All the changes he introduced were an improvement upon the state of things he found in Arabia. He abolished idolatry, and sacrifices, and firmly established the idea of one God. Daughters were considered a burden to a family, and a disgrace if they were not married; therefore, parents often drowned them, or buried them alive. But the Koran forbade this, as a great sin. Before his time, women were not allowed to inherit any share of a father's or husband's property, but he changed the laws, and inculcated justice and kindness toward widows and orphans. His example established the idea that no believer in the faith of Islam ought to hold a fellow believer in slavery. In the sale of captives, he prohibited the practice of separating mothers from their children. He ordained that masters and slaves should have the same food and clothing; and he rendered emancipation easy. The destitute were not trusted to casual charity. It was enacted that every man should give a tithe of his income for the support of the poor; and if he attempted to defraud, he was compelled to pay a fifth. The Arabians were much addicted to gambling and intoxication. Both of these were expressly forbidden. They were not even allowed to taste of wine or strong liquors. He did not abolish polygamy, which was the ancient custom of the country, and believed by him and his followers to be sanctioned by the example of the patriarchs; but he discouraged divorce, and passed several salutary and restraining laws on the subject. He continually urged honesty and veracity, as crowning virtues. The old custom of assembling on Friday to offer sacrifice and prayer had come to be used mainly as a convenience for trading purposes; but by his exhortations and laws it became invested with a devotional character. His rude countrymen already believed in a very sensual heaven and hell. The Koran diminished rather than increased this tendency. The voluptuous pictures, which Europeans

are accustomed to quote, were mostly introduced by Books of Traditions, received as supplementary to the Koran, long after his death. He appointed the following prayer to be repeated by every one when he was about to leave his house: "Oh God, make me content with thy decrees, and bless me in that which thou hast destined. Help me not to wish the acceleration of what thou hast delayed, nor the delay of what thou hast accelerated; for all things are in thy power." He prescribed prayers five times in every twenty-four hours; at sunrise, noon, sunset, close of twilight, and before the first watch of the night. When some converts complained of this, as onerous, he replied: "Religion is nothing without prayer." He required that all these acts of devotion should be preceded by ablution, saying that without cleanliness no prayer could be acceptable to God. He taught his followers that prayer and fasting would carry them to the gate of Paradise, and benevolence to the poor would gain them admittance. He repeatedly disclaimed power to work any other miracle than producing the Koran. Whether he really believed he was in communication with the angel Gabriel, no mortal can ever know. The balance of evidence inclines a candid mind to the conclusion that he was a religious enthusiast, rather than an ambitious artful impostor.

Ten years after the Hegira, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca, with a splendid retinue of more than one hundred thousand followers. This was his last journey. The physical strength which had endured so much hardship, turmoil, and battle, had been failing for the last few years, in consequence of eating mutton, supposed to have been poisoned by a Jewish woman, in revenge for the injuries inflicted on her people. Soon after his return from Mecca, he was seized by fever, which at intervals deprived him of reason. He said to Ali: "Gabriel has every year recited the Koran to me once; but this year, he has done it twice. I think this is a sign that my departure is near." He emancipated all his slaves, and gave directions concerning his funeral. He was so poor, that he literally possessed nothing but one

camel; but he charged Ali to see that every debt was paid. Until three days before his death, he continued his usual practice of public exhortation and prayer. Weakness then compelled him to ask his old friend Abubeker to perform the duty for him. With a bandage bound tightly round his throbbing head, and leaning on the shoulder of Ali, he went to the mosque to bid his people farewell. "Oh, my companions," said he, "what a prophet I have been unto you! Did you not break my front teeth, throw dust on my forehead, and cause blood to flow from my face, till my beard was dyed with it? Have I not suffered distresses and calamities through the ignorance of my people? Did I not bind a stone on my stomach to allay the torment of hunger, while aiding my followers?" They replied: "Yes, O prophet of God. Verily you have endured much for God's sake, and you have prohibited what was wrong. May God reward you with the best of rewards, on our account." He answered: "May God grant you the same. The time is now very near when I shall be concealed from you. Therefore, if any man has a claim on me, let him declare it now." A voice from the crowd said: "You owe me three drachms." He ordered them to be paid; and added: "If I have done injury to any one, I adjure him to rise and tell me." A man stood up, and said: "Your staff struck me one day; but whether it was done intentionally on your part, I do not know." He replied: "God forbid that I should have done it intentionally;" and he offered the man his staff, that he might return the blow; saying: "It is better to be in shame now than at the Day of Judgment." But he kissed the Prophet's body, and forgave the accident. Mohammed said to the people: "No one can hope for favour from God, but by obedience. That alone can save us from the wrath of God. Verily, if I should sin, I should go to hell. O Lord, I have delivered thy message." He descended from the pulpit, and after offering a brief prayer with the people, he returned to his house. During his illness, he expressed undoubting confidence in the favour of God, and often repeated consoling

messages brought by the angel Gabriel, who was said to visit him every day and night. The only child he had left was Fatima, who had married her cousin Ali. He manifested the strongest affection for them, fervently blessed them and their children, and charged Ali to be always kind to his family. He had previously declared that the Angel of Death would never be allowed to take his soul from the body till he received permission from himself. Gabriel informed him that the Angel was now in attendance, and would either take him, or go away, which ever he chose; adding: "Verily the Most High is desirous to meet you." Whereupon, Mohammed replied: "I have finished my mission, and am ready to join my fellow prophets in Paradise. Oh, Angel of Death, execute your orders!" He died with his head reclining in Ayesha's lap. His last broken words were: "O God—pardon my sins—yes, my companions—I come."

The announcement of his departure was met with an outburst of clamorous grief. His friends exclaimed, "How *can* he be dead? He who was our witness and intercessor with God? By Allah, he is not dead! He is only wrapped in a trance, like Moses and Jesus; and he will speedily return to his faithful people." Omar, in his frenzy, unsheathed his scimitar, and declared he would strike off the head of any infidel, who said the Prophet was dead. But Abubeker rebuked them, saying: "Is it Mohammed you worship, or Him who created Mohammed? Verily Allah liveth forever; but his apostle was a mortal, like ourselves; and he has experienced the common fate of mortality, according to his own predictions." He died in the eleventh year of the Hegira, when he was sixty-three years old. People came from the surrounding country in great numbers to gaze upon his beloved countenance, and pronounce blessings over his bier. This ceremony lasted from Monday till Tuesday night. He had instructed Ali to build a very simple tomb, and enclose it with a wall. The possession of it rendered Medina a sacred city, thenceforth resorted to by many pilgrims.

SACRED BOOKS.—A belief prevailed among both Hebrews and Arabians that writings had been handed down by Adam. Some Jewish Rabbis ascribed the ninety-second Psalm to Adam. In some manuscripts, there was a Chaldee title, which declared: "This is a song of praise, repeated by the first man, for the Sabbath day." In the Christian Scriptures, Jude alludes to prophecies by Enoch, "the seventh from Adam." It was a current tradition among Arabians that Adam received ten books from heaven; that Abraham, in the course of his travels, found a chest containing those books, together with others, written by Seth and Enoch; that ten others were afterward communicated to him, among which was the Zend Avesta. Books purporting to be written by Enoch and Seth still exist in Asia. They are said to contain accounts of Star Spirits, mediators between the Supreme and mortals, and of love entertained by some of them for women on this earth, by which different races of intermediate genii were produced. At the time Mohammed appeared, the Book of Seth was much revered by many of the Arab tribes. They also had traditions concerning the creation, the deluge, and the descendants of Adam, which were very similar to the Hebrew, and which they traced to Abraham. The Zend Avesta, also attributed to him, was regarded with reverence, especially by tribes in the neighbourhood of Persia. A knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures, especially of the Rabbinical traditions which formed the Talmud, was introduced among tribes converted to Judaism. They had much reverence for a book called Psalms of David, to which were added prayers by Moses, Jonas and others. Some of the numerous spurious Gospels afloat in the first centuries, many of them from Gnostic sources, had been introduced into Arabia by Christian sects; and it is obvious that Mohammed, by some means or other, was acquainted with them. The Koran seems to be composed of fragments from all these sources; and this was in accordance with the teaching of Mohammed, who always spoke of his own inspirations as "a confirmation of the

Scriptures which had been revealed before." He said ten books had been given to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Enoch, and ten to Abraham. Afterward the Pentateuch was revealed to Moses, the Psalms to David, the Gospel to Jesus, and the Koran to him. He says: "We make no difference between that which God has taught us, and that which Abraham, Isaac, Ishmael, the twelve tribes, Moses, and Jesus, have learned of the Lord." To restore religion as it was taught by Abraham was especially his object. In the Koran it is written: "The Law and the Gospel were not sent down till after Abraham. He was neither a Jew nor a Christian. But he was of the true religion; one resigned unto God, and not of the number of idolaters." Mohammed said the first hundred books revealed by God had all been entirely lost; that Jesus had carried his Gospel back with him to heaven; that the Pentateuch of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Gospels received by Christians, had been so much altered, that, though they might retain some portions of truth, they were by no means to be relied on; the Koran was the last revelation that would ever be given; the only trustworthy standard; and angels had especial charge of it, to prevent its ever becoming corrupted, as other Sacred Books had been.

The Koran purports to have been revealed to Mohammed in portions, by the angel Gabriel, at different places, and successive periods, as various emergencies required, during the course of twenty three years. The Prophet being unable to write, employed a scribe to record these fragments. It is generally said that Ali was his principal amanuensis; but others were also employed. These fragments were left in a chest, in a very disorderly state, some written on skins, some on palm leaves, and some on shoulder-blades of mutton; for paper was not invented, and parchment was then rarely seen in Arabia. Two years after the death of Mohammed, his friend Abubeker collected them and had them copied into a volume; and it is said that some verses which had been committed to memory were added. It forms a printed book about

the size of the New Testament. Like the Pentateuch, it constitutes the only civil code, as well as the religious standard of the nation; and most of the laws are in fact almost exact transcripts of the ordinations of Moses, and the judicial decisions of Jewish Rabbia. It breathes also the same spirit of extermination against idolaters, that the Old Testament does against the Philistines. Hebrews called their Sacred Books by the general term of The Scriptures, or The Writings. Arabians named theirs Al Koran, which signifies The Reading. The following extracts will serve to give some idea of its character: The first chapter consists of a prayer, which all devout Moslems pronounce before they begin to read anything, and as a prelude to all important undertakings: "Praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures; the Most Merciful, the King of the Day of Judgment! Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom thou hast been gracious; not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray."

"God hath commanded that ye worship no one beside him."

"There is no God but Allah, the living, the self-subsisting. He hath sent down unto thee the book of The Koran, with truth confirming that which was revealed before it. For he had previously sent down the Law and the Gospel, as guides unto man. He had also sent down the distinction between good and evil. Verily, those who believe not the signs of God shall suffer a grievous punishment; for God is mighty, and able to revenge."

"Say God is one God; the eternal God. He begetteth not, neither is he begotten; and there is not any one like him."

"The Jews say Ezra is the Son of God, and the Christians say Christ is the Son of God. This is their saying in their mouths. They imitate the sayings of those who were unbelievers in former times. May God resist them! How they are infatuated! They take priests and monks for

their lords, beside God, and Christ the son of Mary; although they are commanded to worship one God only. There is no God but him."

"When God shall say unto Jesus, at the Last Day, O Jesus, son of Mary, didst thou say unto men, take me and my mother for two gods, beside God? He shall answer, Praise be unto Thee! It is not for me to say that which I ought not. If I had said so, thou surely wouldst have known it. Thou knowest what is in *me*, but I know not what is in *Thee*; for thou art the knower of secrets. I have not spoken to them otherwise than what thou didst command me; namely, Worship God, who is *my* Lord, and *your* Lord."

"Verily Christ Jesus is the apostle of God; a Spirit proceeding from Him; the Word, which he conveyed into Mary. Believe, therefore, in God and his apostles; and say not there are three Gods. - Forbear this. It will be better for you. God is but one God. Far be it from him that he should have a son! He alone governs the heavens and the earth. Christ doth not proudly disdain to be a servant unto God; neither do the angels, who approach near to his presence."

"Assuredly, they are infidels, who say, Verily, Christ, the son of Mary, is God; since Christ said, O children of Israel, serve God, my Lord, and your Lord. Whosoever giveth a companion unto God, God will exclude him from Paradise, and his habitation shall be hell-fire; and the ungodly shall have none to help them. They are certainly infidels, who say God is the third of three; for there is no God but one God. If they refrain not from what they say, a painful torment will surely be inflicted on them. Will they not, therefore, be turned unto God, and ask pardon of Him? since God is gracious and merciful. Christ, the son of Mary, was no more than an apostle. Other apostles preceded him. His mother was a woman of veracity. They both ate food."

"It is not allowable to the Prophet, nor to those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters, although

they be of kin, after it becomes known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell. Abraham did not ask forgiveness for his father, otherwise than in fulfilment of a promise he had made unto him. And when it became known unto him that he was an enemy of God, he declared himself clear of him."

"Verily, repentance will be accepted with God, from those who do evil ignorantly, and repent speedily. Unto them will God be turned; for God is knowing and wise. But no repentance will be accepted from him who waits till death presents itself; and says: 'Verily I repent now;' nor from those who are unbelievers. For them is prepared a grievous punishment."

"Fight for the religion of God against those who fight against you; but transgress not by attacking them first; for God loveth not the transgressors. And kill them wherever ye find them; -and turn them out of that whereof they have dispossessed you; for temptation to idolatry is more grievous than slaughter. Yet fight not against them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein; but if they attack you, slay them there."

"The sword is the key of heaven and of hell. A drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two months of fasting and prayer. Whosoever falls in battle, his sins are forgiven. At the day of judgment, his wounds shall be resplendent as vermillion, and odoriferous as musk; and the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim."

"Whoever shall be slain unjustly, we have given his heir power to demand satisfaction. But let him not exceed the bounds of moderation, by putting to death the murderer in too cruel a manner, or by revenging his friend's blood on any other than the person who killed him."

"Verily, those who disbelieve our signs, we will surely cast to be broiled in hell-fire. So often as their skins shall be well burned, we will give them other skins in exchange, that they may have the sharper torment; for God is mighty

and wise. But those who believe, and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers. Therein shall they remain forever, and there shall they enjoy wives free from all impurity; and we will lead them into perpetual shades."

"When the inevitable day of judgment shall come, it will abase some, and exalt others. Those on the left hand shall dwell amid burning winds, and scalding water, and in the shadow of black smoke. Those on the right hand shall approach near unto God. They shall dwell in gardens of delight, reposing on couches adorned with gold and precious stones. Youths, blooming with immortal beauty, shall wait upon them with whatsoever birds or fruits they may desire, and with goblets of wine, the drinking of which shall not disturb their reason, or cause their heads to ache. As a reward for that which they have wrought they shall have for companions fair damsels, resembling pearls hidden in their shells, and having large black eyes. They shall not hear any charge of sin, nor any vain discourse; but only the salutation, Peace! Peace!"

"He who shall appear with *good* works, shall receive a *tenfold* recompense for them; but he who shall appear with *evil* works, shall receive only an *equal* punishment for them."

"O Lord, give us the reward thou hast promised by thy apostles; and cover us not with shame on the day of resurrection. Their Lord answereth them, saying, I will not suffer the work of those among you who work righteously to be lost, whether ye are male or female; for the one of you is from the other."

"Surely those who are believers, and Jews also, and Christians, and Sabians, and all who believe in God, and the last day, and do that which is right, shall have their reward with the Lord. There shall come no fear upon them, neither shall they be grieved." Some commentators on the Koran admit that this text teaches the salvation of all men in their own religion, provided their faith is sin-

cere, and their works righteous. But they say it was soon after abrogated by other revelations; especially by the following message: "Whoever followeth any other religion than Islam, it shall not be accepted of him; and at the last day, he shall be of those who perish."

"No man can die except by permission of God; according to what is written in his Book, which contains the fore-ordination of all things."

"If ye hear that a mountain hath changed its place, believe it; but if ye hear that a man has changed his disposition, believe it not." * * * * "He shall assuredly return to that for which he was created."

"Freemen may marry as many as four wives, free or servile; but no more." "Ye are to live chastely with them, neither committing fornication, nor taking them for concubines."

"O men, fear the Lord, who hath created you out of one man, and out of him created his wife, and from those two hath multiplied many men and women. Fear God, by whom ye beseech one another. Respect women, who have borne you; for God is watching over you. Give orphans their substance when they come of age. Render them not bad, in exchange for good; and devour not their substance by adding it to your own; for this is a great sin. If ye fear that ye shall not act righteously toward orphans of the female sex, take in marriage such other women as please you; two, or three, or four; but no more. If ye fear that ye cannot act equitably toward so many, marry one only; or the slaves ye shall have acquired. This will be easier, that ye swerve not from righteousness."

"Men ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave behind them, when they die; and women ought also to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave; whether it be little, or whether it be much, a determinate part is due to them."

"Show kindness unto your parents, whether one or both of them attain to old age with thee. Say not unto them, Fie upon you! neither reproach them. But speak respect-

fully unto them, and submit to behave humbly toward them, out of grateful affection; and say, O Lord, have mercy on them, and care tenderly for them, as they cared for me, when I was little."

"Give what is needful unto him who is of kin to you, also unto the poor and the traveller. Waste not thy substance profusely; for the profuse are brethren of the devils; and the Devil was ungrateful to his Lord. If thou turn away from giving to the needy, at least speak kindly to them, in expectation of the mercy thou hopest from God."

"Paradise is prepared for the godly, who give alms in prosperity and adversity; who bridle their anger, and forgive men. For God loveth the beneficent, and those who after having committed a crime, or dealt unjustly with their own souls, remember Him, and ask pardon for their sins, and persevere not in what they have done. Their reward shall be pardon from their Lord, and gardens wherein rivers flow. They shall remain therein forever."

"To endure and to pardon is the wisdom of life."
 "It is not righteousness that ye turn your faces in prayer toward the East and the West; but righteousness is of him who believeth in God and the last day, and the angels, and the Scriptures, and the prophets; who for the Lord's sake, giveth money unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and to the needy, and to strangers, and for the redemption of captives; who are constant in prayer, and in the giving of alms; who perform their covenant when they have covenanted; who behave patiently in times of violence, adversity, and hardship. Such are they who truly fear God."

"Unto such of your slaves as desire a written instrument, allowing them to redeem themselves, on paying a certain sum, write one, if ye know good in them; and impart to them of the riches of God, which He hath given you."

"If your maid-servants wish to live chastely, compel them not to prostitute themselves, in order that ye may gain the casual advantages of this present life."

"Walk not proudly in the land; for thou canst not

cleave the earth, neither canst thou equal the mountains in stature. All this is evil, and abominable in the sight of the Lord."

"O true believers, when ye are called to prayer on the Day of Assembly [Friday] hasten to the commemoration of God, and leave merchandizing. This would be better for you, if ye knew it. When prayer is ended, then disperse yourselves through the land as ye list, to seek gain from the liberality of God; but remember God frequently, that ye may prosper."

4 | "Prayer is the pillar of religion, and the key of Paradise."

"Draw not near unto fornication; for it is wickedness, and an evil way."

"In wine and lots [gambling] there is great sin. In some respects they are of use unto men; but their sinfulness is greater than their use."

"God will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths; but he will punish you for what ye solemnly swear with deliberation. The expiation of such an oath shall be to feed ten poor men, or to clothe them, or to ransom a true believer from captivity. He who cannot find wherewith to perform one of these three things, shall fast for three days."

"Perform your covenant; for the performance of covenants shall be inquired into hereafter."

"When you measure aught, give full measure; and weigh with a just balance."

"One hour of equity is better than seventy years of devotion."

The accounts of Adam, Noah, and the patriarchs, which Arabs believed had been handed down by Abraham, are given in the Koran with less resemblance to the Pentateuch, than to Rabbinical traditions among the Jews. The following will serve for a sample: God is represented as saying to man, "We created you, and afterward formed you; and then said unto the angels, Worship Adam! And they all worshipped him except Eblis. God said,

What hinders thee from worshipping Adam, as I have commanded? He answered, I am more excellent than Adam; for thou hast created me of fire, and hast created him of clay. God said, Get thee down from Paradise; for it is not fitting to behave proudly therein. Get thee hence! Thou shalt be one of the contemptible. He said, Give me respite until the day of resurrection. God answered, Verily thou shalt be one of the respited. The Devil said, Because thou hast degraded me, I will lay wait for men in thy strait way. I will come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right hand, and from their left. Thou shalt not find the greater part of them thankful. God said unto him, Get thee hence, despised and driven far away. Verily, whoever of them shall follow thee, I will surely fill hell with you all. As for thee, O Adam, dwell with thy wife in Paradise, and eat of the fruit thereof wherever ye will; but eat not of this tree, lest ye become of the number of the unjust. And Satan suggested to them both that he would discover unto them their nakedness, which was hidden from them. He said, Your Lord has not forbidden you this tree for any other reason but lest ye should become angels, or immortal. And he swore unto them, saying, Verily I counsel you aright; and through deceit, he caused them to fall. When they had tasted of the fruit, their nakedness appeared unto them; and they began to join together the leaves of Paradise to cover themselves. Their Lord called to them, saying, Did I not forbid you that tree? Did I not say unto you Satan is your declared enemy? They answered, O Lord, we have dealt unjustly with our own souls; and if thou art not merciful to forgive us, we shall surely perish. God said, Get ye down! the one of you an enemy to the other. Ye shall have a dwelling-place upon earth, and provision for a season. Therein shall ye live, and therein shall ye die; and from thence ye shall be taken forth at the resurrection."

The phrase, "Get ye down," implies that the Garden of Eden was supposed to be above this earth. Cyprian, and

other Christian Fathers, believed that the souls of martyrs were waiting for the day of resurrection in the same Paradise from which Adam was expelled. Probably the idea of expulsion from Paradise grew out of the old oriental theory that the souls of human beings were originally angels, who were banished from their heavenly home for desiring too much knowledge, and were imprisoned in bodies on earth, made subject to death. In the sacred traditions of most nations, the *celestial* Paradise is described as having a Tree of Life in the midst, at the foot of which four rivers flowed.

The accounts of the birth of Christ in the Koran are obviously from some of the Spurious Gospels, described in the chapter on Christianity; and like them will remind the reader of Hindoo accounts of Crishna. The Gnostic idea that Jesus merely *appeared* to die is reproduced in the Koran, and of course universally believed by Moslems. A few extracts will serve to show this: "The angel said, O Mary, verily God sendeth thee good tidings. Thou shalt bear the Word proceeding from himself. His name shall be Christ Jesus, the Son of Mary. In this world he shall be honoured, and in the world to come he shall be one of those who approach near to the presence of God. He shall speak while he is yet in the cradle; and when he is grown up, he shall be one of the righteous. She answered, Lord, how shall I have a son, since a man hath not touched me? The angel replied, God creates whatever he pleases. When he decrees a thing, he says Be! and it is done. God will teach him wisdom, and the Scripture, and the Law, and the Gospel; and will appoint him an apostle to the children of Israel. He shall say, Verily, I come unto you with a sign from the Lord; for I will make before you the figure of a bird with clay, and when I breathe thereon it will become a bird, by permission of God. I will heal him that has been blind from his birth. I will cure the leper, and raise the dead, by permission of God. I come to confirm the Law, which was revealed before me. And I come unto you with a

sign from your Lord; therefore, fear God and obey me."

"Zachariah, who had charge of Mary during her pregnancy with the immaculate child, being at that time officiating priest, suffered no one but himself to go into her chamber, or supply her with food; and he always locked seven doors upon her. Notwithstanding this precaution, he always found a plentiful table spread before her of summer fruits in winter, and winter fruits in summer."

"When Mary brought the babe to her people, they said, O Mary, now thou hast done a strange thing! Thy father was not a bad man, neither was thy mother a harlot. She made signs to the child to answer them. But they said, How shall he speak, who is but an infant in the cradle? Whereupon, the babe said, 'Verily, I am the servant of God. He hath given me the book of the Gospel, and appointed me to be a prophet. He hath commanded me to observe prayer, and to give alms so long as I shall live, and to be dutiful toward my mother. Peace be on the day whereon I was born, and the day whereon I shall die, and the day whereon I shall be raised to life.' This was Jesus, the son of Mary, the Word of truth, concerning whom they doubt. It is not meet for God that he should have any son. God forbid!" Certain Jews demanded, as a proof of Mohammed's mission, that they might see a book descend to him from heaven; or that he would produce one written in celestial characters, like the tables of Moses. In answer to this, the following verse was communicated for the Koran: "They who have received the Scriptures will demand of thee that thou cause a book to descend unto them from heaven. They formerly asked of Moses a greater thing than this; for they said, Show us God visibly. They have not believed in Jesus, and have spoken against Mary, which is a grievous calumny. They have said, Verily we have slain Jesus, the son of Mary, the apostle of God. Yet they slew him not, neither crucified him; for he was represented by one in his likeness. Verily, they who disagreed concerning him were in doubt as to this matter. They had no sure knowledge thereof, but

followed only an uncertain opinion. They did not really kill him, but God took him up unto himself." * * * *

"The Jews devised a stratagem against Jesus, but God devised a stratagem against them. God was the best deviser of stratagems, when he said, O Jesus, verily I will not have thee to die, but I will deliver thee from the unbelievers, and take thee up unto myself."

The sermon on the mount and the parables of Jesus are not alluded to in the Koran. Whether Mohammed was acquainted with them or not is a matter of uncertainty. He never learned to read or write. His followers consider this conclusive evidence that the Koran was produced by direct inspiration; and they glory in calling him The Illiterate Prophet. The Koran gave this answer to those who demanded miracles: "They say unless a sign be sent down to him from his Lord, we will not believe. Answer, Signs are in the power of God alone; and I am no more than a public preacher. Is it not sufficient for them that we have sent down unto thee the book of the Koran? Thou couldst not read any book before this, neither couldst thou write. Had it been otherwise, gainsayers might have justly doubted the divine origin thereof."

All Asiatic languages lose much of their beauty and majesty in the process of translation into modern tongues. This is peculiarly the case with the Koran, because it was written in a kind of chanting verse, the rhythm and cadence of which were very musical to Arabian ears, but are entirely lost in translation. To the English reader it seems a confused medley of Chaldean, Persian, Arabian, Jewish, and Christian traditions, with many excellent moral maxims, and wearisome repetitions of promises and threatenings. Arabic and Hebrew have near relationship, being derived from the same source; but Arabic is the richer language, and has been styled "a more refined kind of Hebrew." The Koreish spoke a dialect more polished than the other tribes; and Mohammedans describe the Koran as its purest and most beautiful specimen. The following verse relating to the Deluge is quoted as pre-

eminently sublime: "O earth, swallow up thy waters! and thou, O heaven, withhold thy rain! And immediately the water abated, and the decree was fulfilled." They have a tradition that four unbelievers, most eminent for eloquence, met at Mecca, to produce a book equal to the Koran; but when they heard that sentence recited, they gave up the attempt in despair. When poets produced anything of superior excellence, it was customary to fasten it on the Caaba, by way of honourable distinction. But after that verse was revealed to Mohammed, all the poets went to the temple at night, and removed their specimens, lest they should be humbled by the comparison. When the inspired Imam Saduk listened to that sentence, he exclaimed: "Verily, if men and genii were purposely assembled to produce a book equal to the Koran, they could not produce one like unto it, though they combined to assist each other." Their traditions likewise declare that Mohammed once issued a challenge to the learned everywhere, to disprove his claim to divine inspiration by composing a book equal to the Koran. "But though the number of elegant writers exceeded the sands of the desert, and all were eager to falsify the Prophet's claims, yet their efforts were entirely vain." Mohammedan writers say that "a sentence of the Koran inserted in any other composition, however eloquent, is like a ruby, and shines like a gem of most brilliant lustre. So inimitable is its diction, as to be the subject of astonishment to all learned men, ancient and modern." "Such is the innate efficacy of the Koran, that it removes all pains of body and sorrows of mind. It annihilates what is wrong in carnal desires, delivers from the temptations of Satan, from external and internal fears, from enemies within and without. It removes all doubts raised by satanic influences, sanctifies the heart, imparts health to the soul, and produces union with the Lord of Holiness. It moves hearts that are heavy as mountains, causes rivers to flow from the eyes, ploughs up the soil of careless bosoms, sows there the seed of divine love, and like the trumpet of the archangel,

re-animates those who are dead in pride." The Imam Saduk, being asked why it was that the more the Koran was read the newer it appeared, replied: "Because it was not sent for one particular age, but for all mankind, down to the judgment day." Some say that the proof of inspiration is not in the style, but in the remarkable and true prophecies it contains.

Jews believed that the Law of Moses was written before Adam was created; that it was coeval with the throne of Jehovah. The prevailing belief in Mohammedan countries is that the Koran was not written by any mortal; that it was the uncreated eternal Word, existing in the very essence of God; that every word of it was inscribed with a ray of light on the table of everlasting decrees, which stands near the throne of Allah; that a copy of it was written on parchment made of the skin of the ram, which Abraham sacrificed instead of Ishmael; that it was bound in silk, adorned with the gold and gems of Paradise, and brought by Gabriel to Mohammed. Portions of it were read to him from time to time, as occasions required; and once a year the entire volume was shown to him. All sects hold it in the greatest possible reverence. Like the Hindoos and the Jews, they never touch the Sacred Book without first washing their hands. Lest it should be done inadvertently, they place a label on the cover: "Let no one touch this, but those who are clean." They never hold it below their girdles; and never knowingly allow an unbeliever to possess a copy. On important occasions, they consult it as an oracle, taking the first verse they open upon as an inspired guide. They swear by it, carry it with them to war, inscribe sentences of it on their banners, and believe it will finally be established in every kingdom of the earth. The wealthy have copies of it enclosed in golden covers set with precious stones. In some places the entire volume is read through daily at the principal mosque, by relays of appointed readers, who take it up in succession. It is said there are some devotees who have read it seventy thousand times. All questions of

life and property, as well as of doctrine, are decided by it. Having been in existence over twelve hundred years, it of course fails to meet all the wants of modern times, even where society is so very slightly progressive as in Asia. But they stretch its capacities by resorting to the same process that Hindoos did with the Vedas, and Jews with the Pentateuch; they give ingenious interpretations, and resort to allegorical significance where the literal meaning is unsatisfactory. An immense number of commentaries have been written upon it. It is supposed to require much learning to distinguish rightly between what was intended to be allegorical and what literal; to determine for what emergencies particular passages were written, and whether they were abrogated by succeeding passages. There have been various editions of the Koran; but they are all said to contain exactly the same number of words and letters; for, like the Jewish Rabbins, they take pains to count the letters, and even how many times each letter is used. It has been translated into many languages.

Jews formed the Talmud by collecting their prevalent traditions and oral laws, which became of equal authority with the Pentateuch. Christians received the Traditions of the Fathers as of equal authority with their Scriptures. Two hundred years after the death of Mohammed, traditions concerning him and his family, and a collection of canonical decisions made in the first ages of Islamism, were collected and published. The first of these volumes, called the *Sonna* was prepared under the supervision of Al Bochari, who from three hundred thousand traditions selected seven thousand two hundred and seventy five, believed to be authentic. To obtain divine direction in the process, he prayed for guidance each day in the temple at Mecca, having previously bathed in water from Hagar's sacred fountain. Each page, as it was written, was consecrated by being placed on the pulpit and on the tomb of Mohammed. This supplement to the Koran is received as sacred authority by a majority of Moslems, but not by all. After the death of the Prophet there was much quar-

relling and fighting concerning who should preside over civil and ecclesiastical affairs. In the course of these contentions, Ali was assassinated. Mohammed had been accustomed to call him his brother, his vicegerent, his Aaron; and had given him his most beloved daughter in marriage. This, combined with his own honourable, generous, courageous, and poetic character, excited great veneration for his memory, and gave rise to a sect, who declared that Mohammed was the prophet of God, and Ali was the vicegerent of God. He, and the twelve Imans who succeeded him were believed to be inspired, and their sayings were invested with sacred authority. These followers of Ali rejected the *Sonna*, and collected another book of traditions called the *Hyat ul Kuloob*. The two volumes have many traditions in common; but Ali, Fatima, and their children are peculiarly glorified in the *Hyat ul Kuloob*. In the *Koran*, Mohammed repeatedly disclaims the power to work any other miracle than writing that sacred volume; but innumerable wonders are related of him in both the books of traditions. It is therein stated that his mother Aminah, previous to his birth was continually hearing benedictions pronounced upon her, from air, earth, and heaven. She told her husband Abdallah these prodigies, and he charged her to keep the matter secret. When her babe was born, a light beamed from his head, birds surrounded her, and a radiant angel took him in his arms, and made a mark between the shoulders with his signet ring; saying: "My Lord hath commanded me to breathe into thee the Holy Spirit. Blessed are they who obey thee, and woe unto those that oppose thee." Every idol in the *Caaba* fell on its face, as soon as he came into the world; and *Lake Savah*, which had been an object of worship, disappeared and became a salt plain. Sacred fires, which had not been extinguished for a thousand years, were quenched that night. The skill of soothsayers and magicians departed. Satan shrieked, and his infernal children drew near to inquire what new curse had fallen upon them, "Woe to you!" he cried. "Some great

event has happened on earth unparalleled since Jesus ascended to heaven. Fly, to discover what it is!" In answer to his inquiries, Gabriel told him that Mohammed, the best of the prophets, was born, who would require men to worship God in the unity of his being. Whereupon, "the whole infernal crew cast the dust of degradation on their heads, and fled to the fourth sea, where they wept forty days." "The whole earth was illuminated that night. Every stone, and clod, and tree laughed for joy. All things in heaven and earth uttered praises to God." There was a monstrous fish called Tamoosa; probably another version of the Hebrew leviathan. He had seven hundred thousand tails. The same number of bullocks, each one larger than this world, walked up and down on his back; but, on account of the immensity of his size and strength, he was entirely unconscious of it. This huge creature, when he knew Mohammed was born, was "so agitated with joy, that if the Most High had not quieted him, he would surely have overturned the world." As soon as the wonderful babe came into the world, he prostrated himself in an attitude of worship; "with his luminous forehead on the floor, and his fore-finger pointing to heaven, while he pronounces, There is no God but Allah." "From his birth to his death, he was free from all sins, great and small, both of design and ignorance, and from all error." Jewish Rabbis declared that God created the world solely for the children of Israel, and on account of the merits of Moses. Moslems say the head and heart of Adam were formed from the sacred soil of Mecca and Medina; that God revealed to him the coming of Mohammed in the latter time, and said: "By my glory, I have created thee, and the whole world, only for his sake." When Eve was made, all the angels, and all the animals in Paradise, exclaimed: "Hail ye parents of Mohammed!" The Traditions represent Mohammed as saying: "I am Lord of all those who have been sent by God. This is no boast in me." "He who has seen me has seen God." "He who obeys me obeys God; and he who sins against

me sins against God." When unbelievers required that he should prove his divine mission, by performing such miracles as Abraham, and Moses, and Jesus did, he answered, My miracle is the Koran. I should not dare to receive such verses from God, and then ask him to confirm their inspiration by another miracle. Moreover, if I should invoke miracles, and you should still remain unbelieving, they would bring judgments upon you." At this juncture, Gabriel appeared and said to Mohammed: "The Most High sends you salutation, and declares that he will manifest whatever miracles they require to prove your prophetic office; though after they have witnessed them they will still remain in unbelief." His enemies demanded that the moon, which was then full, should be divided into halves. The prophet raised his hand toward heaven, saying, "Moon, part in twain!" and it was immediately done. He was then asked to restore the moon to its former state, and it was forthwith accomplished. The miracle was performed at Medina, but the prodigies were seen at Mecca, and by travellers on their way from Syria. Ebn Masood swore that the different portions of the moon separated so far asunder, that he saw Mount Hera between them. "When everything round Medina was perishing from drought, he raised his blessed hand to heaven, and prayed for mercy on the people; and before he moved from his place, the rain fell in torrents." "A man had his foot cut off in battle; but when Mohammed applied some of his saliva, and joined it to the leg, the limb was at once restored to its former condition." "He was sent for to visit the son of a blind woman, and found him dead; but as soon as he removed the cloth from his face, the young man rose up and ate." "Once when he was travelling through the wilderness asleep, a lote tree which stood in his path, parted asunder for his camel to pass through." It still remains in that state, and is called The Prophet's Tree. People bind its leaves on sheep and camels to protect them from harm. These Sacred Traditions declare that the moon rocked Mohammed, and no

insect ever lighted on him; that every tree bowed when he passed, and every rock saluted him; that his forehead was so luminous, it caused a reflection on the walls of the house, like moonlight; that at night his steps were guided by the light which radiated from his fingers; that his body cast no shadow in the sunshine; that he saw behind as well as before; heard when he was asleep as well as awake; and knew what was concealed in the hearts of men.

The story of the midnight journey to heaven is so vaguely described in the Koran, that some commentators think it was merely a dream, given for instruction. But both the Books of Traditions amplify it greatly, and declare that it was performed when the Prophet was wide awake, and that he was literally conveyed in the body, on a steed sent from Paradise. In that blessed region, he saw angels building palaces of gold, silver, and ruby blocks, cemented with the soil, which was pure musk. Sometimes they stopped, and being asked the reason, said they waited to have expenses paid: which they explained by saying that whenever true believers on earth exclaimed: "There is no God but Allah! Praise be to Allah!" their work went on; but when the voice of prayer ceased, they were obliged to pause. Mohammed declared that the greater part of the inhabitants of Paradise were those who had been poor in this world; and that the gates were opened for them five hundred years sooner than for the rich. On the banks of celestial river she saw palaces prepared for himself and his family, and his "pure women." In the midst was the Tree of Happiness, of such immense size that a bird could not fly round the trunk in seven hundred years. Its branches, laden with fruit, and with baskets full of silken garments, extended to every true believer. From its roots flowed four rivers; water, milk, wine, and honey. He also looked down into the hells, and saw devils tearing sinners with red-hot pincers, and pouring fire down their throats. The greater part of the tormented were women, suffering in one form or another for

having been disobedient to their husbands. One was hung up by her hair, her brain boiling with excessive heat, because she had not concealed her beautiful tresses from the view of men. In the first heaven, he was introduced to Ishmael, who exclaimed: "Hail worthy brother and prophet!" and all the angels laughed with joy. In the second, John the Baptist and Jesus welcomed him as worthy brother and prophet. In the sixth, Moses saluted him, saying: "The children of Israel think I am dearest to the Most High: but this man is dearer than I am." In the seventh, Abraham blessed him as a worthy son and prophet. Beyond that no angel or archangel was allowed to go. But Mohammed left his companion Gabriel, and ascended to the throne of the Most High, who placed his hand upon his shoulder, and promised to grant everything he might ask for himself or his followers.

The Hyab ul Kuloob is full of glorifications of Ali and his family. It is therein stated that Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and all the archangels inquired so particularly after Ali that Mohammed began to think his cousin was better known in Paradise than he was himself. The Angel of Death told him it was his office to take away the soul of every human being, except his and Ali's; but the Most High himself would take theirs away. The Prophet is represented as declaring that himself and his daughter Fatima, and her husband Ali, and their sons Hasan and Husayn, were created ages before earth or heaven. When asked how their existence commenced, he replied: "God first uttered a word, and that word took the form of Light. He uttered another word, which became Spirit. He then tempered the light with the spirit, and formed me and Fatima, and Ali, and Hasan and Husayn. We ascribed praise to God, when there was no other existence to give him glory. God afterward expanded my light, and formed the empyrean; which, being created of my light, I am more excellent than the empyrean. He next expanded the light of Ali, and formed angels; therefore, he is superior to them. From the light of Fatima, he formed the

heavens and the earth; which are consequently inferior to her. He expanded the light of Hasan to form the sun and moon; so that he is superior to them. From the light of Husayn was formed Paradise and the Hoories; therefore he is more excellent than they." According to these traditions he told Ali that after his corpse was washed and perfumed, it would answer any questions he might ask. Accordingly "he taught Ali a thousand chapters of knowledge, from each of which a thousand more opened; and from these he learned all that would happen until the judgment day." Ali was also enabled to hear all that angels were saying to the spirit of Mohammed. It is said that angels were never sent down to the earth to announce the birth of any prophet, except Jesus and Mohammed; and that the pavilions of Paradise were never pitched for any woman but the Virgin Mary and Aminah. On the day that the Prophet was married to Khadeejah, all the angels sang a hymn of thanksgiving, and the Most High ordered Gabriel to go down and plant a banner of praise on the dome of the Caaba. Afterward, whenever he brought a message to Mohammed, he always left a respectful salutation for her. On one of these occasions, he stated that a palace built of precious stones had been prepared for her in Paradise.

The amours of the Prophet are described with Asiatic plainness on such subjects; and the joys of Paradise are much more minutely and glowingly painted than they are in the Koran. The gigantic Tree is described as hung with millions of baskets, each containing a thousand changes of garments of the richest silks and brocades. Beautiful damsels, called Hoories, are formed of the pure musk of Paradise. Their large dark eyes are full of melting tenderness, and they are so modest that they always remain hidden from public view in pavilions of pearl. Their bodies are so radiant, that they shine through seventy garments. If one of them were suspended between the sun and the earth, mortals would be willing to spare the orb of day. When true believers enter Paradise, they will be

as tall as Adam, who was sixty cubits high. They will be endowed with the beauty of Joseph, the perfection of Jesus, and the eloquence of Mohammed. At each meal, they will be served with three hundred different kinds of food, on plates of gold. Bells hanging on the Tree of Happiness will be set in motion by breezes from God's throne, as often as they desire music. All their capacities for enjoyment will be a hundred fold greater than they were in this life. Each one will have a harem of seven thousand Hoories, and eleven thousand women; the most perfect of whom are more beautiful than the Hoories. When Saduk, one of the twelve inspired Imama, was asked whether a husband and wife, who were true believers, would resume the matrimonial bond in another world, he replied, that if the man was superior to the woman in excellence, he would decide whether she should be of the number of his wives or not; but if the woman was more excellent, she would choose whether or not she would have him for a husband.

Some of the traditional sayings of Mohammed have great moral excellence. The following, for example: "All the sons of Adam are equal, like the teeth of a comb. One has no preëminence over another, except that which is imparted by a religious life." "Every good act is charity. Giving water to the thirsty is charity. Putting a wanderer in the right path is charity. Removing stones and thorns from the road is charity. Exhorting your fellow men to virtuous deeds is charity. Smiling in your brother's face is charity. A man's true wealth hereafter is the good he does in this world. When he dies, mortals will ask what property he left behind him; but angels will inquire of him: 'What good deeds hast thou sent before thee?'" An aged woman and an African convert were once very much troubled, because he told them there were no old women in Paradise, and no black people; but they were comforted by his afterward explaining that all the good became eternally young and fair when they left this world.

It is related of his grandson, Hasan, that a slave who upset on him a dish of boiling hot food, fell on his knees

in great fear, and repeated from the Koran: "Paradise is for those who bridle their anger." Hasan answered: "I am not angry." "And for those who forgive men," continued the slave. "I forgive you," was the mild response. The culprit finished the sacred sentence, by repeating: "For God loveth the beneficent." The master replied: "I give you your freedom, and four hundred pieces of silver."

SECTS.—Mohammed declared that revelations from God to man would cease with him; and he commanded that any one should be put to death who afterward claimed to be a prophet. He predicted that many such would arise, and that his followers would divide into many sects. It happened as he had very naturally foreseen. After his death, there were many who professed to be inspired messengers, and strove hard to equal his power over the minds of men. One said he was Moses returned in the flesh; another that he was John the Baptist. Their contending claims produced a great deal of disturbance and bloodshed. Several of the tribes manifested a strong tendency to return to idolatry; and considerable time elapsed before they were all united in one faith. After their power was consolidated, they divided into various sects. The first great division arose from political as well as religious causes. Those who asserted that Ali was the only legitimate successor of Mohammed, denied the authority of the caliphs who preceded him. To the simple creed, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the prophet of God;" they added "and Ali is the vicegerent of God." They reject the Sonna, and accuse their opponents of having expunged from the Koran many sentences favourable to the claims of Ali. The Sunnites retort upon them the charge of altering the Koran, and of publishing fabulous traditions to glorify Ali and his family. They call them Shiites, or Sheabs, which signifies Heretics; a name by which they have become generally known to Europeans. Their theological doctrines are the same. But when the

Sonnites perform ablution before prayers, they begin at the elbow and wash down to the fingers; whereas the Sheahs begin at the tips of the fingers and wash upward to the elbow. This has given rise to very hot controversies; being considered a question of as much importance as sprinkling and immersion among Christians. The animosity between these two sects is so great, that they consider it more meritorious to destroy each other, than to exterminate infidels. When Sheahs, on their pilgrimage to Mecca, pass through countries inhabited by Sonnites, they generally conform to their customs, and call themselves by their name; otherwise, scenes of violence and bloodshed occur continually. Both sects claim to be the only true interpreters of the Koran. Arabs, Turks, and Tartars are Sonnites. The Persians, and some East Indians, are adherents of Ali. The hostility between Turks and Persians is mainly caused by this sectarian feud. The Sonnites are divided into many sects. The four principal differ concerning some matters of practice, but agree on points of faith; therefore they do not deny to each other the possibility of salvation; which they all agree to do toward numerous minor sects deemed heretical.

There are seventy or eighty sects among the Sheahs. One small sect maintains that God was incarnated in the person of Ali; these do not perform pilgrimages to Mecca, but to Meschid, where Ali was buried; they neglect many of the purifications and fasts observed by orthodox Mohammedans, have no buildings for public worship, and perform their religious ceremonies in a very simple way. One small sect in Syria believe in the transmigration of souls, have consecrated plants and animals, and introduce the sexual emblems of Hindostan into their worship. The head of ecclesiastical and civil affairs in Persia was called the Imam. All the sects of Sheahs believe that Ali, and the twelve Imams who succeeded him, were directly inspired by God; therefore their decisions were to be accepted as permanent rules of life. Some asserted that the essence

of God was incarnated in all of them. The last of these Imams was peculiarly celebrated for his sanctity, and was called Mahedi, which signifies The Guide. He retired to a cave near Bagdad, and the time and place of his death were unknown. This gave rise to a belief, still entertained by many, that he is living, and will appear in the last days, to establish the faith of Islam throughout the world. At different periods, a number of prophets have arisen claiming to be this Mohammedan Messiah.

A book called the Gospel of Barnabas is in great repute among them. It is supposed to be one of the Apocryphal Gospels, used by the Eastern churches, translated and modified by some Christian, who became a Moslem. It represents Christ as foretelling that God would send a prophet by the name of Mohammed, to perfect the dispensation he had brought to men. It declares that an unbelieving Jew, while watching Jesus to prevent his escape, was suddenly transformed into such an exact likeness of him, that even the Virgin Mary herself was deceived. This man was crucified, and Christ was taken up into heaven alive. But seeing his mother and his disciples so overwhelmed with grief, he appeared to them, and told them the stratagem God had devised. He foretold that a prophet greater than himself, named Mohammed, would be sent to lead men into the truth. He also promised to appear on earth again in the last days, and destroy a false prophet named Dejal, and a wild boar that would devastate the earth. He would burn the Christian Gospels, which ungodly priests had falsified, and the crosses they worshipped as gods, and help to subject the whole earth to Mohammed. In consequence of this communication, the Virgin Mary lived and died in the faith of Islam. It is the universal belief that when Mahedi appears, Jesus will come to his assistance; that he will perform his devotions in the mosque, will exterminate the Jews who rejected him, and the Christians who worshipped him as God; that he will marry and have children, and remain on the earth forty years, during which there will be universal peace and plenty. In the royal

stable at Ispahan, two horses were always kept saddled; one for the use of Mahedi, the other for Jesus.

The idea of atonement for sin, by any kind of sacrifice, forms no part of the system of Mohammed; it being one of his favourite maxims that "a man cannot die for his neighbour." But in general, questions which excite controversy elsewhere have caused disputes among his followers. Some deny the personality of God; others affirm that he is in the likeness of a man. Mohammed said: "The heart of a believer is between the fingers of The Merciful." Some say that a preacher who should stretch forth his finger while he read that text would deserve to have it cut off; because he might thereby convey the idea that God had fingers. The doctrine of predestination is fully believed by orthodox sects. But it shocks the minds of many, who draw from it an inference that God is the author of evil; and this they are so reluctant to admit, that they are not even willing to say He created infidels. Out of this question has arisen much discussion whether the doctrine that infants are foredoomed to eternal punishment can be reconciled with the justice and mercy of God. The comparative importance of faith and works is another dividing topic. Some maintain that if a true believer in Mohammed commits a crime and dies without repentance, he must surely be damned to all eternity; though his punishment will be lighter than that of an infidel who commits the same crime. This is regarded as impious doctrine by the orthodox, who say God forgives everything but infidelity. Some sects maintain that this world will never be destroyed, and that there is no other heaven or hell. It is generally supposed that departed souls are waiting in some intermediate state, not very clearly defined. Some think they are with Adam in the lower heaven, because when the Prophet made his miraculous Night Journey, he said he saw souls destined to heaven on Adam's right hand, and those destined to hell on his left. The prevailing faith is that bodies will rise at the day of resurrection, and souls will be re-united with them. But some, who

think man is merely a corporeal being, say the body only will rise; others believe the resurrection will be purely spiritual. The orthodox belief is that the Koran is the uncreated Word of God, and existed in his essence from all eternity. Some sects reject this doctrine, because it conveys to their minds the idea of two eternal beings. They are denounced as infidels, and in their turn denounce their opponents as idolaters. Men were scourged, imprisoned, and even put to death, for opinions on this point; until at last a law was passed allowing them to judge for themselves on the subject. Old theological ideas being strictly guarded by penal laws, as well as by habits of reverence, progressive minds found themselves in straitened circumstances; and, as usual, they made for themselves two doors of escape from inconvenient limitation. One class resorted to allegorical interpretation of the Koran; styling it half man and half beast, in reference to the spirit and the letter. Some scholars who had become enamoured with Aristotle, made use of metaphysical and logical subtleties to explain the literal sense. This mode, called *Al Calam*, or Science of Reason, excited strong abhorrence in orthodox minds. They said whoever resorted to this mode of interpretation ought to be impaled; while a public crier proclaimed through the streets: "This is the reward of those who forsake the Koran, and the Sacred Traditions, to follow the Science of Reason." A school of mysticism also arose among the Mohammedans, and took forms similar to the Hindoo and Platonic ideas. The complete union of the soul with God, and intuitive perceptions of divine things, thence derived, is taught by some as the highest wisdom and happiness. They convey this idea in glowing allegories concerning love and intoxication, which, like some Hindoo devotional writings, seem sensual to those who perceive only the external sense; but the initiated find in them an interior meaning. Their very dances have mystical significance; as is the case with the dance consecrated to the memory of Crishna. They carry about with them a small mirror as a religious symbol; which also was

a custom among Egyptians, when they celebrated the Mysteries of Isis. This contemplative and mystical tendency of mind began to manifest itself decidedly among Mohammedans little more than a century after the Hegira, and has continually gained ground unto this day, especially among the superior class of minds in Persia. They became a distinct sect, known under the name of Sufis; which some learned men derive from the Arabic word *Safi*, meaning Pure; others from the Greek word *Sophi*, signifying Wise. Their saints believe that they receive immediate communications of truth from heaven into the interior of their minds, when they are completely abstracted from all earthly cares and wishes. They say it is mysteriously transmitted through the medium of Abubeker or Ali. But their doctrines are obviously of Hindoo origin, and bear no resemblance to the teachings of the Koran. Pantheism soon mingled with their system. Mohammed declared that God was not in anything, nor was anything in God; but devout Sufis believe they have become one with God; which Hindoos call absorption in Brahm. One of the Mohammedan poets says: "I am the world's soul." But these views are generally expressed in veiled language, lest they should give rise to a charge of blasphemy. One of their teachers, named Hosein al Hallaj, was put to death for making himself equal with God, by saying: "I am the Truth." Complete subjugation of the senses was of course intimately connected with this idea of mystical union with Deity. Hence the Sufis early formed monastic fraternities, which adopted very ascetic modes of life. It was the natural growth of the same foreign element which had been grafted upon Christianity, and produced monkism. Mohammed disapproved of celibacy, and declared he would have no monks in his religion. But three hundred years after the Hegira, Islam began to swarm with a class of men called Dervises, whose habits are very similar to Hindoo Fakirs, and Mendicant Monks. There are thirty-two religious orders of that kind in the Turkish empire; others in Persia and India. These Mohammedan monks have great

reputation for miraculous power obtained by superior sanctity. People apply to them to interpret dreams, cure diseases, pray for the birth of children, for rain, harvests, and other blessings. People of the highest rank receive them at their tables, and the Imams are generally selected from their communities. The rosaries used by Dervises consist of ninety-nine beads, usually made of holy earth from Mecca or Medina. They pass these through their fingers at prayer, while they recount the ninety-nine qualities of God mentioned in the Koran.

A follower of Mohammed always calls himself a Moslem, which signifies a Believer. From the plural of this the European word *Musulmân* is formed. All sects entertain the greatest reverence for Mohammed. All their writings commence with a benediction on his name. They call him "The Lawgiver, The Prince of Men, Last and Best of the Prophets, The Most Noble of Apostles, The Refuge of Revelation, The Sanctified One, The Most Perfect of Created Beings, The Beloved of the Lord." They universally believe him to be the Prophet predicted by Moses, and the Comforter whom Jesus promised to send. They adduce passages from Apocryphal Gospels and from our Scriptures to prove it, and say that other texts, containing more positive evidence, have been fraudulently suppressed by Christians. The Crescent is the adopted emblem of their religion, because the new moon lighted him in his flight from Mecca. The country around that city swarms with pigeons, which they never kill, lest they should destroy some descendant of the sacred bird, sent by God to build a nest at the mouth of the cave where he was concealed. They have a similar feeling concerning spiders, because a spider spun a web across the entrance. Mohammed emancipated Zaid for believing in his mission; therefore, no Mohammedan ever holds a person of his own faith in slavery. The ancient fast of Ramadam is rendered still more holy by being associated with the first revelations he received from Heaven. During the entire month, they taste no food or drink between sunrise and sunset. They

abjure baths and perfumes, and shun the sight of women. The fast is rendered void by inhaling the mere smell of food; and some are so strict, they will not even swallow the moisture in their mouths. As they reckon their months by moons, the fast is moveable. When it occurs at the sultry season of the year, the pious, especially those who labour, often suffer very severely. Their teachers inculcate that fasting, to be of any avail, must include abstinence from worldly cares, evil thoughts, and impure ideas. Many of the old opinions and customs were transferred to the new religion; that being an invariable compromise between the conservative and progressive tendencies of man. The Caaba lost none of its sacredness. There is a tradition that Mohammed said those who died without visiting it might as well have died Jews or Christians. The poorest Moslems often make great sacrifices to visit Mecca once in their lives; and some go annually. On their way, they almost invariably turn aside to visit the tomb of their Prophet at Medina. Reverence for his memory is reflected on all his descendants. The sovereignty of Mecca and guardianship of the Caaba is still entrusted to them, and they take rank above princes. In the lapse of centuries, they have become numerous, but they all have honorary titles, take the highest seat in company, receive a stipend from the public treasury, and are distinguished by a turban or girdle of green, which is a sacred colour.

Any system of religion or morals which did not profess to be founded on the Koran would be taught at the peril of life. All the sects study it in the light of either the Sonnite or the Sheah Book of Traditions. In case of palpable contradictions, they say if a passage is not true in one aspect it is in another, and that God can easily reconcile what seems incongruous to the human mind. Some few venture to declare that they receive only such traditions as can be reconciled with reason; but such are regarded with horror by orthodox believers.

The fundamental doctrines in which all agree are, that

God is One; that it is impious to divide his personality, or to associate any other being with his worship; and that Mohammed is the last and best of all the prophets He has sent. Mohammedans adopt the old Persian ideas concerning Angels with ethereal bodies formed of celestial fire. Each of the seven departments of Paradise is governed by one of these radiant beings. They appoint others to various offices; thus Gabriel is always sent with revelations; Azrael separates the souls and bodies of mortals at death; and Israfil will sound the trumpet to summon bodies from their graves, at the resurrection. Like the Persians and other ancient nations, they believe that every human being has two attendant angels from birth to death. One on his right hand notes down his good actions, and the other, on his left, records his evil deeds. The kindly angel has control over the other. When man does a good deed he writes it down, with delight, ten times; but when he commits any wickedness, he says to the angel on the left hand: "Wait seven hours before you write it down. Perhaps he may repent, and ask forgiveness." They say the dead are visited in their graves by two dark angels, who cause them to sit upright, while they question them concerning the unity of God and the mission of Mohammed. If their answers are satisfactory, they are left in peace to be refreshed by breezes from Paradise. Otherwise, they beat them with iron maces, and leave them to be stung by ninety-nine serpents, with seven heads each. This is believed so literally by many people, that it is a general custom to build tombs in such a manner that the dead can easily sit upright. Some sects reject the account altogether; others understand it allegorically; saying the serpents represent remorse for sins. The good and evil words and deeds of men, as recorded by their attendant Spirits, are said to be given to Gabriel, who weighs them in a balance, and dismisses souls to heaven or hell according to their merits. All are obliged to pass over a bridge called Al Sirat, "fine as the thread of a famished spider," with an edge sharp as a scimitar. Beneath this bridge roar the flames of hell,

and beyond it are the regions of Paradise. True believers are conveyed across like a flash of lightning; some will pass with difficulty; and others will slip into hell. Those who delight in spiritual interpretation, say this hair-breadth bridge signifies the narrow and difficult path of piety in this world. Some who are not good enough to pass directly into Paradise, are supposed to remain in a place partitioned off, until by acts of adoration they have more than balanced the evil they have done, or the worship they have omitted. He who has wronged another will be obliged to make over to the account of the injured party a proportionate quantity of his own good works. If he has no such treasury to draw upon, he must be accountable for an equal share of the sins of his victim. Moslems may have to wait in some place of expiation from nine hundred to seven thousand years, according to their degrees of guilt. But because they have believed in the true faith, they will all finally attain to Paradise, by help of their own prayers, and the continual intercession of Mohammed. Hindoos and Persians believed in seven ascending spheres of light and happiness, above which dwelt the Supreme; and in seven descending spheres of darkness and suffering. Mohammed also taught that there were seven hells. Commentators say the first is for sinful Moslems; the next is for Christians; the third for Jews; the fourth for Sabians and Fire-Worshippers; the sixth for all those who worship a plurality of gods, and have no Sacred Books; the seventh and deepest is reserved for hypocrites of *all* religions. All who disbelieve in Mohammed will be punished eternally, in degrees proportioned to their obstinacy in rejecting him. The tortures described are of various kinds. Excessive hunger and thirst, intolerable stench, stinging serpents, roasting over intense flames, and being shod with shoes of fire, which will make the brains boil. In Paradise all that delighted the soul or senses of man in this world will be increased and refined beyond human imagination. These joys are progressively multiplied and rendered more intense in the ascending regions of Paradise. Only martyrs

and great saints will attain to the pure spiritual bliss of daily communion with God which far transcends all other enjoyment. In the seventh and highest Paradise is the palace of Mohammed, and the Tree of Happiness. Immediately above this is the throne of the Most High.

On the subject of marriage and the forgiveness of injuries, the moral tone of Mohammedans is far below that of Christians. But they manifest more sincerity and earnestness in acting up to their standard. All travellers agree that they are remarkably characterized by honesty in their dealings; insomuch that at a distance from cities, it is a common custom to leave shops open without any person to tend them. Purchasers go in and take what goods they want, and leave on the counter the price marked on them. Exceeding liberality to the poor is another admirable trait; and in no Christian country are the chains of slavery so light, or so easily removed. The total abstinence from all intoxicating drink commanded by the Koran, is not unfrequently disobeyed; but devout believers never taste such liquors; they will neither buy nor sell them; nor will they consent to be supported with money obtained by such traffic. The estimate of women is very much lower than in Christian countries, but it is a mistake that they suppose them to have no souls. The Koran, and the Books of Traditions frequently allude to them as sharing the punishments of hell and the joys of Paradise. The majority of the people do not avail themselves of the license to marry four wives. The general tendency is to have but one. Friday, the ancient "Day of Assembly" among the Arabians, is the Mohammedan holy day. All go to the mosques to attend religious services, and when they have performed their devotions, they return to their customary business. They say creation was finished, and the resurrection will take place on that day. They call it the Prince of Days, and consider themselves peculiarly honoured, that God granted them the privilege of being the first to observe it. Some of the very strict consider it wrong to attend to worldly business during any

portion of the day. They have no priesthood. Reputable and learned men are appointed to read and explain the Koran and prayers, at prescribed seasons. The principal interpreter of the Koran, to whose decision doubtful questions are referred, is called the Imam in Persia, and the Grand Mufti in Turkey. They never make use of bells, but in every town a public crier, called Muezzin, summons the people to prayer, by proclaiming from the minarets or steeples of the mosques: "God is great! To prayer! To prayer!" This is repeated in a sort of chant consisting of a few simple tones, and travellers describe it as producing a very solemn effect. Though this is repeated five times a day, every conscientious Moslem, as soon as he hears it, washes himself and goes to the mosque to repeat a prayer. If that is inconvenient, he spreads a cloth, turns his face toward Mecca, and prostrates himself in the house, the workshop, or the street, wherever he may happen to be; for their Prophet said: "The whole world is a place of prayer." At day-break, the Muezzin reminds all the people that prayer is better than sleep, and at noon he tells them it is more salutary than food. They are as strict as the ancient Hindoos and Persians in performing ablution before worship. The spiritual class of commentators remind them that the requisite purification includes expunging evil thoughts from the mind, as well as cleansing the body from pollution. The Koran forbids believers ever to declare the intention of doing anything without first saying: "If it pleases God." To each chapter of the Koran is prefixed: "In the name of the most Merciful God;" and all Mohammedan books and writings copy this example. When they took the Sacred Books of Jews and Christians among the spoils of war, they never committed them to the flames; because they consider it impious to destroy anything on which the name of God is written. Omar, who ruled about twelve years after the Hegira, sent armies into various countries to extend the faith. There is a story that when Alexandria was taken, a question arose whether the royal library might be spared; and

Omar replied: "The Koran contains all that is necessary; therefore, if those books agree with it, they are not needed; and if they contain anything contrary to it, they ought to be destroyed." It is said they were used to kindle fires in the baths, and that it took six months to destroy them. The Alexandrian Library had been pillaged by Christians, in the time of Theodosius, so that the shelves were left entirely empty. How so many volumes were afterward collected is not accounted for; and the story concerning Omar has latterly been much doubted.

Their places of worship called mosques are held in great reverence. There is always a fountain near by in which they wash before they enter. They take off their slippers, and ornaments, deeming it more reverent to the deity to enter his presence in plain apparel. Women say their prayers at home; it being supposed that their presence would tend to disturb a devotional frame of mind. Religious observances mingle with all the affairs of life. "There is no God but Allah" is constantly heard from Moslem lips; even when they answer the watchmen, they add "Allah Akbar," "God is Great." Of course the same inconsistencies occur among them, as among Christians. Constantine and Clovis prayed diligently and built churches, while they murdered sons and relatives. Aurungzebe murdered his father and brothers, and erected a magnificent mosque at Delhi in token of gratitude to Allah for success in the civil war. "He acted as High Priest at the consecration, and was in the habit of worshipping there in the humble dress of a Fakeer. He raised one hand to God, while with the other he signed warrants for the death of his nearest relatives."

The mosques are generally in the Moorish style of architecture, surmounted with crescent-crowned minarets, which have a light and elegant appearance, and are often richly ornamented. A quadrangular area, sometimes of very great extent, is enclosed by files of columns, supporting double rows of galleries. They contain no altars, images, paintings, or seats, except a chair for the Imam. In the

direction of Mecca there is always an alcove called the *Kebla*, that worshippers may turn toward the sacred city, when they prostrate themselves in prayer. A good deal is expended on lamps, which form almost the only ornament of the interior, except sentences of the Koran inlaid in the walls, with mother-of-pearl, or other beautiful substances, and often richly emblazoned. Like the Jews, they never allow people of other religions to pass beyond the outer enclosure of their places of worship. One of their most magnificent mosques was erected on the site of Solomon's temple, after they took possession of Jerusalem, which they visit as a holy city, next in importance to Mecca and Medina. In the heart of Mecca is a large area enclosed with columns and galleries, including several small chapels, and the ancient *Caaba* in the centre. The roof is covered with black damask embroidered with gold; an offering annually sent by the Sultan of Turkey. It is sustained by a double file of columns, with rows of silver lamps, quaintly ornamented, suspended between them in festoons. Within the *Caaba* is the celebrated black stone. Some suppose it was an aerolite, and thus acquired the reputation of having fallen from heaven. It is set in silver now, and devoutly kissed by every pilgrim. It is supposed that at the resurrection it will return to the angelic form it originally had, and will bear testimony in favour of all who have touched it in their pilgrimage. This sacred enclosure also contains Hagar's Fountain, now called *Zem Zem*; and a white stone believed to mark the grave of Ishmael, which receives water from the roof by a golden spout.

Until recently, Christian writers have generally manifested a very uncandid spirit toward Mohammedans. They said pigeons were sacred at Mecca because the Prophet put grains of wheat into his ear, and trained a pigeon to pick them out; pretending that it was the Holy Spirit whispering to him in the form of a dove. This, and several other similar stories, are now acknowledged to be false.

Moslems have an insurmountable prejudice against mar-

rying with uncircumcised families; but they inherit their Prophet's animosity to the Jews, whom they regard with much more aversion than they do Christians. In consideration of their being believers in a Sacred Book; both classes are allowed to retain their own places of worship in countries conquered by Mohammedans, provided they pay tribute, ring no bells, make no attempts at proselyting, and do nothing to prevent their relatives from becoming true believers. Contracts with them are subject to the same laws that regulate the business-intercourse between Moslems; but no promise or oath is binding, if made to people who do not believe in a Sacred Book. The testimony of Christians is not received against a Moslem, they are not allowed to compete with them in their style of living, and in the street, they must make way for the meanest follower of the Prophet. A more kindly state of feeling begins to manifest itself between the rival religions. Christian writers have become more candid; and the Sultan of Turkey many years ago passed a law forbidding his subjects to continue their practice of calling Christians dogs. They both derive so much from Jewish fountains, that Lessing calls them "Two litigating sons of the same father."

The extension of Mohammedanism, though occasionally checked, has gradually increased ever since the Hegira. Its professors are now estimated at one hundred and eighty millions; nearly one-fifth of the whole human race.

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CONCLUDING CHAPTER.

"The word unto the Prophet spoken
 Was writ on tablets yet unbroken;
 The word by Seers or Sibyls told,
 In groves of oak, or fanees of gold,
 Still floats upon the morning wind,
 Still whispers to the willing mind.
 The heedless world hath never lost
 One accent of the Holy Ghost."

R. W. EMERSON.

IN reviewing the contents of the preceding pages, every reflecting mind must be struck with the fact that "there have been but few voices in the world, and many echoes." How the same questionings, the same hopes, the same aspirations, have continually reappeared, in expressions varied by the climates and the ages! The same gamut, with infinite modifications of mode and time! In all ages and countries, the great souls of humanity have stood on the mountain peaks, alternately watching the clouds below, and the moonlight above, anxiously calling to each other: "Brethren, what of the night?" And to each and all an answer has returned, varying in distinctness: "Lo, the morning cometh."

If we would but look at the subject comprehensively, there is nothing in the history of man so interesting as the attempt to trace Infinite Wisdom making its way among the errors, the frailties, the passions, and the intense spiritual longings of finite souls. Everywhere the Divine Spirit takes form according to the capacity of reception. As this enlarges, old forms of thought and worship die, and the Spirit enters into new ones, which the previous growth has prepared. Thus is the Word of God forever incarnated,

and dwelleth among men. Therefore, the very nature of a Written Revelation involves the necessity of ceasing to be adequate to the wants of society, sooner or later; for a Revelation must necessarily be adapted to the then present state of the public mind, and consequently be, in some degree, a measure of that mind. If it were entirely above the comprehension of the epoch, it could not be a Revelation. When it has done its destined work, and helped onward to a higher plane of perception, the soul begins to outgrow the Revelation, and can no longer receive it as a sufficient standard. Declining faith in the external letter always produces a reaction. The reverential tendency of man strives to resuscitate decaying forms by the infusion of spiritual significance. Then come elaborate and far-fetched explanations and allegories, by means of which the new thought is found in the old words; all of which is a patching and stretching of the worn-out garment, to make it cover the increasing stature. This habit of conservatism is wisely impressed upon our nature, to prevent abrupt and dangerous changes. But when the new garment is entirely prepared, the old one will drop off; and the attempt to stretch it merely cracks it in pieces.

Such periods of the world's growth are always sad to souls which have devout feelings and a limited vision. They need to be reminded of what the Athenian philosopher said to his disciple: "He may bury my *body*; but let him not think he buries *Socrates*." No portion of truth ever did die, or ever can die. Its *spirit* is eternal, though its *forms* are ever changing. We cannot annul that law of our existence which forever makes the present a reproduction of all that was real in the past. Only inherited customs, in which men merely *seem* to believe, transmit no life. Every *genuine* belief helps to form future modes of thought; however absurd and fantastic the *form* of belief may appear to the future that looks back upon it.

Instead of considering our own religion the product of a gradual growth, to which the spiritual sunshine, air, and

rain of previous centuries have contributed, it is the common tendency to speak of it as a gift suddenly dropped down from Heaven, for a chosen few, and unlike anything the world had ever received. The beautiful Night-blooming Cereus, with a pure light radiating from its deep centre, seems to have no relationship with the long dry stem, and the little shaggy buds of tufted tow; but the regal loveliness of the blossom could never have been produced, had not the long stem, and the uncouth bud, day after day, and month after month, conveyed to it nourishment from all the surrounding atmosphere.

The same is true of the world's religious growth. Dreamy contemplations of devout mystics in the ancient forests of Hindostan; the vague sublimity of Egyptian thought, born of vast deserts, and the solemn dimness of subterranean temples; the radiant army of Spirits, which illuminated the soul of the Persian, when with loving reverence he kissed his hand to the stars; Hebrew proneness to the supernatural, combined with the practical wisdom and equalizing system of Moses; moonlighted glimpses of the infinite, revealed to Plato; the Gospel of love and forgiveness preached by Jesus; all these are fused into our present modes of thought. We are told that wise men came from far countries, and offered jewels to the infant Christ. Figuratively, it might signify how all the nations added some gems to his crown of righteousness. Jews brought their fixed idea of the unity of God, their abhorrence of idolatry, their habitual thoughtfulness for the poor. Grecians imparted their free spirit and intellectual culture, to protect spiritual growth from a narrow and binding fanaticism. Romans brought their civil law, to restrain the selfishness of Christian proselytes, and help their imperfect sense of justice. Teutonic tribes brought their reverence for "the form *containing* woman," to aid the fulfilment of the prophecy, that there would be "neither male nor female in Christ Jesus." Those who laid down these offerings at the feet of Christ, did it in reverence for his divine doctrines of complete forgiveness of injuries, the universal

brotherhood of man, and the all-pervading love of an ever-watchful Father.

This combination of goodness and truth, which we at the present time accept under the name of Christianity, resembles the threefold nature of man, described by ancient philosophers. The religious sentiment, reverential and humane, is the interior soul, in constant communication with God; intellectual culture, and powers of reflection, are the intermediate soul; and civil law is the material body. The soul forms the outline and expression of the body; but it is equally true that diseases of the body affect the state of the soul.

Preceding quotations from Greeks and Romans show the state of preparation existing in the Gentile world, previous to the ministry of Christ. The old Teutonic tribes, though comparatively rude in most respects, also imparted much that was valuable, in exchange for what they received. They had always been remarkable for the high consideration in which they held their women, and the respect with which they treated them. They were always allowed an equal share in religious ceremonies, and were habitually consulted in all the important affairs of war and government. Asiatic servitude and Roman profligacy were alike unknown to them. The best of the Romans acknowledged that, with regard to the dignity and purity of women, the sickly civilization of their own country was keenly rebuked by the more healthy tone of their barbarian conquerors. The introduction of this element had a very important influence on Christianity, in the Western portions of the world. The poor condition of churches in Asiatic countries, where Grecian culture, Roman law, and Teutonic intermixture, have *not* modified the growth of Christianity, indicates how much we owe to those collateral influences.

It is undeniable that with the good and the true from the past, there also came into Christianity much that was evil and false. But this is altogether inseparable from the imperfect condition of humanity. No man, not even the wisest, ever rises entirely above the opinions and customs

of the age in which he lives. The views of Socrates were so far above those of the populace, that they cost him his life. Yet one of his last acts was to enjoin the sacrifice of a cock to *Æsculapius*. That Plato had very elevated views, is shown by his placing *Goodness* above *Wisdom*, and both above *Power*, in his attributes of the Deity; also by his habit of regarding everything earthly as of little value, in comparison with the immutable and eternal. Yet even he would have had every one confined as a madman, who refused to conform to the popular worship of the Gods.

When a traveller is whirled along on the rail-road, if he toss a ball into the air, it returns again to his hand, though the cars have gone ahead of the place whence it was thrown; because it not only receives an upward tendency from the individual hand, but also a lateral impulse from the motion of the train. Spiritual laws are in correspondence with the natural. The highest aspirations of an individual are inevitably modified by the social atmosphere through which he is travelling; and the degree of impetus given to his thought is according to the progress of the age in which he is moving onward. If a Revelation were dropped down directly from Heaven, in all the languages of the world, at the end of a century it would be found to have produced quite different systems of thought, and modes of action; because from every community it would *take* quite as much as it would *give*. This modifying power of external influences over the interior aspirations of the soul, constitutes one of the centripetal forces, by which God regulates the spiritual condition of men.

If the Apostles had re-appeared in the sixth century, would they have recognized the then existing Christianity, as the doctrines *they* taught, and the worship *they* practised? Constantine's colossal statue of Apollo was a very appropriate representation of it. The body of a Grecian god, the head of the emperor, and rays of glory formed of nails said to be taken from the cross of Christ, was a true image of the Church at that period. Jewish converts had added to the

teaching of Jesus their own traditions, many of them drawn from Cabalistic sources; Grecian converts had breathed round it an atmosphere of Platonism; Gnostics mingled with it Persian and Buddhist theories, the tinge of which remained after Gnosticism itself had disappeared; and in them all was a pervading infusion of old Hindoo ideas, long ago transmitted through Egypt.

We are accustomed to speak of Christianity as entirely untinged with polytheistic notions; but *strictly* speaking, a purely monotheistic faith has never existed. Jews and Christians believed as distinctly in the active agency of Archangels, Angels, and Devils, as Grecians did in the numerous subordinate Spirits employed by Jove. Isis, the "Mother Goddess," was never more devoutly worshipped in Egypt, than is "The Mother of God," "The Queen of Heaven," by a large majority of Christians. The power almost universally attributed to Satan is quite equal to that which Persians ascribed to Arimanes. In the strict sense of the phrase, there are "Devil Worshipers" in all countries; that is, there are people, who, by prayers and ceremonies, seek to pacify a Powerful Spirit, whose vengeance they dread. In all religions, we find also a tendency to invest Deity with the feelings of human nature. This happens because no man can leap from his own shadow. In contrast with the intriguing, amorous gods of the lively, artistic Grecians, witness Tertullian's grim picture of the horrible games God would furnish at the Day of Judgment, for the triumph and delight of his faithful followers.

Among all people, except the Jews and Mohammedans, an intermediate object of worship, approaching nearer to human sympathies, has gradually superseded the more sublime and awful idea of the Supreme One. Thus Mithras eclipsed Ormuzd, and Crishna supplanted Brahma. The same craving for sympathy and mediation, led men to address more prayers to Christ, than to the Father; and eventually more to the Virgin Mary, than to either. Truly, it is somewhat discouraging to trace the progress of any

great truth among existing prejudices, and antecedent institutions. One is continually reminded of Jean Paul's remark: "The progress of Mankind toward the City of God is like the walking of certain pilgrims to Jerusalem, who moved backward after every step forward."

The Fathers did the best they could to arrange the incongruous elements around them into an harmonious whole; and their decisions became established authority, under the name of apostolic tradition. They could not help lapping over their own old opinions upon the new; nor could they avoid having their theology more or less subject to modification from Jews, Gnostics, and philosophers, with whom they were in perpetual controversy. For while zealously combatting one error, they generally roused into activity the opposite extreme, and were compelled to sail between the two, as the only practicable course, though it might by no means be the one they would have chosen, if they had not been subject to counter currents. In order to estimate candidly the difficulties of their position, it would be necessary to stand, as they did, at a point of time, where all the old religions of the world were breaking up, and the Spirit of God was brooding over chaos, to produce new forms. We may smile at their credulity, but if we had been there, we should have been credulous also. And if we had great truths to defend from so many enemies, open and insidious, perhaps we should be more prone to imitate their theological intolerance, and occasional indirect statements, than we should be to manifest their unflinching courage, fervent piety, active benevolence, and unflinching sympathy with the poor and the oppressed.

I confess that the most powerful *external* testimony to the superior excellence of Christ's teaching, seems to me to be found in the fact that good men, and great men, and reflecting men, were irresistibly attracted toward it, notwithstanding the corruptions that early gathered round it, and all that Christians themselves did to bring disgrace upon the name. The secret of this power lay within itself.

Diluted as Christianity was, by conformity to existing institutions, and changed in its character and purpose, by the amalgamation of old traditions with new truths, it contained within itself living and universal principles, which no perversity of man could stifle. Through all the din and dissonance of polemics, the gentle, sympathizing words of Jesus sounded for ever, like a silver bell above the howlings of the storm. Earnest souls listened reverently to the all-pervading tones, and received therefrom a more child-like trust in the Heavenly Father, more humanity toward suffering brethren, and more assured hopes of life beyond the grave.

The explanation of the rapid spread of Christianity is to be found in its adaptation to the masses of mankind. The priesthood in Hindostan and Egypt, and the philosophers of Greece and Rome, had deemed it necessary to conceal their highest truths from the people, lest they should become perverted and desecrated by ignorance and grossness. They did not perceive a truth greater than all they taught; that there ought not to be any ignorant people; that knowledge should be diffused like the air, which every man may inhale, and into which every man may breathe. Moses took a great step in advance, when he sought to make of the Israelites "a nation of priests;" and Ezra wisely carried out his liberal views, when he erected synagogues, where all the people could hear the Law and the Prophets thrice a week. Socrates taught in the market-place, and distributed gems of wisdom in the workshops of mechanics. But this, noble as it was, was merely dissemination of *knowledge*. While the soul of Jesus, dwelling in a region of holiness, above the intellectual, "had compassion on the multitude;" was filled, to overflowing, with *sympathy* for the indigent, the afflicted, and the erring. It was reserved for *him* to "heal the broken-hearted," to "preach a Gospel to the poor," to say, "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much." Nearly two thousand years have passed away, since those words of love and pity were uttered; yet when I read them, my eyes often fill with

tears. I thank thee, O Heavenly Father, for all the messengers thou hast sent to man; but above all, I thank thee for this, thy beloved son! Pure lily-blossom of the centuries, taking root deep in the muddy depths, and receiving the light and warmth of heaven into its golden heart! All that the pious have felt, all that poets have said, all that artists have done, with their manifold forms of beauty, to represent the ministry of Jesus, are but feeble expressions of the great debt we owe him, who is even now curing the lame, restoring sight to the blind, and raising the dead, in that *spiritual* sense in which all miracles are true. A friend writing to me, says: "That the nature of Jesus was gentle, affectionate, and feminine, is shown by his love for children, his tears for Lazarus, his shrinking from death. Yet, for the sake of substituting the good, the true, and the spiritual, for selfishness, falsehood, and formalism, he could live without genuine appreciation or sympathy, and calmly resign himself to an early and violent death. Theology and cant have half spoiled the Bible for us, so that I can scarcely make real to myself the spirit of Christ's words and life; but whenever I do so, I always find that it appeals powerfully to all that is deepest and best in my nature."

The few who possessed any knowledge had, for ages, trampled under their feet the ignorant multitude; either by laws of caste, as in Hindostan and Egypt, or by slavery, as in Greece and Rome. Among those generations of Egyptian peasants, there must have been many who gazed with mournful reverence at the star of Isis, and sometimes asked: "Why are the priests the only depositaries of thy mysteries? Why must we toil to build palaces for their dead bodies, while our own are so dishonoured while alive? Oh, Mother Goddess, if we are not of thy children, and may not learn thy laws, why hast thou sent us here, to labour, to suffer, and to die?" Yet most of those simple souls, after thus wrestling with the darkness that oppressed them, would go to the priests to seek atonement for the sin of their involuntary thoughts. And the poor Pariah,

catching glimpses of the sacred Banian Groves from afar, and looking upward, half afraid of the bright Spirits who dwelt among the stars, could he otherwise than reproach them, that he by birth was excluded from the paths that led to light, while Bramins ruled on earth, and went to dwell in palaces above? Millions of such groans ascended from the oppressed earth, and still the ages rolled heavily on, and while the prophets of all nations promised a Messiah, the people imploringly exclaimed: "When will the deliverer appear?"

In the times immediately preceding our era, individual souls began to feel their deprivations and wrongs more distinctly; though as yet they had not reasoned concerning them. There was a state of preparation for the advent of Christ; the dawn of All Souls' Day. At that warm bright flush in the east, well might poor shepherds hear the angels sing! Well might the Holy Spirit appear to the populace in the form of a dove! Well might fishermen forsake their nets, to proclaim the glad tidings to all people! None but poor men, in sympathy with the poor, *could* have preached such a religion as the times demanded. The best among the rich and the educated heard in it the utterings of their own half-revealed consciousness of existing wrong; while to the poor, it was like opening prison doors, and letting in the light from heaven. The previous state of spiritual hunger is indicated by the rapid diffusion of the doctrines. Some, who are prone to look merely on the outside of things, have said that Christianity was embraced principally by the indigent, because it supplied them with food and raiment. Doubtless such motives influenced considerable numbers; but that reason is altogether insufficient to account for the general enthusiasm, which soon pervaded all ranks. The real attraction was of a more interior character. Never before had there been a strong spiritual tie between the educated and the ignorant, the rich and the poor. In Christian communities, the labouring man felt that he was a member of a large affectionate family, who sympathised with his sorrows, and

rejoiced in his improvement. If beset with doubts or temptations, he could go to the church, as to a mother, who was ever ready to give him kindly counsel. If he had sinned, he could unburthen his heavy heart, and say: "Brethren, I have strayed from the right path. Help me to come into the fold again." Inexpressibly cheering and strengthening it must have been, to find it a recognized truth, that such as they had souls to be saved; souls of priceless worth, compared with which all the wealth of the world was as dross.

The civil relations of men remained the same; for there was a sincere reverence for government, as an institution ordained of God. Moreover, when the sect was comparatively pure it was too feeble to dictate to rulers. The democratic element *could* not take any other form than the religious. The church could control their own internal arrangements; and certainly they might have abolished slavery within their own limits. But many slaves to Pagan masters belonged to their communities, and the complicated relation required prudent management. Where slaves belonged to their own members, they could, in the *early* days, trust to Christian character, which really did, in good earnest, abolish all distinctions. This *spiritual* equality satisfied the requisitions of conscience, in times of primitive sincerity; and afterward, when professed Christians were often more selfish and tyrannical than many of the Pagans, the church had become too proud and politic to interfere with the wealthy, on any subject not connected with its own aggrandizement. Theological limitation also came in, to check expansive sympathy. To redeem only *Christians* from slavery, and of those only such as were in bondage to unbelieving masters, was merely an enlargement of the feeling which would lead a man to emancipate his own children, taken captive by strangers; still it *was* an enlargement, to acknowledge an extensive spiritual relationship, in addition to the bonds of nature. It was something gained, that every slave could by conversion become an object of this fraternal sympathy; that there

was nothing to hinder him from being a priest; and if he had sufficient talent or virtue, he might eventually become a bishop; as was the case with Onesimus. It was also something gained, to have such eloquent outbursts against the whole institution of slavery, as were proclaimed from the pulpit by Gregory of Nyssa, and John of the Golden Mouth. Never had Pagan eloquence occupied itself with a theme so morally grand! No wonder the lowly and the ignorant revered, even to excess, those men of learning and talent, who laid aside worldly honours, to instruct them, and plead their cause with the powerful; and who proved the sincerity of their sympathy, by giving all they possessed to found hospitals, and establish orphan asylums. Never before had there been a class of teachers, who imparted regular instruction to the ignorant, and made it the business of their lives to protect the weak against the strong. Never had the aged and the helpless, the widows and the orphans, been so tenderly provided for, as they were by the Christian churches. Never in the world's history had there been such an earnest and extensive effort to inculcate the brotherhood of man, and to exemplify it by practice. Even when the sect became sufficiently numerous and powerful, to induce ambitious men to be its leaders, it long remained a matter of policy, with the worldly ones among the bishops, to manifest sympathy for the poor, that the character already established by the church might not be injured in the eyes of Pagans; for the argument Moses urged upon the Lord was obviously ever present to their minds: "If the people die by the way, the Egyptians will hear of it." But while some were influenced by this low motive, there were always, especially in the villages, many meek and pious clergymen, who relieved the suffering, and vindicated the oppressed, from their exceeding love and reverence for Jesus, who had said: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Much of the preaching in those days would doubtless seem poor, if tried by our standard; but it was a great

advance in the condition of rude nations to have moral and religious instruction of any kind offered to the whole people; and the benign countenance of Christ could never be quite obscured by the clouds theology gathered round it. It is true, the brotherhood of man was very imperfectly acknowledged, or perceived. But good seed was sown in the rough soil of human hearts, and in its growth it gradually modified or abolished many a barbarous custom; such as the slaughter of prisoners taken in war, gladiatorial combats, and contests with wild beasts, for the amusement of the populace. It greatly aided previous influences, which had prepared the way for improvement in human affairs; especially in the condition of women. The Hebrew religion had always been very emphatic concerning personal purity; and though polygamy was allowed, the practice of it was an exception to the general rule. Teutonic tribes married but one wife, and fully acknowledged the equality of men and women, in church and state. Romans prohibited polygamy by law. How far they had advanced beyond Asiatic ideas on the subject, is indicated by a remark of Cato the Censor, who lived two hundred and thirty-two years before Christ. He was accustomed to say: "They who beat wives or children lay their sacrilegious hands on the most sacred things in the world. For myself, I prefer the character of a good husband, to that of a great senator." The gentle and compassionate character of Christ was peculiarly attractive to the feminine nature; therefore, the number of proselytes was always much greater among women than among men. The influence they exerted over relatives was a constant theme of complaint and sarcasm among the Pagans. The orator Libanius reproached the patricians of Antioch with being "governed by their wives, whom they ought to govern." He inquires: "Why are you not guided by Pythagoras and Plato, instead of appealing to your wives and mothers." By proving such efficient missionaries with husbands, sons, and brothers, women acquired an importance in the church, which they had never possessed in connection with the old

worship. There was *spiritual* equality between slaves and patricians, between men and women. This religious sympathy and companionship greatly ennobled the idea of marriage. It does not appear that the wisest and best Pagan ever rose to such an elevated view of the subject, as Tertullian presents in his picture of a truly Christian union between the sexes.

The priesthood of Greece and Rome merely performed religious ceremonies to procure rain, preserve the crops, avert pestilence, and for other similar purposes. No such thing as moral teaching of the people was included in their office. Philosophers, who were the only preachers, appealed solely to reason, and systematically withdrew from the populace. Platonism, which was the most elevated form of philosophy, imparted a lunar light, beautiful but vague, and cold, because it came from intellect only. No roseate flush from the sentiments warmed its atmosphere. Plato preached a Gospel of Beauty, and endeavoured to form well-proportioned characters, like the harmonious structure of Grecian statues and temples. Hence, his constant allusions to music, as an essential element in education. But he did not embrace the poor and the ignorant within his sympathies. He had no word of strength or consolation to impart to sinful and contrite souls. The heaven he preached was only for those who "philosophized truly, and loved beautiful forms."

His followers, the New Platonists, taught that the Logos, who created the visible world, knew and loved only what was above him; and the Supreme, having no superior, knew and loved only himself. Such a God was not the Heavenly Father. And the future world could not have offered much that was palpable, even to the cultivated few, for whom it was partially unveiled in the Eleusinian Mysteries. The mind must have been bewildered in the long ascending and descending spiral of existences; the ever-evolving circles of manifested and reabsorbed spirit. In the eternal rotation of the infinite whole, an individual was

but as dust thrown from the chariot wheel, in its perpetual circuit through the "orbit of necessity."

On the contrary, the most prominent feature in Christianity was the value and importance of individual man. For *him* was the world created, and all inferior creatures made; for *him* was heaven prepared; for *his* redemption the Son of God had given his life; over *his* repentance the church on earth, and the angels above, rejoiced. The resurrection of the *body*, to live a thousand years on *this earth*, renovated in beauty and purged of evil, was a far more tangible idea than that of a Grecian shade, waiting his appointed term in an unknown Elysium; for in all ages, people are much better acquainted with their bodies, than they are with their souls. Another exceedingly strong attraction, which Christianity presented, was the prospect of becoming completely purified from sin, and made sure of salvation, by the administration of baptism and the eucharist.

The alliance between Platonic philosophy and the old externals of worship satisfied conservative minds, who infused some life into the ceremonies, by investing them with allegorical significance. Plutarch compares Grecian mythology to a rainbow in relation to the sun. He says the light which formed it was from heaven, though it was broken by the medium. The facility with which the mind of man, in all ages and countries, contrives to adapt itself to whatever is held traditional and sacred, is remarkable. Mackay says truly: "A large mass of error is easily embalmed and perpetuated by a little truth." But conservatives of that period, as of all other periods, kept up old forms, not so much for themselves, as for the common people. Philosophers conformed to popular language concerning the gods, and practised outward ceremonies, long after they had inwardly set them aside, or given them a higher meaning. Growth was not considered dangerous, so long as it was confined to the initiated few; but it was supposed the safety of the state required that the populace should continue to regard as sacred old ideas in their old

dress. We have no right to judge this very harshly, considering that the experience of revolving ages has not yet convinced mankind, that no dangers can possibly equal those arising from ignorance, and a suppression of the truth. But vain is the attempt to conserve a national faith in the hearts of the people, for any great length of time, after its hold upon thinking minds is weakened. A chain of unnoticed influences is always at work, by which the enlightened few affect the many, even when they do not intend it. Their zeal kindles others, and their coldness chills. The intermediate state between the old dying faith and the new birth have a paralyzing influence on the vitality of society, which manifests itself in religion, literature, and the Arts. All forms, that are kept up after they are felt to be empty, do in reality degenerate into image-worship, and greatly demoralize a people; whether it be nominal reverence for a mythology, or for days and seasons; for a statue, or a book. The early teachers of Christianity earnestly believed what they taught, and therefore they magnetized the multitude. New apple trees will not flourish where an old orchard has been. The Platonists taught much that was high and true, and furnished many noble examples. But they were offshoots from a decaying stock, which had drawn from the soil all the appropriate nourishment it had to impart; while Christianity was a fresh young tree, bearing different fruit, and deriving sustenance from other qualities of the earth.

If any one is disposed to doubt that Christianity contains within itself a vital element of progress, superior to any other spiritual influence by which God has yet guided the world, I think he will be convinced by comparing the practical results of different religious systems. All of them contain truth, all of them have produced, and are producing, greater or less degrees of good. But after making due deductions, on account of the iniquitous practices of Christendom, we are still compelled to admit that there only do we find sympathy, benevolence, and active exertion for the improvement of all mankind. Christianity is

the only form of religion which has warmed up whole nations, to sacrifice time, talent, and wealth, for the benefit of remote and degraded classes of people, from whom no return of advantages could be expected. One instance will suffice for illustration. Where the slave trade and slavery have been abolished, it has not been done by policy of government. It has been the expansive force of Christian sympathy, compelling cold reluctant statesmen to move in obedience to the mighty pulsation of the popular heart. There was no fire to create such propelling steam in the Pagan religions; and in the Asiatic, the celestial spark smoulders under the heavy pressure of belief in irresistible fate.

In the Retrospective Chapter, a brief parallel has already been drawn between Buddhism and Christianity. As the formulas of the Christian church became established, the resemblance grew more and more striking. Witness invocations of the dead; temporary purification by fire after death, the term of which might be shortened by alms to monks, and donations to churches, offered by the living; pilgrimages to holy shrines; adoration of relics; self-torture of devotees; and the use of rosaries. The monastic institution is too exact a copy to be mistaken. There is nothing in the New Testament, which bears the slightest resemblance to it; and there was nothing like it among the Hebrews, except the Egyptianized Jews called Therapeutæ, who lived in a land full of Hindoo customs. Buddhist countries have been little known to Europeans, until within the last century. As soon as they came in contact with each other, the close resemblance in many religious ideas, customs, and forms of worship, immediately attracted attention. Borri, a Jesuit missionary to Cochin China, says: "It looks as if the Devil had endeavoured among the Gentiles to represent the beauty and variety of religious orders in the Catholic church. The priests have chaplets and strings of beads about their necks. There are also among them persons resembling bishops, and abbots, and archbishops; and they use gilt staves, not unlike our

croziers. If any man came newly into that country, he might easily be persuaded there had been Christians there in former times; so nearly has the Devil attempted to imitate us." It has been a favourite theory that Nestorian Christians sent missionaries, some thousand years ago, to Tartary, Northern Thibet, and Northern China; and that the Buddhists borrowed many ideas and customs from the churches they planted there. But the same similarities are found in Cochin China, Tonquin, and Japan, far beyond the bounds of any Nestorian missions. Moreover, there is not found in the religion of Thibet any tradition, any name, or any token whatsoever, indicating connection with Christianity. All, who are acquainted with human affairs, will acknowledge that the old rarely borrows from the new; especially in religious forms; while a new worship almost unavoidably becomes mingled with many things previously consecrated to the minds of men. The great antiquity of the Buddhist religion is proved, beyond all doubt, by the existence of Buddha's image in very ancient rock-temples in Hindostan, and by the allusion to his sect in the sacred poem called the Ramayana, written more than a thousand years before Christ. The same poem, and other still more ancient Sacred Books of Hindostan, mention anchorites, whose modes of asceticism and self-torture appear to have been very closely imitated by the disciples of St. Anthony. The religious associations of Bramina, in the forests, whose time was devoted to contemplation, a routine of prayers, and the instruction of young priests, greatly resemble the Christian monasteries, which did not come into existence till more than a thousand years later. Whether some of the early Gnostics, and other Christian teachers, were brought into direct contact with wandering Hindoo devotees; or with the Buddhist missionaries, who spread themselves all over the East; or whether they imbibed similar ideas and customs from Egypt, where they existed from very ancient times, is uncertain. But that India, by some process, direct or indirect, exerted great

influence over early Christianity, appears too obvious to require argument.

All countries under European influences are subject to progression and change, from which even the most conservative states cannot entirely shield themselves. But in Asia, the depreciation of this visible world, and the universal belief in destiny, have produced an unchangeable lethargy. Therefore, those who visit Buddhist countries now, find them in very much the same condition that Christendom was before the Middle Ages. The Grand Lama is acknowledged as the central power of many nations, the same as the Pope was; monks with shaven heads are met everywhere, saying their prayers on rosaries; and crowds of pilgrims are constantly wending their way to the shrine of some celebrated relic, which they believe to be endowed with miraculous power to cure diseases, and bring good fortune. The account of Lamaseries in Thibet immediately suggests Mary Howitt's description of Christian Monasteries in the olden time:

"And there they kept, the pious monks,
Within a garden small,
All plants that had a healing power,
All herbe medicinal.

And thither came the sick, the maimed,
The moonstruck and the blind,
For holy flower, for wort of power,
For charmed root or rind."

Many resemblances in doctrine, and especially in forms of expression concerning Bouddha and Christ, will also strike every observing reader. It is expressly stated that Bouddha descended into the hells, to instruct and comfort the souls there. The same appears in the Apostles' Creed concerning Christ; but not until after the sixth century. In one sense, the followers of Bouddha regarded him as a redeemer. They viewed this world as a scene of illusions, in which men were kept enchanted, by reason of the soul's imprisonment in Matter. They saw no way of reconciling

a material existence with spiritual life. Men must get *out* of the body, in order to be one with God. But though constantly tempted, nay compelled to sin, *in* the body, each offence must be atoned for, by an equivalent amount of suffering by somebody. Bouddha, while on earth, was described as inflicting severe penances upon himself, for the benefit of others. In the form of a beautiful fox, he allowed himself to be skinned alive, to invite tormenting insects, that he might in that way help to expiate the sins of mankind.

Christians taught the inherent transmitted sinfulness of all mortals; though the doctrine was not based on the same idea. They received from Jews the Cabalistic theory, that the germ of all human souls was in Adam; consequently all became infected with his sin; for which atonement must be made. It was a common idea that Christ's extreme agony in the garden was owing to the fact that he suffered for all the sins of all mankind.

Klaproth, a distinguished German Professor of the Asiatic Languages, says: "Next to the Christian religion, no one has contributed more to ennoble the human race, than the religion of Bouddha." Candour also requires the admission that the progress of Buddhism, though far more extensive than Christianity, has been more peaceful. There is no record that it was ever established in any country by force, nor have I met with any account of hostile sects slaying each other by hundreds.

Kindness toward animals, inculcated in all the Sacred Books, and everywhere practised as a religious duty, forms a lovely feature in the Asiatic religions, which Christianity would do well to imitate. True, it is founded on sympathy, produced by belief in the transmigration of souls, and it sometimes degenerates into fantastic excesses. But a friendly relation between men and animals is beautiful and good; and though Christians do not believe the soul of an ancestor may have passed into a horse, they might practise humanity from a higher motive. Tenderness toward the dumb creatures of God would harmonize with

the spirit of the religion they profess; and to acquire it, they merely need to apply the first and most obvious rule of natural religion: "How should I like to be treated, if I were myself a horse?"

If Christians habitually looked at themselves, and at the followers of foreign religions, from the same point of view, there would be much less exultation over their own superiority. If the Koran declared that God said to Moham-med: "Smite Amalek. Destroy utterly all that they have, and spare them not; but slay man and woman, infant and suckling," the text would doubtless have been quoted thousands of times by theologians, to prove the cruelty of Moslems, and the improbability that such a command came by Divine inspiration.

The existence of caste in Hindostan has been a constant theme of disparaging comparison with Christianity. So far as relates to the teaching and example of Christ, such remarks are just; but in point of *practice*, the law of caste exists throughout Christendom. In most European countries, there is a caste, which derives its right to govern all the others from hereditary descent, without reference to talent or goodness. There is also a caste, who inherit high dignities, lucrative offices, and large landed estates, which cannot be sold to pay just debts to poor men. A member of this favoured caste sometimes possesses estates so extensive, that he could not ride over them in a week; while thousands of labourers cannot obtain land sufficient to raise food for their families. In the United States of America, there exists a degraded caste, amounting to more than four millions of people. They are taxed and punished by the laws, but are not allowed to vote for those who make them. They are confined to menial occupations; being excluded from all lucrative employments, all honourable offices, and from seminaries of education; except in a very few and recent instances. From cars, steamboats, and other public conveyances, they are either entirely excluded, or compelled to take the most unclean and uncomfortable places; by which the health of many is seri-

ously injured. No amount of intelligence, or honourable conduct, can save them from this general proscription, to which they are condemned by birth. Many of them are pious Christians; some of them preachers of the Gospel; but they are required to worship in buildings by themselves. Where the numbers are not sufficient to form an isolated congregation, they are sometimes admitted into churches with the higher classes, on condition of sitting by themselves, far apart from others, and of not receiving the eucharist until all others have been served. It is not respectable to intermarry with them, or to eat at the same table. Even the dead bodies of these Christian Pariahs are regarded as a contamination, and are not allowed to be buried in the same enclosure with bones of the privileged classes. Similar customs in Hindostan are sanctioned by their Sacred Books, which enjoin a demarcation of castes; but the New Testament of the Christians expressly teaches the equality and brotherhood of mankind. In one case there is moral darkness; in the other, there is wilful disobedience to acknowledged light.

As a general thing, Christians have manifested very little kindness, or candour, in their estimate of other religions; but the darkest blot on their history is their treatment of the Jews. This is the more singular, because we have so much in common with them. We worship the same God, under the same name; we reverence their Scriptures; we make pilgrimages to their Holy City. Christ, and his Mother, and his Apostles, were Jews, and appear to have conformed to the established worship of the country; which we consequently claim as our sacred land. That the crucifixion occurred there was the fault of very few of the people. Only two of the tribes ever returned to Jerusalem, and of them merely a remnant. Their descendants scattered all over the Roman empire. They spoke a different language from their forefathers, and had little intercourse with Palestine. Doubtless thousands of them never heard of Jesus, till they were brought into collision with his followers, who increased Roman prejudice against them,

by preaching the immediate establishment of the Messiah's kingdom on earth. It was not the benevolent and holy Jesus, consecrated to *our* hearts, whom *they* rejected. Palestine Jews described him to their brethren abroad, as the founder of an obscure sect, who was not strict in keeping the Sabbath, who associated with odious tax-gatherers and foreigners, who spoke disparagingly of their sacred traditions, called their men of prayer hypocrites, and was finally executed for attempting to make himself king. And even in Palestine, doubtless great numbers of the people never manifested any animosity toward him, and never in reality knew much about his character. His followers in Jerusalem, at the time of his death, numbered only one hundred and twenty; and the existence of so small a sect might easily be unknown in many parts of the country. Even those who were really his enemies acted with the blind bigotry so generally manifested by established churches toward non-conformists. The Christian Fathers themselves admit that the Jews were not *aware* of persecuting the Son of God; because both Christ and his Apostles sedulously *concealed* his divinity. But though so few were implicated in the cruel transaction, the Fathers were accustomed to speak of all Jews, in all parts of the world, as "murderers of Christ;" and they were everywhere hated and persecuted, as if each one of them had put him to death, knowing him to be the Son of God. For nearly two thousand years has this rancorous hostility been perpetuated, though it rests on such an unjust and irrational foundation. And men who branded all the Jews as outcasts, who plundered and slaughtered them, for an offence committed by a small number of their very remote ancestors, were accustomed to quote, as their standard, the prayer which Jesus offered for those who were the immediate causes of his death: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do."

Did a religion manifesting such a spirit offer anything lovely to the Jews, that they should be induced to embrace it? Do not noble souls naturally cling to ancient and con-

secrated usages, when men speak evil of them, and force is used to compel their relinquishment? If we looked at the subject candidly, I think we should acknowledge as heroic martyrs, those men and women, who resisted constant appeals to their fears and their selfishness, and at the cost of incredible sacrifices and sufferings, still set their faces steadfastly toward Jerusalem, and replied: "After this manner worship we the God of our fathers." Ever since I have reflected on the subject, I have never been able to do otherwise than reverence their firmness and their faith.

It has been the singular destiny of that extraordinary people to be objects of great exaggeration, both as ancients and moderns. When they were rude nomadic tribes, they had the narrowness and barbarity, which unavoidably characterize nations in that stage of civilization. But we regard them, at *that* time, as the only depositories of truth revealed by God to man; and the fragments of their barbarous history are quoted as sacred rules of life. The Jews of Rome and Alexandria, whom the Christian Fathers considered as deservedly accursed by men, and outcasts from God's mercy, were better, and far more enlightened, than those savage tribes of the desert, who went about slaughtering women and children, in the name of Jehovah, and who were nevertheless revered as the only people God had chosen for his own, on the face of the whole earth. Even on the borders of our own times, Moses Mendelssohn, the great and the good, would not have been allowed to purchase an acre of land in Christian countries, where Joshua is regarded as directly and constantly inspired by God, though he allured marauding tribes to conquer innocent people, by promises of "harvests they had not sowed, and vineyards they had not planted."

We owe the Jews an immense debt of gratitude, after deducting all exaggerations. Their great lawgiver cared for the poor, and instructed all the people; their prophets kept alive reverence for God, and abhorrence of idolatry; and their poets uttered solemn strains of penitence, through which contrite hearts have for ages poured out their sor-

rows and supplications before the Lord. These things contributed very largely to form a basis on which to build Christianity. Their Scriptures are exceedingly valuable, as fragments of ancient history, which throw light on our own religion. Their solemn rebukes of sin, and their eloquent outbursts of devotional feeling, render them venerable and dear to all religious souls. But adapted, as some portions of them were, to savage tribes, and others to semi-barbarous ages, they become a positive obstacle to progress in humanity, when received literally, by civilized nations, as a rule of life. How can it be otherwise with books that authorize stoning people to death for picking up sticks on Saturday; scalding a man that scalds you; killing a son for disobedience; whipping slaves as much as is consistent with their living over two days; and cutting to pieces prisoners taken in battle? Every abominable practice in Christendom has by turns been sustained by arguments drawn from the Old Testament. True, other passages breathe a different spirit; but that is because the volume is made up of fragments, composed at different epochs, and, by men of **totally** different characters. The portion which may be made universally applicable to all times is very small. Up to a certain point, written Revelations aid the progress of nations; but after the state of society for which they were written has entirely passed away, they become a positive hindrance; because the *habit* of reverence remains after the *life* has gone. "It is only the *living*, who can bury the dead." The Code of Menu and the Pouranas are the greatest of all obstacles to the civilization of Hindostan; and the progress of the Jews has been much impeded by the Pentateuch and the Talmud. Men part slowly with old established opinions and forms. Mental resistance to change is as strong as the principle of inertia in mechanical science. When reason, in its manly growth, can no longer be satisfied with the food that sustained its infancy, imagination comes with a vase of ambrosial allegories. In this way, Philo found the poetic system of Plato within

the practical and circumstantial laws of Moses. Rammohun Roy permeated the Vedas with the same refining element. And Christian Fathers found all the inward warfare of their souls in the wanderings and battles of the Israelites. But this process is resorted to only by reflective minds. The great majority venerate a doctrine, a book, or an institution, merely because it has *long* been venerated; and as Thomas Carlyle says: "It is truly surprising how long a rotten post may stand, provided it be not shaken." Dr. Lardner, the well-known ecclesiastical writer says: "No religion can be so absurd and unreasonable, especially when it has been established, and of a long time, that it will not find men of good abilities, not only to palliate and excuse, but also to approve and justify, and recommend its greatest absurdities."

But though it is unwise to expend vain efforts in galvanizing the dead, the body that once had life should be treated reverently. And we ought never to forget that forms, which are dead to us, may have been very much alive to others; that things may seem absurd merely because the *idea* they originally conveyed is lost. We turn with contempt from representations of Egyptian priests kneeling before a golden beetle. But five thousand years hence, similar feelings may be excited by pictures of a Catholic priest kneeling before an altar, on which is a lamb with a cross; because the meaning of the emblem may be forgotten. It is impossible for us to tell what spiritual truth the golden beetle represented to Egyptian minds. If we could be enabled to perceive the idea precisely as it appeared to them, perhaps the symbol would fill us with veneration, as the embodiment of some great mystery, connected with God and the soul. If in the long lapse of ages, a time should ever arrive, when men know as little about the ceremonies of the Christian church, as we know concerning those of Chaldea and Egypt, how would it seem to them to find an inscription somewhere, which recorded that men and women were accustomed to assemble on stated occasions to eat small morsels of bread, and sip a

few drops of wine, which the priest had previously consecrated by a form of prayer; that some deemed them the veritable body and blood of God; and believed that the salvation of the soul depended upon partaking of them? If the significance of the ordinance were lost, how puerile would the form appear! We consider the ancient religions absurd; but if we should ever become angels and archangels, with a capacity of remembering our present views concerning God and the soul, they will appear far more external and childish, than do now those of the first Hebrews in their tents, or the first Grecians in their caves.

And after all, there is more similarity in the leading ideas of various ages and nations, than we have been accustomed to acknowledge. The seven Amshaspands of Persia, the "seven mighty Princes" before the throne of God, described by the Hebrew prophet, and the seven Archangels in whom Christians believe, are certainly very like each other. The Guardian Angels, so often pictured by Christian artists, bear great resemblance to the winged Archetype, which Grecians said every human being had in the world of Spirits; a kind of Heavenly Elder Brother, who was attracted toward him by the sympathy of spiritual relationship; who knew all his thoughts and actions, and at death accompanied him to the Judges of the Dead, and rendered an account of them. Certainly, Christians invested Angels with a much higher and purer *character*, than had belonged to Grecian Spirits. Thereby the progressive growth of the ages concerning Divine Natures was expressed, and much was gained for the future. But all human souls have been children of the same Father, travelling toward the same home as ourselves; and therefore we must needs have much in common.

The great similarity in the prophecies, traditions, and even emblems, of various ages and countries, will of course strike every reader. In all parts of the world we find traditions of a time when the earth was spontaneously fruitful, when men were innocent, and lived to an immense age. Everywhere, prophets have foretold that the Golden Age

would be restored by some holy and just man, or some incarnated deity, who would appear in the latter times. Everywhere, there have been predictions of the destruction of the world by fire, and accounts of its inundation by water. The Goddess Mother with her Child was pictured on Egyptian temples; veiled behind Chinese altars; consecrated in Druid groves; and glorified in Christian churches. People will explain these coincidences differently, according as the reverential or rational element prevails in character. Some will suppose that Hebrew Scriptures were the original source of all, and will consider everything a prophecy of Christ. Others will say that the same wants and aspirations in human nature produce similar manifestations in nations and times remote from each other; that the Past is always reproduced in the Present, and always prophesies the Future; as the child is prophetic of the man.

In the Retrospective Chapter, allusion was made to traces of animal magnetism among the ancients. Similar phenomena reappear in later times. Apollonius at Ephesus is described as perceiving things which happened at the same moment at Rome. Celsus speaks of it as a common thing for Egyptian magicians to make inanimate things move, as if they were alive, and so to influence uncultured men, as to produce in them whatever sights or sounds they pleased. Tertullian describes a Montanist woman, who cured diseases, perceived the thoughts of others, and held conversations with Spirits, which were taken down in writing, as inspired revelations. Hermits, reduced to a state of nervous excitability, by fasting and watchfulness, are said to have perceived the thoughts of people, to have cured diseases by laying on their hands, and even by transmitting written words to the invalid. The account of Theurgy among the New Platonists sounds like a modern description of clairvoyance. Early painters, in their pictures of the Virgin and saints curing diseases, sometimes represented streams of light radiating from their fingers.

With regard to the innumerable miracles recorded by all parties, there is doubtless very great allowance to be made for fabrication, exaggeration, and trickery; but after making all reasonable deductions from the accounts which have been handed down to us, it still seems likely that some remarkable things really did occur, and formed a basis for numerous reports. Perhaps some were unconsciously accomplished by means of that mysterious agency, which we call magnetism; and men finding themselves possessed of a power, which they could not explain, honestly supposed that some Spirit was working miracles through them. Whoever has been in the midst of a very excited crowd, has been aware of an influence which it is extremely difficult to resist; which seems to carry him out of himself, and renders it almost impossible to preserve the balance of his judgment. This sometimes happens even when there was originally little or no sympathy with the cause of excitement. What then must it be, where faith is at its highest pitch of exaltation, and the soul becomes a perfect medium of spiritual electricity? All earnestness is magnetic; and perhaps there never was a greater degree of enthusiasm, than pervaded early Christian assemblies; especially among the Montanists. How could it otherwise than operate powerfully on the nerves and imagination of an invalid, heated white-hot with the same fervour of faith? That diseases should actually be cured thereby, is no more incredible than the well known fact that the bed-ridden have been able to leap out of the windows, when their minds were excited to the highest degree, by a knowledge that the house was in flames. Lord Bacon says: "There has been very little inquiry, and not at all proportioned to the depth and importance of the subject, how far imagination, or thought, very fixed, and as it were exalted into a faith, can effect a change in the body of the imaginer."

At the present time, we begin to recognize the existence of laws connected with the relation of soul and body, and their action on each other; though as yet we have made no approach toward understanding them. But in those

early centuries, no man dreamed of the existence of such laws. Everything was attributed to the *direct* agency of God. St. Anthony, Hilarion, and Simeon Stylites, might have really cured diseases, they knew not how, by reason of their own half disembodied state, and the undoubting faith of others. The peculiarities which are *induced* by any particular state of the world, are, by the necessity of spiritual laws, *adapted* to that state. What inspires reverence at one period, excites ridicule at another; and when faith in it has gone, it loses its magnetic power, for good or evil.

No doubt, many imputed miracles were merely natural experiments, or scientific phenomena, disguised under religious formulas, with which they had no connection. When the lamps used for Easter were replenished with water from the river, it was believed to be miraculously converted into oil by prayers of the bishop, and because he who poured it had strong faith in the power of Christ; but it is not likely he did anything more than most housewives have done, when they wished to raise the oil in their lamps. The Gymnosophist, who caused a tree to speak to Apollonius, was probably a ventriloquist. Perhaps the expelled Devils, who audibly acknowledged themselves to be Jupiter or Apollo, received similar aid; in fact the idea is suggested by a remark I have quoted from Justin Martyr. When Maximus, the Platonic philosopher, caused all the lamps in the temple to blaze instantly, by a form of words, there was doubtless gas in his proceedings. The Catholics, who talked after their tongues were cut out, have had parallels in modern times. The Academy of Science, in Paris, published, early in the eighteenth century, an account of a girl born without a tongue, who yet talked distinctly and easily. The statement was made by an eminent physician, who had carefully examined her mouth. A similar account was attested by them concerning a boy, who had lost his tongue by an ulcer.

The existence of very pious feelings, in conjunction with intolerance, cruelty, and selfish policy, has never ceased to

surprise and perplex those who have viewed it calmly from a distance. Constantine, after he had manifested such zeal for bishops, and shown the greatest reliance on the efficacy of prayer, caused the death of his own son, and his sister's husband, and her son, from the fear that they might become formidable as rivals in the empire. Constantius, who was zealous for Christianity, pursued the same course with regard to his uncle and cousins. Theodosius, the most pious of them all, was relentless in his persecution of sects that differed in the slightest degree from the established church; and he ordered thousands of innocent people, including women and children, to be slaughtered, to gratify his resentment. From that time down to the present day, such instances abound; and it is common to explain them by the supposition of deliberate hypocrisy in religious professions. But I am convinced that piety toward God may be perfectly sincere in those who manifest great selfishness and violence toward their fellow creatures; because the two results proceed from different elements in man's nature, which must be harmoniously proportioned and combined to form a consistent religious character; but which, nevertheless, are often disproportioned, and even completely separated. Conscientiousness and reverence for the supernatural are distinct things; and either one or the other may predominate in character. I have known exceedingly conscientious and humane people, who would be uneasy for days, if they had struck a dog, or given a cent too little in change, or uttered an equivocation, who, nevertheless, could not be much impressed by the most solemn ceremonies of the church, or excited by the most fervent preaching. On the other hand, I have known extremely devotional people, who wept over the Bible, and could not live happily without frequent worship, who nevertheless abused animals, and dealt hardly with the poor, without being troubled by any degree of the remorse they would have felt, if they had fallen asleep for the night without uttering a prayer. John Newton was a memorable example to the point. He wrote in strains of the most

affecting piety, spent much of his time in reading of Christ, and praying to him, and thankfully recorded "sweet seasons of communion with God," while he was carrying on the slave-trade on the coast of Africa. Extreme results of a similar nature occur in Italy, where devotional feelings are very strong, and moral principles generally flexible. Hired assassins will not kill their victim with a dagger whose handle is in the form of a cross. A ferocious bandit, who for a long time had rendered himself formidable to the police, was at last taken by means of his own piety. It was discovered that he had made a vow to do injury to no creature on Saturday; which the church had taught him was the birth-day of the Virgin Mary. They attacked him on that day, and as he offered no resistance, he was taken and executed; dying with a prayer on his lips.

In all ages, such melancholy discrepancies have been greatly increased by the tendency of the priesthood to substitute theology for religion. This troubled the waters of Christianity very near the fountain. Paul was one of the greatest and best among the messengers, whom God has sent to guide the human race. But he was brought up at the feet of a learned Jewish Rabbi, and of course breathed a polemical atmosphere. His whole soul was seized by the teachings of Christ, and, in his earnestness, he would fain have imparted his own faith and hope to all the world. But obstacles came in his way. Gentiles demanded a reason for his faith, and Jews insisted that he should sustain his hope by proofs brought from their prophecies and traditions. Thus he was forced into perpetual arguments, often of a metaphysical character. Christ preached a religion; Paul taught theology. Religion does not consist in *knowing*; it is a state of *feeling*. It was not the power of *doctrines*, that brought the Fathers into the church. It was a deep interior consciousness of the holiness and beauty of Christ's example, and of his pure and gentle teaching. This they wished to embody in word and deed, and sow it widely in the seed-field of everlasting time. But theology encountered this devout consciousness, and piled up in its

path the antecedent doctrines of the world, with subtle and totally unanswerable questions, which, nevertheless, would pertinaciously insist upon being answered. Thus the Fathers, especially the later ones, were drawn aside from religion to theology. Then followed sectarian warfare, and stormy councils; until the dominant church, aided by civil power, petrified all thought into formulas, and when hungry souls asked for bread, gave them a stone. Men who laboured for this result, and exulted in its completion, were not necessarily guided by ambition, or selfish policy. They were strongly impressed with the idea that to do good extensively, the church must be established; and that in order to be established, it must be one and indivisible in doctrines. In the process, errors of faith came to be regarded as more sinful, than the greatest moral delinquencies. The same stringent rule was applied even to external ceremonies. All must observe Easter on the same day; and the Gregorian Chants must be the universal standard for church music. In those chants, every singer must utter the same tone, in the same key. *Unison* of voices was the highest idea *theology* could attain to; but when *religion* can utter itself freely, worshippers sing a *harmony* of many different parts, and thus make music more pleasing to the ear of God, and more according to the pattern by which he created the universe.

In all forms of worship, and in all individual souls, religion diminishes in the same ~~proportion~~ that theology increases; for inquisitive thought always has a tendency to separate from the affections, in pursuit of mental abstractions. Intellect, in religious matters, has always proved like the horses of the Sun under the guidance of Phæton; rushing wildly among the stars, always descending in its course, and finally shattering the chariot, and extinguishing its warm radiance in the waters of this earth. From this frequent example, some draw the inference that it is wisest and safest to receive with unquestioning faith the opinions others have established; forgetting that the warmth was chilled, and the light well nigh extinguished, in the

process of *becoming* established. There is another and a better lesson which the experience ought to teach; namely that religion does not consist in *doctrines* of any kind, but in *sentiments* of reverence toward God, and of justice and benevolence toward our fellow men.

It is impossible to exaggerate the evil work theology has done in the world. What destruction of the beautiful monuments of past ages, what waste of life, what disturbance of domestic and social happiness, what perverted feelings, what blighted hearts, have always marked its baneful progress! How the flowery meadow of childhood has been blasted by its lurid fires! Alas, what a world that was for infancy to open its wondering eyes upon, when exorcisms to cast out Devils were murmured over its innocent brow! When Pagan priests poured sacrificial wine into its tender stomach, and Christian deacons forced open its reluctant mouth, to pour in more wine, that the Devil might be expelled, which they supposed had taken possession of the poor little suffering lamb! What a spiritual atmosphere that was for childhood to breathe, when zealous mothers dragged their little ones, with hot haste, to the place of martyrdom, and taught them it was sinful to be attracted by birds and butterflies on the way! When monks scourged and nearly starved a little boy, to test whether his father had become sufficiently holy to witness their cruelty without any remains of human emotion!

Even if nothing worse than wasted mental effort could be laid to the charge of theology, that alone ought to be sufficient to banish it from the earth, as one of the worst enemies of mankind. What a vast amount of labour and learning has been expended, as uselessly as emptying shallow puddles into sieves! How much intellect has been employed mousing after texts, to sustain preconceived doctrines! Little or no progress toward truth is usually made, because passages of ancient books are taken up hundreds of years after they were written, and are used in a sense altogether foreign from the original intention, in

order to sustain some opinion, or tradition of the then present time. And the human mind is not left free to pursue even *this* distorting process; but colleges of supervisors are appointed to instruct the young in what light everything *ought* to be viewed. One college covers the eyes of all its students with red spectacles, so that every object seems on fire. Another insists that blue spectacles are the only proper medium; consequently its pupils maintain that all creation is ghastly pale. Whereupon red spectacles rush to battle with blue spectacles, to prove that the whole landscape is flame-coloured. If one who uses his natural eyesight comes between them, and says, ever so gently: "Nay, my friends, you are both mistaken. The meadows are of an emerald green, and the sunshine is golden," he is rudely shoved aside, as an heretic, or an infidel. One party calls out to him: "Did you ever look at the landscape through red spectacles?" Another shouts: "Did you ever examine it by the only right method, which is through blue spectacles?" And if he cannot answer in the affirmative, they both vociferate: "Then you had better keep silence; for you are altogether incapable of forming a correct opinion on the subject."

Alas, what millions of men have been thus employed, in all countries, ever since the world began! What a blooming paradise would the whole earth be, if the same amount of intellect, labour, and zeal, had been expended on science, agriculture, and the arts! Polemical controversy must necessarily be useless, even if it were nothing worse; because it is always striving to settle infinite questions by the exercise of finite faculties. In this stage of existence, our Heavenly Father obviously intends that we should know very little concerning the destiny of our own souls, and their relations with Him and the universe. This inevitable limitation of our vision should teach us a lesson of humility with regard to our own views, and of respectful tenderness toward those of others. It is our duty to wait with hope and faith for the withdrawal of the screen, and to be thankful, meanwhile, that there are bright edges

of light around the veil of the sanctuary, which give assurance of a glorious presence within.

Thousands of years ago, hermits in Hindostan inquired earnestly: "How does God exist? And whence came Evil?" And up to this day, there has been no approach made toward solving the problems. Here, we come up against the walls of limitation, with which the All Wise has circumscribed our vision. The answers to such queries are above finite comprehension. We cannot attain unto them; as the most sagacious elephant can never measure the distances of the stars, or calculate the return of the moon, though their solemn brightness may impress and overawe him, as vague conceptions of the Deity affect our own souls.

A wondrous want of faith in truth is constantly manifested by the jealous pains men take to regulate and control all inquiry into established formulas. The old writer Ludovicus Vives tells the story of a peasant who thought his donkey had drunk up the moon. Therefore, he killed the poor animal, in order to restore that luminary; thinking the world stood in much need of its light. Thus has bigotry, in its folly and madness, slain many a one, who was merely allaying spiritual thirst, by drinking from a pail of water, which reflected some beams of the moon, while the great planet itself serenely floated over all, and was reflected in a thousand streams. In the narrowness of our ignorance, we have been forever striving to limit the All Father's love. Hindoos thought themselves the sole depositaries of truth. Jews did the same. Christians, in their turn, denounced all but themselves, as "heathen," and "murderers of Christ," who must unavoidably burn in eternal fire. But while these successively asserted their exclusive claims, the Heavenly Father was lovingly and wisely guiding all, and renewing all. As no individual can monopolize sunshine, or water, so no nation, or sect, can appropriate to itself God's love or truth. If they think they have drunk up the sun, they are mistaken donkeys, who had but a dim reflection of it in their own small water-pail.

One of the most beautiful and sublime aspects of Divine Providence is the ethereal and infinite nature of all high truths and holy feelings. Religion, like music, cannot be compelled to express anything bad. Whatever words are appropriated to a tune, the tones preserve their purity. If there is evil done, the language must do it; the divine element of music has no share in the degrading office. A rough voice may mar its sweetness, a false ear may confuse the measure; but the true ear, that listens, perceives the inherent beauty, and the clear voice repeats it. In vain have theologians set rancorous words to a gentle tune. The *spirit* of Christ's teaching eludes their efforts; as he himself passed through the midst of those who would seize him, and went his way. Churches may anathematize each other; but above their discordant utterance, penitents hear the consoling voices of Mary Magdalen and the Prodigal Son, and the dying beggar smiles while he hears Lazarus call him to the gates of heaven.

It is true that mere theological tenets may do much and prolonged mischief. The abstract idea that Matter was the origin of Evil has produced an immense amount of physical and moral disease in the world. Thousands and thousands have starved and lacerated their bodies, and stifled the kindest emotions of human nature, in consequence of it. For centuries, it changed the entire social system, by banishing a very large proportion of men and women into convents. The influence of it to this day infects our ideas of love and marriage. A spiritual-minded woman once confessed to me she was greatly shocked by the news that Dr. Channing was about to be married; "because she had always considered him such a saint." The old Hindoo idea was lurking there, in the extremest form of Protestantism.

But even the most repulsive and fantastic forms of theology often embodied a high idea. The rage for celibacy, which prevailed at one period of the world, was an excessive reaction from the tendency to bury the soul in material things; thus making the body a sepulchre instead of a

temple, or a pleasant house. Augustine's doctrine, that a Christian should be *willing* to be damned for the glory of God, was only a very extreme form of expressing the beautiful idea of self-renunciation. The complicated Gnostic theories concerning Christ's derivation from the Supreme Being, through successive emanations, were but the utterance of the heart, stammering its homage through the imperfect medium of the intellect. Their wild poetic myths about Ennoia and Sophia Achamoth are obviously intended to represent the human soul, aspiring after the beautiful and the true, but snared by the temptations of life, chained by its necessities, mournfully conscious of its own degradation, forever striving to raise its fettered wings, and imploring aid from Higher Powers, to soar toward pure spiritual regions. Al Sirat, the hair-breadth bridge over flames of hell, placed before the entrance of Paradise, conveys to spiritual-minded Moslems a true picture of our earthly pilgrimage, where all human souls need good angels to help them across narrow bridges over gulfs of fire.

Always there is a saving power at work to guard the inner life from destruction. We are told that when Job was delivered to Satan, God stipulated that he should spare his life. The same reservation is made with regard to human hearts when they are made over to theology to be tormented. Human affections were given up to monasteries, to deal with them as they would; but kill them utterly they could not. Some vestiges of natural feeling remained in monks, and took refuge behind their consecrated symbols. Pictures of the "Queen of Heaven" often glowed with the sunlight of woman's tenderness, and fragrant memories of mothers and sisters were breathed around them, mingled at times with gentle visions of a wife that might have been. With all their stern stifling of nature, I doubt whether they could have worshipped the image of a man with such tender reverence. Nuns also, however orthodox their belief concerning original sin, and the unholiness of marriage, were doubtless attracted toward infant innocence in those pictures, and loved the child in that

mother's arms, not always as an incarnated God, but as a human babe. In their visions of a spiritual bridegroom, nature sometimes mingled with grace, though the feeling lay concealed from their consciousness under a mystic veil. This is very observable in the ecstatic language of St. Theresa, concerning her union with Christ; portions of which would not have been altogether inappropriate, if addressed by Eloise to Abelard.

Even in the external observances and arbitrary power of the church there were many compensating influences. Images and pictures abounded, as they did in Pagan temples; but the *idea* they embodied was on a higher plane. Philosophers adored Beauty and Power in the statues of their gods. Christians venerated Purity, Gentleness, and Benevolence, in images of the Virgin and her Son. Whatever condition of things grows out of a certain state of society, must necessarily be in some degree best adapted to that state. Such a bishop as Ambrose could not rise up in England, or the United States. Obedience to such an one would be altogether a retrograde movement in society. But under the irresponsible despotism of Roman emperors, it was a positive blessing to mankind to have the civil power restrained by reverence for the ecclesiastical. The public penance imposed on the emperor Theodosius, for an act of barbarous injustice to the populace, was a salutary lesson to kings; and that a bishop was moved to do it, proved the increasing importance of the people's cause. The agents of Christianity, even when grasping at wealth and power, were employed by Providence to advance a democratic principle in the world, though they were generally unconscious agents. The universal custom of bequeathing large estates to the church did an immense amount of evil, in many ways. It encouraged men in the selfish and indolent idea of sinning while life and health lasted, and then purchasing salvation with money; it defrauded rightful heirs; and it rendered the church inordinately powerful, arrogant, and avaricious. But even this practice had some good results. To a considerable degree,

monks were conveyancers of the wealth of rich robbers to the defrauded poor; for monasteries were asylums for homeless orphans and wandering beggars, hospitals for indigent invalids, and resting places for travellers. The old barriers of rank were likewise broken down by monasticism. Chrysostom, urging people to embrace it, says: "Even the sons of peasants and artificers, who enter this state of life, become so revered, that the first of the land are not ashamed to visit their cells, and consider it an honour to converse with them."

To a liberal soul, it is pleasant to find indications that, in the midst of fiercest controversy, the spirit of Christianity had not departed from the churches, and was not confined to them; that some, of all classes, paid voluntary homage to the good and the true. It is consoling to read of Christians, who thought Socrates and Plato might have been inspired by a portion of the Logos; and of Platonists, who acknowledged Jesus was one of the divine messengers sent by God to men. It is a beautiful picture, that of Christians in Carthage, risking their lives to tend Pagans smitten with the pestilence; and of Christians in Nicomedia, throwing open their granaries in time of famine, to feed the hungry multitude of unbelievers. It is cheering to read of Pagan magistrates, who evaded the laws, or stretched them to the utmost, to avoid inflicting penalties, and who were accustomed to give secret warning to Christians in time of danger. It makes one in love with human nature, to find Roman citizens refusing to be bound by the laws, during Diocletian's persecution, and acting from a higher law in their own hearts, which led them to risk their own property and personal safety, rather than betray fugitives, who had taken refuge with them. It is encouraging to all who wish to break down partition walls, to hear the orator Libanius pleading so earnestly in behalf of persecuted Christians, who had shown moderation in their day of power. It is touching to hear the much-wronged Israelites uniting their voices with Christians in Psalms of lamentation, at the funerals of good bishops. These things

convey instructive lessons, which the world would do wisely to take to heart; for though nearly two thousand years have rolled away since the introduction of Christianity, men have not yet learned to view each other's religions with justice and candour.

While contending about the divinity of Christ's *person*, the divinity of his *example* has been comparatively neglected. The only real point of union for mankind, is in the acknowledgment of great moral principles. The *theology* of all religions is something extraneous and imperfect, which took shape from previous opinions, and peculiar circumstances of the time. It is, therefore, necessarily subject to change, and destined to pass away. But there is no occasion for alarm lest changes should come before the way is prepared for them. Conservatives may console themselves with Carlyle's wise remark: "The old skin never falls off, till a new one has formed under it." We may safely trust the preservation of truth to Him who guides the stars. Every particle of genuine life, contained within decaying forms of thought, will fall like ripe seed from a withered stem, and produce fresh plants, which will gradually develop with the progress of man, and ripen into spiritual flowers and fruit of more perfected varieties, than any the world has yet seen. The present *forms* of Christianity will vanish, and become traditional records, in the lapse of ages; but all that really makes it a *religion* will remain forever. As long as there are human souls, they will acknowledge Christ as a Son of God. Not because councils have decreed it; but because they will find in his example and precepts what they most desire to be, in their highest states of aspiration, when they are most filled with reverence for God, with compassion for the sufferings and faults of their fellow creatures, and with humility in view of their own deficiencies. Because Jesus taught mankind to cast out the Demon Penalty, by means of the Angel Attraction, therefore shall all the ages honour and bless him. His precepts will be more and more venerated, the more they are examined in their own pure light, the more

they are compared with other systems, and especially the more they are *practised*. Whether another great teacher will ever be sent to help us still further onward, it will be time enough to inquire when Christendom begins, in good earnest, to try the experiment of practical conformity to his religion. He has uttered the great diapason tone which would bring all discords into harmony. If only one nation would conscientiously obey his laws, in her internal and external regulations, she would be lifted up, and draw all the nations unto her. War and slavery, the gallows and prisons, would disappear from the earth. No miracles recorded in the wildest legends of the Middle Ages equal the power of Christian Faith to cast out Evil Spirits. No prophecies of a blissful future are too golden to describe the sunshine of universal Love.

On each individual soul devolves the duty of helping to produce this sublime result; and this can be done only by reverent obedience to inward convictions. God has not made conscience an infallible pope, to decide what is right or wrong, true or false; therefore, the most conscientious men may conform to a very imperfect, or even a wrong standard, on some subjects, while they adopt a very high standard with regard to others. This has been the case in all ages and countries, and under all forms of religion. It cannot be otherwise with beings who are formed by influences from two worlds. But it is an established law of our being that disobedience to our own consciences darkens the condition of our souls; while sincere reverence for that inward voice brings us gradually into greater and greater light. In this way, individuals who are true to their own convictions are always helping the public conscience to rise to a higher plane. A large majority of men, in all ages, are guided almost entirely by popular opinion; and that opinion derives its power of growth from individuals, who become mediums of Divine influence, by fearless obedience to their own internal light. The heroic old monk, who rushed into the amphitheatre to separate two gladiators, commanded to murder for the amusement of the

Roman populace, was put to death for obeying his own conscience, more enlightened than that of the people; but his voice afterward became the public voice, and gladiatorial combats were forbidden by law. Clarkson incurred much odium and persecution by denouncing a traffic, sanctioned by all the merchants of his time, licensed by the government, and not rebuked by the clergy; but eventually, the public conscience rose to his level, and Christian nations thenceforth branded the slave-trade as piracy. Once thoroughly impressed with the utter wickedness of the trade, he naturally came to the conclusion that a system originating in such monstrous violation of justice and humanity must also be wrong. His earnestness influenced other minds. Elizabeth Heyrick learned from them, and, with woman's spontaneous insight of the heart, added that if slavery was wrong, immediate and entire cessation from it was the only right way. The interior perceptions of these honest souls, fearlessly proclaimed, became the moral sentiment of the British nation; as they eventually will be of the whole world. In every village, there are a few individuals striving, on some subject or other, to live up to a standard higher than the community around them. Their truthful natures yield to a strong conviction that their own consciences ought to be obeyed, whatever men may say. Very often they see no further than this; and continue to labour, year after year, uncheered by hopes of changing the current of public opinion. But though they know it not, they are working for the ages. Each, in his own way, is a medium of the Holy Spirit.

While sincere and earnest individuals raise the standard of their own times, the age, improved by their efforts, educates other individuals, who, being thus raised to a higher point of view, can command a more extended vision than their predecessors. By obedience to a law within themselves, above the existing laws of society, such individuals help to raise the moral standard of succeeding ages to a plane still more elevated. By this mutual action and reaction between the public and private conscience, the world

is slowly rolled onward toward its long-promised Golden Age. It is a glorious privilege to help it forward, even the hundredth part of an inch. It is a fearful responsibility to retard it, even a hair's breadth. Every one of us can aid in the great work, if we always look inward for our guide, and follow the voice of conscience, which to each one of us is truly the law of God.

"Reverence for what's oldest, truest,
Friendly welcome to the newest;
Cheerful heart and purpose pure,
So our onward way is sure."

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