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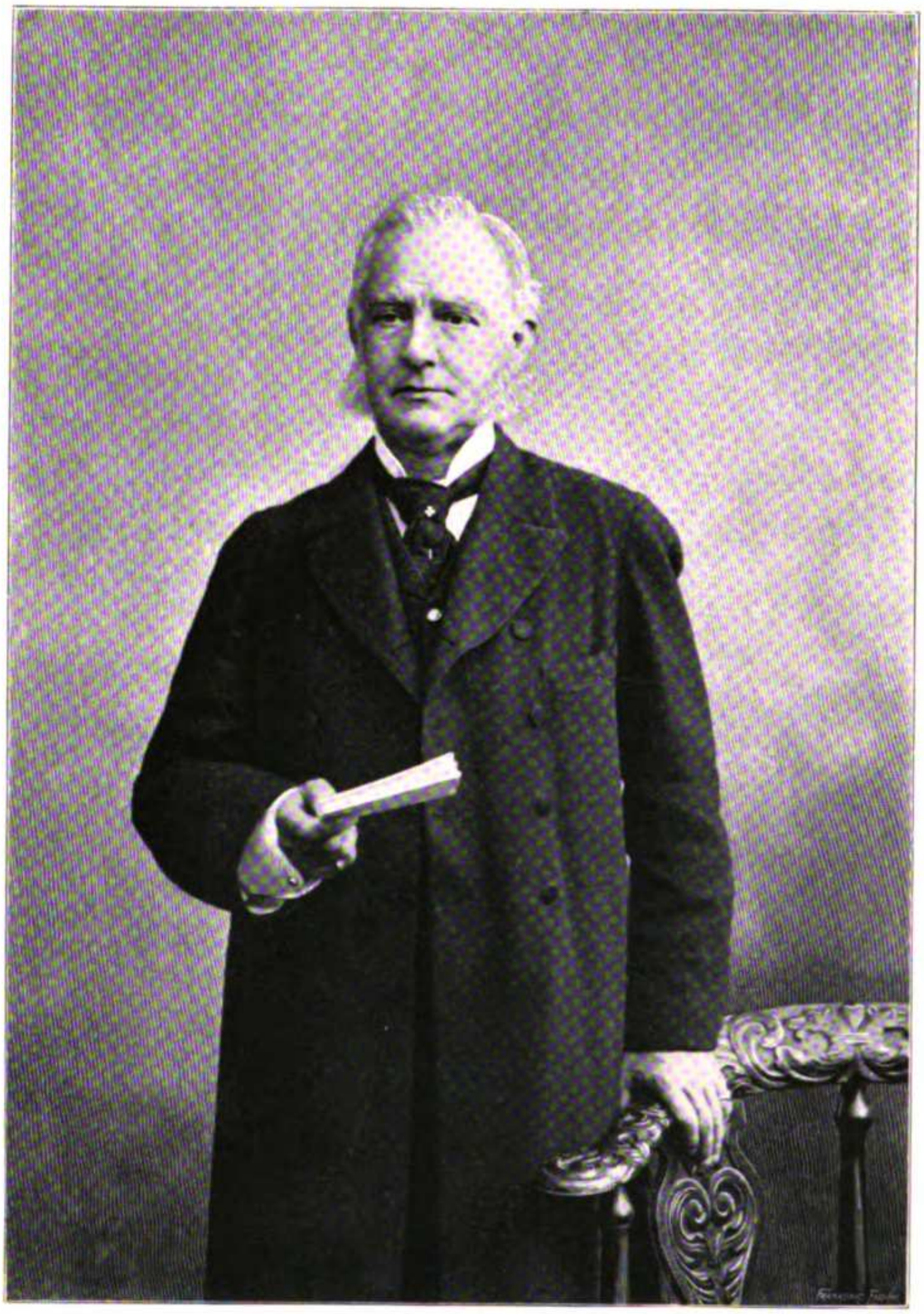
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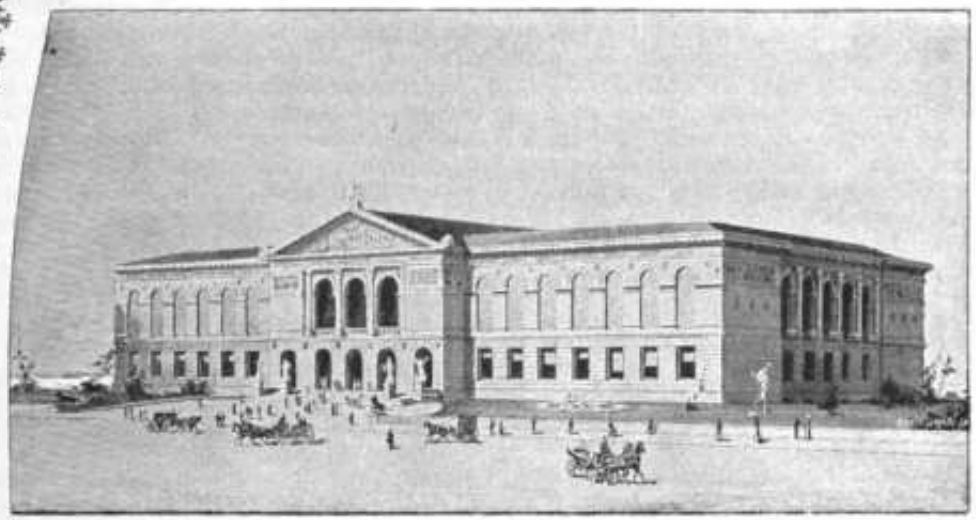
TWELFTH MONTH:

Science and Philosophy of Religion—Edmund Buckley, Ph. D., Docent in Comparative Religion, University of Chicago, Ill.

In addition to the above, special papers relating to the subjects treated, will from time to time be published. To avoid any semblance of impartiality the denominations will be treated alphabetically.



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The Permanent Memorial Art Palace, in Which the World's Congresses were Held.

A PREFATORY SKETCH OF THE WORLD'S CONGRESS WORK AND THE WORLD'S PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

BY

CHARLES C. BONNEY LL.D., Originator and General President of the World's Congresses of the World's Columbian Exposition; Counsellor of the Supreme Court of the United States, etc.,



EVEN those who were opposed to the Parliament of Religions agree that it was an event of tremendous importance and excited an unprecedented interest in the subject of religion in all parts of the world. To meet that interest and to satisfy the desire for knowledge thereby aroused, THE UNIVERSITY ASSOCIATION has deemed it wise to prepare, at this time, an elaborate and comprehensive course of lessons on the Religions of the World which will enable all earnest seekers after truth to find in an agreeable and accessible form the most important facts in relation to the various religions which have prevailed among mankind.

As THE UNIVERSITY ASSOCIATION is an outgrowth of the World's Congresses held at Chicago in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, and as the present course of lessons on the Religions of the World is a natural result of the Parliament of Religions, a prefatory sketch of the Congresses and the Parliament seems necessary to a proper understanding of the nature, scope and purpose of the present undertaking.

The idea of perpetuating and extending the World's Congress work was embraced in the original plan of that work, and was distinctly declared at the close of the World's Congress season.

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In one of the earliest announcements of the Congresses, issued in the autumn of 1889, we proposed that in connection with the World's Columbian Exposition, the world of government, jurisprudence, finance, science, literature, education and religion should be represented in Congresses of Statesmen, Jurists, Financiers, Scientists, Literati, Teachers and Theologians, greater in numbers and more widely representative of "peoples, nations and tongues" than any assemblage which had ever been convened; and it was also said that such Congresses, convened under circumstances so auspicious, would surpass all previous efforts to bring about a real fraternity of nations, and unite the enlightened people of the whole world in a general co-operation for the attainment of the great ends for which human society is organized.

THE GENERAL OBJECTS.

The general objects of the World's Congresses we declared to be:

To establish fraternal relations among the leaders of mankind; to review the progress already achieved; to state the living problems now awaiting solution; to suggest the means of further progress; to bring all the departments of human progress into harmonious relations with each other in the Exposition of 1893; to crown the whole glorious work by the formation and adoption of better and more comprehensive plans than have hitherto been made to promote the progress, prosperity, unity, peace and happiness of the world; and to secure the effectual prosecution of such plans by the organization of a series of world-wide fraternities, through whose efforts and influence the moral and intellectual forces of mankind may be made dominant throughout the world.

The following brief summary will indicate the magnitude of the World's Congress work, and its general results:

As finally organized, the World's Congress Auxiliary consisted of 2,170 active members, divided into 214 local committees of Organization.

To these local Committees of Organization were adjoined what were called Advisory Councils, which consisted of eminent persons selected from the various participating countries to advise and assist the Committees of Organization in selecting writers and speakers for the different Congresses, and in perfecting the plans for them. The aggregate membership of those Advisory Councils was fourteen thousand three hundred and twenty-eight.

As finally settled, the World's Congress work was divided into twenty departments and two hundred and twenty-four General Divisions, in which Congresses were held. These, in their chronological order, were as follows:

I. Woman's Progress, 25 Divisions; II. Public Press, 6; III. Medicine and Surgery, 6; IV. Temperance, 12; V. Moral and Social Reform, 15; VI. Commerce and Finance, 10; VII. Music, 9; VIII. Literature, 9; IX. Education, First Series, 17, Second Series, 16; X. Engineering, 9; XI. Art, 5; XII. Government, 7; XIII. General Department, 1, besides 4 held out of their regular order and here transferred to their proper places; XIV. Science and Philosophy, 13; XV. Social and Economic Science, 4; XVI. Labor, 1; XVII. Religion, 46 (of which the marvelous Parliament of Religions was the chief); XVIII. Sunday-Rest, 1; XIX. Public Health, 1. XX. Agriculture, 11.

The programmes show 125 sections, of which 29 were of the nature of General Divisions.

These Congresses held 1,283 sessions, aggregating 753 days. The printed programmes show 5,978 addresses delivered or papers read, including 5,454 formal contributions, 131 Addresses of Welcome, 176 Addresses of Response, and 217 Agricultural Reports. But these are much less than the actual number, for many papers and addresses were admitted after the programmes were printed, and were inserted in corrected programmes used by the presiding officers.

A carefully prepared alphabetical index shows 5,822 speakers and writers whose names appear on the printed programmes, including 368 cases in which the name of the paper to be read or subject discussed is not given. These participants in the Congresses represented all the continents of the world, and 97 nations, states, provinces, territories and colonies, besides 50 States and Territories of the American Union, making a total of 147 actually represented.

It is a noteworthy fact that not one of all the great array of speakers and writers appeared at his own instance in any Congress in which he took part. No provision was

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made for any free debating society in the whole range of the Congresses. On the contrary, strict regulations were made and observed for the exclusion of every form of random talk. The entire time at disposal was allotted to those who where supposed to be most competent to instruct and advise. The speakers and writers for each Congress were carefully selected by the Committee of Organization, with the advice of members of the Advisory Council of the Congress involved. Participation in the several Congresses was strictly regulated by the programmes formed by the Committees of Organization and approved by the President. Those whose names appeared on the programmes, and those only, had the right to be heard.

Of all these Congresses the most remarkable by far was the Parliament of Religions, as the following Statements will show. "The World's Congresses," says the Rev. Dr. George Dana Boardman, the distinguished Baptist preacher and theologian, "were the crown of the World's Columbian Exposition. The Parliament of Religions was the diamond in the crown. There the intellectuality and there the spirituality culminated. The Parliament of Religions! It was seventeen days in session; there were three sessions each day: one hundred and seventy papers were read. These sessions were thronged, the total attendance being estimated at about one hundred and fifty thousand. Glorious as was Jackson Park, with all its manifold and magnificent tokens of human art and industry and science, the Parliament of Religions was, to the thoughtful, more attractive even than Jackson Park."



Charles Carroll Bonney

The Right Honorable Dr. F. Max Müller, in an article on the Parliament of Religions, declares, without fear of contradiction, that it stands unique and unprecedented in the whole history of the world; and that it will be remembered and bear fruit when everything else of the mighty Columbian Exposition has long been swept from the memory of man. Señor Emilio Castelar, the distinguished Spanish orator and Catholic, in writing of the Parliament of Religions, declares that: "From the beginning of the world until today history has never recorded an event so momentous as the union, under one roof and one leadership and for one purpose, of the clergy of the world, representing the chief religions whose dogmas and rites hold our planet in touch with the Creator, as the forces of affinity and attraction hold it in touch with the universe." "The logical deduction," says Senor Castelar, "from all that happened on that notable occasion is, that all the religions there assembled found a common ground in Christianity; all that were posterior to it followed in its footsteps, and all that were anterior to it prepared the way for it whether they would or no."

"The Independent," a leading organ of Christian thought, says of those who took part in the Parliament of Religions: "That they constitute the most remarkable group of leaders, thinkers and representative persons who could possibly be brought forward to make an exposition of every possible phase of anything now in the world which is fit to be called rational religion, in any sense. It was one of the boldest steps ever taken in the religious history of the world, when a few Christian believers conceived the plan of thus bringing together representatives of all the religions of the globe, and giving the globe an opportunity to hear what they had to say for themselves in comparison with each other,

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and in comparison with Christianity. It was a noble act of faith and showed a Christian confidence which was more than justified in the result, as the history of the Parliament before us shows ''

Rev. George T. Candlin, the able and eloquent Missionary at Tientsin, China, says: ''The Parliament of Religions was of the mountainous order of greatness. It suggested infinitude and eternity. Like great events, like great deeds, like great men, it asks the perspective of time to show that change, which wastes and scars all earthly things, will grave deep and imperishable, as in granite, the record of its durability and abiding influence. Its purpose was not to chronicle past victories and record past progress, though this of course it did, but to open the door to future and immeasurably greater ones. It was a prelude, not a finale; a promise, not a boast; a prospect, not a recollection.''

Rev. Dr. John Henry Barrows, the distinguished Chairman of the Committee of Organization and historian of the Parliament of Religions, says in an admirable summary of its results, in ''The Forum'' for September, 1894:

''No other event ever awakened so wide and sympathetic an interest in comparative religions, 'the highest study to which the human mind can now devote its energies.' The spectacle itself gave vividness and reality to the vague popular notions of the ethnic faiths. Scientific study of this theme has been confined to the few, and scholars are now grateful that the Parliament has aroused such general interest in it on the part of educated people. Through the daily press of Chicago, which gave fifty columns each day for seventeen days to the proceedings of the Congress, and through the religious press of many lands, the words spoken have already reached millions. The more permanent literary fruitage of this Congress, giving its proceedings in books, with more or less fullness, has been large, more than one hundred thousand copies of these various volumes having already been taken. They have gone, not only into the great public libraries, into the hands of preachers and scholars, but also into the homes of thoughtful people among the laity of the six continents.''

The Chicago *Tribune*, reviewing the World's Congress work, and voicing the general opinion of the public press, said:

''At these Congresses have been gathered men of every rank and every race. They constitute the most remarkable series of gatherings the world has known; remarkable for the popular interest taken in them; remarkable for the high character of the speakers and audiences; remarkable for the serious dignity of the discussions, and remarkable in the value of their contributions to human knowledge.''

If there were no other supreme feature of the World's Fair, these congresses would have constituted one in which the Columbian celebration has surpassed all which have preceded it, as the sunlight pales the rays of the full moon.

OBJECT OF DEPARTMENT OF RELIGION.

In organizing the Department of Religion we declared its object to be·

''*To unite all religion against all irreligion; to make the Golden Rule the basis of this union; to present to the world in the Religious Congresses to be held in connection with the Columbian Exposition of 1893, the substantial unity of many religions in the good deeds of the religious life; to provide for a World's Parliament of Religions, in which their common aims and common grounds of union may be set forth, and the marvelous religious progress of the nineteenth century reviewed; and to facilitate separate and independent Congresses of different religious denominations and organizations, under their own officers, in which their business may be transacted, their achievements presented and their work for the future considered.*''

The immense task of organizing the Parliament of Religions was entrusted to a General Committee on Religious Congresses, of which the Rev. Dr. John Henry Barrows was appointed the Chairman This committee consisted of sixteen persons, representing sixteen forms of religious faith. In selecting them, great care was taken to secure as representatives of different religious bodies persons of strong and vigorous convictions, who would be acknowledged by their respective organizations as worthy to speak in their behalf. The committee, as originally constituted, consisted of the following persons;

Rev. Dr. John Henry Barrows, Chairman (Presbyterian); Rev. Prof. David Swing, Vice-Chairman (Independent); Most Rev. Archbishop P. A. Feehan (Catholic); Rt. Rev. Bishop William E. McLaren, D.D.,D.C.L. (Protestant Episcopal); Rev. Dr. F. A. Noble

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(Congregationalist); Rev. Dr. William M. Lawrence (Baptist); Rev. Dr. F. M. Bristol (Methodist); Rabbi E.G. Hirsch, (Jew); Rev. Dr. A. J. Canfield (Universalist); Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones (Unitarian); Rt. Rev. Bishop C. E. Cheney (Reformed Episcopal); Rev. M. C. Ranseen (Swedish Lutheran); Rev. John Z. Torgersen (Norwegian Lutheran); Rev. J. Berger (German Methodist); Mr. W. J. Plummer (Quaker); Rev. L. P. Mercer (Swedenborgian).

To indicate the general scope of the Department entrusted to the charge of this Committee, we suggested for its consideration the following themes:

a. The Idea of God, its Influence and Consolations.

b. The Evidences of the Existence of God, especially those which are calculated to meet the agnosticism of the present time.

c. That Evils of Life should be shunned as Sins against God.

d. That the Moral Law should be obeyed as necessary to Human Happiness, and because such is the Will of the Creator.

e. That the Influence of Religion on the Family of Life is to make it Virtuous and Pure.

f. That the Influence of Religion on the Community is to Establish Justice, Promote Harmony, and Increase the General Welfare.

g. That the Influence of Religion on the State is to Repress Evil, Vice and Disorder in all their Forms, and to Promote the Safety and Happiness of the People.

h. That Conscience is not a Safe Guide, unless Enlightened by Religion and Guided by Sound Reason.

i. That of a Truth, God is no Respecter of Persons, but in every Nation he that feareth Him and Worketh Righteousness is Accepted of Him.

j. That throughout the World the Substantial Fruits of Sincere Religion include the following: Improved Personal Character; Better Citizenship; Better Business Methods; Nearly all the Works of Charity; Improved Domestic Order; Greater Public Peace, etc.

k. That the Weekly Rest Day is Indispensable to Religious Liberty, and to the General Welfare of the People.

l. The Triumphs of Religion in all Ages.

m. The Present State of Religion throughout the World, including its Marvelous Advances during the Present Century.

n. The Statistics of Churches as an Answer to the Alleged Prevalence of Infidelity.

o. The Dominance of Religion in the Higher Institutions of Learning.

p. The Actual Harmony of Science and Religion; and the Origin and Nature of the Alleged Conflict between them.

q. The Influence of Religious Missions on the Commerce of the World.

r. The Influence of Religion on Literature and Art.

s. The Coming Unity of Mankind in the Service of God and of Man.

t. That there is an influx from God into the mind of every man, teaching that there is a God, and that He should be worshiped and obeyed; and that as the light of the sun is differently received by different objects, so the light of divine revelation is differently received by different minds, and hence arise varieties in the forms of religion.

u. That those who believe in these things may work together for the welfare of mankind notwithstanding they may differ in the opinions they hold respecting God, His revelation and manifestation; and that such fraternity does not require the surrender of the points of difference. The Christian believing in the Supreme divinity of Christ may so unite with the Jew who devoutly believes in the Jehovah of Israel; the Quaker with the High Church Episcopalian; the Catholic with the Methodist; the Baptist with the Unitarian, etc.

OBJECTS OF THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGION.

As finally stated by Dr. Barrows, adopted by the Committee of Organization and approved by the President, the Objects of the World's Parliament of Religions were declared to be as follows:

1. To bring together in conference, for the first time in history, the leading representatives of the great historic religions of the world.

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2. To show to man, in the most impressive way, what and how many important truths the various religions hold and teach in common.

3. To promote and deepen the spirit of human brotherhood among religious men of diverse faiths, through friendly converse and mutual good understanding, while not seeking to foster the temper of indifferentism, and not striving to achieve any formal and outward unity.

4. To set forth by those most competent to speak what are deemed the important distinctive truths held and taught by each religion, and by the various chief branches of Christendom.

5. To indicate the impregnable foundations of Theism, and the reasons for man's faith in immortality, and thus to unite and strengthen the forces which are adverse to a materialistic philosophy of the universe.

6. To secure from leading scholars, representing the Brahman, Buddhist, Confucian, Parsee, Mohammedan, Jewish, and other faiths, and from representatives of the various churches of Christendom, full and accurate statements of the spiritual and other effects of the religions which they hold upon the literature, art, commerce, government, domestic and social life of the peoples among whom these faiths have prevailed.

7. To inquire what light each religion has afforded, or may afford, to the other religions of the world.

8. To set forth, for permanent record to be published to the world, an accurate and authoritative account of the present condition and outlook of religion among the leading nations of the earth.

9. To discover, from competent men, what light religion has thrown on the great problems of the present age, especially the important questions connected with temperance, labor, education, wealth and poverty.

10. To bring the nations of the earth into a more friendly fellowship, in the hope of securing permanent international peace.

RULES AND REGULATIONS.

For the Government of the Parliament of Religions, the following rules and regulations were prepared and widely published:

1. Those taking part in the Parliament are to conform to the limitations and directions of the General Committee on Religious Congresses of the World's Congress Auxiliary, and they are carefully to observe the spirit and principles set forth in the preliminary address of this Committee.

2. The speakers accepting the invitation of the General Committee will state their own beliefs and the reasons for them with the greatest frankness, without, however, employing unfriendly criticism of other faiths.

3. The Parliament is to be made a grand international assembly for mutual conference, fellowship and information, and not for controversy, for worship, for the counting of votes, or for the passing of resolutions.

4. The proceedings of the Parliament will be conducted in the English language.

5. Preceding the meetings of the Parliament will be daily morning conferences, purely religious and devotional, under suitable leaders, thus enabling those naturally affiliated to worship together.

6. The evening meetings will be devoted partly to the practical problems of the age, partly to the meetings of non-Christian religionists who may desire to confer together, and partly to the sessions of the Parliament of Christendom, at which all those who recognize the moral and spiritual leadership of Jesus will discuss the relationship of all believers in Him to one another and to the needs of the world.

From the rules and regulations prepared and promulgated to secure equal rights, privileges, and protection to all participants in the World's Congresses of 1893, and to promote harmony and prevent injustice and discord, the following paragraphs are taken:

"Unprepared discussion or miscellaneous debate would obviously be inconsistent with a plan of which it is the chief object to procure the maturest thought of the world on all the great questions of the age, in a form best adapted to universal publication. The time at disposal after the delivery of a discourse will, therefore, be given to the most eminent persons present, who will speak on the call of the presiding officer, and to whom such previous notice as may be practicable will be given:

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"The summaries of progress to be presented, and the problems of the age to be stated in the World's Congresses of 1893, will not be submitted to the vote of those who may happen to be present, but will be offered for subsequent deliberate examination by the enlightened minds of all countries, for unrestricted discussion in the forum, the pulpit and the public press, and finally for the impartial judgment of that exalted public opinion which expresses the consensus of such minds.

"With this end in view, remarks of leaders, in elucidation of a subject, will take the place of ordinary debate. Appropriate volunteer papers of special merit will be received by the committees, and given such place in the proceedings as the circumstances may allow.

"The object of the Congresses is not to attempt the impossibility of settling anything by debate during the Exposition season, but to elicit from the leaders of progress in all countries, convened in fraternal assembly, the wisest and best thought of the age on the living questions of our time, and the means by which further progress may be made.

"*Controversy is excluded from the World's Congresses of 1893. Advocates will present their own views, not attack the views of others.*"

By far the most important of all the rules and regulations adopted for the government of the World's Congress of Religions was that which excluded controversy and prohibited strife. Each representative was asked to present the best things he could offer for those in whose behalf he appeared, and was informed that the law of the assembly forbade any attack on any other person, system or creed. This law made the success of the Parliament of Religions possible. Without a faithful observance of this law, conflict and confusion would have been unavoidable. How marvelously well this rule was obeyed during the seventeen days of the Parliament was indicated by a remark of one of the oriental speakers, that the few notes of discord which had been heard only served to make the general harmony the sweeter.

The printed book which contains the programmes of the Congresses held in the Department of Religion of the World's Congress Auxiliary contains one hundred and seventy-six pages. The programme of the Parliament of Religions occupies fourteen pages. It is obviously impossible, in a brief sketch like the present, to attempt any detailed account of the inspiring themes and illustrious names which these programmes contain.

As we have elsewhere said, the Parliament of Religions was not a scheme to form a new religion, was not a project to put the representatives of any form of faith in any false position, was not a trap set to catch any unwary visitors to the World's Fair; but it was, on the contrary, a friendly conference on the basis of the Golden Rule of Christ; a royal feast to which the representatives of every faith were asked to bring the richest fruits and the fairest flowers of their religion. The supreme object of the festival was to end religious strife and persecution, and to secure to every human being, as far and as rapidly as possible, the sacred right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

At the opening of the Parliament of Religions great care was taken to re-state its basis, spirit, scope and purpose, and to make such explanations as seemed expedient to guard against misunderstanding and discord. In the course of the President's Opening Address of Welcome we said:

In this congress the word "religion" means the love and worship of God and the love and service of man. We believe the Scripture that "of a truth God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him."

We come together in mutual confidence and respect, without the least surrender or compromise of anything which we respectively believe to be truth or duty, but with the hope that mutual acquaintance and a free and sincere interchange of views on the great questions of eternal life and human conduct will be beneficial.

As the finite can never fully comprehend the infinite, nor perfectly express its own view of the divine, it necessarily follows that individual opinions of the divine nature and attributes will differ. But, properly understood, these varieties of view are not causes of discord and strife, but rather incentives to deeper interest and examination.

Necessarily, God reveals himself differently to a child and to a man; to a philosopher and to one who cannot read. Each must see God with the eyes of his own soul. Each

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must behold him through the colored glass of his own nature. Each must receive him according to his own capacity.

The fraternal union of the religions of the world will come when each seeks truly to know how God has revealed himself in the others, and remembers the inexorable law that with what judgment it judges it shall itself be judged.

The religious faiths of the world have most seriously misunderstood and misjudged each other from the use of words in meanings radically different from those which they were intended to bear, and from a disregard of the distinctions between appearances and facts, between signs and symbols and the things signified and represented. Such errors, it is hoped, this Congress will do much to correct and to render hereafter impossible.

He who believes that God has revealed himself more fully in his religion than in any other, cannot do otherwise than desire to bring that religion to the knowledge of all men, with an abiding conviction that the God who gave it will preserve, protect and advance it in every expedient way. And hence he will welcome every just opportunity to come into fraternal relations with men of other creeds, that they may see in his upright life the evidence of the truth and beauty of his faith, and be thereby led to learn it, and be helped heavenward by it.

When it pleased God to give me the idea of the World's Congresses of 1893, there came with that idea a profound conviction that their crowning glory should be a fraternal conference of the world's religions. Accordingly, the original announcement of the World's Congress scheme, which was sent by the Government of the United States to all other nations, contained, among other great themes to be considered, "The grounds of fraternal union in the Religions of different peoples."

The programme for the Religious Congresses of 1893 constitutes what may with perfect propriety be designated one of the most remarkable publications of the century. The Programme of this General Parliament of Religions directly represents England, Scotland, Sweden, Switzerland, France, Germany, Russia, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Syria, India, Japan, China, Ceylon, New Zealand, Brazil, Canada and the American States, and indirectly includes many other countries. This remarkable programme presents, among many other great themes to be considered in this Congress, Theism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism, Shintoism, Zoroastrianism, Catholicism, the Greek Church, Protestantism in many forms, and also refers to the nature and influence of other religious systems.

This programme also announces for presentation the great subjects of revelation, immortality, the incarnation of God, the universal elements in religion, the ethical unity of different religious systems, the relation of religion to morals, marriage, education, science, philosophy, evolution, music, labor, government, peace and war, and many other themes of absorbing interest. The distinguished leaders of human progress by whom these great topics will be presented constitute an unparalleled galaxy of eminent names, but we may not pause to call the illustrious roll.

Let one other point be clearly stated. While the members of this Congress meet, as men, on a common ground of perfect equality, the ecclesiastical rank of each, in his own church, is at the same time gladly recognized and respected as the just acknowledgement of his services and attainments.

But no attempt is here made to treat all religions as of equal merit. Any such idea is expressly disclaimed. In this congress, each system of religion stands by itself in its own perfect integrity, uncompromised, in any degree, by its relation to any other. In the language of the preliminary publication in the department of religion, we seek in this Congress "to unite all religion against all irreligion; to make the golden rule the basis of this union; and to present to the world the substantial unity of many religions in the good deeds of the religious life.

Without controversy, or any attempt to pronounce judgment upon any matter of faith or worship or religious opinion, we seek a better knowledge of the religious conditions of all mankind, with an earnest desire to be useful to each other, and to all who love truth and righteousness."

It seems appropriate to close this sketch with a repetition here of my final words at the last session of the Parliament of Religions. Those words seem to me to show the spirit of the occasion, and the impression then produced by the events which had transpired, better than any new statement which could now be framed.

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"WORSHIPPERS OF GOD AND LOVERS OF MAN:

The closing words of this great event must now be spoken. With inexpressible joy and gratitude I give them utterance.

The wonderful success of this first actual Congress of the Religions of the World is the realization of a conviction which has held my heart for many years. I became acquainted with the great religious systems of the world in my youth, and have enjoyed an intimate association with leaders of many churches during my maturer years. I was thus led to believe that if the great religious faiths could be brought into relations of friendly intercourse, many points of sympathy and union would be found, and the coming unity of mankind in the love of God and the service of man be greatly facilitated and advanced. Hence, when the occasion arose it was gladly welcomed and the effort more than willingly made.

What many deemed impossible God has finally wrought. The religions of the world have actually met in a great and imposing assembly; they have conferred together on the vital questions of life and immortality in a frank and friendly spirit, and now they part in peace with many warm expressions of mutual affection and respect.

The laws of the Congress forbidding controversy or attack have, on the whole, been wonderfully well observed. The exceptions are so few that they may well be expunged from the record and from the memory. They even served the useful purpose of timely warnings against the unhappy tendency to indulge in intellectual conflict. If an unkind hand threw a firebrand into the assembly, let us be thankful that a kinder hand plunged it in the waters of forgiveness and quenched its flame.

If some western warrior, forgetting for the moment that this was a friendly conference and not a battle-field, uttered his war-cry, let us rejoice that our Oriental friends, with a kinder spirit, answered, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they say."

No system of faith or worship has been compromised by this friendly conference; no apostle of any religion has been placed in a false position by any act of this Congress. The knowledge here acquired will be carried by those whose have gained it, as precious treasure to their respective countries, and will there, in freedom and according to reason, be considered, judged and applied as they shall deem right.

The influence which this Congress of the Religions of the World will exert on the peace and prosperity of mankind is beyond the power of human language to describe. For this influence, borne by those who have attended the sessions of the Parliament of Religions to all parts of the earth, will affect, in some important degree, all races of men; all forms of religion, and even all governments and social institutions.

The results of this influence will not soon be apparent in external changes, but will manifest themselves in thought, feeling, expression, and the deeds of charity. Creeds and institutions may long remain unchanged in form, but a new spirit of light and peace will pervade them; for this Congress of the World's Religions is the most marvelous evidence yet given of the approaching fulfillment of the apocalyptic prophecy, "Behold I make all things new."

But great as the Parliament of Religions is in itself, its importance is immeasurably enhanced by its environment and relations. It is the center and crown of a great movement which touches all the leading interests of humanity. It has been aided by, and is, in turn, beneficial to all these interests.

Religion is but one of the twenty departments of the World's Congress work. Besides this august Parliament of the World's Religions, there are forty-five other congresses in this department, besides a number of special conferences on important subjects. Thus the divine influences of religion are brought in contact with Woman's Progress, the Public Press, Medicine and Surgery, Temperance, Moral and Social Reform, Commerce and Finance, Music, Literature, Education, Engineering, Art, Government, Science and Philosophy, Labor, Social and Economic Science, Sunday-rest, Public Health, Agriculture and other subjects embraced in a general department.

The importance of the Denominational Congresses of the various Churches should be emphasized, for they conserve the forces which have made the Parliament such a wonderful success

The establishment of a universal fraternity of learning and virtue was early declared to be the ultimate aim of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition. The Congress of Religions has always been in anticipation, what it is now in

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fact, the culmination of the World's Congress scheme. This hour, therefore, seems to me to be the most appropriate to announce that upon the conclusion of the World's Congress series as now arranged, a proclamation of that fraternity will be issued to promote the continuation in all parts of the world of the great work in which the Congresses of 1893 have been engaged.

And now farewell. A thousand congratulations and thanks for the co-operation and aid of all who have contributed to the glorious results which we celebrate this night.

Henceforth the religions of the world will make war, not on each other, but on the giant evils that afflict mankind.

Henceforth, let all throughout the world, who worship God and love their fellowmen, join in the anthem of the angels:

"Glory to God in the highest!
Peace on earth, good will to men!"

The great Parliament closed with the universal prayer, led by Rabbi Hirsch, the benediction by Bishop Keane, of the Catholic University, and the singing of "America" by the audience.

From this lofty point of view, the religions of the world have been surveyed, and the plans for the following course of lessons on Universal Religion have been arranged by THE UNIVERSITY ASSOCIATION. This work is to be strictly governed by the law of the World's Congresses of 1893, which forbade controversy and prohibited strife. Each contributor has been requested to set forth, as ably as possible, the merits of the subject committed to his charge, without attack on any other system of faith, or any assault on any religious organization.

In the way indicated, this course of lessons on the Religions of the World may be made a noble and worthy extension of the World's Congress work in the Department of Religion; for it will bring within the easy reach not only of religious leaders and teachers, but of the people at large, such information of the various religious systems of the world as will enable them to form an intelligent judgment respecting other forms of faith than their own. Thus knowing the truth, the truth will make them free from the bitterness and strife which have unhappily so long and so widely prevailed. It will bring the richest treasures of great religious libraries and the best thoughts of great religious teachers to the hands of all who may desire to obtain them.



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THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION,

OR

COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY.

BY

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1. THE HISTORICAL METHOD.

IT has generally been supposed that the century through which we have passed and which is soon to close upon us has been chiefly distinguished by discoveries in physical science. But though these recent discoveries in almost every branch of physical science have certainly been most important, and which has made them so widely known and appreciated, highly useful also for the necessities and comforts of life, and though, chiefly owing to Darwin's influence, a more philosophical spirit, has pervaded of late the whole treatment of organic, and even of inorganic nature, it should not be forgotten that during the same time historical science also has made marvelous advances, not only through a more critical and what used to be called a more pragmatic treatment of Latin, Greek and Hebrew antiquity, but likewise by the discovery of a new world represented by literatures, the very existence of which was unknown in former days. Our conception of the world to which we belong has been entirely changed. Like Pompeii and Herculaneum, with their streets and markets, their temples, and their private houses, whole periods in the historical development of the human race have been brought to light, the life of several almost forgotten branches of our race has been restored, and the conviction has grown stronger and stronger that the history of the human race forms one integral whole. Though divided into families which share, if not a common blood, at all events a common language, common customs, common traditions, nay, common mythological and religious names and ideas, the whole human race is known to be held together by an eternal solidarity. *Nihil humanum a nobis alienum putamus* has been the leading principle of modern anthropology, or the science of man. Even the most backward and degraded races have been drawn within the sphere of human interest, their languages have in some cases been studied with the same care as Sanskrit and Greek, and not a few

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analogies have been discovered between their customs and beliefs and those of our nearer relatives, such as Greeks and Romans and Hindus, Celts and Slavs. A hope has even been expressed that these analogies, at present of interest to the psychologist only, may in time become strong enough to prove a real genealogical relationship between those who are still and those who are no longer on the stage of primitive savagery.



Herder.

And not only has the sphere of historical research been extended far beyond its former limits, but a new spirit is now entering all historical studies. Owing chiefly to the impulse given even in the last century by such men as Vico, Herder, Johannes von Müller and Hegel, history has ceased to be a mere chronicle of events. What was called by former German historians pragmatic as distinguished from purely narrative history was a treatment of history which tried to trace every event back to its determining causes, to explain every movement by the motives that inspired it and by the objects at which it aimed. Thus the history of the world has not only been enlarged, but has been changed into a coherent and intelligible whole, in which every link of the chain is connected directly or indirectly with other links. It has become possible in this way to discover in many, if not in all historical periods, an unbroken continuity, nay, an intelligible purpose running through all ages, and to perceive, however dimly, the distant goal to which the human race has been tending from the very first. No doubt in the eyes of the critical historians this treatment has its dangers, which become most apparent in Hegel's philosophy of history, more particularly in his brilliant treatment of the history of philosophy and religion. Looking upon the historical progress of philosophical and religious thought as an evolution determined by inherent laws, he but too often made the facts subservient to his theory and then gave us a history, rather as it ought to have been than as it actually was. Strange to say, it has been thought that this principle of historical evolution which in France has found powerful supporters in Comte and his school, in England in Mr. Herbert Spencer, Buckle and others, was borrowed by the students of historical from the students of physical science, more particularly from Darwin, Wallace, Haeckel and Huxley. But so far as I have been able to watch the progress of the scientific spirit of the age, the very contrary has been the case. The principles of historical evolution had been slowly elaborated by the students of languages, mythology, customs, laws, religions and even philosophy long before they were extended to a study of organic nature. Nay, if we are to be quite honest we cannot really claim the theory of evolution, whether in history or in nature, as peculiar to our own century, unless we choose to ignore



Hegel.

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what had been achieved by men belonging by their education at least to the last century, particularly by Herder and his school. In one sense even Goethe was a pupil of Herder's.

I therefore thought it right many years ago, as soon as the popular and unreasoning rage for *evolution* began, to point out that this magic word was only a synonym of *history*, if properly understood. And who would dream of claiming the discovery of history, more particularly of pragmatic history, for our century? Though at first many hard names were used against me for having dared to utter this home truth, in the end simple facts carried the day as they always do. One of the most enthusiastic but also most honest prophets of evolution, the late Professor Huxley, has stated in the "Encyclopedia Britannica" in words that cannot be mistaken, that evolution and development are terms employed in biology as general names for the history of the steps by which any living being has acquired the morphological and the physiological character which distinguish it. The late Henry Drummond repeats the same statement. "Order of events is history, and evolution is history." In exactly the same spirit the students of the history of languages, mythology, religion and philosophy, nay, of political, economical and ethical systems also, had been studying for years the order and the steps by which any language, mythology, religion, or philosophy, nay, any political, economical or ethical systems had slowly acquired the force and the character which distinguish each of them. It would, however, be childish to attempt to establish any priority in favor of any individual philosopher as the first discoverer of history or even of evolution. Such ideas belong to the *Zeitgeist;* they dominate an age and inspire individual writers. It may be that Darwin, however unconsciously, was influenced by the thoughts that ran through the works of Vico, Herder, Hegel, or Bopp; it is equally possible that more recent writers on the science of language, mythology and religion, were inspired or encouraged at least by the writings of Darwin. We all owe a great deal to Darwin's determined advocacy of the principles of evolution, and it seems strange that Mr. H. Spencer should lately, through one of his followers at least, have disclaimed any indebtedness to Darwin in the original conception of his synthetical philosophy. What is really important is not the priority of the individual, but the priority of the ideas themselves, and here there can be little doubt that the principles of development (Entwickelung), evolution, order and continuity were recognized in the history of language long before they were applied by Darwin and his followers to biology in its widest sense.



Goethe.

The real advance that was made in our century beyond Vico, Herder, and Hegel, has been brought about, not so much by a new theory, as by a greater accumulation of new facts, and, in consequence, a more accurate knowledge of the actual steps that led from every lower stratum to a higher one, steps not imperceptible or merely postulated, but steps clearly perceptible and definite by which the human

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mind has risen from the lowest elementary conceptions to the higher and more complex thoughts of the present time, and this is likewise what seems to me, though on this point I am very incompetent to judge, to distinguish the movement inaugurated by Darwin, and to mark the advance achieved by him over all predecessors. Though the idea of evolution was there long before him, what gives him his conspicuous place in the progress of actual science is the accumulation of ingeniously discovered and well established facts, the substitution of perceptible and definite steps in biological evolution in place of the vague imperceptible degrees by which Oken and Hegel imagined they could reconstruct the evolution of nature or the evolution of thought, and lastly his recognition of such important factors in evolution as the struggle for life and the survival of the fittest. If now at the end of our century we possess the outline at least of a real science of man, and of his ascent from the simplest beginning of language to the highest summits of philosophical thought, if we know how the postulated *homo alalus* became by means of language the real *homo sapiens*, such as we know him in history, we owe it chiefly to a more comprehensive study of the facts of languages on which alone the four great sciences of language, mythology, religion and thought can be founded. If it is language that makes man, it was but natural that the science of language should have given a new life to all the branches of the Science of Man, showing how the human mind in its endeavor to apprehend and to comprehend the world by which it found itself surrounded, proceeded naturally from mere percepts to more and more general concepts as embodied in the so-called roots of language, and their numberless derivations, how afterwards it was driven for a long time to poetical, metaphorical, mythological and religious expression of the surrounding phenomena of nature, till it finally reached the stage of abstract thought, and recognized in Kant's Critique of Pure Reason both the extent and the limits of its powers. What this new science of man or Anthropology aims at is not only to show in a general way the progress of mental evolution, but to discover the definite and successive steps, nay, whenever it is still possible, the very individuals who were the first to take the really epoch-making steps in the evolution of man or of the human mind.



Charles R. Darwin.



Herbert Spencer.

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2. SCIENCE OF RELIGION.

The Science of Religion, or Comparative Theology* starts with a study of the principal religions of the world. Like the sciences of language, mythology, and thought it would have been absolutely impossible before the beginning of this century, and it is certainly our century which may by right claim it as its own. It is true the Jewish, the Christian and the Mohammedan religions had formed the subject of learned studies for many centuries, and the sacred texts on which these religions profess to be founded, the Old Testament, the New Testament and the Koran had been carefully edited and translated. We have only to look at the immense folios on the Old and the New Testament which fill ever so many shelves in our libraries in order to see how much the history of the Jewish and Christian religions had occupied the thoughts of those who came before us. Nor need the works of modern scholars, inspired by what is often contemptuously called the higher criticism, fear comparison with the works of the ancient fathers or reformers of the church. What detracts, however, from the value of most of these works is the absence of the historical spirit, and the unjustifiable way in which the sacred texts of these religions were violently torn away from those great historical movements of human thought, which alone could have given life and meaning to them. If we add to this that all non-Christian religions were treated at the same time in a totally unhistorical spirit by being assigned to the devil as their author, we can well understand why a history of religion and a comparative study of religions were impossibilities before the time of the Reformation. It is all the more interesting to observe one notable exception, and to see the intrepid scholarship displayed by the famous Cardinal Cusanus in the fifteenth century. He seems to have been the first to study non-Christian religions in the independent spirit of a scholar and an historian. He examined the religions of the Greeks and Romans, of Jews, and as far as possible at the time, of the Hindus and Mohammedans also. He actually acquired a knowledge of Arabic in order to read the Koran in the original, and he devoted a whole book, "De Cribratione Alchoran" to the sifting of the Koran, and an examination of Mohammed's teaching, pointing out what seemed to him the many errors of the prophet. And yet he was able to discover a certain harmony in all religions, as far as they were known to him, and it was on this harmony that he built a hope of universal religion, and of universal peace. He went so far as to say that "even those who worship many gods have borne witness to the existence of God, and



Ornament From a Koran of the Time of Scha'aban. (From a Ms. in the Vice-Regal Library at Cairo.)

* The name of comparative religion should be avoided. We do not speak of comparative language but of comparative philology. No one would use comparative bones in the sense of comparative anatomy. If theology is the science of religion, comparative theology is the natural name for a comparative study of religions. If other names were wanted, hierology, as suggested by Prof. Tiele, or pistology would answer the purpose.

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that in their many gods the polytheists worship after all the one Deity, though they have divided it among many gods. It was the one God they worshiped in all the other gods." We might also quote St. Augustine as a large-hearted judge of non-Christian religions, for though he knew but a small number of religions, it required greater courage in his time, when paganism was still a dreaded enemy, to say what he said, "that there was no religion which did not contain some grains of truth." Since the revival of classical learning in Europe the ancient religions of Greece and Rome have naturally formed the subject of many learned and volumious treatises. Unfortunately these two mythological religions possess nothing that could be called sacred or canonical books, and even in their most ancient records we meet them already fully developed, no longer as growing and expanding.



A Learned Man Absorbed in the Koran.

What was the true origin of Zeus and Apollo the Greeks knew as little as Virgil knew the first germs of Jupiter and Mars. Yet these are the questions which most concern the students of mythology and religion. It is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a sharp line between the religion and the mythology, whether of Greeks or of Romans, and we must often rest satisfied to know no more of their Gods than the legends and the cult peculiar to each period in their growth. The only means we possess of knowing more of their Gods than the Greeks and Romans knew themselves is comparison and etymology. Much has been achieved in this research, but there remain many names which admit, as yet, of no comparison and defy all etymology. We must rest satisfied with having established the fact that the first step in the evolution of the principal gods and heroes is to be found in their names, and that a considerable proportion of their names admit of etymological interpretation. This conviction, unwelcome as it was at first to classic scholars, and resisted as it is even now as a dangerous innovation by a few of them, has imparted a new character to all mythological and religious studies, and has clearly established the fact that here as elsewhere the legends and the cult of the gods can be accepted as the detritus only of far more ancient religious and mythological thought. Though the later history of the cult of the gods, of worship, sacrifice, of public and private festivals, and more particularly of the most ancient temples still preserved to us is full of interest for understanding the later development of religious faith and myth among the two classical nations, it would clearly be as hopeless to try to gain an insight into the original character of the principal deities of Greece and Italy from what we know of their cult in historical times as to try to discover the true genius of Christianity from the magnificent pageants in St. Peter's at Rome or from the joyous celebrations of the days of popular saints in the streets of Santa Lucia at Naples. This is not meant to belittle in any way the value of the many learned treatises on the legends and cults of Greeks and Romans published by the classical scholars of former centuries, but only to bring out more clearly the fundamental difference between their ideas and what is now called *The Science of Religion*. That science, concerned as it chiefly is with the origin, not only of Greek and Roman, but of all the religions

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and mythologies of the East which have become accessible to us in their sacred literatures, with the genesis of their gods and goddesses, with the etymology of their names, and with the beginnings and original intentions of their sacrifices and of the various forms of praise, prayer and thanksgiving which in some cases gradually developed into a regular ceremonial or cult, was simply impossible before the beginning of our own and the end of the last century, and may fairly be claimed as one of the greatest conquests of our time.

A comparative study of the religions of the world required before all things a knowledge of the language in which each religion arose, and without which it would have been impossible. No one would be bold enough to write on the gods of ancient Greece and

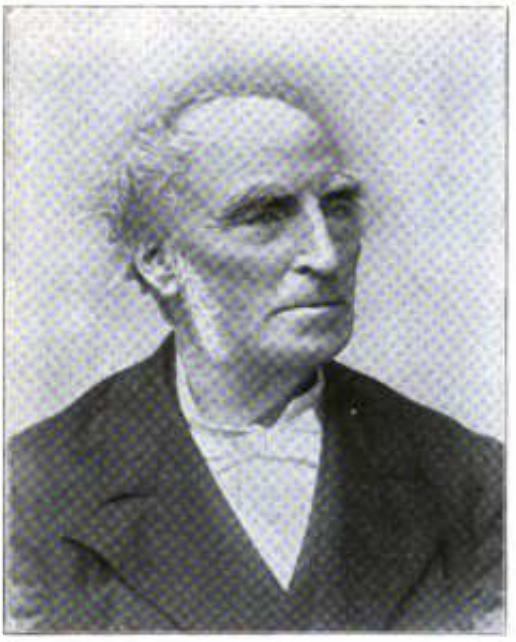


The Colonnades of St. Peter, Rome.

Rome without at least a smattering of Greek and Latin. How then could the religions of India and ancient Persia have been studied without a knowledge of Sanskrit and Zend, and how could a comparative study of the principal religions and mythologies of the world have been possible without a previous comparative study of the languages in which they have become known to us? Even with regard to the still existing religions whether of civilized or uncivilized races which have been described to us by missionaries and travelers or even by some of their followers, we see at once the wide difference between the statements of mere casual observers unable to ask questions or to carry on discussions on any authoritative documents, whether of a literary or an oral character, and the really instructive accounts which we owe to men like Dr. Hahn, Bishop Callaway, the Rev. W. W. Gill, or to Rāmmohun Roy, Nila kantha Ghoreh, Bunyiu Nanjio, and others. When at the beginning of our century the scholars of Europe began to devote themselves to a study of Sanskrit

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and Zend, of Egyptian and Babylonian, there soon followed a complete revolution in the ordinary ideas about the religions of the ancient inhabitants of India, Persia (Media), Egypt and Babylon. The decipherment of Vedic Sanskrit, of Avestic Persian, of hieroglyphic Egyptian and cuneiform Babylonian received its real value when it was seen how it could serve as a key to the literature and the religion of ancient humanity. Before that time our ideas of the religion of Egypt and Babylon, of India and Persia were chiefly derived from Herodotus and other Greek writers, but comparison of their accounts with such accounts of the Egyptian pantheon, as we now possess in the works of Brugsch or Maspero, will best show the difference which a knowledge, however slight, of the ancient Egyptian language has produced in a true appreciation of the ancient religion of Egypt. The same remark applies to the religion of Babylon and Assyria, though here there remains much, undoubtedly, to be done before we can reach the deepest roots of the religion of the land of the two rivers. As we know it at present from the works of Maspero or Sayce, it seems so full of what we should call secondary or even tertiary ideas that we cannot but hope that a fuller knowledge of the Akkadian language and literature may in time disclose to us a far deeper stratum of thought and in it the real germs of Mesopotamian faith and worship.



James Legge, M.A., D.D., LL.D.

The religions of China were known even during the last century, thanks chiefly to the conscientious labors of Roman Catholic missionaries resident in the capital of the Chinese Empire. Their knowledge of Chinese was most creditable, and their translations of some of the Kings ascribed to Confucius and Laotze enabled European scholars to from a fairly accurate idea of the teaching of these two philosophers which consisted of moral and metaphysical doctrines rather than of what we mean by religious dogma in a more narrow sense. Still in this branch of Oriental scholarship also great progress has been made by more recent scholars, such as Abel Remusat, Stanislas Julien, Professor Legge, Dr. Wylie, and others, so much so that what is called religious cult in China, whether the ancient popular cult embodied in the writings of Confucius, or the more metaphysical and esoteric system ascribed to his contemporary Laotze, or the worship of Fo, *i. e.*, Buddha; introduced in the first century from India to China, may now be studied as readily by European students as the religions of Mohammed or of the Old and New Testaments.

Remembering that all great religions had their origin in the East, and that the sacred writings on which they profess to be founded are all composed in the ancient languages of their respective countries, it may be easily understood why it was only after the rise of Oriental philology in the beginning of our century, that a really scholarlike study of their teaching became possible.

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3. RELIGIOUS LITERATURES OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

We are now in possession of what may be called authentic religious literature for the following countries:

I. Egypt.—Though we do not possess any of the sacred books which seem to have been known to ancient Greek writers, the hieroglyphic and hieratic inscriptions and papyri, particularly the so-called Book of the Dead, are so full of religious ideas, and the ancient temples and pictorial representations on their walls have placed before us such living pictures of their daily life and their solemn cult, that it has been possible for hieroglyphic scholars to give us a fuller knowledge of the religion, mythology and cult of ancient Egypt than we can ever hope to gain of the religious faith and ceremonies of the ancient inhabitants of Greece and Italy.



The Egyptian Judgment of the Dead.
(Vignette of the 125th Chapter of the Book of the Dead.)

II. Babylon and Assyria.—The cuneiform inscriptions found in these Mesopotamian Kingdoms, though far less abundant than those of Egypt, have likewise yielded, not indeed what could be called a sacred code, but so many hymns, legends, and names of gods, goddesses and heroes, that it has been found possible to trace the general outlines at least of what constituted their religion and sacrificial cult. What seems strange is that while some very competent scholars are now inclined to look upon the Babylonian civilization as more ancient than that of Egypt, we find in the oldest Babylonian hymns allusions to an historical environment which, according to our ideas, would indicate a far more advanced progress in the arts of civilized life than we find for instance in the hymns of the Rigveda, which are commonly assigned to a much later date. We must not forget that brilliant as the progress of Babylonian research has been, these studies are as yet in their infancy, and, considering the ever-increasing wealth of materials, hold out a hope of much greater future discoveries than have hitherto been achieved.



Ancient Scroll of the Pentateuch.

III. Palestine.—I need add nothing here about the Old Testament and the religion of the Jews, beyond pointing out that as both the Jewish and the Babylonian religions are of Semitic origin and composed

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in a Semitic language, they often help to illustrate each other, and share many things in common, such as the legend of the deluge, and, according to some scholars, the legends of the Tower of Babel, of Paradise, and other half historical traditions of the most ancient Semitic world.

IV. Arabia.—There is one more Semitic religion, Islam, as founded by Mohammed in the seventh century A.D. Mohammed clearly borrowed most of his ideas from Jews and Christians with whom he came in contact while trying to reform the manners and superstitions of the wild tribes of Arabia. Had his informants been able to give him an account of the true doctrines of Moses and Christ, it is not too much to say that Mohammed might have been satisfied with preaching Jewish and Christian doctrines instead of becoming the founder of a new religion.



Image of Confucius.

V. China.—1. Here we possess indeed the literary documents on which the three recognized religious systems of the country profess to be founded. The system of Confucius is founded on the Kings. King, however, does not mean what we mean by sacred book or Bible, but simply a book recognized as authoritative on all the subjects on which it touches. Nor do these books derive their authority from any supposed miraculous revelation, but chiefly from their age. Confucius who has often been quoted as their author, decidedly declines that honor for himself and claims no more than to have been the collector and preserver of these books, and in that sense the restorer but not the founder of the ancient religion of his country. To our mind these books are not altogether religious. They teach principles of morality and worldly wisdom, besides those of religion, and Confucius actually warns the people not to have too much to do with the spirits, but to honor their fathers and mothers, as a foundation of a well ordered social life.

2. Laotze, who was a contemporary of Confucius and the founder of Taoism, is far more responsible personally for the Tao-te-King than Confucius for his Kings, but he also represents his doctrine of Tao, Right or Reason, as a doctrine of great antiquity, which he preached, but did not invent. This doctrine which was originally highly metaphysical, and destined for the few rather than the many, has become thoroughly vulgarized and degraded in the course of centuries, and we are told that it is now professed by the least educated classes of the people of China.

3. The same may be said of the third established religion in China. Buddhism as introduced into the country in the first century A.D., was chiefly founded on the *Mahâyâna* School. This school presented even in India a secondary and on many points corrupt form of Buddhism, and has been still further misunderstood and degraded in China, Korea and Japan. For a scientific study of this branch of Buddhism we should depend on the Sanskrit originals rather than on Chinese translations, but we can hardly expect the leaders of the various sects into which the Mahâyâna Buddhism has been broken up in China, Japan and Mongolia to take this view. In their eyes this doctrine, which for the sake of clearness I proposed to call Bodhism rather than Buddhism, is the true and genuine doctrine of Buddha,

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or, as they call him, the great Bodhisattva,* nor can it be denied that it may have answered the religious requirements of the great mass of the people far better than the more or less agnostic teaching of the Buddha. Much still remains here to be cleared up, how to account for the origin of the Mahâyâna school, for its divergence from the religion as contained in the Pali Tripiṭaka, and for the many things which in spite of their differences the two sects share in common, often to their *ipsissima verba*.

VI. India.—Here we possess the immense advantage that the Hindus themselves have recognized certain ancient texts, not only as sacred but as canonical or invested, as we should say, with supreme authority, and in fact, infallible. Though we cannot trace these texts in their present form back to more than the second millenium before our era, there have been many changes in the Brahmanic religion which we can watch through various periods of language and literature. Each of these changes represents a religion by itself and can be studied in its own Sacred Books. We have to distinguish in India:

1. The religion of the Veda (the metrical hymns or Mantras).
2. The religion of the Brâhmaṇas (prose).
3. The religion of the Purâṇas and their modern developments.
4. The religion of Buddha in its three modifications: (*a*) The Hînayâna; (*b*) The Mahâyâna; (*c*) The Gaina sect.



Great Bronze Statue of Buddha, Japan.

1. The most ancient religion of the Veda has to be studied in the ten Maṇḍala of the poetic hymns of the Rig-Veda-Sanhitâ.

2. The religion of the Brâhmaṇas is contained in the prose Brâhmaṇas, and in the Sanhitâs of the Yagurveda Sâmaveda, and Atharvaveda.

3. The later and more popular religion of India has left its records in the Mahâbhârata, Râmâyaṇa, the legal Sâstras and the Purâṇas. The religious beliefs and customs of the aboriginal inhabitants of India, who are often alluded to in the Mantras, Brâhmaṇas, and in the Mahâbhârata, etc., have left no documents behind, and it is doubtful whether the superstitious practices of some of the uncivilized races still inhabiting parts of India may be accepted as survivals of their ancient religions.

4. Buddhism has to be studied in three distinct sacred canons: (*a*) The Hînayâna in the Tripiṭaka or The Three Baskets (Pali); (*b*) The Mahâyâna in a number of texts written in the so-called Gâthâ dialect and in a corrupt Sanskrit prose. These are sometimes comprehended under the name of Angas, *i.e.*, members, parts; (*c*) The Gaina religion in its own Agamas.

VII. Persia.—The religion of ancient Persia (Media and Bactria) has been rendered accessible to us by the discovery of MSS. of the so-called Zend-Avesta, and by their first scholar-like decipherment by Burnouf and his successors. The Avesta contains ancient and modern texts, the most ancient being the Gâthas. The later development of the Avestic religion can now be studied in the Pehlevi literature, dating from the Sassanian period.

Most of these sacred texts are now published in the original languages, and the more important of them have been rendered accessible to the students of the history

* Bodhi, enlightenment, true knowledge, is the highest goal of this sect. Bodhisattva is he who has the essence of that knowledge and becomes in time a Buddha. Philosophical as it was in its first conception, this branch of Buddhism has become deteriorated by many superstitions.

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of religion by English translations published in the *Sacred Books of the East*. Though it seems self-evident that for an accurate and scholar-like knowledge of the great religions of the world, the books recognized as canonical and authoritative by the followers of each religion are indispensable, doubts have been raised by various scholars whether a religion lives really in its sacred books, or whether it does not rather lie buried in them. We know that a large and important branch of Christians set less value on the texts of the Bible than on the traditions of the church, that its priests actually dissuade the laity from reading the Bible, and that they hold certain doctrines and enforce certain practices for which there is no or a very doubtful authority in the Bible. According to them the church, the councils, the priesthood, or the head of the priesthood should be accepted as the recognized representatives and infallible exponents of all religious truth. Others, again, see the real life of a religion in the faith of the individuals who profess to believe in it. According to them any poor widow has as much right to claim her faith to be the true Christian faith, as the most powerful preacher or the most learned professor. From a practical point of view there may be some truth in these ideas, but for historical purposes, and more particularly for a comparison of religions, such a view would simply be subversive of the scientific character of our studies. All studies on religion, all comparisons of the great religions of the world must be founded on their sacred texts. Everything else is mere waste of time and vexation of spirit. Though at the Parliament of Religions at Chicago contradictions and conflicts between the representatives of different schools of the same religion were by wise management prevented, we have seen some very acrimonious discussions break out afterwards. We ourselves should not accept every Christian bishop or minister, nor every educated Christian layman as an authority for the true doctrine of Christ, unless he was prepared to give us chapter and verse from the Bible for every statement made by him. In the same way no Buddhist, whether he comes from Ceylon or Burmah, from China or Japan, whether he be a follower of the Hînayâna, the Mahâyâna, or the Gaina school, has any right to lay down the law with regard to Buddhism, unless he is prepared to give us his reference to passages in the Vinaya, the Sûtras, or the Abhidharma in support of his statements.



Fragments of a Clay Cylinder of Sargon (B.C. 722-705). From the Library of Assur-bani-apli, King of Assyria, (B.C. 668-626.)

It was a well-known custom among the defenders of Brahmanism to appeal to lost Śâkâhs or lost branches of the sacred scriptures in support of doctrines for which there was really no authority in their extant Vedas. This was done for the last time in the controversy on widow-burning carried on between Radhâkântadeva, Professor Wilson and myself. My answer to the learned Mahârâjah was the old one given by their own medieval casuists that it is impossible to appeal to skull as a witness in a court of law. If our study of the religions of the world, and more particularly a comparative study of their fundamental doctrines is to lead to any valuable or permanent results, we must no longer speak of what Hinduism, Buddhism, Parsism, of what Judaism or Christianity teaches, we must distinguish between Mantras, Brâhmaṇas and Purâṇas, between Mahâyâna, Hînayâna and

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Gaina Buddhism, between Gâtha, Yasna and Sassanian Parsism, between the Judaism of the law and the prophets, and the Judaism of the Apocrypha, between the Christianity of the Gospels, the Epistles, and that of the Ecumenical Councils. If possible the *ipsissima verba* of the originals should always be produced, and though I am well aware of the imperfections of all translations of ancient oriental texts, the English translations offered in my S. B. E. may, I venture to say, be accepted for the present as a sufficient authority. Strictly speaking, no modern language can give us the exact equivalents of the words and ideas current at the time of the composition of these sacred texts. We must be satisfied with approximate accuracy, and we should remember that the differences that have arisen between competent oriental scholars in the interpretation of those ancient texts hardly ever effect their fundamental doctrines. Unless these warnings are taken to heart our study of the religions of the world will lead only to confusion, to acrimonious controversy and strife, not to the discovery of those eternal truths which lie hidden in all religions.

Nothing can be more welcome for our purpose than that learned natives also from eastern countries should give us their individual views of their own religions. But it should be a condition *sine qua non* that they should always support their statements by references to their own sacred and canonical texts. No cardinal or bishop, no minister or rabbi would desire exemption from this rule, nor are other eastern religions without learned representatives who could substantiate their statements by quotations from their own sacred codes and hold their own against the best oriental scholars of Europe, nay, even correct their views by their own more intimate acquaintance with their sacred texts, and their more living knowledge of the present working of their religion.

LA FLORIDIANO, NAPOLI, March, 1897. F. M. M.



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INTRODUCTION OF UNIVERSAL RELIGION.

BY

EDMUND BUCKLEY, PH.D., Docent in Comparative Religion, University of Chicago.

4. DEFINITIONS.

THE title of this course of lesssons shows that its subject is Universal Religion. This title stands in strict analogy with those of the lesson courses preceding this one, namely, Universal History and Universal Literature. These three belong to the humanities, *i.e.*, the activities proper and peculiar to man, and must therefore be as universal both in space and time as he is. The same concept is intended by the term comparative religion, and, on the other hand, both adjectives are dispensable, since religion (not *a* religion) is by definition both universal and comparative, just as are art, and knowledge. Comparative theology relates properly only to dogmas, while religion includes also ceremonies (1). Religion, then, is our topic, and of this we shall study the history, science and philosophy, and in this order.

The historical consideration in all its variety and detail must precede all others, in order to secure the facts in their setting of space and time. These facts are indispensable to an understanding and estimate of the various theories of the origin, nature and value of religion; and they alone can carry conviction in favor of new truth against the tremendous forces active for the old. The mastery of facts—obscure, rare, previously overlooked—was precisely the secret of Darwin's success in converting the whole scientific world to belief in a theory of evolution which he did not invent, but adopted from his predecessors, Herder, Hegel, and Lamarck.

Such history will lead to a genealogical classification of religions into genera and species, such as Aryan, Semitic, Mongolian, African, American, and Malayo-Polynesian, which are just the great world-wide genera. Then may follow science of religion, or hierology, which will lead to a morphological classification of religions according to standards of value or worth, such as truth, right, beauty, and welfare (the four constitutional principles of man). Hierology will furthermore yield certain laws of coexistence and sequence. Thus, an important case of coexistence is the inseparability of creed and cult; while the prime law of sequence is that of evolution, either progressive or regressive. Finally, the philosophy of religion will use

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analysis through psychology, and dialectic through metaphysics, to discover whether the universal conclusions of hierology can be confirmed by self-evident or inferential truth.

Before the history can be intelligently studied certain special definitions must be given, though their full significance and adequate proof can appear only as the field is traversed. No two writers quite agree on their definition of religion; nor should this excite surprise when it is remembered that the definition must include religions varying so widely as Shamanism and Christianity. The reader should specially beware of pitching his definition of religion too high, in other words, of substituting for it the historic *type* of religion, which for him is properly Christianity, or again of substituting for it the philosophical *ideal* of religion (2). Furthermore, the reader must learn to do historically precisely what he should not do practically, viz., dissociate religion and morality, since these had separate sources, and, for a considerable time, separate channels (3). Special difficulty is felt in including in one concept the two great classes of religious ideas known as the naturistic and the animistic, and definitions vary mostly as either one is derived from the other, or both made co-ordinate. Animism is the worship of departed human souls (Latin *anima*) and of nature-powers upon the type of or in material connection with these souls (4). Naturism is the worship of nature-powers simply as men (or animals), without analysis into body and soul, achieved by personification or the like (5). Thus Professor E. B. Tylor, who gave currency to the term "animism," claims, "as a minimum definition of religion, the belief in Spiritual Beings." These are primarily departed human souls, and derivatively nature-souls by analogy with or on the type of the former. On the other hand, Professor A. Reville, who introduced the term "naturism," considers naturism the primary of animism, and from this viewpoint writes, "Religion is the determination of human life by the sentiment of a bond uniting the human mind to that mysterious Mind whose domination of the world and of itself it recognizes, and to whom it delights in feeling itself united." The present tendency is to co-ordinate naturism and animism as sources of religion, (6) and this requires the definition somewhat thus: Religion is the belief in and worship of supersensuous and superhuman being (=beings or a being). Here supersensuous is meant to include both personified nature-powers and departed human souls, while both possess superhuman power. The notion of life, personality, soul, or spirit had, of necessity one way or other, its source in man; while the notion of superior power had its source in nature. Each must be present to constitute a religious object (7).



Ancestral Image of the Bari (Ethnographical Museum, Vienna.)

4. DEFINITIONS.

(1) **Comparative Theology.**—What is to be understood by Comparative Theology? I find that English speaking authors use the appellation promiscuously with Comparative Religion, but if we wish the words to convey a sound meaning, we should at least beware of using these terms as convertible ones. Theology is not the same as religion; and, to me, Comparative Theology signifies nothing but a comparative study of religious *dogmas*. Comparative Religion is nothing but a comparative study of the various religions in *all* their branches.—*C. P. Tiele, "Parliament of Religions," p. 583.*

But Prof. F. Max Müller thinks otherwise, as the following shows:

"By religion, we should always understand the subject itself; by theology, the study or science of that subject.—*F. Max Müller, "Natural Religion," p. 48.*

(2) **The Etymological Definition of Religion.**—Many people still imagine that an etymology is in itself a definition. This was an impression which prevailed widely in early times, before the true principles of etymology had been discovered; and it prevails even now, though there is no longer any excuse for it . . . But even when an etymology is unassailable on phonetic and historical grounds, it can never give us more than the first starting point of a word . . . From a purely philological point of view it cannot be denied that *religio* might have sprung from *religare* quite as well as from *relegere*. . . . The real objection

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to our deriving *religio* from *religare* is the fact that in classical Latin *religare* is never used in the sense of binding or holding back. . . . Cicero's etymology (*relegere*) is therefore decidedly preferable, as more in accordance with Latin idiom. *Relegere* would be the opposite of *neglegere* or *negligere*, and as *neglegere* meant "not to care," *relegere* would naturally have meant "to care," "to regard," "to revere" . . . So much for the etymology of *religio*, which in its first conception can only have meant respect, care, reverence.

Historical Definition of Religion.—So far we can watch the natural development of the word *religio* in Latin. It began with the meaning of care, attention, reverence, awe; it then took the moral sense of scruple and conscience; and lastly became more and more exclusively applied to the inward feeling of reverence for the gods and to the outward manifestation of that reverence in worship and sacrifice. . . . We have now to follow the word *religio* in its later wanderings. Transferred to a Christian soil, religion became really a foreign word, and as such had to be defined by those who used it, and chiefly by theologians and philosophers. . . . In all these passages, what is intended by *religio*, as used in the Vulgato, is a system of religious beliefs and worship; no longer what was meant by *religio* in its classical sense.—*F. Max Müller*, "*Natural Religion*," *pp 29-42*.

(3) **Religion and Morality.**—One great element of religion, that moral element which among the higher nations forms its most vital part, is indeed little represented in the religion of the lower races. It is not that these races have no moral sense or no moral standard, for both are strongly marked among them, if not in formal precept, at least in that traditional consensus of society which we call public opinion, according to which certain actions are held to be good or bad, right or wrong. It is that the conjunction of ethics and animistic philosophy, so intimate and powerful in the higher culture, seems scarcely yet to have begun in the lower.—*E. B. Tylor*, "*Primitive Culture*," *pp. 426, 427*.

(4) **Animism.**—At this point of the investigation, we come fully into sight of the principle which has been all along implied in the use of the word animism, in a sense beyond its narrower meaning of the doctrine of souls. By using it to express the doctrine of spirits generally, it is practically asserted that the ideas of souls, demons, deities and any other classes of spiritual beings are conceptions of similar nature throughout, the conceptions of souls being the original ones of the series. It was best, from this point of view, to begin with a careful study of souls, which are the spirits proper to men, animals and things, before extending the survey of the spirit-world to its fullest range. If it be admitted that souls and other spiritual beings are conceived of as essentially similar in their nature, it may be reasonably argued that the class of conceptions based on evidence most direct and accessible to ancient men is the earlier and fundamental class. To grant this is in effect to agree that the doctrine of souls, founded on the natural perceptions of primitive man, gave rise to the doctrine of spirits, which extends and modifies its general theory for new purposes, but in developments less authenticated and consistent, more fanciful and far-fetched. It seems as though the conception of a human soul, when once attained to by man, served as a type or model on which he framed not only his ideas of other souls of lower grade, but also his ideas of spiritual beings in general, from the tiniest elf that sports in the long grass up to the heavenly Creator and Ruler of the World, the Great Spirit. —*E. B. Tylor*, "*Primitive Culture*," *pp. 109, 110*.

(5) **Naturism.**—The "Nature-souls," as we may call them for the sake of brevity, are originally nothing but the livingness and the active power of the phenomena of nature conceived after the analogy of animal and man as willing and feeling living beings (not exactly as persons). They are not independent souls brought into a mere accidental connection with the phenomena; originally they are not distinguished from the latter at all, far less separate from or independent of them.—*O. Pfleiderer*, "*Philosophy of Religion*," *p. 10*.

(6) **Co-ordination of Naturism and Animism.**—We believe therefore that neither the Animists nor the Mythologists possess the key for the problem of the origin of religion. However, the explanations of both, though they do not fit the whole, still afford an account of certain series and groups of phenomena. They are therefore not failures, but (on the other hand) are right only in their reciprocal limitations.—*C. de la Saussaye*, "*Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*," *1 Ed., V. I., p. 34*.

(7) **The Superhuman and Supersensuous in Every Deity.**—The sense of the infinite appears in wonder and awe and fear before the transcendent powers of nature. The world confronts the man at every turn with beings and energies beyond and above his comprehension, and beyond and above his power. He lives in the presence of the infinite, which reveals itself on every side in the inaccessible sky, in the great and silent forests, in the ocean, in the impassable rivers, in the dawning light, morning by morning, in thunder, lightning and storm, in the springing of plants from the seed, the coming forth of grass, leaves and flowers in the spring, and in all the mystery of birth and life. Thus everywhere and always confronted and awed by what transcends both his comprehension and his strength, he feels himself hemmed in, limited, dependent, in the grasp of these resistless and incomprehensible powers. His divinity is always superhuman.

On the other hand, he knows in himself thought, feeling and will; from his own voluntary action he gets his first knowledge of power or causal efficiency. He naturally ascribes the effects which he witnesses around him to a thinking, voluntary power like himself. This tendency is discovered now among the lower tribes of savages. One who saw a watch for the first time supposed it to be alive, and when it had run down and stopped, he said it was asleep. A missionary to a savage people sent a boy with fruits to another missionary's family in the neighborhood with a letter specifying the number. The boy had learned that a letter communicated information. Therefore in a retired spot on the way he hid the letter under a stone and ate some of the fruits. He then took out the letter and delivered it with the remainder. When asked for what was missing, he was astonished, and wondered how the letter which was hidden under a stone could have known what he was doing. So the savage regards the transcendent and incomprehensible powers, before which he is awed, as intelligent like himself. In the sense of his dependence he cries to them for help, and considers by what offerings or service he can avert their displeasure and gain their favor.—*Samuel Harris*, "*The Self-Revelation of God*," *p. 17*.

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5. DEFINITIONS CONTINUED.

A fetish is any singular object—stone, claw, feather, twig, etc.—believed to harbor a spirit, and therefore usable in control of that spirit for magical ends. The presence of this spirit distinguishes the fetish from an amulet, talisman, or magic symbol, all which are also used in magic. The locomotive and the epistle can be construed by the savage mind only as fetishes, while the modern boy's lucky stone corresponds to the savage's talisman (1).



Entrance to a Fetish-Hut, Lunda. (After Buchner.)

This belief in and worship of supersensuous and superhuman being become, when defined and established, a creed and cult (offering, prayer, dance, etc.), and these two are inseparable, though their ratio varies greatly in various religions (2). Brahmanism is mainly cult, Protestantism mainly creed. The rate of change of the two likewise varies greatly. Cult remains unchanged for centuries and even milleniums, while creed slowly changes under changing culture, though it may remain formally attached to the old cult. Consequently, at any given period, the cult will give evidence for the remotest times preceding it, the creed for nearer times, while the current belief must be gained from individual writers.

The relation between the belief and the worship is as follows: Belief in the presence of superhuman and supersensuous being excites in man the sense of dependence. He hopes for good, and fears evil from them, and seeks to secure the former and to avert the latter by means of worship (3). Thus he secures a joyous sense of union with them. In accord with this analysis, the term god (without capital) will mean any supersensuous and superhuman being, from the lowest kind, such as a tree-god or ancestral-god, through greater powers, such as War-God or Storm-God, to the monotheistic God.

Worship is done primarily by the offering of whatever objects are useful to man, especially food—both animal and vegetable—clothing, ornaments, and weapons. Prayer and praise were originally the natural accompaniments of offering, stating the grounds or conditions upon which the latter are made. The dances that contribute to worship are lively to express joy, and slow to express grief.

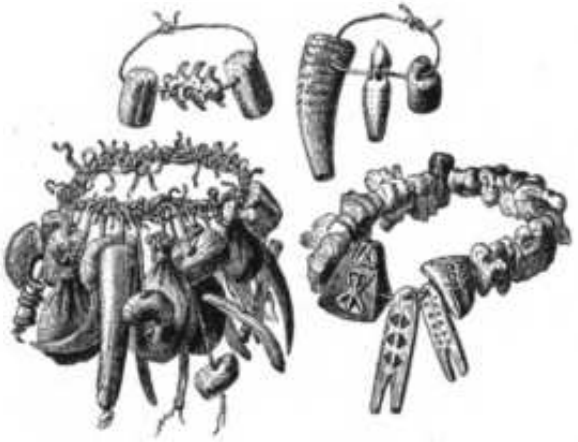
Magic is another (mostly) religious element as pervasive as it is to us strange. It is a supposed control of events, exercised either by control of a spirit (fetishism), or by a pledge from a deity, or by mistake of a merely formal (especially analogical or symbolical) connection for a real or causal one. The last case is rather primitive science than religion, *e.g.*, when a man eats some yellow root to cure jaundice. The spell is a magic formula, the charm primarily a magic song, but derivatively a magic object, for which the term amulet should be used, if it protect from evil, and talisman, if it procure good.

It is important to notice that imagination shares with reasoning the production of religious doctrine. Reasoning contributes principles and dogmas, while imagination supplies symbols and myths. A symbol arises when a natural object has been associated with a thought, a myth when a nature-process has been so associated (4). Thus water variously symbolizes fertility, purity, and humility; and the course of

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the sun has formed the basis of a divine biography. The religious products of the imagination are no more arbitrary or delusive than are its analogous poetical products of metaphor and allegory.

As myth is the literary deposit of naturism, so is *legend* of animism, especially of its cult of heroes, whose deeds are magnified and sometimes misunderstood as they are orally transmitted from generation to generation. Myth usually forms the earliest stratum in a sacred book; then legend joins it, and later dominates or absorbs it, and is in turn ousted by history.



Magic-Implements, Amulets, Dice, etc., from a Kaffir Sorcerer.

Closely connected with the definition of religion is the problem of its origin, which, however, cannot be discussed until familiarity with the various religions has been acquired (5). It must suffice now to simply state the three leading views: (a) That religion began in an immediate revelation from God to the primitive human pair, which was later corrupted by all but one family of men. (b) That religion began at the lowest known form, and progressed continuously to the various grades now extant. (c) That religion began in crude and vague forms, progressed to various levels by search for the divine through nature and man, and then either degenerated, stood still, or progressed further.

5. DEFINITIONS CONTINUED.

(1) **Fetishism.**—Schultze has explained fetishism from four steps which the mind of the savage took. First, what is easily explicable from a narrow range of ideas, the overestimate even of small and insignificant objects which the savage observes with surprise; secondly, the apprehension of these objects as living, feeling and willing; thirdly, their causal connection with fortunate or mischievous events and experiences; finally, the opinion that these objects require religious reverence.—*C. de la Saussaye, "Lehrbuch," 2d. Ed., Vol. I., p. 15.*

Of course, among the endless multitude of objects, not as we should say physically active, but to which ignorant men ascribe mysterious power, we are not to apply indiscriminately the idea of their being considered vessels or vehicles or instruments of spiritual beings. They may be mere signs or tokens . . . or they may be symbolic charms . . . as an iron ring to give firmness . . . or they may be merely regarded in some undefined way as wondrous ornaments or curiosities.—*E. B. Tylor, "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., p. 144.*

(2) **Belief and Worship in Every Religion.**—Religions by which are meant the modes of divine worship proper to different tribes, nations, or communities, and based on the belief held in common by the members of them severally. . . . There is no living religion without something like a doctrine. On the other hand, a doctrine, however elaborate, does not constitute a religion.—*C. P. Tiele, Encyc. Britt., Art "Religions."*

(3) **Relation of Belief to Worship.**—Spiritual beings are held to affect or control the events of the material world, and man's life here and hereafter; and it being considered that they hold intercourse with men, and receive pleasure or displeasure from human actions, the belief in their existence leads naturally, and it might almost be said inevitably, sooner or later, to active reverence and propitiation.—*E. B. Tylor, "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., pp. 426, 427.*

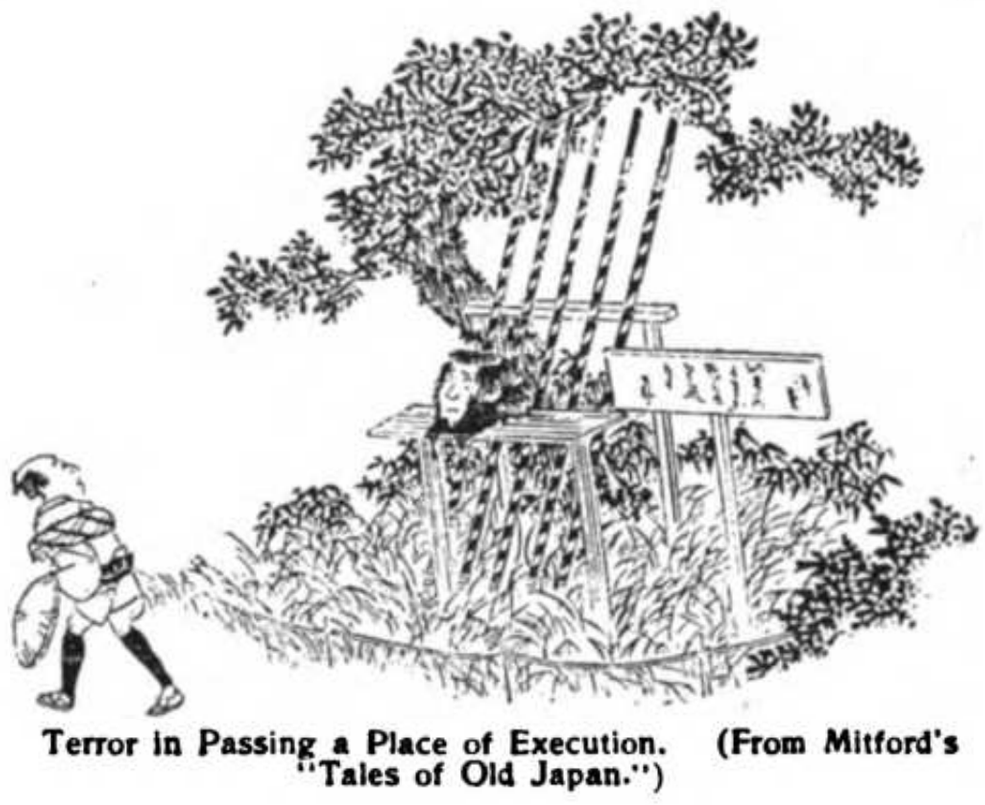
(4) **Myth and Religion.**—There is as yet nothing specifically religious in these poetic imaginations (myths); but they hasten the moment in which the spirit of man will feel itself in the presence of celestial spirits analogous to itself, its superiors in power, and masters of its destiny. Man is led by that means to think that there exists a relation between these spirits and himself, and to behave himself in the way which the feeling of this relation would suggest.—*A. Reville, "Prolegomena of the History of Religions," p. 108.*

(5) **History Must Be Studied First.**—But whatever may be possible in other sciences, let no one venture on the open sea of religious discussion without having the compass of history steadily before his eyes. Let no one attempt to study Natural Religion without having served his apprenticeship as a patient student of the history of the religions of the world. I cannot sum up the advantages of historical study and of the historical spirit in dealing with all the problems of life better than in the words of Mr. John Morley: "It gives us a view of the ground we stand on. It gives us a solid backing of precedent and experiences. It teaches us where we are. It protects us against imposture and surprise."—*F. Max Müller, "Natural Religion," p. 278.*

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6. HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF RELIGION.

Leaving the history of the philosophy of religion to the last number of this course, since its history is inseparable from its content, we will now sketch the rise of the history and science of religion. In the earliest centuries of the Christian era, the great Greek Fathers of the Church, Justin, Clement, and Origen, held such a view of non-Christian thought that the Ven. Archdeacon Farrar cites them as believers in "ethnic inspiration." But the later and Western Fathers disparaged the whole life and literature of the heathen world, and it was left for the Renaissance to adopt and extend the earlier conception. European thought of the Middle Ages was based on an isolation which was ended in the fifteenth century by the restoration of classic (Greek and Roman) literature, and soon afterwards the discovery of the globe and the opening of the starry heavens. Little progress was made during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, owing to preoccupation with quarrels between Protestants and Catholics, and fear of the dominant orthodoxies. Greek mythology was studied only as a commentary on its art. Again the whole eighteenth century was precluded from success in our historic discipline by its abstract rationalism. It supposed that the "natural religion" (belief in God and immortality on philosophical grounds) which it preferred to the then corrupted Christianity, was the primitive form of religion, once common to all, but later becoming degenerate. *Dupuis*, in his "Original de Tous les Cultes" (1801), a work famous in its day, errs in tracing religion to calculation and reflection instead of to spontaneity. *D. Hume* (1711-1776) tried to show in his "Natural History of Religion," per contra, that religion arose in the energetic but irrational passions of the soul (fear and hope) and from the fictions of the imagination.



Terror in Passing a Place of Execution. (From Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan.")

Not until our present century was any improvement made on these views. In 1823 the German *Fr. Creuzer* maintained in his "Symbolik, etc." the true religious character of the Greek myths, and was the first to compare them with Oriental ideas. He considered them relics of an original monotheism, and endeavored to extract from them a deep significance. He thus belongs to the symbolical school. His faults were that he selected his data, mixed periods, and was in general inexact. Meanwhile Vico and Herder had founded the philosophy of history, and thereby prepared the way for *Hegel* (1770-1831), who was the first to unite in the study of religion the historic, scientific, and psychologic methods, and thereby indicated the way that subsequent students have followed, though unable from lack of data to traverse it for himself. In 1824 the Frenchman *Constant* writes in the same spirit, while in 1825 the German *K. O. Müller*, in his "Prolegomens, etc.," wrote the first work that still possesses material value. He laid down the valid principle that the only sufficient explanation of a myth was the history of its genesis, and thus excluded fanciful interpretations of former writers. He likewise interpreted myth in the light of the folk-life amid which it arose, and distinguished between the original myth and its elaboration by successive writers.

The next great advance was made by Professor *F. Max Müller* (1823——), of Oxford University, who applied philology to the interpretation of myths, and thus founded the science of comparative mythology. Thus he identifies

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Sanskrit,	Greek,	Latin,	Teutonic,
Dyaus Pitar.	Zeus Pater.	Jupiter.	Tyr.

This equation he declares the greatest historic discovery of the nineteenth century, and the formula by which every student of ancient culture must be guided. Moreover Prof. Müller showed the large modification of all thought by the independent force of speech, so that myth may be largely explained as a "disease of language." From 1856 when he published his "Chips from a German Workshop," until his last article, which appears in this same number of PROGRESS, Prof. Müller has not ceased to promote by pen and personality the study of the history and science of religion. It is mainly owing to his efforts that the epoch-making series of forty nine volumes, known as the Sacred Books of the East, became possible. His chief critic was Prof. W. D. Whitney of Yale University. While the philological school is indispensable, it is also of limited use. Notably its assured results are small, while others stand in striking conflict with each other. Thus the self-same myth has been variously traced to a source in the sun and in the tempest.



E. B. Tylor.

The auxiliary evidence needed has been sought in anthropology. The foundation of this school was laid by the "Primitive Culture," of Prof. *E. B. Tylor*, also of Oxford University, in 1871, which remains to this day the standard and much quoted work on its topic. Prof. Tylor assigns to the influence of language only a secondary place, and seeks the sources of myth in various directions, such as the attempt to explain natural phenomena, the attribution of inferred events to legendary or historical personages, and the composition of myths to convey instruction. Under the added influence of Mr. *A. Lang* ("Myth, Ritual, and Religion," 1887), this anthropological school has greatly increased, until now folk-lore societies and journals are found among every civilized people. The school unites in its interpretation of religious creed and cult the ideas of mythology with the customs, rites and collateral habits, which can best be learned from folk-lore.

Finally we must notice two text-books on *History of Religion*, which gather up the results of the scores of specialists devoted to limited fields, and form the handbooks of all technical students of the subject. These are "Outlines of the History of Religion" (1876), by Prof. *C. P. Tiele*, of Leiden University, and the later and fuller "Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte" (1887), by Prof. *C. de la Saussaye*, of the University of Amsterdam. The second edition of the latter, now appearing, combines the labors of six specialists, under the editorship of Prof. Saussaye, and is at the same time so compendious and authoritative that constant reference to it will be made in the conduct of this lesson-series. For other and more special works the reader should consult the bibliographies which will be supplied for each topic.

It remains only to notice three general conditions which have made possible the study of religion:

1. The effort of man to understand not only the material world, but himself. Hence has arisen the history and science of culture, a sketch of which has therefore been provided as an introduction to this course.

2. The disengagement of religion as such from Christian theology, and study of it as one of the elements of culture.

3. The advent of data made possible by the great increase of travel during the nineteenth century, chiefly from commercial and missionary motives.

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FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **THE HISTORICAL METHOD.**—Its Extension and Nature, Evolution, *Zeitgeist*, Darwin.
2. **THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION.**—Before the Reformation, Service of Etymology and of Language. The East.
3. **RELIGIOUS LITERATURES OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES.**—Egypt, Babylon and Assyria, Palestine, Arabia, China, India, Persia.
4. **DEFINITIONS.**—History, Science and Philosophy of Religion, Animism, Naturism, Religion.
5. **DEFINITIONS CONTINUED.**—Creed, Cult, God, Magic, Spell, Charm, Amulet, Talisman, Symbol, Myth, Legend.
6. **HISTORY OF THE STUDY OF RELIGION.**—The Fathers, The Renaissance, Eighteenth Century, Creuzer, Hegel, K. O. Müller, F. Max Müller, Tylor, Lang, Tiele, Saussaye.



Idol Made of Grass Plait, from East Africa.

QUESTIONS.

1. *What has historic science done in this century? Distinguish between chronicle and history. Identify history and evolution. Name the chief contributors to the new historic method. What part has philology played of late? To what sciences has philology made contributions? What does anthropology more particularly aim at?*

2. *What detracts from the writings of the fathers and reformers? How can we know more about their gods than did the Greeks and Romans? Compare the later cult with the earlier belief in the case of the Greek religion and of Christianity. Comment on the value of language here, and exemplify from the various countries. What was the use of deciphering hieroglyphic and cuneiform? Has much study been devoted to the Chinese language? Where did all great religions have their origin? What, in reference to language, follows from this?*

3. *What have we in place of a full Egyptian scripture? What records have we from Babylon and Assyria? What did Confucius bequeath us? What Laotze? What is Bodhism? Name the four religions of India? What use have these various Scriptures? Why are scriptures the most reliable exponents of a religion? Why not its creeds or its individuals? May we profitably compare Buddhism, Judaism, etc., as wholes? Are the world's scriptures now generally accessible in English? (Compare further the paragraph about Prof. F. M Müller, in Lesson 6.)*

4. *Justify the title "Universal Religion." Name its subdivisions. What does hierology afford? Define animism, naturism, and religion. Explain the two elements present in religion. Illustrate from Note 7. Contrast theology and religion. State Prof. Tylor's views of the primitive relation of morality and religion. Explain animism and naturism.*

5. *Define creed and cult. State the rationale of religion. What things are offered to deities? What is magic? What does imagination contribute to religion? What is a myth? What usually happens to legends? State the three leading views concerning the origin of religion. How does A. Reville distinguish myth from religion? What did J. Morley consider the value of the study of history?*

6. *How did the fathers treat religion? Describe the symbolic school—the philological school—the anthropological school. State the three conditions for the science of religion.*

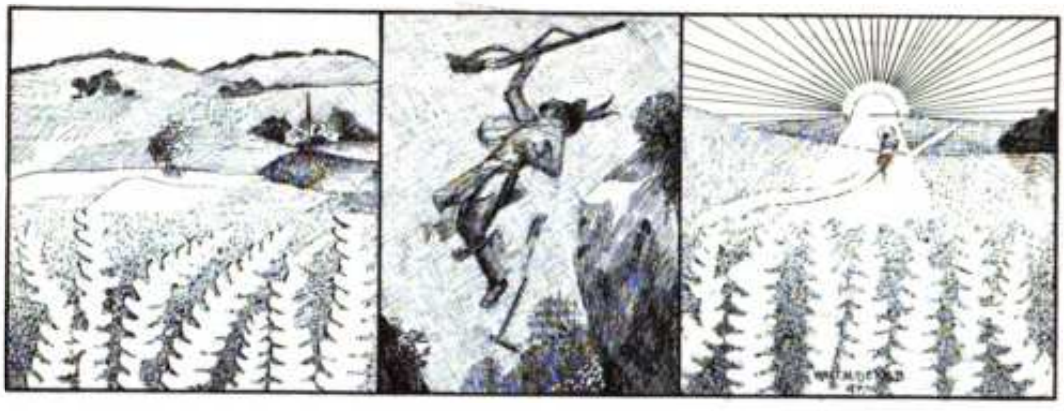


Fetish in Lunda. Purpose Unknown.

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Read Lectures 8, 9 and 10 in "Natural Religion," by F. Max Müller. Read the article on Evolution in any cyclopedia not more than ten years old. Compare with this lesson the series for next week on History of Culture.*
2. *Read Lectures 12 to 18 in "Natural Religion," by F. Max Müller.*
3. *Read Lecture 11 in the same. Beg your city librarian to grant you a brief inspection of the entire series of the S. B. E. It is epoch-making.*
4. *Search all accessible books for definitions of religion, and test them by the one given here.*
5. *Consult the Century Dictionary or a cyclopedia on these topics.*
6. *Read Chap. I. in Reville's "History of Religion."*

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THE HISTORY OF CULTURE (CIVILIZATION.)

BY

OTIS T. MASON, PH.D., Curator of the Department of Ethnology in the U. S. National Museum, Washington, D. C.

7. GENERAL OUTLINE.

ANTHROPOLOGY.—There are a billion and a half human beings now living on earth. These together with all their ancestors constitute a natural history group of the greatest possible interest, named by Linnaeus *Homo sapiens.*

The comprehensive science which includes all accurate knowledge about *Homo sapiens* in his relation to other beings, in his subdivisions and his multifarious activities, is called Anthropology, which may be defined as the natural history of man and of his works. Anthropologists divide their inquiries about *Homo sapiens* into two chapters, one concerning him as a member of the animal kingdom and the other concerning his inventions or culture life. When they study the former they investigate (*a*) the human embyro and the whole life of the individual, (*b*) the parts of the adult form in their co-operation and in comparison with homologous parts of all other animals, (*c*) the functionings of each part, (*d*) the application of weighing and measuring to the body and to its activities, (*e*) the nervous system in regard to mentation, and lastly, the natural subdivision of *Homo sapiens* into varieties called races. This subdivision of anthropology may well be termed anthropobiology, since it studies mankind as animals chiefly. The following table sets forth the subdivisions of Anthropobiology:

SCIENCE OF	INVESTIGATES.
Ontogeny	The embyro and the life of the individual.
Anatomy	The parts of the body in co-operation and in comparison.
Physiology	The functions of the body and its parts.
Anthropometry	Form, color, weight and proportion of the body or of its parts.
Psycho-Physics	The time and momentum of nervous and muscular activity.
Anthropotaxis	The subdivisions of mankind and their phylogeny.

All of these subsciences relating to the structure and functions of the natural man no less than to the most civilized man have to do also with culture. In a

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sense that will be made manifest later, the "promise and potency" of all cultures are concealed in the nature of the undeveloped races, and no doubt conversely many changes have been produced in man's physical nature by the sort of culture in which he has lived. Especially is this true of the classification of races or anthropotaxis, which forms the connecting link between anthropobiology and ethnology, which last is the study of the activities of races. Based partly on biological characteristics and partly on language and other culture elements anthropologists have worked out schemes of mankind.

The progress of mankind in the artificialities of life is called at one time "culture," at another "civilization" (1). "Culture" should be used for the sum of artificialities among any people. One may speak of the culture of the Fuegians, the Akka or the Nicobarese. But "civilization" should be reserved for the acme of culture in favored epochs or of all culture. Thus, in the nineteenth century, civilization is the culture-status of the dominant races and nations, and there was a time when it would have been proper to speak of the civilization of Egypt, Greece and Rome.

The history of culture is revealed to us in several ways, all necessary to correct opinions, and each of these is the foundation for a separate science.

METHOD OF RESEARCH.	SCIENCE.
1. Through things antiquated, or dug from the earth, in.....	*Archæology.*
2. Through the decipherment of records and inscriptions, in.....	*Paleography and Epigraphy.*
3. Through the beliefs, sayings and customs of unlettered folk, in.....	*Folk Lore.*
4. Through studies on living races and peoples in all grades of culture, in.....	*Ethnology.*
5. Through written records, in.....	*History.*

To study the unfolding of culture one must have a general knowledge of still other sciences: of physics and chemistry, to follow progress through the gradual mastery of natural forces and powers; of mineralogy, to identify and trace the materials of industrial products; of geology, to fix the age of relics and the nature of culture environments; of geography, to know the mutual effects of man and the earth on each other, and to locate races, nations and peoples; of botany and zoology, to comprehend man's place in nature, and his gradual domestication of living forms.

Functional Anthropology.—The study of the artificialities of human life gives rise to a number of important sciences as follows:

WHAT MAN DOES.	SCIENCE.
1. To express his thoughts.....	*Glossology* (*Philology.*)
2. To supply his practical wants.....	*Technology.*
3. To gratify his tastes.....	*Æsthetology.*
4. To co-operate in the activities and ends of life.....	*Sociology.*
5. To account for phenomena.....	*Inductive Science and Philosophy.*
6. In presence of a spirit world.....	*The Science of Religion or Hierology.*

Each of these six classes of activities is called a humanity, that is an activity proper and peculiar to man wherever and whenever found. Taken together they constitute culture, and the story of their rise and growth, with the conditions

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involved, forms the history of culture, which is just the subject of this article. History (usually limited to kings, wars, and politics) is only one phase of social activity (No. 4). Ethnology includes culture, history and anthropotaxis.

The question is mooted whether certain phases of culture are the productions of a people moving upward or of one moving downward. In passing from the coast inward the traveler constantly notices that he is going down hill, and that many side roads are descending. This is a picture of progress as here interpreted. The journey of the species as a whole is upward, but many times the most progressive races have degenerative periods, other peoples move along for centuries on the same contour, while countless tribes have passed entirely out of sight (2 & 3).



Indian Drilling Turquoises.

Much confusion has been caused among students of progress by misunderstandings regarding the meaning of the word savagery. The ordinary use of the word savage implies something bloodthirsty and sensual. But it is well known that many of the lowest peoples or so called savages are among the most peaceful of mankind. Certainly all students of history will agree that the first human beings were naked, houseless, fireless, inexperienced pensioners on nature's bounty.

Each environment makes it obligatory that its peoples may be rich in one culture-product and poor in another. Any one culture-product, therefore, cannot be assumed as the rule or modulus for all. The control of natural forces, and the degree of artificiality to which a people have attained determine the elevation. In this respect the grades of culture resemble the contours of the surveyor or vertical zones of climate showing successively a great diversity of natural scenery.

Progress in civilization at large has been advancement in all lines of human artificiality, or invention, from inexperience to experience, from simple biotic needs to the endless refinement of modern desires, from human hands and natural objects to complex and exquisite machinery, from group-society to civic, national and international life, from natural æstheticism to co-operative and symbolic æstheticism from self-preservation to universal benevolence, from anthropomorphism in science to the classification of cosmic phenomena and the discovery of the law of the conservation of energy.

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7. GENERAL OUTLINE.

(1) **Definition of Civilization (Culture).**—"We will now look at another word which is incessantly used—'civilization.' Many definitions of this have been made, from that of the Turk drinking champagne, who remarked about it that, 'after all, civilization is very nice,' up to the most elaborate combinations of art and science. It is no doubt very comfortable to have a word which only implies a tendency, and to which every one can assign his own value; but the day of reckoning comes when it is brought into arguments as a term. Civilization really means simply the art of living in a community, or the checks or counter-checks, the division of labor and the conveniences that arise from common action when a group of men live in close relation to each other. This will perhaps be objected to as including all, or nearly all, mankind in its scope. Quite true; all civilization is relative and not absolute."—*Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie, "Sm. Rep." 1895, Part I., 591.*

(2) **Evolution.**—"Progress, degradation, survival, revival, modification, are all modes of the connection that binds together the complex net-work of civilization. It needs but a glance into the trivial details of our own daily life to set us thinking how far we are really the originators, and how far but the transmitters and modifiers of the results of long past ages. Looking round the rooms we live in, we may try here how far he who only knows his own time can be capable of rightly comprehending even that. Here is the honeysuckle of Assyria, there the fleur-de-lis of Anjou; a cornice with a Greek border runs round the ceiling; the style of Louis XIV. and its parent, the Renaissance, share the looking-glass between them. Transformed, shifted, or mutilated, such elements of art still carry their history plainly stamped upon them; and if the history yet farther behind is less easy to read, we are not to say that because we cannot clearly discern it there is therefore no history there."—*Tylor, "Primitive Culture," Lond., 1871, Vol. I., p 16.*

(3) **Survival.**—"Our growth in intelligence and culture, all that we call the progress of civilization, may be better compared with the upward shoot of a plant than with the unconfined flight of a bird; we remain ever bound to the earth, and the twig can only grow on the stem. Human nature may raise its head aloft in the pure ether, but its feet must ever rest on the ground, and the dust must return to the dust. Hence the necessity of attention to the geographical point of view. As for historical considerations, we can point to races which have remained the same for thousands of years, and have changed their place, their speech, their physical appearance, their mode of life not at all, their religion and their knowledge only superficially. Herodotus tells us about a race of Troglodytes, who dwelt near the Garamantes, the inhabitants of the modern Fezzan. They were active and swift-footed, and spoke a language almost unknown beyond their own boundaries. Here we have Nachtigal's Tebus or Tedas, who to this day inhabit the natural caverns in their rocks, are renowned far and wide for activity and fleetness of foot, and speak a language which has hardly extended itself beyond the walls of their rocky fortress. Thus for 2,000 years at least, and for all we know much longer, they have lived in just the same way. They are today no poorer, no richer, no wiser, no more ignorant, than they have been these thousands of years. They have acquired nothing in addition to what they possessed then. Each generation has repeated the history of the one before it, and that repeated its predecessors'; as we say, they have made no progress."—*Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Part I., pp. 3 and 4.*

Grades of Culture.—"Human evolution is the evolution not of kinds of men, but of grades of men. The oak is a different kind of tree from the beech; the acorn, the plantlet, and the old oak are grades of the same thing. Now, clearly understand me when I speak of kinds and grades. Human evolution is serial evolution; it is evolution producing grades; animal evolution is primarily differential evolution producing kinds, while secondarily it produces grades. The laws of evolution do not produce kinds of men, but grades of men; and human evolution is intellectual, not physical. There are some slight exceptions to this, and in the early history of mankind some important exceptions; but gradually, as society advances, evolution into kinds is replaced by evolution into grades. Now, the effect of environment is only one of the factors of evolution, there being three: One is heredity, another is self-activity, and the last is environment."—*J. W. Powell, "Smithsonian Reports." 1895, Part I., p. 625.*



Primitive Umbrella in Guatemala.
(From U. S. National Museum Report, 1894.)

Solidarity of Culture.—"It is an error to suppose that in primitive life there is always to be found a lack in the number of diverse elements constituting the total life of the people. The question of progress in many cases is not one to multiply branches, but of perfecting the organic unity and co-operation among these branches. There are as many separate divisions of a cluster of coral individuals as there are leaves on a tree, but in the former there is little, if any, organic unity among the parts, while in the tree or in the cells of an animal there is a much greater co-operation. It is the same in the study of the progress of human society. Organizations exist in great numbers even among savages, but they are not bound together in a solid community as the corresponding organizations in higher communities. A good example of this difference is afforded in comparing the American Indians in their many societies and the solidarity and wide extent of a great modern fraternity."—*O. T. Mason.*

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8. LANGUAGE.

As a means of tracking the course of culture in its developments and variations, language must be studied in its origin, its growth and its classification (1). The term "speech" or "language" in such an extensive research must embrace all methods of communication between minds, both on the physical and the psychological side. On the physical side the eye and the ear are the special doorways of information, though the other senses must not be neglected as receivers of thought or feeling or desire. These receivers of speech as well as the communicators of speech give names to various forms (2). So there are visible speech and audible speech, as well as spoken and written language. Language to the eye comes through—



Dyak Woman of Borneo.

1. Gesture language or gesture speech —the expression of thought or feeling "by facial movements or motions of the body"* (3).

2. Picture writing, which Colonel Mallery characterizes as a "mode of expressing thoughts or noting facts by marks which at first were confined to the portrayal of natural or artificial objects." (4)

3. Written language, which in the forms of its characters is "derived from pictography and in their groupings stands for spoken words or phrases."

Language to the ear comes—

1. In imitating the sounds and voices of nature, the sound recalling the author of the sound or some experience in connection with it.

2. In uttering sounds associated habitually with definite feelings.

3. In the rhythm, melody and dynamic of instrumental sounds, as in the tapa beater's signals of Samoa, the drum language of Africa and in the Morse telegraph alphabet.

4. In the complex speech and reading of races and peoples having some literary advancement in the utterance of grammatic languages.

The eye and the ear being the special receivers of speech, the hand has as its peculiar function the record of speech. If one could have watched the hands of all who have attempted to put down what is thought or said he would know the whole ontogeny of the material side of literature. This study cannot be neglected in the curriculum of culture progress.

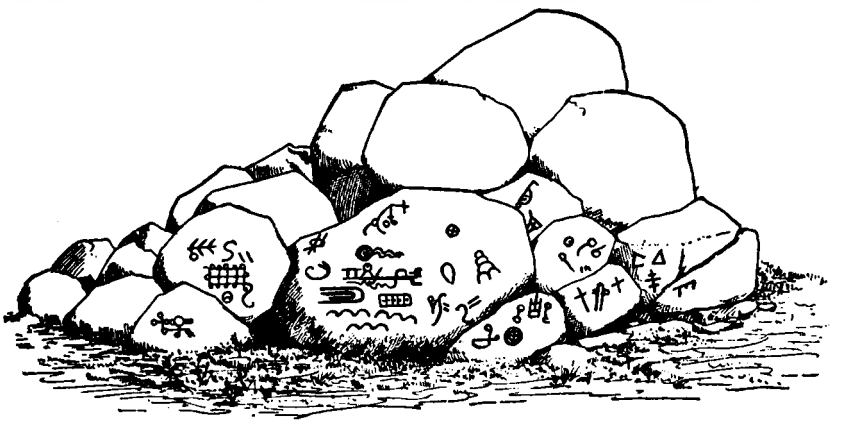
The vocal organs are essentially the creators of language, assisted by gestures of the body and by outside devices. They have also differentiated language, and are the centrifugal and dispersive part of the vocal machinery, as the ear, the eye and the hand have been the conservative agencies. From this analysis arise the anatomy of speech organs, the physiology of speech, the psycho-physics of speech, and the ethnology of speech.

* Note the various papers of Colonel Mallery in the Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution.

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De Mortillet argues, from the absence of the mental tubercle or bony excrescence into which the tongue is inserted from the Naulette jaw, the absence of the faculty of vocal utterance. Indeed, there are those who believe in the existence of a *Homo alalus.* This is not necessary. Culture does not start with absolute ignorance in any sphere. The study of artificial speech commences just one stadium in advance of this. *Homo alalus* was not *Homo* at all. Some have gone so far as to allege that speechless man covered the whole earth, that innumerable languages developed at first, and that the later condition is the result of infinite numbers of fusions.

Finally, the study of human progress as revealed in language cannot be pursued without a close attention to the mind revealing itself in speech. All language of all time and in all grades, even in the animal kingdom, is the expression of relation between two ideas; it is the utterance of propositions. There are at last only two parts of speech, namely, (*a*) what is thought of, and (*b*) what is thought about it. The devices of construction among various peoples in which they reveal their modes of thinking are the best marks of language and of progress. In the last resort the student finds language to be a study in the progress of psychology.



Pictographs in California.—From Tenth Report Bureau of Ethnology

In speech the progress of culture has proceeded from simple utterances, undifferentiated grammar, sign language, and the rudest pictography to multiplication of roots, formal grammar, codes of signals, ciphers, and alphabets. This progress in different culture-areas has been along three main routes leading to (*a*) monosyllabism, (*b*) polysyllabism or agglutination, and (*c*) inflection. It is not necessary to believe that any one of these types of utterance is the primitive form out of which the other two sprang, nor that there is an order of origin among them. Each one is the result of linguistic processes going on in separate communities. It will be seen also that in actual speech there are examples of each in the others.

The student will find that language has frequently been relied on to identify the blood kinship of peoples. Where the family tree has been lost and tradition has failed, the footsteps and starting point of a people have been retraced by its language, often the most enduring of characteristics. Thus Heinrich Winckler, of Breslau, brings back the Japanese to Western Asia, and William Turner the Navajo in New Mexico to their home in Alaska.

The most enduring relics of any people's language are the songs, rituals, and legends connected with their religion, just as archæology reveals more of the sacred than of the profane objects of past nations and tribes. It is also true that comparative philology owes to religion the recognition of the unity of the race and the possession of parts of the Bible in many hundreds of tongues.

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8. LANGUAGE.

(1) **Evolution of Language.**—"Language belongs in essential principle both to low grades and high of civilization;—to which should its origin be attributed? An answer may be had by comparing the methods of language with the work it has to do. Take language all in

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all over the world, it is obvious that the processes by which words are made and adapted have far less to do with systematic arrangement and scientific classification, than with mere rough and ready ingenuity and the great rule of thumb. Let any one whose vocation it is to realize philosophical or scientific conceptions and to express them in words, ask himself whether ordinary language is an instrument planned for such purposes. Of course it is not. It is hard to say which is the more striking, the want of scientific system in the expression of thought by words, or the infinite cleverness of detail by which this imperfection is got over, so that he who has an idea does somehow make shift to get it clearly in words before his own and other minds. The language by which a nation with highly developed art and knowledge and sentiment must express its thoughts on these subjects, is no apt machine devised for such special work, but an old barbaric engine added to and altered, patched and tinkered into some sort of capability. Ethnography reasonably accounts at once for the immense power and the manifest weakness of language as a means of expressing modern educated thought, by treating it as an original product of low culture, gradually adapted by ages of evolution and selection, to answer more or less sufficiently the requirements of modern civilization."—*E. B. Tylor, "Primitive Culture," London, 1871, Vol. I., p. 216.*

"The problem in language is to express many ideas and thoughts with comparatively few words.

"Again, in the evolution of any language, progress is from a condition where few ideas are expressed by a few words to a higher, where many ideas are expressed by the use of many words; but the number of all possible ideas or thoughts expressed is increased greatly out of the proportion with the increase of the number of words.

"And still again, in all of those languages which have been most thoroughly studied, and by inference in all languages, it appears that the few original words used in any language remain as the elements for the greater number finally used. In the evolution of a language the introduction of absolutely new material is a comparatively rare phenomenon. The old material is combined and modified in many ways to form the new.

"First, by combination.

"Second, by vocalic mutation.

"Third, by intonation.

"Fourth, by placement.

"Combination is effected by juxtaposition, as in Chinese; by compounding, as in house-top; by agglutination, as in truthful, and by inflection where one of the compounds is so changed as not to be recognized.

"In vocalic mutation, a new word is formed from an old one by simply changing the vowel sound, as in man, men.

"The intonation consists in giving a new force or direction by raising or lowering the voice, as in asking a question. In the Chinese, eight distinct intonations occur.

"Placement is largely used in the English language to give different meaning to sentences."—*J. W. Powell, "First An. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.," p. 3.*

(2) **Origin of Speech.**—"The preponderance of authority is in favor of the view that man, when in the possession of all his faculties, did not choose between voice and gesture, both being originally instinctive, as they both are now, and never, with those faculties, was in a state where the one was used to the absolute exclusion of the other. With the voice, man at first imitated the few sounds of nature, while with gesture he exhibited actions, motions, positions, forms, dimensions, directions, and distances, and their derivatives. It would appear from this unequal division of capacity that oral speech remained rudimentary long after gesture had become an art. With the concession of all purely imitative sounds and of the spontaneous action of the vocal organs under excitement, it is still true that the connection between ideas and words generally depended upon a compact between the speaker and hearer, which presupposes the existence of a prior mode of communication."—*Garrick Mallery, "First An. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.," p. 284.*

(3) **Gesture Speech.**—"Gesture speech consists in corporeal motion and facial expression. A play of feature whether instinctive or voluntary, accentuates and qualifies all motions intended to serve as signs, and strong instinctive facial expression is generally accompanied by action of the body or some of its members. But, so far as a distinction can be made, expression of the features is the result of an emotional, and corporeal gestures of intellectual action. The former in general and the small number of the latter that are distinctively emotional are nearly identical among men from physiological causes, which, however, do not affect with the same similarity the processes of thought. The large number of corporeal gestures expressing intellectual operations require and admit of more variety and conventionality. Thus the features and the body among all mankind act almost uniformly in exhibiting fear, grief, surprise, and shame, but all objective conceptions are varied and variously portrayed. Even such simple indications as those for 'no' and 'yes' appear in several differing motions. While, therefore, the terms sign-language and gesture-speech necessarily include and suppose facial expression when emotions are in question, they refer more particularly to corporeal motions and attitudes. For this reason much of the valuable contribution of Darwin in his 'Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals' is not directly applicable to sign language."—*Ibid, p. 270.*

(4) **Picture-Writing.**—"Picture-writing is a mode of expressing thoughts or noting facts by marks which at first were confined to the portrayal of natural or artificial objects. It is one distinctive form of thought-writing without reference to sound, gesture-language being the other and probably earlier form. Whether remaining purely ideographic, or having become conventional, picture-writing is the direct and durable expression of ideas of which gesture-language gives the transient expression. Originally it was not connected with the words of any language. When adopted for syllabaries or alphabets, which is the historical course of its evolution, it ceased to be the immediate and became the secondary expression of the ideas framed in oral speech. The writing common in civilization may properly be styled sound-writing, as it does not directly record thoughts, but presents them indirectly, after they have passed through the phase of sound. The trace of pictographs in alphabets and syllabaries is discussed in the present work under its proper heading and new illustrations are presented. It is sufficient for the present to note that all the varied characters of script and print now current are derived directly or indirectly from pictorial representations of objects.—*Ibid. pp. 25, 26.*

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9. THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS.

By industrial arts are meant those that minister to the bodily wants of mankind. They may be divided into five classes:—

1. *Exploitation.* The material resources of the earth are secured from the mineral, the vegetable and the animal kingdom.

2. *Manufacture.* The materials are changed in form. Out of them are made the innumerable products of trades.

3. *Transportation and Travel.* The raw materials and the products are moved on the backs of human beings, on animals, on water transports, on wagons and other land vehicles. Furthermore, men are carried about by the same means.



Primitive Loom, Showing Warp-beams, Harness and Battens.

4. *Exchange.* The changing of ownership in the products of industry involves the building of warehouses and stores, the making of all sorts of packages, and especially the invention of the whole series of devices for weighing, measuring, valuing and paying.

5. *Enjoyment.* What is commonly called consumption in works on political economy were better styled enjoyment, since the products of the other arts are not always used up, but often preserved with the greatest care. The arts of enjoyment or of gratifying desires are the processes of using the productions of the other four classes of activity.

Now, as regards these activities the history of culture is the account of the ever-increasing complexity in the tools and processes and products of industry. As regards tools, there was a stone age (1) and a metal age, and some writers subdivide these variously. There has certainly been from first to last a rising scale of ingenuity in the devices for taking the place of the human hand in making tools effective. The account of this is the history of the evolution of machinery. What a number of volumes it would require to describe what is known of man's progress in this one division, and how many footprints have been erased!

Industrial arts also involve the domestication of natural forces more and more efficaciously. The first human beings explored, manufactured, transported, traded, and enjoyed without artificial aid. Nature supplied the unchanged material, the tool, the vehicle, the mechanism of exchange, the covering of the body, the shelter and its furniture and all utensils. On the other hand the enlightened peoples of this century scarcely employ an unchanged object. Even their drinking water is filtered and sterilized.

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Now, in passing upward from naturism through many grades of culture to the refined accommodation of civilization, the whole way has been marked by the harnessing of natural forces one by one. This progress may be shown in a table thus:

Power of	*Industrial epoch of.*
Man.	The Hand.
Beast.	Domestication.
Elastic Springs.	Hunting.
Fire.	Metallurgy.
Wind.	The Sail.
Water.	Machinery.
Steam.	Railroads.
Chemistry.	Scientific Industry.
Electricity.	Conservation of Energy.
Light.	Photography or Photokinetics.



Navajo Unhairing Deerskin after the Sweating. A Primitive Method of Tanning. (From National Museum Report, 1889.)

In the harnessing of these forces there is a set of inventions which have come into use that in themselves form an excellent series for gauging the progress of civilization. They are called mechanical powers and devices. The order of their coming may have been as follows:

1. *Weights*, for hammers, traps, and motion.
2. *Elastic springs*, in bows, traps and machines.
3. *The lever*, in lifting, moving and tightening.
4. *Inclined plane*, in locomotion and transportation.
5. *Wedge*, in riving and tightening.
6. *The sled*, on snow and prepared tracks.
7. *Roller*, for loads, becoming the wheel, the sheave and the machine bearing.
8. *The wheel*, for wagons and carriages.
9. *Wheel and axle*, for windlasses, winches, etc., with ratchets and guides for directing and restraining motion.
10. *Pully*, in tackle and for changing motion.
11. *Clamps*, embracing all twisting and binding devices.
12. *The Screw.*

Along with this perfecting of apparatus has gone the perfecting of invention itself, including progress:

1. In the things invented. The earliest inventions were stones rudely chipped, bones ground to a point or saplings twisted.
2. In the variety and number of materials involved. The first inventions were monorganic; the latest are polyorganic.

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Navajo Woman Spinning Yarn From Native Wool.

3. In the mental processes. The first inventions were happy thoughts, the latest are the results of intense, purposeful, co-operative thought.

4. In the rewards and benefits. The first inventors got bettered results and the benefits were personal; the latest secure patents and are benefactors of the race.

5. In Society. The first inventions united a limited number to a slight extent; the latest unite all the world to the highest degree.

All the time culture is proceeding from naturism to more complete artificiality, from simple monorganism to polyorganism, from clumsiness to delicacy, from discomfort to comfort, from solitary work to cooperation, from personal weal to commonweal, from polytheism to monotheism, acknowledging one master builder of all. The word "artificial" is employed everywhere in this paper in a noble sense, never to denote sham or hypocrisy. In culture this contrast between the creature

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man and the inventor man, between the non-progressive and the progressive man, is the one ever-obtrusive characteristic. Man is the artificializing animal. All sorts of useful substances were ever in the world; man alone made tools of them.

Industrial arts receive their names from several concepts. If the concept be raw material one finds leather-work, claywork or ceramic, textile work, woodwork, stone work, metal work, and so on. If the point of view be the function of the individual or of the art, one reads of the mining art, farming, woodcraft, fisheries, manufactures, art of exchange, of war and so on. There is positively no limit to these, but there is only one way to pursue the study of them intelligently. There is kinship and descent in arts, in utensils, in tools, in apparatus, in machinery, in everything.

In the industrial arts the progress of culture follows the same law of artificialism, from naturism to machinery, from nakedness to costume, from the cave and brush shelter to the beautified home, from resting on the ground to couches of down, from raw fruit and worms to the state dinner, from stones and shells and thorns to the triphammer, the steam drill and plane, from barter to the systems of exchange and universal commerce.

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9. THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS.

(1.) Classification of Prehistoric Remains.

I. Age of Stone.
  I. Palaeolithic period, instruments of rough or chipped stone.
    A. Epoch of simple implements.
    B. Epoch of compound implements.
  II. Neolithic Period; implements of polished stone, pottery.
    A. Epoch of megalithic constructions and kitchen-middens.
    B. Epoch of the early lake dwellings
II. Age of Bronze.
  A. Epoch of later lake-dwellings.
  B. Epoch of mound-burials.
III. Age of Iron.
  Epoch of introduction of iron manufacture

—*Brinton, "Iconographic Encyc.," Phila., 1886; ii. p. 28.*

THE STONE AGE.

PALAEOLITHIC CULTURE.	NEOLITHIC CULTURE
Climate, at first warm (inter-glacial), then cold (last ice-age) in the present temperate zone of the Northern hemisphere and everywhere in the Alpine regions.	*Climate*, everywhere much as at present, though at first (last post-glacial period) perhaps cooler. In general ice disappears with the appearance of neolithic man in the temperate zone.
PALAEOLITHIC CULTURE.	NEOLITHIC CULTURE.
Fauna: large pachyderms, feline and ursine species, hyaena, reindeer, horse, elk, glutton, chamois, goat, all wild; some perish with the increasing cold, some migrate south, some survive by adaptation to the changed environment and either withdraw northwards with the retreating ice-sheet or take refuge in the Alpine Regions; no domestic animals.	*Fauna*: mainly as at present, a few pachyderms survive here and there (mammoth in Siberia); chief wild animals, wolf, bear, lion, aurochs, beaver, fox, deer; domestic animals everywhere abundant—horse, ox, dog, sheep, goat, pig in temperate zone, camel in Arabia and Central Asia, llama in S. America.
Human types, mainly dolichocephalous, but brachycephalous also in some places.	*Human types*, at first mainly brachycephalous in Europe, later mixed and diversified as at present everywhere.
Fire, at first known only, later partly under control—could be preserved when kindled by natural means.	*Fire*, under more complete control—could be artificially kindled and preserved.
Food, at first mainly vegetable, then animal also, mostly perhaps eaten raw; obtained by hunting and fishing only.	*Food*, vegetable and animal, the latter mostly cooked; obtained by hunting, fishing, stock-breeding and tillage.
Cultivated Plants, none.	*Cultivated Plants*, numerous, cereals, vegetables, fruits.
Industries, limited to the making of chipped stone implements of Chelléan, Solutréan and other types, never ground or polished; apparently no pottery, but later artistic sentiment developed.	*Industries*, extended to the making of polished stone implements of diverse types, spinning, weaving, mining, pottery, but little artistic sentiment at first.
Monuments, none in the strict sense; no houses, graves, or burial.	*Monuments*, monolithic, megalithic, etc., very numerous; houses, barrows, graves (burial)
Speech, at first perhaps inorganic, later involved.	*Speech*, perhaps everywhere involved at first, later organic.
Religious Ideas, none (?).	*Religious Ideas*, well developed.
Social Groups, the family later the clan.	*Social Groups*, the family, clan and tribe.

—*Keane, "Ethnology," Cambridge, 1896, pp. 110, 111.*

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10. THE FINE ARTS.

By fine arts are meant those artificialities that give pleasure to the mind through the senses, especially through the eye and the ear. The progress of civilization in the fine arts is measured as in the other divisions of culture, and as progress is graded in nature, by an increase of complexity in structure coupled with more perfect unification of purpose. The older writers noted this advance of unity in variety (1), but it becomes more intelligible in the light of science. In the lower savagery appear efforts to please the ear by rhythm, by melody or successions of different tones, by dynamics and by timbres; and to please the eye, through form, color, and motion. Among savages there is individual singing, and singing in unison, but no attempt at harmony. Authorities differ upon the question whether the so-called natural scale, the diatonic scale, is really fixed in the vocal apparatus. Upon the theory of progress in culture here assumed, this artificial sequence of tones was acquired after the invention of set musical instruments. At any rate the student of culture finds himself in possession, in the history of music, of a regular scale of progress.



Types of Form and Decoration of Pueblo Pottery.

Musical instruments from the beginning are divided into those that are struck or shaken, those that are picked, those that are rubbed, and those that are blown; or into the drum and rattle class, the pipe class and the lyre class. Whether it be the series which has been called autophonous, or drum class, or the stringed instrument, or the wind instrument, the law of artificiality has held good in the perfection of the individual, and in the elaboration of co-operation through bands and orchestras.

Finally, there seems never to have been absent from the human species a love of fine speaking and composition. Literature is as old as man; the aesthetic element in language seems to have been with us as long as the stone axe or the hammer. The Andamanese had both. When this literature chooses for its subject the adoration of gods and heroes and sets itself

"Like perfect music unto perfect words,"

we have the epic, the oratorio, the hymn sung by hundreds or thousands of trained voices. The best music was always reserved for the gods.

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Savage art shows itself to the eye in textiles, pottery, painting, etching, carving, sculpture, architecture, adornment of the person, and dancing or the drama. In this more than in other divisions of culture, the environment controls the type. The materials, the tools, the processes, the productions are of the region more than the superficial reader supposes. This is true of peoples living in a primitive state more than of the civilized. To the savage the enclave is small; to the civilized the whole earth is one enclave. The intermediate peoples are to be set in a row according to the extent of their entrance into the globe—embracing streams of aesthetic artificiality.



Bowl from Arizona. Co-operation of Industry, Art and Religion. (From Smithsonian Report, 1895.)

Spectacular art has not met with equal welcome in all parts of the human abode. The kitchen utensils of savagery are little adorned. Water vessels and those for cooking stand wide apart in this regard. The dining-room and the sleeping apartments have been better favored. The sitting-room or parlor has always been the favorite meeting place for artist and patron. In addition to the family salon, the public salon for the council of state, but above all the meeting place of gods and men demanded always the very best services of architect, sculptor, engraver, painter, ceramist, and landscape gardner. Perfumes and costly viands crown the list.

Viewing aesthetic art for the eye from another point of view, that of form and color, one encounters a mooted question, to-wit, What is the origin of these forms, and the motive of these colors and of their associations in the lower races? The answer is, they are inventions, within the limitations laid down in this paper. They are at first happy thoughts, imitations of nature, arrests at the limits of the materials, then becoming conventionalized, abbreviated, associated, transferred, and idealized, as time passes and artificial life advances (2).

The fine art of the lower senses follows the same system of branching artificiality. The wild frenzy of the tribal dance bears only a slight resemblance to a modern terpsichorean function; the odorous unguents with which the warrior in savagery anoints his body are wholly utilitarian, to help him in hunting; his viands are few in number, and the catalogue of dishes in each is meagre, but both these last are the starting points of modern perfumery and cuisine. The procession of state and the religious pageant are, as one would suppose, the acme of dramatic artificiality. The progress of civilization in the fine art of sound is again from naturism to artificialism, from intoning to chanting, from noise to mechanically accurate tone, from monotony to melody, from shouting or reciting together to the grand chorus, from the rattle to the drum corps and the xylophone, from the twanging bow to the string orchestra, from the conch to the endless variety of clarionets, flutes and organs.

In fine art for the eye, this progress starts from monotony and lack of composition, from limitations of materials, of tools, and want of knack, from hugging the shore of nature's forms and colors and suggestions, and ends in the perfect organism of brush-work, burin-work, chisel-work, and photography. The human hand-epoch still largely survives here, the machine being useful only in expediting and putting together (3).

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IO. THE FINE ARTS.

(1) **Variation in Art.**—"All human handiwork is subject to the same operation of external forces, but the material on which these forces act is also infinitely varied. The diverse races and people of mankind have different ideas and ideals, unequal skill, varied material to work upon, and dissimilar tools to work with. Everywhere the environment is different. So we get the bewildering confusion of ideas which crowd upon us when inspecting a large ethnographical collection or a museum of the decorative arts.

"The conclusion that forced itself upon me is that the decorative art of a people does, to a certain extent, reflect their character."—*Haddon, "Evolution in Art," Lond., 1895, p. 7.*

(2) **Structure a Source of Ornament.**—"Dr. H. Colley March has introduced the term 'Skeuomorph' for the forms of ornament demonstrably due to structure. Professor G. Semper' was the first to show that the basket-maker, the weaver, and the potter, originated those combinations of line and color which the ornamentist turned to his own use when he had to decorate walls, cornices, and ceilings.' So write M. M. Perrot and Chipiez, but this statement is too sweeping. A considerable amount of ornamentation is doubtless due to technique, but in Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa plant forms have had a great influence in the origin of designs, some of which have been modified by passing through a textile technique."—*Ibid, p. 75.*

(3) **Evolution of Art.**—"The changes which we see taking place in the arts of the present day are but the magnified reflection of what has gone before during long ages. Especially do we see the truth of the time-honored saying, 'Natura Artis Magistra;' and it may be said with truth that the alphabet of every art has been learnt in the school of Nature, while the grammar, too, is modeled upon her teaching. Appreciation, adaptation, and, lastly, creation, are stages in the development of art from Nature's models, which follow one another in a natural sequence."—*Henry Balfour, "The Evolution of Decorative Art," Lond., 1893, p. 128.*

Evolution of Ornament.—"It is seen that as art progressed, animate forms were gradually introduced into decoration, not because of their capacity to beautify, but on account of ideographic appropriateness; that these life forms, when once within the realm of decoration, were acted upon by the mechanical forces of art, and gradually reduced to purely geometric shapes; that each one of these figures has in all probability a complex genesis, since almost identical forms may have been evolved by independent nations through any one, or through many of the arts, or that any creature extensively portrayed in any art of any people may, through the mechanical conventions to which it was necessarily subjected, be transformed, by imperceptible steps, into any one, or into all of the typical geometric designs; and it may be added that, as far as ideography and symbolism are concerned, it appears from the above statement that ideas associated with any one of our conventional decorative forms may be as diverse as are the arts the peoples, and the original elements concerned in its evolution."—*Holmes, "On the Evolution of Ornament," Am. Anthrop., April, 1890, p. 146.*

Environment Influences the Quality and Form of Art.—One of the most instructive illustrations of this play and adjustment between the environment of a people and their spirit is seen in the comparison of the sculpture and architecture of Greece and of Egypt. The heaviness of Egyptian art was occasioned by the presence of indocile granite, the unparalleled excellence of Grecian sculpture and architecture is due to the existence of the whitest marble in the world in thickest layers. Not only the quality of art lies in the material, but art *forms* have sprung up in savagery under the limitations of the material accessible. Hence the geometric lines on basketry and textiles, the lack of sharp outlines in pottery, the rough style of sculpture before the file, the greater and more exquisite detail of carvings in wood, ivory, and hardstone before the epoch of stone sculpture. These limitations of materials and of tools also make it difficult to set up a scale of



Carrying Frame in Lacework of the Papago. Origin of Point-lace. (From National Museum Report, 1890.)

culture progress. It would be impossible to grade the tribes and peoples of the earth by art standards. The Eskimos excel in working ivory, the Pacific coast tribes in wood carving, the California tribes in basketry, the Pueblo tribes in pottery, the middle American tribes in sculpture. In the Eastern Hemisphere the same law holds. The Arctic peoples resemble the Eskimo and Athapscans, the Coreo-Japanese and the Chinese excel in pottery, small carvings and embroidery, the bamboo dominates art in Southeastern Asia, and as in Central America, so in the same latitude in Asia, viz., in India, massive buildings in hammered stone absorbed the aesthetic sense and handicraft.

Art motives in textiles, painting, ceramic, carving, engraving, sculpture, architecture, and the drama have been always and everywhere and in all grades of culture evoked by the environment. —*Otis T. Mason, Curator of Anthropological Dpt., National Museum, Washington.*

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11. SOCIOLOGY.



Arapaho Shield.—Use, Becoming Ceremony—(National Museum Report, 1883.)

As in language and the arts progress has been the law of development, so has it been in the co-operations of human beings. The organs of a plant are of two kinds, those that sustain its life and those that produce the seeds. The ends of society among men and women are also of two kinds, those relating to the activities and industries of life and those relating to the family and kinship. The co-operations of means to these ends form one of the most interesting studies of progress, embracing all forms of control or government whatsoever, and every action of man done co-operatively.

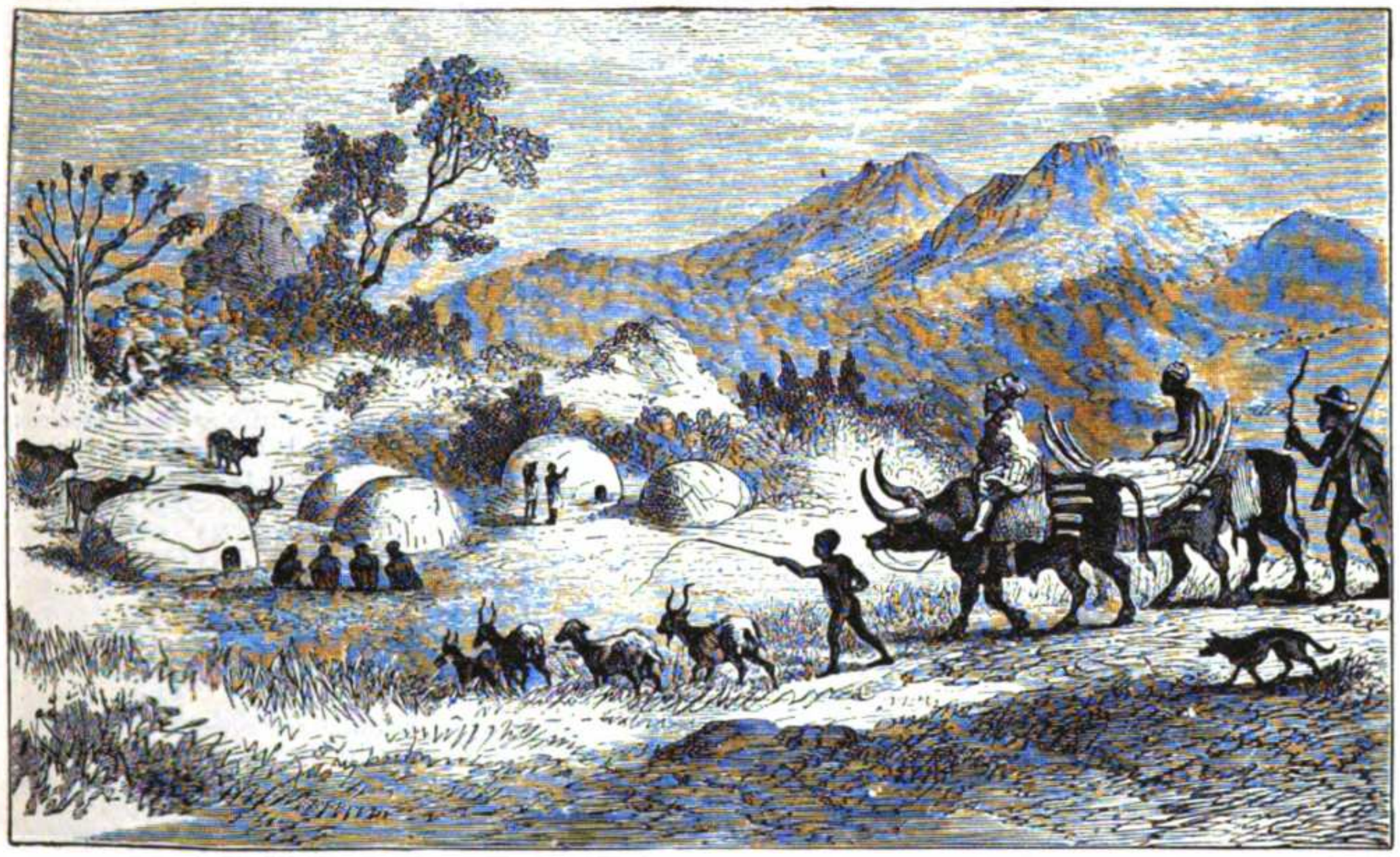
This may be the best place to draw attention to the fact that each one of the five phases of culture discussed in these lessons is an element in all the others. Society is partly an end in itself, and sociology is a study of the structure and functionings of all sorts of human associations; but society is also a means to an end, and is to be studied as a part of the science of that end, be it language, industry, pleasure, knowledge or religion. In primitive society kinship lies at the foundation of all artificial groupings of men and women. The clan system extends even into the spirit world and down into the animal world, so that all creatures and all supernatural beings familiar to a people form a great tribe or family.

As in other activities, so in social life the underlying motives are human needs and desires. Rather desires than needs, since we here are more concerned with artificialities than with mere biological cravings. Society is continually inventing itself. As the first implements were stones, shells, thorns, vines and gourds, the second implements were these same slightly modified, and the third functioned in the same way, being imitations made from different materials; so in the progress of society among mankind the earliest co-operations were the following of natural processes, the next higher were new plans hit upon, happy thoughts of versatile man, still higher ones became more like purposeful inventions, and last of all came legislation. Indeed, this very legislation in society has had its own separate development, beginning with common consent and finding its climax in the most comprehensive enactments and constitutions. To the betterment of society at this point are devoted in our day civic centers, social reform clubs, university extension courses, associations, and journals, the last

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named under able and serious management. Sociology in some form is now the ruling science, affecting profoundly both ethics and religion.

Every want to supply which human beings become co-operative lies at the foundation of a separate social science, greater or smaller, all of which together constitute sociology. Who co-operated to supply the want? When did they co-operate, and for how long? What was the structure of this organization and what its functions? What were its antecedents, its forebears, and what its consequents or descendants? How did it arise, and what was its history and modifications under different stresses and encouragements? The study of motives underlying organization and the



A Namagua Kraal, South Africa.

intellectual processes involved therein bring sociology within the domain of psychology, but to the observer, the enumerator, and the photographer, sociology resembles very closely the study of mechanical inventions. There are wants to supply, resistances to overcome, co-operations of parts to attain, ends proposed, and man or beast or physical energy supplying the dynamic or static force. Progress in social life must be studied by the rules laid down in all other culture-fields. Its elements are its own, investigated in their own laboratory. Their behavior in union follows the universal law.

The progress of society affords an excellent object lesson of the cultured life supplanting the natural life. The ends of social life and co-operation in these ends have all along proceeded toward differentiation and betterment, the multiplication of social structures and the better organization of these into a compact humanity. In marriage, in war, in government, in religion, as well as in the arts of support and the arts of enjoyment, the purely material passes into the intellectual and spiritual. Only the races and nations undergoing this change go forward.

Lewis H. Morgan unites the various conditions of culture into a scheme of periods as follows·

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PERIODS.	CONDITIONS.
1. *Lower Savagery.*	From the infancy of the race to next period.
2. *Middle Savagery.*	From fish diet and knowledge of fire.
3. *Upper Savagery.*	From the bow and arrow.
4. *Lower Barbarism.*	From invention of pottery.
5. *Middle Barbarism.*	From domestication of animals, cultivation of maize, etc., by irrigation, use of adobe brick and stone.
6. *Upper Barbarism.*	From smelting iron ore, with the use of iron tools, etc.
7. *Status of Civilization.*	From phonetic alphabet, with the use of writing.

He says, "It does not affect the main result that tribes and nations on the same continent and even of the same linguistic family are in different conditions at the same time, since for our purpose the condition of each is the material fact, the time being immaterial" (1).

11. SOCIOLOGY.

(1) **The Evolution of Society.** — In the first place the evolution of society, no less than the evolution of life, conforms to that universal law of evolution discovered by Mr. Spencer, and illustrated at length in earlier chapters.

In the second place, the progress of society exhibits those secondary features of *differentiation and integration* which evolution universally exhibits. Every man is his own butcher and baker, his own tailor and carpenter, his own smith, and his own weapon maker. Now the progress of such a society toward a civilized condition begins with the differentiation and integration of productive occupations. That each specialization of labor entails increased efficiency of production, which reacting brings out still greater specialization, is known to every tyro in political economy. The contrast between the steam-engine of today and the pulleys, screws, and levers of a thousand years ago assures us that the growing complexity of the objects which labor aims at is paralleled by the growing complexity of the modes of attaining them. Turning to government, we see that by differentiation in the primeval community some families acquired supreme power, while others sank, though in different degrees, to the rank of subjects. Next may be mentioned the differentiation of the governing power into the civil and ecclesiastical; while by the side of these ceremonial government grows up insensibly as a third power, regulating the minor details of social intercourse none the less potently because not embodied in statutes and edicts. Already in treating of the evolution of life we saw that the ultimate and general formula needed to be supplemented by a derivative and special formula, which should describe organic development in terms inapplicable to inorganic phenomena.

The progress of a community, as of an organism, is a process of *adaptation* — a continuous establishment of inner relations in conformity to outer relations. If we contemplate material civilization under its widest aspect, we discover its legitimate aim to be the attainment and maintenance of an equilibrium between the wants of men and the outward means of satisfying them. And what is the consummation of moral progress but the thorough adaptation of the desires of each individual to the requirements arising from the coexistent desires of all neighboring individuals?

Let us now examine more closely the relations between the community and the environment. From the twofold circumstance that life is high according as the organism is heterogeneous, and also according as it is adjusted to surrounding conditions, may be derived the corollary that *the heterogeneity of the environment is the chief proximate determining cause of social progress.* Applying these considerations to history, it will be seen that, owing to the political isolation of ancient communities, the heterogeneity of their environments must have been inconsiderable. Owing to the enormous heterogeneity of the environment to which modern communities are forced to adjust themselves, progress in later ages has been far more rapid and far more stable than of old. But in these days scarcely anything can happen in one part of our planet which does not speedily affect every other part. And we see that this increased heterogeneity of the environment is caused by the integration or growing interdependence of communities that were originally isolated.

Our law of progress, if now enunciated, would be too general. It would cover alike the phenomena of social and of organic life.

It will thus be seen that the very same process, which has resulted in the formation of social aggregates of a higher and higher order, has also resulted in the more and more complete subordination of the requirements of the aggregate to the requirements of the individual. . . . We obtain the Law of Progress, which may be provisionally stated as follows:

"The evolution of society is a continuous establishment of psychical relations within the community, in conformity to physical and psychical relations arising in the environment; during which, both the community and the environment pass from a state of relatively indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a state of relatively definite, coherent heterogeneity; and during which the constituent units of the community become ever more distinctly individuated." — *John Fiske, "Cosmic Philosophy," pp. 209 221*

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12. KNOWLEDGE.

The two words, "theory" and "practice," underlie all human activities and have had a development parallel with the progress of culture. The entire sensible world, comprising the geosphere, the hydrosphere, the atmosphere, the solar system, and the limitless cosmos, have awakened thought and stirred emotions in men. The mineral, the vegetal, and the animal kingdom have at no time failed to suggest problems to thoughtful minds. The phenomena of day and night, of summer and winter, of cloud and sunshine, of dew, frost, rain, hail, snow, thunder, lightning, the rainbow, and the aurora, earthquake and floods, echoes, dreams and shadows have demanded an explanation. The sense of causation is as universal as the sense of personality (1). To explain satisfactorily all things and all changes, each people, high or low, has its quasi science, philosophy, history and theology. Folk-lore, or the codification of these past items of knowledge among uncultured peoples, is the archæology of the mind. After the rise of writing additional light falls on these beliefs of the past concerning man and the universe, and makes the history of knowledge possible. The earliest sciences are based on anthropomorphism. To all the unlettered races every perceptible object is somebody, alive, thoughtful and purposeful, and every imperceptible, intangible phenomenon is the result of action by an unseen person. The reasoning is by analogy from the activities of man. Echo is the voice of a fugitive; the thunder is the beating of bronze shields; women weave the thread of life, measure the length of each, and cut it off at the close. The number of these analogies in the different races and stages of culture is legion. Since the action of these powerful persons affected man for good or ill, he very naturally addressed them in persuasion or dissuasion, and thus began his outer religious life or worship.



Hindu Apotheosis of Machinery

To win the mind from this childish explanation of the world has been the peculiar mission of science. The first knowledge to be divorced from personality was that of numbers, if, indeed, numbers were ever associated with personality. The student of civilization will find no more pleasing theme of culture-progress than tracing backward mathematics to the origin of number systems among savage tribes (2).

An early step in knowledge seems to have been a rude empirical acquaintance with the properties of useful things. It has often been thought by explorers a matter of wonder that savages in every enclave knew the best minerals and their locations, the best plants for each want, and had a use for every part of every animal's body. Omitting the intermediate steps, the last one for any people to take in scientific research is that of instrumental observation. Distrusting the senses beyond their natural limitations, observers proceed to measure time by the hundred thousandth of a second; to weigh the like part of a grain; to count and calculate with engines; to see with telescopes and microscopes; to hear by means of artificial ear-drums.

The progress of *theory*, however, has also been upward. At first, forces are accounted many as well as personal. The whole management of affairs has been thought to be in the hands of countless individuals, a new set for every people or location. In a later stage forces were held to be subtle entities; gravitation, heat, light, electricity, chemism were at least somewhat if not somebody. It is astonish-

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ing to find how much usefulness, beauty, refinement and social organization have existed among nations in this second stage of theory concerning forces (3). The last stage of theory is that all physical forces are only various forms of one force, indestructible in amount, but manifesting itself in pulsations of different shapes and sizes.

Man's concept of personality has not escaped progress any more than the sense of personality has left the civilized man, but has been exalted, unified, and enlarged. This thought leads to the notion of progress in religions. Theories of the world and of life go hand in hand with beliefs in unseen personalities, the refinement of which has kept pace with all other progress (4).

12. KNOWLEDGE.

(1) **Mind and Circumstances.**—"It is no more reasonable to suppose the laws of mind differently coustituted in Australia and in England, in the time of the cave-dwellers and in the time of the builders of sheet-iron houses, than to suppose that the laws of chemical combination were of one sort in the time of the coal-measures, and are of another now. The thing that has been will be; and we are to study savages and old nations to learn the laws that under new circumstances are working for good or ill in our own development."—*Tylor, "Primitive Culture," Lond., 1871, Vol. I., p. 144.*

(2) **Origin of Number.**—"Not a few tribes have been found who could not count beyond two; more yet with three, four or five as their number limit, while ten marks the boundary of the numeral systems of a very great number of the primitive races of the world. The assertion would seem, then, to be a safe one that the number sense is never wholly lacking. It is evident also that numerals must be among the earliest words to be formed in any language. They express ideas which are wholly concrete, which precede human intelligence, and which are in many ways manifested by the higher orders of the brute creation. The origin of number, therefore, must be conceded to lie beyond the proper limit of inquiry, and the primitive conception of number to be fundamental with human thought." — *Conant, "Smithsonian Report," 1892, p. 583.*

(3) **Knowledge and Virtue.**—"If not only knowledge and art, but at the same time moral and political excellence, be taken into consideration, it becomes yet harder to reckon on an ideal scale the advance or decline from stage to stage of culture. In fact, a combined intellectual and moral measure of human condition is an instrument which no student has as yet learnt properly to handle. Even granting that intellectual, moral and political life may, on a broad view, be seen to progress together, it is obvious that they are far from advancing with equal steps. It may be taken as a man's rule of duty in the world that he shall strive to know as well as he can find out, and to do as well as he knows how. But the parting asunder of these two great principles, that separation of intelligence from virtue which accounts for so much of the wrong-doing of mankind, is continually seen to happen in the great movements of civilization."—*Tylor, "Primitive Culture," Lond., 1871, Vol. I., p. 25.*

(4) **The New History.**—"We can conceive a *universal* history of civilization, which should assume a point of view commanding the whole earth, in the sense of surveying the history of the extension of civilization throughout mankind; it would penetrate deep and far into what is usually called ethnography. the study of the human race. For the further inquiry reaches into the depths of prehistoric peoples and those that are outside of history, the more will it meet, in every sphere and on every level of civilization, with essentially the *same single* form, which long ago, before the conditions existed for the development of numerous separate centers of civilization, was imparted by one race to another over the earth; and this it will regard as in close *connection* with mankind of today, with the race which has raised all its great new creations upon that common foundation, of which many a fragment still remains unaltered in its hands. At no distant future, no one will write a history of the world without touching upon those peoples which have not hitherto been regarded as possessing a history, because they have left no records written or graven in stone. History consists of action; and how unimportant beside this is the question of writing or not writing, how wholly immaterial, besides the facts of doing and making, is the word that describes them. Here also ethnography will show the way to juster notions."—*Ratzel, "History of Mankind," Part I., p. 5.*

The Dawn of Mind. —"This leads us, however, to the fourth of the sources from which we were to gather a hint or two with regard to the past of Mind—the savage. No one should pronounce upon the Evolution of Mind till he has seen a savage. By this is not meant the show savage of an Australian town, or the quay Kaffir of a South African port, or the Reservation Indian of a Western State; but the savage as he is in reality, and as he may be seen today by any who care to look upon so weird a spectacle. No study from the life can compare with this in interest or in pathos, nor stir so many strange emotions in the mind of a thoughtful man. To sit with this incalculable creature in the heart of the great forest; to live with him in his natural home as the guest of Nature, to watch his ways and moods and try to resolve the ceaseless mystery of his thoughts—this, whether the existing savage represents this primitive savage or not, is to open one of the workshops of Creation and behold the half-finished product from which humanity has been evolved.

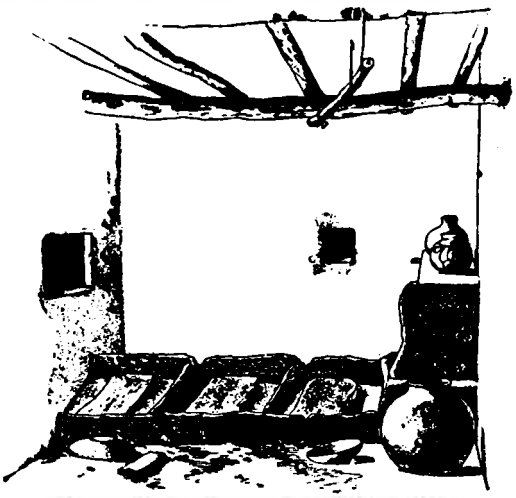
The world is getting old, but the traveler who cares to follow the daybreak of Mind for himself can almost do so still. Selecting a region where the wand of western civilization has scarcely reached, let him begin with a cruise in the Malay archipelago or in the coral seas of the Southern Pacific. He may find himself there even yet on spots on which no white foot has ever trod, on islands where unknown races have worked out

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their destiny for untold centuries, whose teeming peoples have no name, and whose habits and mode of life are only known to the outer world through a ship's telescope. As he coasts along, he will see the dusky figures steal like shades among the trees; or hurry past in their bark canoes, or crouch in fear upon the coral sand. He can watch them gather the bread-fruit from the tree and pull the cocoanut from the palm and root out the taro for a meal which, all the year round and all the centuries through, has never changed. In an hour or two he can compass almost the whole round of their simple life, and realize the gulf between himself and them in at least one way—in the utter impossibility of framing to himself an image of the mental world of men and women whose only world is this."—*Henry Drummond, "The Ascent of Man," pp. 142, 143.*

SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **GENERAL OUTLINE.**—Anthropology, Culture, Humanities, Savagery, Progress.
8. **LANGUAGE.**—Eye, Ear, Gesture, Pictographs, Writing, Instrumental sounds, Progress.
9. **INDUSTRY.** — Exploitation, Manufacture, Transportation and Travel, Exchange, Enjoyment, Forces of Nature, Mechanical Forces, Inventions
10. **THE FINE ARTS.** – Definition, Music, Visible Art, How Invented, Progress.
11. **SOCIOLOGY.** — Its Organs, Interrelation, Progress, Motives and Machines, Periods.
12. **KNOWLEDGE.**—Nature's Contribution, Explanation, Anthropomorphism, Practice and Theory.



Tusayan Mealing-Stones. Origin of Roller-Mills.

QUESTIONS.

7. *In what two ways does Anthropology study man? What are their mutual influences? What sciences contribute to our knowledge of past culture? Into what sciences may the science of culture be divided? Why are these called humanities? Has culture-change been for the better or the worse? Have the Troglodytes changed since the time of Herodotus? Has evolution produced kinds, or grades of men? How does organization differ from multiplication?*

8. *What senses are avenues of speech? Name the three kinds of speech to the eye. State the four sources of speech to the eye. What does speech reveal? How has speech changed? How is language used in Ethnology. How in the study of Religion? How is old material combined and modified to form new? What relation exists between picture-writing and modern script?*

9. *Define and classify the industrial arts. In what respect has change occurred here? Name some natural forces that have been harnessed. How has invention itself progressed?*

10. *Define fine arts. How is progress measured here? Classify musical instruments. How old is literature? Name some forms of savage art. What is the origin of art-forms? Specify the originals of some modern musical instruments. What is a skeuomorph? Illustrate.*

11. *Name the two ends of society. How is each humanity related to the others? How have improvements in society originated? Compare social progress with mechanical invention. Between what spheres does society change? Name the culture periods.*

12. *Whence has come man's knowledge? What do natural phenomena demand from man? What is folk-lore? What was the first basis of science? What has modern science done? Has progress in all humanities been synchronous; e. g., in knowledge and in virtue? Explain the "new history." Describe the savage according to Drummond.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Take stock of your present knowledge in the six humanities, in order to realize how much you need to pursue this course in Religion.*

2. *Note some changes in speech now taking place in (1) changes of meaning, (2) introduction of new words, (3) loss of old ones. How many of your acquaintances use may and can with proper discrimination?*

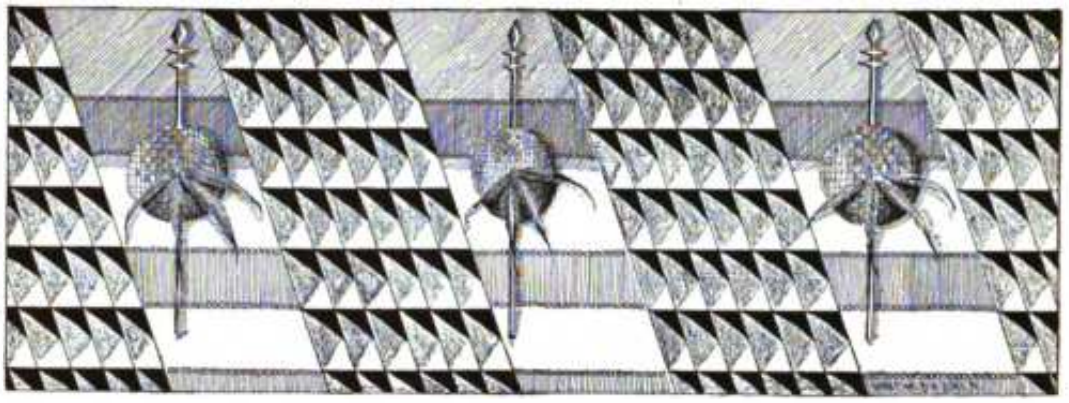
3. *Grade the peoples of the world according to inventiveness.*

4. *Seek cases of the principles stated here from some History of Art.*

5. *Search for the present-day factors in social change.*

6. *Which does society need more, increase of knowledge or closer conformity to what it knows?*

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THE RELIGIONS OF NORTH AND SOUTH AMERICA.

BY

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13. INTRODUCTION.

AT the time of the discovery of America, four hundred years ago, there existed on the continent numerous groups of people, each differing from its neighbor in one or more phases of culture or physical structure. Among these groups some were very low in the scale of civilization, while others had reached a high plane of civilization. As the religions of any people may be regarded as one of the many phases of culture, and as the character of the religion of any particular people is very largely determined by the general status of its culture, we may expect to find many degrees or kinds of religion among these varying aborigines of America.

It is well also to bear in mind the fact that the status of the religion of a people, as well as the general status of its culture, is largely determined by environment, by which is meant climate, fauna and flora, physiography, fertility of the soil, etc. Now, as we have on the American continent regions which present wide diversities of environment, we must be prepared to find equally wide divergences, not only of culture, but of religion. The religion of the Eskimo, dwelling in the far north surrounded by eternal ice and snow, is not and cannot be the same as the religion of the Guarani, who lives in the hot fertile plains of the Amazon basin, surrounded as he is by luxurious vegetation and situated in a region where the necessaries of life are provided by nature with a lavish hand. Likewise the religion of the Quichuao, who dwell on the great plateaus and lofty valleys of the Andes of Peru, will reflect in large measure the grandeur, sublimity and fierceness of their aerial home, while the religion of their cousins, the Yuncas, who live on the coast valleys of Peru, will reflect something of the joyousness and vivacity which would naturally be engendered by their surroundings.

But the study of the religions of the races of man has revealed the truth that the human mind, wherever found or in whatever age, is constructed on a more or less uniform plan, and so we find countless similarities and homologies running all through the religions of the peoples of America. We find that the substance or the

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final result is nearly the same throughout the continent. The manner in which the ultimate result has been reached of course varies; there is a wide variation in the manner in which the phenomena of religion are expressed, and even in the interpretation of these phenomena. Finally, it must be noted that in at least two regions of America, Mexico and Peru, the peoples had reached such a high phase of culture that their religion is worthy of special consideration, and a lesson will be devoted to each of these two peoples. In the preceding three lectures will be considered in order, (a) fundamental beliefs or religious ideas in general; (b) the idea of a future life, with special reference to the cultus of the dead; and (c) the material expression of those religious ideas.



North America, showing Culture-Groups.

As the ground to be covered is very extensive, reference cannot be made, as a general rule, to special tribes, but must be restricted to large groups which have much in common. These groups are called culture-groups, and a reference to the map shows that nine have been distinguished. These are: (1) the Arctic, occupying the northernmost regions of America; (2) the Northwest group, occupying the coast from the Columbia river to the southern limits of Alaska; (3) the Plains group, occupying the Missisippi Valley; (4) the Pueblo group, occupying Utah, New Mexico and Arizona; (5) the Mexican group; (6) the Chibcha group, occupying the United States of Colombia; (7) the Peruvian group; (8) the Amazon group, and (9) the Pampean group, occupying the entire region south of Bolivia and Brazil. (Note maps carefully.)

13. INTRODUCTION.

The Tusayan Ritual.—The people concerning whom I shall speak are commonly called the Mokis, although they prefer to be known as the Hopi. They live in a region of Arizona, which from its discovery in the middle of the sixteenth century, has been designated Tusayan. The Hopi or Tusayan Indians belong to the so-called village or pueblo people—the peculiar culture of prehistoric Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. While what I shall say especially concerns one group, it may in a general way be applied to the culture of a wide territory called the pueblo area of the southwestern part of the United States. In a natural sequence a discussion of the effect of environment would follow a statement of the distinctive characters of the physical features which characterize surroundings; and in order that you may have an idea of the climatic conditions of Tusayan, let us take a few moments to consider these peculiarities of the environment. In physical features this province is a part of the great arid zone of the Rocky Mountains, to which in former times was given the name of Great American Desert. . . . On all sides it is isolated by dry deserts, a dreary extent of mountains, mesas, and arid plains about 6,000 feet above the level of the sea. . . . In this unpromising land a few less than 2,000 Indians strive to maintain themselves by agriculture from a barren sandy soil which a white farmer would despise. . . .

If there is one physical feature which may be said to characterize Tusayan, it is the paucity of water, or rather its unequal distribution in different seasons of the year.

The character of animal life is also significant, for it is of such a nature as to exert a profound influence. A race dependent on animal food alone would have starved for game. The great ruminants, as the bison, which more than any other animal influenced the culture of the Indians of the great plains of the Mississippi, never visited this region. No domesticated animals made pastoral culture possible. There were small rodents, many rabbits and hares, and a scanty supply of antelope in distant mountains. Unpromising as was the soil for agriculture, the resources of the hunter were much less, and in this region man was forced to become an agriculturist.

It is, therefore, clear that the sedentary agricultural life of the Tusayan Indian is the direct result of organic and inorganic surroundings. Forced from some reason unknown to me to live in a land where animals were so few that he could not subsist from the products of the chase, he found a possible food supply in plant life, and he accepted the inevitable. He adopted the life which environ-

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ment dictated, and accepting things as they were, worked out his culture on the possible lines of development. He raised crops of maize, melons, and beans, cultivated and harvested various grains, but at times when other things failed found food in cacti and the meal of piñon nuts. Accepting the inevitable, man's ritual became a mirror of that part of his environment which most intimately affected his necessities. The irregularity of the rains, and the possibility that the corn may not grow, developed the ritual in the direction indicated. As long as the processes of nature go on without change, no special rain or growth ceremonials would develop. In a bountiful soil which



South America, showing Culture-Groups.

never fails the farmer, where the seed dropped in the ground is sure to germinate, and the rains are constant, no ritual would originate to bring about what was sure to come. But let natural processes be capricious, awake in a primitive mind the fear that these processes may not recur, let him become conscious that the rains may not come, and he evolves a ritual to prevent its failure. He is absolutely driven to devise ceremonials by which to affect those supernatural beings whom he believes cause the rain and the growth of his crops. The cults of a primitive people are products of their necessities, and they become complicated as the probability of their needs not being met are uncertain. The two needs which sorely pressed the Hopi farmer were rain to water his crops and the growth and maturity of his corn. My problem, therefore, is to show by illustrations that the two components, rain-making and growth ceremonials, characterize the Tusayan ritual, as aridity is the epitome of the distinctive climatic features of the region in which it has been developed.

There are, as before stated, certain elemental components of all cults which are as widespread as man, and apparently exist independently of climatic conditions. These elements are psychical, subjective, and occur wherever man lives in deserts, islands, forests, plains, under every degree of latitude and temperature. A more profound ph losophical analysis than I can make may resolve even these into effects of environment, but their universality would seem to show that they are not due to the special climatic condition of aridity characteristic of Tusayan. I do not regard it pertinent to my discussion to attempt to explain their origin, but we can better appreciate the Tusayan ritual. . . .

I have limited myself to showing that the arid climatic conditions are reflected from the rites of one tribe of Indians, and it would be instructive to see whether these facts are of importance from the comparative side. There are other equally arid regions of the globe where we might justly look for the same results if this climatic condition is as powerful in the modification of cults as implied. There are marked similarities in the climate of Arabia, of Peru, and of Assyria, and as a consequence startling resemblances in their rituals. But there are many differences; and we thus detect that our analysis of causes has not been complete or ultimate, for we have limited it to but one powerful element in the modifications of ceremonials.

Environment is a complicated nexus of influences, organic and inorganic, threads of which we can successfully trace a certain distance, but which eludes as we go further. There are many effects where causes remain to be discovered, and many climatic influences on cults have yet to be clearly discerned. . . .

It would be lamentable if environment should become a word to conjure with, or if we should use it to cover ignorance of that which we cannot explain. I have tried to show that one highly complicated ritual is so plastic that it responds to climatic conditions, but there are elements in it due to some other unknown cause. . . .

So environment is a potent influence on the culture of man, but there are laws, as yet not clearly made out, back of it which control the evolution of man.

When in the struggle for existence the fittest came to be measured by degrees of intelligence, and no longer by superiority of bodily structure, climatic conditions were still powerful to modify and stimulate thought. The increase in intelligence due to these agents did not develop a new species, for, to whatever heights he rises, man still remains *Homo sapiens*. If, then, the specific identity of all individual men on the globe today is true, the superstitions which we have studied are errors of minds like our own, but imperfectly developed and modified by environment. In her mistakes, said the great naturalist Geoffroy St. Hilaire, nature betrays her secrets. By a study of erroneous workings of the mind and their probable causes we can discover the nature of mind. Below all ceremonials among all men, savage or barbarous, may be traced aspirations akin to our own, since they spring from our common nature. Until some philosopher shall arise who can so analyze environment as to demonstrate that the great religious teachers of man, who, suddenly appearing, have stimulated the race to great bounds in progress, were solely the products of surroundings, we may believe that there is another most potent influence behind environment controlling the development of culture. Throughout all history man, from his own consciousness, has recognized that controlling influence to be higher than environment, and no science nor philosophy has yet succeeded in banishing the thought from his mind.—*J. Walter Fewkes, "Smithsonian Report for 1895," pp. 684, 685, 686, 699, 700.*

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14. GENERAL RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

When we examine the religion of any primitive people, we find that it resolves itself into, first, certain beliefs concerning the supernatural, and secondly, ritual or the rites and ceremonies attendant upon the beliefs.

The fundamental belief of Americans, as of nearly all primitive peoples, is that all nature is animated; that every object, both animate and inanimate, lives and has a soul or spirit; and primitive man acts accordingly. It is outside our purpose to attempt to describe the manner in which such ideas arose; we are concerned here only



Conjuring a Meteor by the Bororo of Brazil. The central figures are offering cigars to induce the meteor not to harm them.

with the beliefs themselves. The belief in the existence of a human soul seems to have been universal in America. The Eskimos thought that the soul could leave the body in the night, go hunting, dancing or visiting. Among most of the American tribes it was held that the soul could detatch itself from the body and wander about more or less at will. Some tribes had clearly defined notions of the appearance of the soul, knew how it looked, its color, and even its dimensions. Animals as well as men had souls, and this belief extended so far that domestic animals were almost always slain, that their souls might accompany the souls of their dead masters. Even the trees, the flowers, the stones, all objects of nature, to the Indian think and feel. The voice of nature is to him something real and tangible. The flowing of the river, the voice of the wind, the roar of the billows, and the waving to and fro of the tree are not the results of natural forces, but are looked upon as the actions of so many beings. And the Indian is constantly struggling to escape their enmity, or courting the favor of their power.

But his belief in souls is not confined to the material objects of this earth; there are higher spirits or souls. There is even among the Plains Indians a word which signifies whatever is wonderful or mysterious or superhuman. There exists a Spirit World from which revelations are received at times by means of dreams. But higher still is the pantheon of souls or gods who dominate the universe. These gods are usually the personified forces of nature, such as the Wind, Rain, or

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Thunder God, or the Gods of the Four Quarters. Sometimes one of the gods stands foremost in veneration of the Americans, sometimes another (1). But rarely does one God exceed another in ethical qualities. Among some few tribes there existed a more or less clearly defined idea of monotheism. The chief god might be the Great Spirit or, as with the Mexicans and Peruvians, the Sun. He it was who created and peopled the world, and to him were their prayers addressed. With some of the Brazilian tribes the Supreme Being is Tupa, the Father or Thunder; he it was who gave them fire and their edible roots. The Tampean Indians venerate not so much a beneficent God as the Evil Spirit.

To the American Indian all nature is not only animate, but can be *explained*. He asks the cause of his existence; how he came into being; how was the earth created; what makes the stars to shine; what means the peculiarity of this animal, the plumage of that bird? And he has an answer for all these questions. At times his answer is very long; it is a tale or myth. The mythology of America is extremely rich and beautiful, and is well worthy of close study. These myths have been carefully analyzed, and are found to be very much the same for all America. The most common myth is that of the national hero, who is generally regarded as the author of creation, and the father and benefactor of mankind. He gave to the people their clothing; taught them the arts of agriculture, of weaving and of hunting; gave them their laws and taught them their religion. But the myth also recounts how he is one of two or four brothers, born of a virgin mother. He overcomes the other brother or brothers after a long conflict. He appeared in the East, is of white complexion, with long beard and clad in flowing robes. He has returned to the East and there he rests from his labors, but is expected to return. The Indian, in such a myth as this, is at first simply attempting to explain the phenomena of light and darkness, the four quarters, the dawn, etc. In a similar manner he accounts for all the phenomena of nature. But in the course of time the myth loses its original meaning, and becomes to him a veritable Book of Genesis, and is incorporated as part of his religion.

14. GENERAL RELIGIOUS BELIEFS.

(1) **Quetzalcoatl, the Hero of Tula.**—"But it was not Quetzalcoatl the god, the mysterious creator of the visible world, on whom the thoughts of the Aztec race delighted to dwell, but on Quetzalcoatl, high priest in the glorious city of Tollan (Tula), the teacher of the arts, the wise lawgiver, the virtuous prince, the master builder and the merciful judge.

Here, again, though the scene is transferred from heaven to earth and from the cycles of other worlds to a date not extremely remote, the story continues to be of his contest with Tezcatlipoca, and of the wiles of this enemy, now diminished to a potent magician and jealous rival, to dispossess and drive him from famous Tollan.

No one versed in the metaphors of mythology can be deceived by the thin veil of local color which surrounds the myth in this its terrestial and historic form. Apart from its being but a repetition or continuation of the genuine ancient account of the conflict of day and night, light and darkness, which I have already given, the name Tollan is enough to point out the place and the powers with which the story deals. For this Tollan, where Quetzalcoatl reigned, is not by any means, as some have supposed, the little town of Tula, still alive, a dozen leagues or so northwest from the city of Mexico; nor was it, as the legend usually stated, in some undefined locality from six hundred to a thousand leagues northwest of that city; nor yet in Asia, as some antiquaries have maintained; nor, indeed, anywhere upon this weary world; but it was, as the name denotes, and as the native historian, Tezozomoc, long since translated it, where the bright sun lives, and where the god of light forever rules so long as that orb is in the sky. Tollan is but a scyncopated form of *Tonatlan*, the Place of the Sun."—*D. G. Brinton, "American Hero-Myths," pp. 82, 83.*

Tlapallan.—The original home of the Toltecs was said to have been in Tlapallan—the very same Red Land to which Quetzalcoatl was fabled to have returned; only the former was distinguished as Old Tlapallan—Hue Tlapallan—as being that from which he and they had emerged. Other myths called it the Place of Sand, Xalac, an evident reference to the sandy sea strand, the same spot where it was said that Quetzalcoatl was last seen, beyond which the sun rises and below which he sinks. Thither he returned when driven from Tollan, and reigned over his vassals many years in peace.

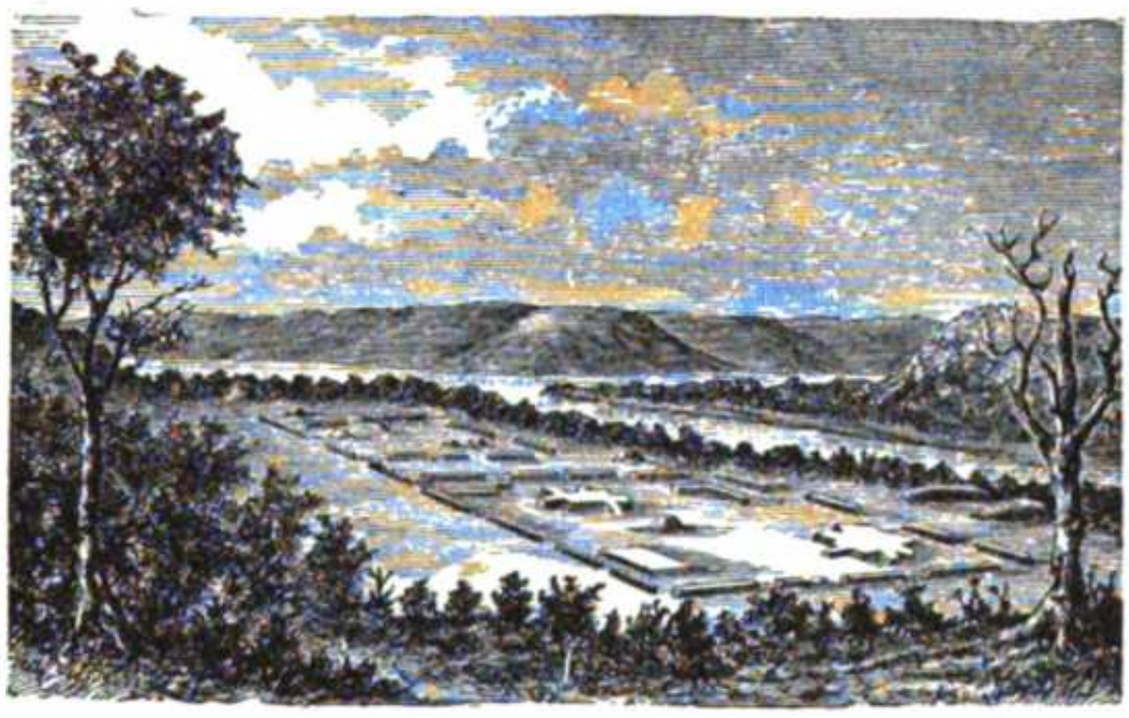
We cannot mistake this Tlapallan, new or old. Whether it is bathed in the purple and gold of the rising sun or in the crimson and carnation of his setting, it always was, as Sahagun tells us, with all needed distinctness, "the City of the Sun," the home of light and color, whence their leader, Quetzalcoatl had come, and whither he was summoned to return. —*Ibid, p. 89.*

Dr. Brinton proceeds to relate stories about Quetzalcoatl, which also prove to be nature-myths.

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15. IMMORTALITY AND CULTUS OF THE DEAD.

What becomes of the soul after death? According to the belief of practically all the American tribes, the soul lives on under conditions similar to those known here. But while in America the belief in a future life is almost universal, there is only the faintest conception of an immaterial spirit. The Indian heaven is simply a happier earthly existence; indeed it is a happy hunting-ground. Sometimes the location of the home of the departed is in the depths of the ocean, or in deep and rocky caverns. To some of the Plains Indians, accustomed to suffer from cold, heaven is a warm and delightful place where the buffalo is ever to be found, and where summer reigns eternal. With other tribes the location of the region of the spirit world is placed vaguely in the Far West, or the Under World, while the Peruvians believed that after death they went beyond the mountains and the sea. The belief in an under world is not uncommon in America. With some tribes the idea prevails that the soul enters the bowels of the earth, and the Tacullis believe that the soul can return in human form to visit friends. The souls of the braves of the Lower Mississippi tribes dwelt in the sun, as did also those of the Mexicans. Still other tribes, as those of the Plains group, held to the loftier conception that the happy hunting-ground was in the sky, where the souls travel along the "Path of the Dead." But their future life is not universally held by Americans to be of a joyous nature. The land of Mictlan of the Mexicans is gloomy, and there eternal joy does not prevail. Nor with some tribes are the blessings of a future life to be enjoyed by all. The souls of Amazons who in life were cowards are to dwell in waste and barren lands, while the souls of the effeminate and worthless descend to the Evil Spirit to suffer torment. But with practically all American aborgines the *good* Indian is the good warrior or the good hunter. They had not reached the point of making an ethical distinction between good and bad.



Indian Mounds at Marietta, Ohio.

Holding, as a general rule, a firm belief in some form of future life, the Indian made material provision for that life. In no other part of the world are the burial rites more varied or interesting than they are in America. All tribes have some ceremony which accompanies the disposal of the dead, and in practically every instance this ceremony has as its underlying motive the preparation of the body for the future state; and the fact that this future existence is simply a continuation, under more favorable circumstances, of this life, is amply illustrated by an examination of the various burial customs.

With some tribes, as the Eskimo and Northwest group, the dead are wrapped in blankets, provided with food and implements, and placed above the ground, sometimes in coffins hollowed out of large trees. With many of the Plains Indians the dead are placed on scaffoldings. But by far the greater number of tribes in other parts of America bury the dead in the ground. In the Ohio and Lower Mississippi Valley earth mounds, often of great size, were heaped over the graves (1). Among the Chibchas the carefully wrapped bodies were placed in niches in long, winding subterranean passages, which often extended to a great distance into the sides of the hills. A similar custom was that of the Quichuas of Peru,

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while the Yuncas of Peru excavated deep graves in the earth which were often carefully lined with rock or adobe brick. With the dead were placed dishes of food, jars of water or drink of some sort, hunting and fishing implements, and instruments of war; the dog was killed and placed beside his master, and occasionally, as among the Chibchas, the wives of the chief were killed and placed beside the dead husband. So complete is the set of accompanying objects in the graves of the Peruvians that it becomes easy to determine the position or rank of and the amount of wealth possessed by the owner during life.

Various ceremonies attended the burial. There were lamentations and fastings, and sometimes bodily mutilations on the part of friends and relatives, or at the death of a chief or ruler certain dances which often lasted through many days and nights. These funeral ceremonies are of various natures. They may be for the purpose of hastening the soul of the departed on its long journey, or of preventing the return of the the soul; or they may be of the nature of vows and penances and promises to lead a better life. But through all the various cults of the dead in America runs the theme of a future life (2).

15. IMMORTALITY AND CULTUS OF THE DEAD.

(1) **Mound-Builders.**—"In districts where the native tribes known in modern times do not rank high even as savages, there formerly dwelt a race whom ethnologists call the Mound-Builders, from the amazing extent of their mounds and enclosures, of which there is a single group occupying an area of four square miles. To have constructed



Peruvian Mummy Pack.

such works the Mound-Builders must have been a numerous population, mainly subsisting by agriculture, and indeed vestiges of their ancient tillage are still to be found. The civilization of these people has been, however, sometimes overrated. Their earthworks did not require, as has been thought, standards of measurement and means of determining angles, for a cord and a bundle of stakes would be a sufficient set of instruments to lay out any of them."—*E. B. Tylor, "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 56.*

(2) **Gitchi Gauzini** was a chief who lived on the shores of Lake Superior, and once, after a few days' illness, he seemed to die. He had been a skillful hunter, and had desired that a fine gun, which he possessed, should be buried with him when he died. But some of his friends not thinking him really dead, his body was not buried; his widow watched him for four days; he came back to life, and told his story. After death, he said, his ghost traveled on the broad road of the dead toward the happy land, passing over great plains of luxuriant herbage, seeing beautiful groves, and hearing the songs of innumerable birds, till at last, from the summit of a hill, he caught sight of the distant city of the dead, far across an intermediate space, partly veiled in the mist, and spangled with glittering lakes and streams. He came in view of herds of stately deer, and moose, and other game, which with little fear walked near his path. But he had no gun, and remembering how he had requested his friends to put his gun in his grave, he turned back to go and fetch it. Then he met face to face the train of men, women and children who were traveling toward the city of the dead. They were heavily laden with guns, pipes, kettles, mats and other articles; women were carrying basket-work and painted paddles, and little boys had their ornamented clubs and their bows and arrows, the presents of their friends. Refusing a gun which an overburdened traveler offered him, the ghost of Gitchi Gauzini traveled back in quest of his own, and at last reached the place where he had died. There he could see only a great fire before and around him, and finding the flames barring his passage on every side, he made a desperate leap through, and awoke from his trance. Having concluded his story, he gave his auditors this counsel, that they should no longer deposit so many burdensome things with the dead, delaying them on their journey to the place of repose, so that almost everyone he met complained bitterly. It would be wiser, he said, only to put such things in the grave as the deceased was particularly attached to, or made a formal request to have deposited with him.—*Tylor, "Primitive Culture," Vol. I., p. 481.*

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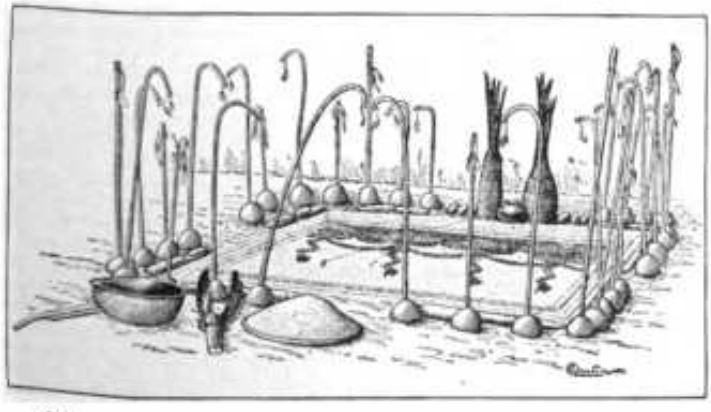
16. RITES AND CEREMONIES.

In what manner does the American exhibit his religious belief? First, by means of prayer (1). But prayer in America, as with all primitive peoples, takes the form of sacrifice. The Indian prays for rain, for success in war or in the chase, but he does not ask something for nothing. He offers something in exchange, he sacrifices something. The idea of "I give you, you give me" has prevailed very largely in America. The gift may be the glow of a fire at night, or the fragrant fumes of tobacco, the breaking of a vessel, the killing of a favorite dog, or even, as among the Mexicans, the slaughter of innocent children or women, so powerful had become the idea of an avenging, blood-thirsty god who must be appeased at any cost. The American also believed in the efficacy of amulets and charms, but this idea did not prevail to such an extent as it did in other parts of the world, in Africa for example. To prove that this form of belief did prevail in America, however, we have only to examine the medicine-man's bag of the Plains Indians, or the bags suspended from the necks of the mummy packs in Peru. Here we find bits of hair, curiously shaped pebbles, etc. These objects were supposed to contain certain mysterious powers. They could prevent disease, cure the sick, give success in the hunt and in war, ward off evil spirits, and in many ways contribute to the comfort or happiness of their possessor.



Prayer-Stick of the Tusayan Indians.

From stones and other objects of nature which bear a likeness to the human form, to the fashioning of stone and wood into a more perfect representation of it, is an easy though slow process. We find in many parts of America, especially in Mexico and Peru, countless images of spirits or gods, sometimes of colossal size, and executed with great faithfulness. These images or idols, as they are usually called, often took the place of the deity they are supposed to represent, and to them were offered vows; before these their devotees mutilated themselves, and offered sacrifice. Special shrines were built in which these idols were housed, and to this motive more than to any other are we indebted for the finest works of architecture in America.



Altar of the Antelope Priests in the Snake Dance of the Tusayan Indians.

The Indians of the Plains had their sacred tent, the Amazon tribes their sacred glade in the forest, while throughout the Ohio Valley still survive those wonderful enclosures and ceremonial mounds which are not surpassed by any similar earth works in the world. These sacred places might represent the serpent, as the famous serpent in Ohio, or they resembled animal or bird forms, as in Wisconsin. Could we but picture the scene which must have been enacted when these altars were dedicated, we should have a vision of barbaric splendor which has seldom been surpassed. Over the altars were made mighty

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fires, and upon these fires were sacrificed countless numbers of pearl beads, costly gold and silver and copper ornaments, obsidian implements, and images and figures cut from mica, carved in bone, or moulded in clay.

With such rites and ceremonies as these there must needs be a leader, and we find throughout America a powerful priesthood. The priest may be the spiritual chief alone, as is most usual, or he may have combined with his spiritual power secular authority as well. This condition prevailed to the fullest extent both in Mexico and Peru. Indeed, in Peru the king or inca was supposed to be of divine ancestry. Of the names given to the priests by Europeans those of "shaman" on the northwest coast and "medicine man" in the Plains, are the most common. So powerful was the shaman that the name shamanism has been applied to the religion of the Northwest Coast Indians. But throughout the whole of America the priest is well nigh all powerful. He it is who performs the ceremonies at the birth of the child, who initiates the youth into manhood, who performs the funeral rites. He announces the time of the chase and the auspicious time for war. He commands the rain and the seasons, administers to the sick, wards off disease and evil spirits. In some of the Pueblo tribes there exist mysterious secret societies among the priesthood, entrance into which is possible only after long ceremonies of initiation. These societies in some respects are unique in the history of the primitive religions of the world. The priest is the leader of the dance, a function which is almost universal in America. Dances are of all sorts, but are in nearly every instance religious in their nature, and often connected with sacred myths. The priest, clad in his sacred robes of office and armed with his symbol of authority, the drum or rattle, is a familiar figure to all students of aboriginal American history.

16. RITES AND CEREMONIES.

(1) **Indian Prayer and War Song.**—A Nootka Indian, preparing for war, prayed thus: "Great Quahootze, let me live, not be sick, find the enemy, not fear him, find him asleep, and kill a great many of him." There is more pathos in these lines from the war-song of a Delaware:

"O Great Spirit there above,
Have pity on my children
And my wife.
Prevent that they shall mourn for me.
Let me succeed in this undertaking,
That I may slay my enemy
And bring home the tokens of victory
To my dear family and my friends,
That we may rejoice together,
Have pity on me and protect my life,
And I will bring thee an offering."

The following two prayers are among those recorded by Molina, from the memory of aged men who described to him the religion of Peru under the Incas, in whose rites they had themselves borne part. The first is addressed to the Sun, the second to the World-creator:

"O Sun! Thou who has said, Let there be Cuzcos and Tampus, grant that there thy children may conquer all other people. We beseech thee that thy children the, Yncas, may be conquerers always; for this thou hast created them."

"O conquering Uiracocha! Ever present Uiracocha! Thou who are in the ends of the earth without equal. Thou who gavest life and valor to men, saying, 'Let this be a man!' and to women, saying, 'Let this be a woman!' Thou who madest them and gavest them being! Watch over them that they may live in health and peace. Thou who are in the high heavens, and among the clouds of the tempest, grant this with long life, and accept this sacrifice, O Uiracocha!"—*Tylor, "Primitive Culture," Vol. II., pp. 366-7.*

Aztec Prayer.—Among the semi-civilized Aztecs, in the elaborate ritual, which from its early record and its original characteristics seems to have at least a partial authenticity, we mark the appearance of ethical prayer.—*Ibid, p. 373.*

Tusayan Altar. (See cut, page 65).—The altar of the Antelope priests is of especial interest to us in considering the rain-making motives of the ritual. It consists of an elaborate mosaic or picture made of six different colored sands spread on the floor and surrounded by a border of the same material.

The picture represents sixteen semi-circular figures of four different colors, the symbols of rain clouds of the four cardinal directions. From one side of this composite picture are drawn parallel lines representing falling rain. This sand picture, with accompanying fetishes, is known as the rain-cloud altar, the home of the rain clouds.—*J. W. Fewkes, "The Tusayan Ritual," p. 694.*

Tusayan Prayer Stick. (See cut, page 65).—Seated about this altar for seven consecutive days the Antelope priests daily sing sixteen songs to consecrate prayer sticks, which are later deposited in shrines to the rain gods. These prayer bearers consist of two sticks painted green and tied together midway in their length. At the point where they are bound is fastened a small packet of sacred meal, while to the same is also bound a feather of the wild turkey. This feather is aptly chosen, for the turkey is associated in their mythology with a time or place when the surface of the earth was muddy, and as they say the black tip of the feather was colored by the turkey dragging his tail in the black mud. To this prayer bearer is likewise attached two herbs—one male, the other female—plants which love the water.—*Ibid, pp. 694, 695.*

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17. THE RELIGION OF MEXICO.

On the central plateau of Mexico arose an indigenous civilization which in some respects was the most worthy of admiration of any in America. Warlike and aggressive, the Aztecs had extended their sway on every side; they built towns and cities and roads, brought agriculture to a high condition, had an elaborate system of law and government, and a complicated system of religion, the basis of which was nature worship. But it is the grandeur of its temples, the number and power of its gods, the extent of its mythology, the elaborateness of its rites, and the influence of its priesthood that make the Aztec religion so interesting and in some ways unique. The center of this religious system is the temple. This is not an enclosure, in the common usage of the word, but a pyramid built in successive steps or terraces, and terminating in a broad, level platform at the summit. On this summit was placed the altar, and here were performed the human sacrifices which render the Aztec religion so repulsive to us. Connected with the temples or *teocallis*, "abodes of the gods," were structures which sheltered the priests and the paraphernalia used in religious ceremonies. On some of the temples were sanctuaries which enshrined the idols or gods.



Mexican Idol.

To carry on this religion required the services of large numbers of priests and priestesses, whose influence was very powerful. These were divided into various orders, each having its proper dress. Their rank depended generally upon the power of the god in whose service they were. In some districts the high priests were related to the king. The power of the priests extended not only over all purely religious affairs, but embraced as well many civil and domestic functions. They anointed the king and conferred with him in all important matters of state. They performed the rites attendant on the birth of the child; they superintended his education, performed marriage ceremonies, and officiated at funerals. They administered oaths and vows, imposed fasts and penances and heard confessions.

In the religious system of the Aztecs, first in order came the various gods, and chief among these was the Sun, and Aztecs called themselves the "Children of the Sun." Although no temples were specially devoted to the Sun-god, yet all temples to whatever divinity dedicated, were also his. Other important gods were *Huitzilipochtli*, the God of War (1); *Tezcatlipoca*, the Omniscient; *Tlaloc*, the God of Water or the Thunderer; and the inventive *Quetzalcoatl*. But the gods were almost numberless, a fact which is best explained by the supposition, that as the Aztecs extended their sway they incorporated into their pantheon the gods of the conquered. Many of these gods form the centers of elaborate myths, that of Quetzalcoatl, the Light-god, being the most important. In addition Aztecs worshipped the moon and stars, the sacred fire, certain animals and precious stones. There were special gods of families and provinces, of ranks and occupations and even of vices. A species of ancestor worship also prevailed, for all the dead were worshipped and considered as gods; images of them were preserved in order that their memory might be retained.

Preparations for a future life were made on an elaborate scale, each receiving treatment peculiar to the manner in which he died, for this determined to a certain extent the conditions or place of the soul in the other world. With the dead were

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placed food and drink, and all objects supposed to be useful in the future world. Wives and concubines even were killed and buried with the dead. At the funeral incense was burned, and the mourners sang and danced. Offerings to the dead and mourning were kept up for long periods, four years being the maximum limit. As to the final resting place of souls there were three beliefs. The souls of those who died in war or captivity went to the House of the Sun and their bodies were cremated; those who died from lightning, dropsy, etc., or who had been drowned, were buried and their souls went to the Land of Tlaloc; while the bodies of all others were buried and their souls went to the Land of Mictlan, the Home of the Dead. The first class, or those who went to the House of the Sun, for four years enjoyed the most intense happiness and then they departed to enter into the clouds or animate some bird. The Land of Tlaloc was considered a most delightful spot in every respect, it was a celestial paradise. The Land of Mictlan was in the far north; it was enshrouded in darkness, but there was no suffering. Existence here also was continued for only four years, after which the souls departed to the "nine hells."

That there was to be an eternal existence of the human soul does not seem to have been clearly believed, but a vague idea of the transmigration of souls was undoubtedly one of the tenets of their belief. This idea, however, never reached in Mexico, or in any part of America, the prominence which it held in the faith of peoples in parts of the old world.

17. THE RELIGION OF MEXICO.

(1) **Narrative of Bernal Diaz.**—"Montezuma invited us to enter a little tower, where in a kind of chamber, or hall, stood what appeared like two altars covered with rich embroidery." (What



Sacrificial Knives of Obsidian. From Mexico.

Bernal Diaz compared to altars were the two *Teoicpalli* (or *seats of the gods*), which were wooden pedestals, painted azure blue and bearing a serpent's head at each corner). . . . "The first [idol], placed on the right, we were told, represented Huichilobos, their god of war" (this was as near as Bernal Diaz could get to Uitzilopochtli), "with his face and countenance very broad, his eyes monstrous and terrible; all his body was covered with jewels, gold and pearls of various sizes. . . . His body was girt with things like great serpents, made with gold and precious stones, and in one hand he held a bow, and arrows in the other. And another little idol who stood by him, and, as they said, was his page, carried a short lance for him, and a very rich shield of gold and jewels. And Huichilobos had his neck hung round with faces of Indians, and what seemed to be the hearts of these same Indians, made of gold, or some of them of silver, covered with blue gems; and there stood some brasiers there, containing incense made with copal and the hearts of three Indians who had been slain that same day; and they were burning, and with the smoke and incense they had made that sacrifice to him; and all the walls of this oratory ware so bathed and blackened with cakes of blood, as was the very ground itself, that the whole exhaled a very foul odor.

"Carrying our eyes to the left we perceived another great mass, as high as Huichilobos. Its face was like a bear's, and its shining eyes were made of mirrors called *Tezcat*. Its body was covered with rich gems like that of Huichilobos, for they said they were brothers. And this Tescatepuca" (the mutilated form under which Bernal Diaz presents Tezcatlipoca) "was the god of hell" (this is another mistake, for Tezcatlipoca was a celestial deity). . . . "His body was surrounded with figures like little imps, with tails like serpents; and the walls were so caked and the ground so saturated with blood, that the slaughter houses of Castile do not exhale such a stench; and indeed we saw the hearts of five victims who had been slaughtered that same day. . . . And since everything smelt of the shambles, we were impatient to escape from the foul odor and yet fouler sight."—*A. Reville*, "*The Hibbert Lectures*" *for 1884, pp. 52, 53.*

Both in Mexico and in Central America symbols of the serpent and of the cross are very common. The latter, which so surprised the Spanish conquerors, is now believed to refer to the Wind-god. —*C. de la Saussaye*, "*Lehrbuch*," *etc., Vol. I, p. 195.*

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18. THE RELIGION OF PERU.

The culture of Peru alone rivals that of Mexico; indeed in many respects it surpasses it. Less fierce and cruel, but equally aggressive, the Peruvians were more humane in all the affairs of life than the Mexicans, and devoted themselves more largely to the pursuit of agriculture, and the details of domestic and civil life. In early times the Inca gens of the great Quichua stock had gained control of the government, and by the time of the Spanish Conquest had established an absolute monarchy. Their reign was, however, tempered with prudence and justice. This welding together of the elements of the new empire, had not taken place so long before as to have obiliterated in the minds of the national bards the memory of more primitive times, and from the writings of the early Spanish historians we are able to form a picture of the early tribal religion, as well as the more stately court religion of the times just prior to the Conquest. The early religion had as its fundamental element the worship of the dead, and may properly be called ancestor worship, and this was particularly a tribal worship. Each gens or *Ayulla* was supposed to possess the mummified body, or *malqui*, of the founder of the gens, and his spirit was worshipped in the abstract under the name of the *pacarina*. There was also an individual family worship of ancestors, whose mummified bodies were often preserved for a long period. To these ancestors they sacrificed. One of their curious beliefs was, that when the fire emitted a spark it indicated that the souls of their ancestors suffered hunger and thirst, and so they put food into the fire that they might eat. In addition to the family *pacarina*, each individual had his personal object of worship. These objects might serve also as amulets, and have already been spoken of.



Gold Idol From Peru.

One of the notions of the Peruvians was that they came originally from caves, and these also they worshipped. They believed that before their arrival the valleys were peopled by evil spirits who were driven to the high mountains, but for a long time afterwards these evil spirits would occasionally descend into the valleys and carry off women and children, and cause disease and death. As their religious conceptions were materialistic, however, they could engage in a hand-to-hand conflict with these spirits until finally they were driven away by armed men.

The soul after death, they believed, went to *Upa-marca*, the Dumb-Land, to reach which it had to cross a broad river by means of a narrow hair bridge. From these primitive ideas we must carefully distinguish the sun-cult, which was the chief trait of the religion at the time of the Spanish Conquest. Some time before this, however, one of the more enlightened and philosophical rulers had, after long study, convinced the nation that the Sun could not be the chief deity of the universe, but that there must be some god yet more powerful behind the sun who commanded him to perform his labors. So there arose among the more enlightened a form of monotheism, which for its beauty and purity was unique in American religions. To this Supreme Being they addressed prayers filled with lofty emotions, and to him they offered vows and performed sacrifices, although they made no idol to represent him, for he was the Unknown God (1).

In Peru we find also a powerful priesthood, temples for the idols, and convents for the priests and nuns. Of religious ceremonies there were great numbers, but human sacrifices did not mar religion as it did in Mexico. The Peruvians contented themselves with burnt offerings and the occasional slaughter of a dog or of a

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llama. (2) Especially interesting are the festivals, which were a great feature of their religion. There were festivals for the sowing and reaping of crops, and for each month of the year. For some of the more important festivals thousands would gather in the capital, Cuzco, coming oftentimes from regions hundreds of miles distant.

Nowhere in America were the dead prepared for the grave with so great care as in Peru. No provision was omitted which might contribute to the happiness and comfort of the soul in the future world, and it is owing to the intenseness of this feeling that we are enabled to reconstruct a picture of Peruvian ancient life that is at once vivid and instructing. In Peru, for the first time, we find a well-defined notion of a future reward for good behavior in this life. The good after death ascended to the upper world in the House of the Sun, where they were rewarded by a life of rest and contentment, while the souls of the wicked descended into the lower world, the House of *Supay*, the Lord of the Dead, where they suffered and were punished for their life of evil. The myths of the Peruvians do not differ materially from those of other peoples of America, although they are unequaled in their extent and beauty.

18. THE RELIGION OF PERU.

(1) **Viracocha, the Supreme God.** — In the mythology of the Quichuas, and apparently also of the Aymaras, the leading figure is *Viracocha*. His august presence is in one cycle of legends that of



Combat Between the Man of the Earth and the Man of the Sea.

Infinite Creator, the Primal Cause; in another he is the beneficent teacher and wise ruler; in other words, he too, like Quetzalcoatl and the others whom I have told about, is at one time God, at others the incarnation of God.

As the first cause and ground of all things, Viracocha's distinctive epithet was *Ticci*, the Cause, the Beginning, or *Illa ticci*, the Ancient Cause, the First Beginning, an endeavor in words to express the absolute priority of his essence and existence. He it was who had made and moulded the Sun and endowed it with a portion of his own divinity, to-wit, the glory of its far-shining rays; he had formed the Moon and given her light, and set her in the heavens to rule over the waters and the winds, over the queens of the earth and the parturition of women; and it was still he, the great Viracocha, who had created the beautiful Chasca, the Aurora, the Dawn, goddess of all unspotted maidens like herself, her who in turn decked the fields and woods with flowers, whose time was the gloaming and the twilight, whose messengers were the fleecy clouds which sail through the sky, and who, when she shakes her clustering hair, drops noiselessly pearls of dew on the green grass fields. . . .

In the prayers for the dead, Illa Ticci was appealed to to protect the body, that it should not see corruption nor become lost in the earth, and that he should not allow the soul to wander aimlessly in the infinite spaces, but that it should be conducted to some secure haven of contentment, where it might receive the sacrifices and offerings which loving hands laid upon the tomb. Were other gods also called upon, it was that they might intercede with the Supreme Divinity in favor of these petitions of mortals.

To him, likewise, the chief priest at certain times offered a child of six years, with a prayer for the prosperity of the Inca, in such terms as these:

"Oh, Lord, we offer thee this child, in order that thou wilt maintain us in comfort, and give us victory in war, and keep to our Lord, the Inca, his greatness and his state, and grant him wisdom that he may govern us righteously. . . . "

Thus Viracocha was placed above and beyond all other gods, the essential First Cause, infinite, incorporeal, invisible, above the sun, older than the beginning, but omnipresent, accessible, beneficent.

Does this seem too abstract, too elevated a notion of God for a race whom we are accustomed to deem gross and barbaric? I cannot help it. The testimony of the earliest observers, and the living proof of language, are too strong to allow of doubt. The adjectives which were applied to this divinity by the native priests are still on record, and that they were not a loan from Christian theology is conclusively shown by the fact that the very writers who preserved them often did not know their meaning, and translated them incorrectly. . . .

Another misapprehension is that these natives worshipped directly their ancestors. Thus, Mr. Markham writes: "The Incas worshiped their ancestors, the *Pacarina*, or forefather of the *Ayllu*, or lineage, being idolized as the soul or essence of his descendants." But in the *Inquiry* above

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quoted it is explained that the belief, in fact, was that the soul of the Inca went at death to the presence of the deity Viracocha, and its emblem, the actual body, carefully preserved, was paid divine honors in order that the soul might intercede with Viracocha for the fulfillment of the prayers. . . .

The more interesting, in view of this lofty ideal of divinity they had attained, become the Peruvian myths of the incarnation of Viracocha, his life and doings as a man among men.

These myths present themselves in different, but to the reader who has accompanied me thus far, now familiar forms. Once more we meet the story of the four brothers, the first of men. They appeared on the earth after it had been rescued from the primeval waters, and the face of the land was divided between them.—*D. Brinton, "American Hero Myths," pp. 170-178.*

(2) **Description of Pachacamac.**—The lord of Pachacamac and the principal men came out to receive the captains and the Christians, and showed a desire to be friends with the Spaniards. The captain went to lodge with his followers, in some large chambers in one part of the town. He said that he wished to go and see the idol they had and he went. It was in a good house, well painted, in a very dark chamber with a close, fetid smell. Here there was a very dirty idol made of wood, and they say that this is their god, who created them and sustains them and gives them their food. At the foot of the idol there were some offerings of gold, and it was held in such veneration that only the attendants and servants, who, as they say, were appointed by it were allowed to officiate before it. No other person might enter, nor is any other considered worthy even to touch the house. They come to this devil from distances of over three hundred leagues, with gold and silver and cloth. Those that arrive go to the porter and beg that their gift may be accepted. He enters and speaks to the idol, who says that he consents Before any of his ministers may enter to minister to him, they say that they must fast for many days and refrain from women.—*Estute, p. 81.*

THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

18. **INTRODUCTION.**—Variations in Culture in America; The Influence of Environment on Culture and Religion; The Culture-areas of America Defined.
14. **GENERAL BELIEFS.**—Animism; The Gods; The Myths.
15. **CULTUS OF THE DEAD.**—The Future Home of the Soul; Its Location, Future Life a Continuation of this Life; the Disposal of the Dead.
16. **RITES AND CEREMONIES.**—Prayer; Sacrifice; Idols; Temples and Altars; Priesthood.
17. **THE RELIGION OF MEXICO.**—Peculiarities of Mexican Religion; the Altar-temples; the Priesthood, their Functions; Gods; Beliefs; Burial-customs; Home of the Dead.
18. **THE RELIGION OF PERU.**—Primitive Worship of Ancestors; Later Sun worship, and Monotheism; Priesthood; Sacrifice; Festivals; Prayer; Burial-customs; Mythology.



Stone Idol, Yucatan.

QUESTIONS.

13. *What relation does religion bear to "culture"? Why should environment be considered in the discussion of the religion of any people? Contrast the religion of Mexico with that of Peru in relation to environment.*

14. *What is meant by animism? From what source did the higher gods rise? What is the most common myth in America?*

15. *What is the nature of the future world in the belief of the American? How many kinds of mortuary customs do we find in America? What were the various purposes of the funerals?*

16. *What is the attitude of the American toward his god? Why does he perform sacrifice? Were idols universal in American religions? Name the kinds of temples in America. In what region were priestly orders most elaborate?*

17. *What are the distinguishing features of the Mexican religion? Why is the Mexican pantheon so extensive? Name some of the more important gods. What peculiarity is there about a Mexican temple?*

18. *Define pacarina, malqui. What feature distinguishes the Peruvian religion from that of the other peoples of America? Was human sacrifice ever practiced in Peru? In what respect was the prayer of the Peruvian superior to those generally made by other Americans? How do we benefit by Peruvian burial customs?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Look up the tribes of each "culture-group" and determine what they have in common.*
2. *Read Brinton's "American Hero Myths."*
3. *Read Tylor's "Primitive Culture," chapter XII., and see why the belief in a soul necessitates a belief in the continuance of the soul after death.*
4. *Study the priesthood of the Pueblo tribes, as described by Fewkes and Cushing.*
5. *Investigate the subject of human sacrifice and cannibalism in Mexico.*
6. *Trace the development of Monotheism from Polytheism, and study the subject of prayer in Peru in the "Rites and Laws of the Incas."*

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THE RELIGIONS OF AFRICA AND OCEANIA.

BY

LEON MARILLIER, M.A., University of Paris, Joint Editor of the "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions."

19. NATURE GODS—FETISH WORSHIP AND SORCERY IN WESTERN AFRICA.

IN the limited space which we have at our disposal, it is impossible to think of giving an exposition, however summary, of the religious beliefs and rites of all the different races which inhabit Africa, many of which rites and beliefs are only incompletely or imperfectly known. We propose here to sketch broadly only the religions of the negroes of western Africa and those of the tribes of southern Africa, the Hottentots and Bantous, concerning which we have an abundance of documents, not, however, perfectly trustworthy.

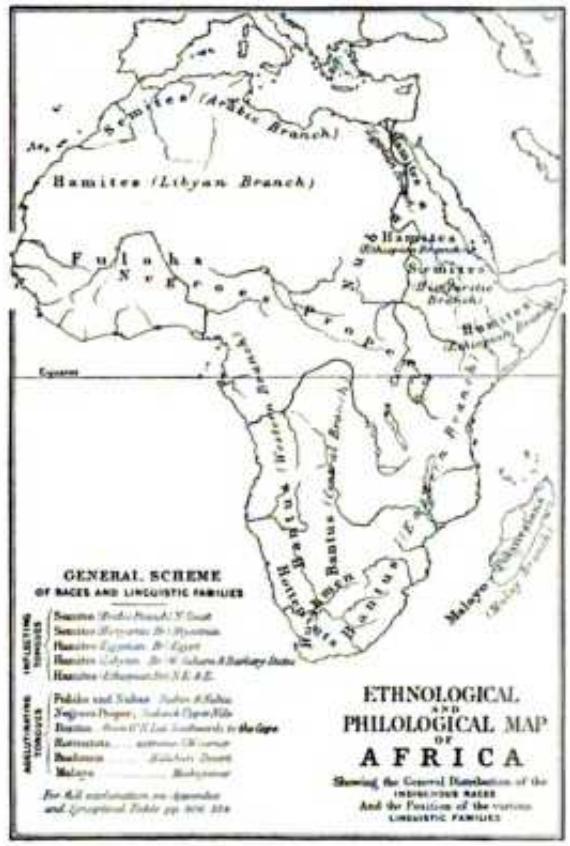
The mythology of the negroes is as incoherent, fragmentary and unstable as the savage nature itself. At the side of aboriginal myths and beliefs are found those of Mohammedan or Christian origin, but strangely disfigured and amalgamated with local traditions, and infiltrated with childish superstitions. It seems that the tendency to Monotheism which several travelers have found to exist in the religions of the blacks is to be attributed to exterior influences, but its existence at present cannot be denied.

In the religion of the majority of tribes which are spread along the coast of Senegal as far as the Congo, there is a supreme god, sometimes identified with the sun, oftener with the sky, to whom the creation of the world is ordinarily ascribed and about whom are grouped inferior gods, the great forces of nature personified, the lightning, the thunder, the rainbow, etc. (1). It seems that the supreme god is the dispenser of rain, and when he is worshipped, which is only exceptionally, the rites are generally designed to obtain from him a supply of rain. The sea also is regarded as a great divinity, and in some places on the coast of Guinea human sacrifices are offered to it. Lakes, rivers and springs are also worshipped, and among certain tribes libations are made to the earth, wife of the fecundating sky. Birds, supposed to be spirits of the air, are frequently worshipped, especially birds of prey. Forests and trees, certain animals, such as the elephant, monkeys, crocodiles, lions,

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leopards, are ordinarily deified. They are looked upon as animated by souls like the human soul, but more powerful. Of all these god-animals the most generally worshipped is the serpent. Among several negro tribes totemic beliefs are found associated with this worship.

The spirits which animate the trees, the waters, the beasts or the stones, in short, every object which manifests a force or a power, is conceived of as separate from the plant, the animal, the stone or the river in which it is incarnated, and it can also, like the souls of the dead, be constrained by sacrifices or can itself choose to inhabit any small material object, which then becomes a fetish and is worshipped because a god resides there. Objects which attract attention by their singularity or their novelty are considered fetishes. They protect those who possess them and receive offerings and sacrifices in exchange for this protection. The fetishes are assigned generally to those who have made or purchased them, and at the side of the individual and domestic fetishes are the public fetishes of the tribe or of the state. They are only efficacious through the spirit which animates them, being very different in this respect from the amulet which, by its inherent magical force, wards off dangerous influences, or the talisman which communicates immediately to its possessor a magical power. Also prayers are offered to fetishes.





Wooden Idol from the Niger.

In the infinite number of spirits with which the world is peopled there are good and bad, benevolent and harmful spirits, a dualistic conception which is found in almost all the religious beliefs and rites of the Blacks. The co-operation of the spirits by which nature is everywhere animated can be secured by the sorcerer, who will work good or evil according as he submits himself to good or evil spirits. The rites accomplished by the sorcerer have in themselves a constraining efficacy and force, but they derive a part of their power from the personality of the sorcerer considered as a half divine-being. He is generally regarded as having the power to change himself into an animal. He is at the same time healer, diviner and caster of lots. Beside the sorcerers, there are in certain more perfectly organized negro states, real priests, who direct and celebrate the public worship, and in the majority of tribes secret religious associations where magical rites are practiced, and whose members seem, in certain cases, to have adopted more refined beliefs than those of the masses.

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19. NATURE GODS—FETISH WORSHIP AND SORCERY IN WESTERN AFRICA.

(1) **Deities of Western Africa.** — *Mawu*, the highest god of the Ewe tribes, is considered creator and preserver of the world. He has at his side a lightning-god and a thunder-god. On the contrary *Vankompon*, the highest god of the negroes on the Gold Coast, himself rules the lightning and thunder, but A. B. Ellis has shown that *Vankompon* was based upon European ideas. Heaven-gods, who are worshipped throughout the Ewe country, are *Khebioso*, who, by his lightning flash, executes the judgments of Mawu, *Dso*, the fire-god, and *Anyewo*, the rainbow-god.



Fetish of Uncertain Use in Lunda.

In Dahomey and the western Ewe countries Lissa or Dsi is the sun-spirit, and Gleti or Dsinu the moon-spirit. . . . . In Waidah the the war-god is called *Bo*, in Togaland *Njikpla*, who rides through the clouds and showers down the shooting stars; while on the Gold Coast and on the western Slave Coast each locality has its special sea-spirit; in Waidah *Hu* passes as sole ruler of the ocean. *Noti* and *Avrikiti* are subordinate to him. At the head of the female deities stands *Nna*, the mother of all that is. . . . The natives of Ague name the highest being *Olorun*, Heaven-king, but worship besides him *Shango*, the Thunder.

That they possess a higher idea of the Heaven-god is perhaps attributable to the circumstance that their kindred, the Voruba, in great degree confess Islamism; Even the still heathen Voruba defend themselves against the charge of idolatry by the excuse that they view and worship the under-gods only as mediators and intercederers with *Olorun*.

In Abbeokuta are religious societies which place themselves under the protection of a particular god or spirit, and are solicitous about the worship of him. One of these believes on the only true God who made the world and man. The first man is called *Okikishi* or Fame; also *Obbabifish* or Lord of Speech, his wife *Lye* or Life. The primitive pair descended from heaven and had a numerous progeny. Sin entered the human race with war. Another society names itself after *Obbatalla*, who shaped the human body, but could not breathe in the life, which is rather a breath from the mouth of God. *Obbatalla* is plainly primitive man elevated to demiurge, and is still represented, now as an armed knight and now as a nursing woman, and named now *Orishanlo*, the great *Orisha* or Spirit, and now *Iyangba*, the Fruitful Mother. The same deity appears again as a cosmical primitive being, namely as primitive ancestor, or as companion to the Thunder-god, *Shango*.

The society of Isa has selected the Guardian-god of the Palmnuts and of Health, who bears also the titles: Guardian of Secrets, Protector of Marriages, and Helper of Parturient Women. A sect feared for its deeds of violence is that of *Shango* or *Jakuta*, the Slinger, which sprang from a mixture of religious ideas accompanying nature-myths. His mother is the Water; his father the Moon; his grandfather the Desert or the Heaven-plain; his elder brother Nature; his younger brother the Symbol of War and of the Smithy; his wives the Rivers; his slave the Darkness. He protects the good, but slays the bad and hurls them into the abyss. Every piece of property provided with a wisp of straw, the token of his protection, is inviolable, and whoever does not heed it incurs the vengeance of the priests of *Shango*. The latter preserve thunderbolts as precious sacred objects.

The Yoruba speak of a common seat of the gods in the city Ife where the sun and moon ever rise again from the earth in which they have been buried. Ife is also the scene of the creation of mankind. *Shango*, likewise, came into being here, plainly as a late born scion of the gods. At first he was mortal, and not until his assumption into heaven was he crowned with immortality.

The mythic poetry, in which an active imagination imparts to its picture of the world the most glaring colors possible, fashions not firm but shifting figures which, like cloud-shapes, easily change their form. Thus Shango appears also as hunter, as fisher, as warrior, and in some legends he has sunk down to a king who was generally hated for his cruelty.

The Ibo, who dwell along the lower Niger, name their god *Tshuku* or *Tshi*, *i.e.*, Heaven. They join with this name the notion of creation and preservation, of providence and of retribution. *Tshuku* has two eyes and two ears, one in heaven the other on earth, so that he sees and hears everything; and he never sleeps. . . . . In old Calabar, likewise, *Tshuku* passes no longer as a heaven-god, but as the most famous divining spirit who dwells in wild solitude in a cave, the approach to which is guarded by a waterfall dashing over it. The name for god is *Abasi-Ibum*, *i.e.*, Almighty God, who created all things, the waters and mountains, the fish, the birds, and the beasts of the wood.

The moon is the most revered of all the heavenly bodies. In some regions of the Benin coast the custom obtains of offering two human beings at each new moon. R. F. Burton observed how in Benin City a woman was slain and her corpse left as booty for vultures. The people expected a special blessing for this deed. The moon-spirit, *Ilogo*, who maintains supremacy among all the guardian spirits in South Guinea, is probably to be viewed as an ancestral spirit transferred to the moon. — *W. Schneider*, "*Die Religion der Afrikanischen Naturvölker*," *pp. 35, 36, 37, 38, 48.*

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20. THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD AND HUMAN SACRIFICES IN WESTERN AFRICA.

Belief in the survival of the soul is universal in all western Africa. The other life is considered a continuation of the earthly life; the dead retain in the other world the rank and power which they possessed in this world. The king remains king and the slave a slave. Good and evil actions do not appear to exert any influence on the destiny of the soul. Although the souls of the dead, especially those of sorcerers, chiefs and persons of high rank or great wealth, are supposed to be invested with quasi-divine power, incessantly exerting an influence, whether for good or evil, on the phenomena of nature and the events of human life, yet they are not, it appears, ranked among the gods. The political and religious chiefs are moreover during their lifetime regarded as endowed with supernatural powers, and they are frequently worshipped and honored like the gods. They are the supernatural protectors and guardians of the tribe and of the state, and continue to exercise these functions even more fully after their death (1).



House-Idol of the Fan. (After Du Chaillu).

In all this region the cult of the dead presents itself under three principal forms, the worship of ancestors, of chiefs and deceased sorcerers and priests, and of the souls of the dead who haunt the solitudes of the forest, animating nature (everywhere in touch with spirits) and becoming incarnated in material objects, which then become protecting fetishes. The worship paid seems sometimes intended to appease the anger of these spirits, sometimes to gain their good will. It is ritualistic in character and consists of prayers and invocations, offerings and sacrifices. Everything which can be useful to the dead is buried with them; food, arms, implements, and ornaments. Domestic animals and frequently men are immolated on their tombs. To this sort of conception must be ascribed the custom of human sacrifice which is very widespread in that region of Africa. It is essentially a funeral rite and the human hecatombs offered by the Ashantees or the Dahomeys in honor of dead kings have no other signification. However, these sacrifices appear also in the worship of the gods, especially those having the form of animals and in the worship of the sea.

Moreover, these souls are often thought of as incarnated in certain animals, who thereby acquire a character especially sacred. The immortality of the human victims has a double signification. The slaves and women who are sacrificed are supposed to render to the person in whose honor they were immolated the same services which they performed on earth. On the other hand, among the tribes at present or formerly cannibal, the bodies of these victims serve as food to the souls of the dead and to gods, conceived in the image of men, as anthropophagous. The dead, together with the inferior spirits, animals and fetishes, are real objects of worship, but they are feared rather than reverenced, and it is to the superior gods, and perhaps to the benevolent ancestral spirits, that are addressed the prayers which seem to satisfy the heart of the inconstant and capricious Black.

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20. THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD AND HUMAN SACRIFICES IN WESTERN AFRICA.

(1) **The Destiny of the Soul according to the Tshi of the Gold Coast.**—There are on the Gold Coast believed to be two kinds of *asrahmanfo* (ghosts); the ghosts of those who have met with a sudden death or those who have been killed in battle or whose career has been unexpectedly terminated by some fatal accident, and on the other part the ghosts of those who have died of old age or disease. The first are called lingering *asrahmanfo* because they linger about their former habitations for a period of one or two months before making the journey to Srahmanadzi, "the land of the ghosts." While so lingering they are occasionally seen by man, clad in white and streaked with white clay; they linger because they have died before completing their proper term of life, and for the same reason, the road to Srahmanadzi is dark and gloomy to them and difficult to find. On arriving there, however, they recover health in a month or so. The ghosts of those who die of old age or of disease proceed at once to Srahmanadzi, because they have completed their time. Consequently they are never seen by the living. The road to Srahmanadzi is plain to them, but they are sometimes for two or three years before they recover health. Srahmanadzi is like the world above, with towns, villages, forests, mountains, rivers, etc. It is believed to be beneath the earth and to be less bright than the world of the living. A proverb says: "A corner in the world is better than the whole of Srahmanadzi." When the world is in darkness there is light in Srahmanadzi and vice versa. There an old man becomes young, a young man a boy, and a boy an infant. They grow and become old. But age does not carry with it any diminution of strength or wasting of the body. When they reach the prime of life they remain so and never change more. Another view, however, very commonly held, is that each Srahman is of the age at which the living man had arrived. Every Srahman does in Srahmanadzi that which he was accustomed to do when he was a living man in the world. An agriculturist cultivates the soil, a fisherman fishes, and a slave waits upon and attends his master. A chief in the world is a chief in Srahmanadzi and a slave is a slave. *Asrahmanfo* have the same passions, appetites, needs and necessities as living men. Therefore in the grave with the corpse are placed food and drink, tobacco, pipes, gold-dust, trinkets and clothes, according to the wealth and position of the deceased. The two first are for use during the journey to Srahmanadzi, and the remainder on arrival there. The spiritual portions of these articles are made use of by the *asrahmanfo*. . . . From this belief in a continuance of the former life in the next world naturally and deductively follows the custom of putting persons to death at the decease of a man of rank to enable those sacrificed to continue a ghostly attendance. A chief who has been accustomed to be waited upon by a number of attendants during life, will, the natives argue, require and expect a similar attendance in Srahmanadzi.—*A. B. Ellis*, "*The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*," *pp. 156, 158, 166*.



Cemetery and Sacred Tree in Mbinda.

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21. THE RELIGIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.



Street in a Bechuana Town.

The native tribes who occupy the southern portion of Africa belong to two distinct races, the Bantous and Hottentots. The mythology of the Bantous (Amazulu, Bechuanas, Ova-Herero) is of extreme poverty (1). Worship is paid principally to the souls of the dead, especially among the Amazulu. Ancestors who have died recently are especially honored and invoked. Their souls dwell in vast subterranean or celestial regions where they lead a life similar to that which they led on earth (2), but they frequently appear among the living, ordinarily in the form of animals, most often in the form of serpents, who are treated with superstitious respect. Their worship consists of offerings of food and the immolation of animals, accompanied by ritualistic prayers. Human victims are sometimes sacrificed to the souls of chiefs. The soul of a dead man is dreaded in proportion to the power which he possessed during his lifetime. The Amazulu attribute the origin of the world and of mankind to *Unkulunkulu*, at the same time god and hero-civilizer, common ancestor of all the human race. He is probably a nature god transformed afterwards into an ancestral god (3). In the traditions collected by Callaway, another god figures in company with him, a god not clearly defined, who does not seem to receive any worship, *Ulixo*, Lord of the Heavens and of the Thunder, sometimes confounded with *Unkulunkulu*, who is invoked for rain. Black bulls whose bones are burned outside the kraal are sacrificed to him. To this double divinity corresponds the Molimo of the Bechuanas and the Ovakuru Meyuru of the Ova-Herero. Among the Kaffirs, the spirits of running waters, represented under the form of an animal, in particular the crocodile are ranked near these gods. Among



A Zulu Sorcerer. (From a Photograph at the Mission-House, Berlin.)

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the Damaras, trees and fire are often worshipped. Among all the Bantou tribes, and especially among the Bechuanas, totemic beliefs, institutions, and customs are found. Magical rites are universally practiced for the purpose of bringing misfortune or death upon enemies, of warding off disease from one's self and family, of assuring success, victory in war, increase of flocks and fertility of fields, and especially to procure a supply of rain. The use of amulets and talismans whose action rests on the principle of "sympathetic magic" is very general, also rites of purification destined to ward off dangerous influences. There is no moral signification attached to them. The destiny of the soul is independent of the good or evil deeds done in this life.



Chief with Wife among the Mountain Damaras. (After a photograph in possession of the Mission-House in Banuen.)

In the mythology of the Bushmen, the most degraded or least developed branch of the Hottentot race, animals play the most important and almost exclusive rôle. A purely human figure can hardly be said to exist in their myths, and among celestial bodies the moon alone is worshipped. Their principal god is *Cagn*, the insect mantis. The worship, as among the Hottentots, consists in ritualistic dances. The Bushmen, like the Bantous and the Hottentots, are not fetish worshippers in the manner of the negroes, but they make use of amulets and talismans. Sorcery is held in honor among them; for sorcerers are supposed to possess the power of conjuring the rain, the wind, the thunder and all those natural phenomena which Bushmen look upon as the actions of persons resembling men and animals. The souls of the dead are looked upon with dread, and everything that is necessary to the deceased is buried with him. They do not seem to be the objects of a real worship.

The Hottentots (Khoi-Khoi) who devote themselves especially to the breeding of flocks, have raised themselves to the level of a civilization superior to that of the Bushmen, who live only from the products of the chase, but their mythology also is almost defaced. (4) The principal figure of their legends is *Hatsi-Edib*, who, it seems, must be identified with *Tsui i goab*, an ancestral god, a dead sorcerer deified, who appears to have been amalgamated in a sort of syncretic conception with a nature god, the remembrance of which has been lost and in whom some mythologists claim to have discovered the dawn and others the moon. He performs the functions of demiurge and plays a predominant rôle in certain etiological myths of the Hottentots which have come down to us. His adversary and enemy is *Gaunob*, who is engaged in a perpetual struggle with him. Rites in honor of the souls of dead, especially those of the chiefs, are also celebrated. Certain animals, *e.g.*, the praying mantis, are objects of superstitious veneration, as also are the spirits of fountains commonly represented under the form of serpents. Sorcery is held in honor among the Hottentots, as also among their brother-tribe, the Bushmen. In the Hottentot legends, animals play the most important rôle, being endowed with all the attributes of human beings. Celestial bodies and natural phenomena are regarded as living beings.

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21. THE RELIGIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.

(1) **Myths of the Ovaherero Concerning the Origin of Things.**—The Ovaherero, the Rev. H. Reiderbecke says, have a kind of tree, *Ygdrasil*, a tree out of which men are born. . . . The tree, which still exists, though at a great age, is called the *Omumborombonga* tree. Out of it came, in the beginning, the first man and woman. Oxen stepped forth from it too, but . . . . sheep and goats sprang from a flat rock. Black people are so colored, according to the Ovaherero, because when the first parents emerged from the tree and slew an ox, the ancestress of the Blacks appropriated the black liver of the victim. The *Ovakuru Meyuru*, or "Old Ones in Heaven," once let the skies down with a run, but drew them up again when most of the mankind had been drowned. The remnant pacified the "Old Ones" by the sacrifice of a black ewe, a practice still used to appease ghosts by the Ovaherero.—"*South African Folk-Lore Journal*," *II. pt. V., p. 95, cited by A. Lang. "Myth, Ritual and Religion," I., p. 176, 177.*

(2) **The Subterranean World of the Dead in the Belief of the Amazulu.**—Once upon a time, *Umkatshana* arose in the morning to go to hunt with his dogs; he started a buck, his dogs drove it; it went and entered a hole and the dogs went in too and he too went in. He went on and on with the buck until he came to the people who are beneath the place where they dwell. He saw cattle; when he arrived the people were milking. He said: "So then there are people who live here." They said: "This dog of ours, who is driving it?" They said when they looked: "Ah! there is a man." And then he met with his own friends. They said to him: "Go home! Do not stay here." So he went home again.

It is said in another tale, belonging to the same type: "At length in front he saw it began to get light; he heard dogs barking and children crying; he passed on, he came upon a village, he saw smoke rising and said: "How? what place is this? I am following the porcupine, I am come to a dwelling." Whereupon he returned, walking backwards and returning on his path and said: "Let me not go to these people, for I do not know them; perhaps they will kill me." He saw a great country. He fled and went day and night, saying: "Perhaps they have seen me." At length he crossed that river which he crossed whilst he was pursuing the porcupine; he passed the pool which he passed at first; at length he went out of the hole. He wondered on coming out; for at the place from which he came, he saw all things resembled those which are above: mountains, precipices and rivers. . . . . Everywhere among the people of all tribes, there is a belief in the existence of heavenly men (abantubezulu) and of a king of heaven, whom they suppose to be the creator of lightning, thunder and rain. . . . They have a notion that not only earth, heaven, and water have their man-like inhabitants, but that also underground there are those who are still occupied with the busy cares and necessary labors of life. They are supposed to be the departed dead and lead a very material kind of existence.—*Rev. Can. Callaway, "Zulu Nursery Tales," pp. 317, 318, 319.*

(3) **Unkulunkulu.**—It is said Unkulunkulu had his origin in a valley where there was a bed of reeds in this world. And men sprang from *Unkulunkulu* by generation. . . . All things as well as *Unkulunkulu* sprang from a bed of reeds; everything, both animals and corn, everything coming into being with Unkulunkulu. He looked on the sun, when it was worked into a form as a potter works clay, and said: "There is a torch which will give you light so that you may see." He looked on the cattle and said: "These are cattle and let them be your food; eat their flesh and milk." He looked on wild animals and said: "That is such an animal, that is an elephant, that



Zulu Chief in his Grave.

is a buffalo." He looked on fire and said: "Kindle it and cook and warm yourself and eat meat when it has been dressed by fire. He looked on all things and said: "So and so is the name of everything."—*Callaway, "The Religious System of the Amazulu," p. 41.*

(4) **Hottentot Myths.**—The moon sent once an insect to men, saying: "Go thou to men and tell them, 'As I die, and dying live, so you shall die, and dying live.'" The insect started with the message, but whilst on his way he was overtaken by the Hare, who asked: "On what errand are thou bound?" The insect answered: "I am sent by the Moon to men to tell them that as she dies, and dying live, they also shall die, and dying live." The Hare said: "As thou art an awkward runner, let me go." With these words, he ran off and when he reached men, he said: "I am sent by the moon to tell you, 'As I die, and dying perish, in the same manner ye shall also die and come wholly to an end.'" Then the Hare returned to the Moon and told her what he had said to men. The moon then became so enraged with him that she took up a hatchet to split his head; falling short, however, of that, the hatchet fell upon the upper lip of the Hare and cut it severely. Since that day the Hare's lip is slit. The Hare, being duly incensed at having received such treatment, raised his claws and scratched the Moon's face, and the dark parts which we now see on the surface of the Moon are the scars which she received on that occasion.—*W. Bleek, "Hottentot Fables and Tales," p 69-72.*

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22. THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD.—MAGIC IN POLYNESIA, MICRONESIA, MELANESIA, AUSTRALIA.

The religious conceptions of the Oceanians or South Sea Islanders, like those of the majority of uncivilized peoples, seem to have a double origin, the worship of the dead, and the deification of heavenly bodies, the sky, the earth, the sea, the winds, the lightning, the volcanoes, and in general all the great forces of nature, and all the great natural phenomena.



Samoan Woman. (From Godeffroy Album.)

Although of entirely distinct origin, the divine beings who belong to these two categories often have similar attributes and functions, and it often happens that an ancestral god is set over such or such a department of nature, or that a tribe gives itself to the worship of some deified natural force instead of worshipping its ancestors. The widespread worship of animals, plants and of stones anterior perhaps both to the worship of the great objects and phenomena of nature and to the worship of the dead, is closely connected with both of them, for even if the animal plant, or rock, is sometimes worshipped for itself, on the supposition that it is invested with some marvelous or supernatural property, yet it is also frequently worshipped as the abode of some god or departed hero. The belief in the survival of the soul is universal among the South Sea Islanders, and is found among the Blacks of Australia, the Papuans of Melanesia, as well as among the Maoris of New Zealand, the Samoans and Hawaiians, and among the Micronesians. Life after death is generally considered as a continuation of the life here on earth(1). The idea of rewards and punishments distributed in the other world by a just judge is lacking. Good or bad actions do not generally exert any influence on the destiny of the soul, which instead depends upon the social position of the deceased, the manner of his death, the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of certain funeral rites(2). Oftentimes all the dead have the same destiny. Immortality, or a life after death more or less prolonged, belongs generally only to chiefs, nobles or priests. The dissolution of the body is in certain cases, after a longer or shorter time, followed by a series of successive deaths, which finally ends in the annihilation of the individual. Sometimes the souls are reunited to their bodies in one or several subterranean, submarine, or celestial abodes, sometimes they haunt the ashes or burial place of the deceased, sometimes they remain among the living as disembodied spirits, and finally they are sometimes reincarnated in animals or in natural or artificial objects. The first form of belief prevails more generally in Polynesia,

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the third in Australia. The belief in the incarnation of spirits in plants and animals is very common in Melanesia. The dead do not all exert the same influence after death. A deceased chief or sorcerer is capable of deeds which are impossible to the spirit of a common person. The souls of departed heroes or mighty men are generally worshipped with offerings and ritualistic prayers. This cult which was probably contemporaneous with the worship of the forces of nature, and which had almost supplanted it at the time when Oceania was colonized by the Europeans, does not assume everywhere the same form. In Polynesia and particularly in the Society Islands, where the worship of the (nature) gods had probably superseded the worship of protecting spirits represented principally under the form of animals, the former has been superseded by the worship of chiefs and powerful personages, with which are combined domestic rites in which the soul of the ancestor occupies the place formerly held by the protecting spirit. These rites are often propitiatory and hence have for a long time been accompanied by human sacrifices. The dead are looked upon sometimes as evil spirits and sometimes as tutelary spirits, but as deities whose protection it is necessary to gain by offerings. In Micronesia, the worship of the dead is essentially an ancestral worship. The belief in the incarnation of spirits in stones, trees, fish and birds is widespread. In Melanesia, where the worship of the dead is everywhere predominant, except perhaps in the Fiji Islands, it is to the souls of the powerful, of men invested with a superior magical force (*mana*), that worship is particularly paid. In Australia it is a question rather of a friendly veneration and fear of the dead, rather than of a veritable cult. This cult, however, exists in close connection with magical rites. It implies also in many cases religious cannibalistic practices.



Ancestral Image from Nias in Malay Archipelago. (Dresden Museum).



Talisman from Borneo. (Dresden Museum).

Throughout the length and breadth of Oceania magic of various orders is found in use. Sometimes it rests on the principle of "sympathetic magic," sometimes it presupposes the intervention of the souls of the dead or of spirits, sometimes it derives its efficacy from the personal *mana* of the sorcerer. Especially in Australia and in Melanesia, there is no organized priesthood (except in the Fiji Islands); consequently the rôle of sorcerer becomes of especial importance. Magic is employed to heal diseases, to ward off attacks of the enemy, to cause the death or illness of one's enemies, to procure rain, (4) to insure good luck in hunting or fishing, to cause an increase of cattle, to render the fields fertile and for protection against the anger of the dead. In Polynesia and in Micronesia, where regular ceremonial practices existed, they were almost always accompanied by incantations (in New Zealand, *Karakia*) which exercised on the will of the gods a constraining action.

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22. THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD.—MAGIC IN POLYNESIA, MICRONESIA, MELANESIA, AUSTRALIA.

(1) **Life After Death Among Tonga Islanders.**—Men, according to an ancient tradition, came from Bolotoo, an island said to be northwest of Tonga, and which is the residence of the gods. All the *Egis*, or nobles, have souls which after their death pass to the island of Bolotoo, where they rank with the gods, but are endowed with less power. They are classed there, not according to their conduct in this world, but according to the position which they occupied. The *Mataboles*, a middle class, also go to Bolotoo after their death, and live there as mataboles or servants of the gods, but have not the power, like the *Egis*, of in-

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spiring priests. The *Mooas* (another middle class), in like manner, go to Bolotoo, according to some, but this is not the general belief. As to the *Tooas*, *i.e.*, the class to which the common people belong, they have no souls, or if they have, it perishes with the body and their existence is completely annihilated by death. The soul is the most spiritual part of the body. Immediately after death, if it belongs to the category of immortal souls, it is found in the island of Bolotoo with the same features and form that the living body had. The gods and deceased nobles sometimes render themselves visible to the living.

Some persons are favored by the gods with their inspirations. The god who inspires them is present in the person of the inspired priest, who



Ancestral Image from New Guinea (British Museum.)

becomes capable of foretelling the future. Virtue is rewarded and vice punished by the gods, but in this life only.

At Bolotoo, the souls of the dead lead an ideal existence. All sorts of plants and trees are found in the island, loaded with the finest fruits and flowers, which as fast as they are plucked, are replaced by others. These plants and trees are immortal and exhale a most delicious perfume. The island is filled with countless multitudes of birds of the most beautiful varieties. Dogs are found there in abundance. None of these animals die, except as they are killed, to furnish food for the gods. They are then instantly replaced by others, always the most perfect of their species — "*Histoire des Naturels des Iles Tonga, etc.*," *W. Mariner, Vol. II., pp. 168, 180.*

(2) **Funeral Rites of the Dicyeries (Australia)** —At death, the big toes of each foot are tied together and the body is enveloped in a net. Three men kneel down near the grave, while some other natives place the body on the heads of the kneeling men. One of the old men, usually the nearest relative, now takes two light rods, . . . standing about two yards from the corpse; then, beating the *coomya* together, he questions the corpse, inquiring how he died, who was the cause of his death and the name of the man who killed him, as even decease from natural causes they attribute to a charm or spell. The men sitting round act as interpreters for the defunct. The corpse is put into the grave, but, before it, the fat is taken from the face, the thighs, the arms and the belly and eaten by the relatives in order to keep the memory of the dead. Then the men paint themselves with charcoal and fat, marking a black ring round the mouth. The women do likewise, besides painting two white stripes on their arms, which marks distinguish those who have partaken of the late deceased, the other men smearing themselves all over with white clay to testify their grief. The grave is covered with earth and a long stack of wood placed over it. The first night after the burial the women dance round the grave, crying and screaming incessantly till sunrise, and so continue for a week or more. Should the weather be cold when a native dies, fires are lighted near the grave, so that the deceased may warm himself, and often they place food for him to eat. Invariably after a death they shift their camp and never after speak of or refer to the defunct.—"*The Native Tribes of South Australia*," *1879, p. 273.*

(3) **Sympathetic Magic.**—"The principal key to the understanding of Occult Science is to consider it as based on the Association of Ideas, a faculty which lies at the very foundation of human reason, but in no small degree of human unreason also. Man, as yet in a low intellectual condition, having come to associate in thought those things which he found by experience to be connected in fact, proceeded erroneously to invert this action, and to conclude that association in thought must involve similar connection in reality. He thus attempted to discover, to foretell, and to cause events by means of processes which we can now see to have only an ideal significance. By a vast mass of evidence from savage, barbaric and civilized life, magic arts which have resulted from thus mistaking an ideal for a real connection may be clearly traced from the lower culture which they are of, to the higher culture which they are in. . . . Magical arts in which the connection is that of mere analogy or symbolism are endlessly numerous throughout the course of civilization. . . . The Zulu may be seen chewing a bit of wood, in order, by this symbolic act, to soften the heart of the man he wants to buy oxen from, or of the woman he wants for a wife."—*E. B. Tylor*, "*Primitive Culture*," *Vol. I., pp. 115-118.*

(4) **The Making of Rain.**—They dig a hole; they build above the hole a conical hut and the old men crowd there. The women are called to look at the hut, which they approach from the rear, then dividing, some one way and some the other, go round until they reach the entrance, each looking inside, but passing no remark. Then, they return to their camp. Two men are bled and the blood flows on those sitting round, during which time the two men throw handfuls of down, some of which adheres to the blood, the rest floating in the air. During that time two large stones are placed in the centre of the hut, these stones representing gathering clouds. The men who were bled carry the stones away for about fifteen miles and place them as high as they can on the largest tree about. In the meanwhile the men remaining gather gypsum, pound it fine and throw it into a waterhole.

The walls of the hut are then pierced by the men with their heads and afterwards the hut is thrown down by pulling out the beams. The piercing of the hut with the heads symbolizes the piercing of the clouds, the fall of the hut, the fall of the rain. —"*The Native Tribes of South Australia*," *p. 277.*

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23. NATURE MYTHS AND DIVINE AND HEROIC LEGENDS OF POLYNESIA. TABOO.

Although the cult of the dead had become predominant in the religions of Oceania and especially in those of Polynesia, at the time of the European colonization, yet the adoration of the great deified objects and forces of nature existed beside it, and appears to have played at an anterior epoch in the official and public religion of the Maoris (in the Society or Hawaiian Islands, for example, where volcanic deities were found), a role more important perhaps than the worship of ancestors and the terror inspired by the malevolent souls of the departed. Sometimes the gods had assumed a human or animal form, sometimes they were identified with natural objects, *e.g.*, the sea or the sky, but they were always conceived as endowed with life and intelligence like persons. It was in the myths of the gods, in the legendary adventures which were attributed to them, that the aborgines sought the explanation of the great natural phenomena.



Idol from New Zealand (Christy Collection).

Mythology was thus for the non-civilized peoples invested at the same time with the functions which among us are divided between science and religion. In the hymns of New Zealand, for example, by the side of mythical explanations, appear attempts at metaphysical explanations which seem to make of thought the origin of things. The most widespread of these myths in Polynesia is that of the separation of the earth and the sky, who are conceived of as the ancestors, in the human or animal sense of the word, of all that exists. (1) The Maoris of New Zealand assign to them as sons, gods of various forms, *Tangaroa*, God of the Sea, Father of Reptiles and Fishes, *Tâne Mahuta*, God of the Forests, represented as a tree, *Tavohēri Matea*, God of the Winds, who with his father inhabits the open spaces of the sky, and who is continually at war with his brother, *Tâne Mahuta*, gods in the form of plants, wild and cultivated, and finally *Tumatanenga*, the God of War, the only one resembling a human being. These "departmental gods" held, however, in the mythological legends a place less important than the great hero-civilizer, *Maui*, who, although of divine origin, and perhaps identified with some star (the sun was called Maui's eye), was conceived of in the image of a man and endowed with all his attributes. (2) It is he who takes the sun in a snare, and by dint of blows compels it in the future to follow its course at a slower and more regular pace. It is he who drew New Zealand from the bottom of the sea and who stole the fire in the subterranean world. To him is attributed the invention of barbed javelins and fish hooks, and the introduction of death among men. The myths relating to Maui are found throughout almost all the length and breadth of Polynesia, as are also the myths of Tangaroa, who under different names (Tangaloa, Taaroa), often invested with the functions of Demiurge, plays a preponderant rôle in the creation, or rather genesis, of the world, and sometimes also holds the place which Maui occupies in the legends which are usually connected with the mythic cycle of this last god. The origin of human beings and of the gods themselves even is often ascribed to a feminine divinity of indeterminate form, *Po*, Night, who is conceived of as the mother of all things.

Another grand figure in the Polynesian mythology is *Tâne*, to whom may be

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attached the original signification of God of the Winds. It is necessary to mention also *Mam*, the God of Death, *Bongo* or *Lono* without doubt originally God of the Rain and the Storm, *Rua* or *Ru*, God of the Angry Sea, to whom certain legends attribute the elevation of the sky, which formerly was near the earth, and who is sometimes invested with the attributes of the Creator. Beside these gods were agricultural divinities, such as *l'Alo-Alo* of the Tonga Islands, the divinities belonging to certain archipelagos, such as *Oro*, who was worshipped with human sacrifices, those of the Society Islands, *Pele*, and the group of volcanic divinities belonging to the Hawaiian Islands, the secondary astral divinities (the moon, etc.), and the innumerable *genii* of the mountains, waters and woods. There are also numerous myths relating to eclipses, stars, the rainbow, clouds, the milky way, the deluge, the origin of different plants and animals, social rites and institutions, the invention of instruments, the useful arts and tattooing.



Warrior of the Solomon Islands. (From Godeffroy Album.)

Mention must here be made of the prohibitions and religious interdictions, to which taken collectively the name of *taboo* is given, and which have attained in Polynesia, and especially in the Hawaiian Islands, and in New Zealand, their fullest development, but which are found extended to a greater or less number of persons, objects or actions, and observed with a severity more or less rigorous, in all parts of Oceania. Of these interdictions, some are the direct result of the sacred or impure (for originally these two notions were confounded and have been but slowly differentiated) character of the persons, objects or acts; others are dictated by a chief, for the proprietor of a house or field, to protect his property from the cupidity or malice of another. The object of the general *taboos* is to guarantee from invisible contact beings whose health and life are important to the safety and prosperity of the tribe, the chiefs and the priests, for example, to preserve the most important acts of individual, family and social life from dangerous influences, and on the other hand to afford protection against the often dangerous influence and contact of these powerful personages, reservoirs of supernatural force, the priests, chiefs and members of secret religious associations, to feeble beings, such as women and children whom another collection of tutelary regulations was at the same time to preserve from the supernatural perils afforded by the consumption of certain articles of food, the accomplishment of certain arts, the handling of corpses and certain objects. The violation of the taboos ordinarily brought with it its own penalty, the sickness, madness or death with which the transgressor was magically afflicted. But if by reason of his superior *mana* the sinner escaped the wrath of

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those whom he has irritated (*e.g.*, the souls of the dead, in penetrating within a funeral enclosure or his "totem," of which he has eaten the flesh in a sacrilegious repast), their vengeance will fall upon the members of the tribe, and this is the *raison d' être* of the social and penal sanctions which guarantee respect for taboos



Sacrificial Knife from Easter Island. (Berlin Museum.)

of all kinds, both public and private. To taboo an object is really to render it to its proprietor, to render it dangerous for any one to handle it against his wish. If this taboo is violated with impunity the supernatural vengeance of the proprietor or of the spirits who will assist him in default of the culpable, descend upon all those belonging to him, unless they afford due justice.

23. NATURE MYTHS AND DIVINE AND HEROIC LEGENDS OF POLYNESIA. TABOO.

(1) **The Separation of Heaven and Earth.**—Men had but one pair of primitive ancestors; they sprang from the vast heaven that exists above us, and from the earth which lies beneath us. According to the traditions of our race, *Rangi* and *Papa*, or Heaven and Earth, were the source from which, in the beginning, all things originated. Darkness then rested upon the heaven and upon the earth, and they still both clave together, for they had not yet been rent apart, and the children they had begotten were ever thinking amongst themselves what might be the difference between darkness and light which had never broken upon them, but it ever continued dark.

At last the beings who had been begotten by Heaven and Earth, worn out by the continued darkness, consulted amongst themselves, saying, "Let us now determine what we should do with *Rangi* and *Papa*, whether it would be better to slay them or to rend them apart." Then spoke *Tumatauenga*, the fiercest of the children of Heaven and Earth, "It is well, let us slay them."

Then spake *Tane-mahuta*, the Father of Forests and of All Things that inhabit them, or that are constructed from trees, "Nay, not so. It is better to rend them apart, and to let the Heaven stand far above us, and the Earth lie under our feet. Let the sky become as a stranger to us, but the earth remain close to us as our nursing mother."

The brothers all consented to this proposal, with the exception of *Tawhiri-ma-tea*, the Father of the Winds and Storms, and he, fearing that his kingdom was about to be overthrown, grieved greatly at the thought of his parents being torn apart.

But at length their plans having been agreed on, lo, *Rongo-ma-tane*, the God and Father of the Cultivated Food of Man, rises up that he may rend apart the heavens and the earth; he struggles, but he rends them not apart. So, next, *Tangaroa*, the God and Father of Fish and Reptiles, rises up, that he may rend apart the heavens and the earth; he also struggles, but he rends them not apart. Lo, next, *Haumia-tikitiki*, the God and Father of the Food of Man which springs without cultivation, rises up and struggles, but ineffectually. Lo, then, *Tumatauenga*, the God and Father of Fierce Human Beings, rises up and struggles, but he, too, fails in his efforts. Then, at last, slowly uprises *Tane-mahuta*, the God and Father of Forests, of Birds, and of Insects, and he struggles with his parents; in vain he strives to rend them apart with his hands and arms. Lo, he pauses; his head is now firmly planted on his mother, the earth, his feet he raises up and rests against his father, the skies; he strains his back and limbs with mighty effort. Now are rent apart *Rangi* and *Papa* and with cries and groans of woe they shriek aloud, "Wherefore slay you thus your parents? Why commit you so dreadful a crime as to slay us, as to rend your parents apart?" But *Tane-mahuta* pauses not; he regards not their shrieks and cries; far, far beneath him he presses down the earth; far, far above him he thrusts up the sky.—*G. Grey. "Polynesian Mythology," pp. 1-4. This work forms the most important collection of Maori myths that has appeared.*

(2) **The Miraculous Fishing of Maui.**—Maui being always up to some mischief, his brothers had become afraid of him, and would not let him go out with them on the sea to fish. But having provided himself with a line, and having the jawbone of his ancestor in his possession for a fish-hook, he went in the night into the canoe and hid himself in the basket with the fishing lines. Early in the morning his brothers came and launched the canoe, and paddled out to the fishing ground. Then, to their astonishment and dismay, they found Maui under the fishing-tackle.—*Wohlers, Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute, VII. (1875) p. 13.*

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24. NATURE-MYTHS AND DIVINE AND HEROIC LEGENDS IN MICRONESIA, MELANESIA, AND AUSTRALIA. TOTEMISM.

In Micronesia, as well as Polynesia, there was formerly a complicated mythology, and the worship of nature-gods, three centuries ago, had not been entirely effaced by the ancestral worship of the dead; but the legends had undergone more profound alterations than in the Polynesian archipelago. (1) They present moreover some close analogies with the Polynesian legends, and an attempt has been made to prove that they are related. One of the most interesting of these myths is that of the god *Puntan*, who lived in empty space before the creation of the world, and whose body formed the universe. Other myths relative to the origin of the world and of man, the conquest of fire, the origin of death, the adventure of the first human pair, etc., are found, especially in the Palaos Islands. There should be mentioned also lunar myths and myths relative to the formation of the islands out of portions of the body of a gigantic woman, *Kovap*, who was broken in pieces by a fall.



Fijian Gentleman. (From Godeffroy Album.)

In Melanesia, the majority of the legends and myths relate to the destiny of the soul and the other life. However, in the Fiji Islands a whole legendary cycle has been formed about the person of the god *Ndengei*, half rock and half serpent, who dwells in a cavern at Véti-Tevu, and who by his function of creator, seems to correspond very nearly to the Polynesian Tangaroa. Like the Atlas of the Greek traditions, he supports the world on his shoulders, and by his movements earthquakes are caused. To him is attributed the invention of fire, and the deluge which, according to tradition, submerged the whole archipelago. Sacrifices of men and of animals are offered to him, and his worship is closely allied with the superstitious veneration of serpents. The gods are supposed to manifest themselves incarnated in different animals, fish, reptile, birds, etc., the shark, the land-crab, the eel, etc., being especially honored. In connection with Ndengei should be mentioned another reptilian god, *Raitumabalu*, Lord of Life, God of the Harvest, *Thangavvalu*, a terrible giant sixty feet in height, winged, half human monsters, with fingers armed with claws, dwarfs, spirits of the waters, of stones and forests, and finally the gods of the country of the dead. In certain traditions an Ove is mentioned, a sort of supreme god, creator of all men, who dwells in the sky or in the moon. Romantic legends and numerous etiological myths where animals play the principal rôle are found. Living men as well as dead heroes, animals and natural objects are frequently invested with divine attributes. The priests and the aged chiefs in particular are quite often regarded as gods. The naturalistic character of these myths is less clear than in Polynesia, and these divine beings are to a greater degree and more generally anthropomorphised or theriomorphized.

In the rest of Melanesia, beside creation myths, which seem to have been influenced by Polynesian myths, are found mutilated traditions relating to celestial gods, like *Ove* of the Fiji Islands, and traces of sun-worship, beside numerous legends relative to the *Vui*, spirits which are most often represented as incarnate in rocks, or as the souls of the dead in the bodies of certain animals. These *Vui* are worshipped with incantations and magic, and appear to have had under their control the principal phenomena of nature. The most important of the *Vui* is the civiliz-

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ing hero of the Banks Islands, *I Gat*, who can be compared to the Tagaro of the New Hebrides, and perhaps to the Polynesian *Tangaroa*, and to whom is attributed the creation of man. (2) There are eleven brothers, divine like him, and for associate in all his adventures he has another *Vui*, *Maravoa*, who is a spider endowed with supernatural powers. He has as adversary *Yasavara*, whom he finally gets rid of by hurling him against the solid vault of heaven. *Yasavara* is now changed into a stone, on which sacrifices are offered.



Sacred Place in New Guinea.

The myths of Australia have ordinarily a character particularly childish. (3) Only the souls of the dead receive any sort of worship, but certain animals, wicked spirits, real or imaginary, and the sorcerers are objects of veneration. It is to *Pund-jel*, sometimes conceived under the form of a bird, the falcon eagle, sometimes under that of an old man, that the natives of Victoria attribute the creation, or at least the arrangement of the world. He has a wife and a family, and carries a great knife in his belt with which he hollows out the streams and the valleys. He is aided in his work by the crow. He creates men in modeling them out of clay. *Pul-ly-byan*, his brother, who rules over the rivers and the sea, created women by beating up the waters until they became a thick mud. They have both of them instructed the blacks in all the useful arts. *Pund-jel* gave men the spear and taught them to kill the kangaroo with it. *Pul-ly-byan* gave women implements for pulling up roots and taught them their use. *Pund-jel* has as enemy, the jay, who chased him to the very summit of the heavens, opening the great bags of wind which he possesses. He was once swallowed by a god who later became the moon, but who was compelled to vomit him up while yet living. The thunder is considered his voice. In Australia are found legends relating to the conquest of fire by men, the origin of death, the origin of various customs and of various animal species, of a deluge, etc.



Melanesian Sea-Deity.

The characteristic feature of Australian religious customs is the existence of totemism, a respect paid to certain animals regarded as the protectors or secondarily as the ancestors of a tribe. There are plant totems as well as animal totems, and it is forbidden to the members of a totemic clan to eat of their totem or to kill it, if it is an animal. The totem is not a god, but it is on the way towards divinity. Analogous beliefs are found among the redskins, the natives of southern and western Africa, the Melanesians, the Polynesians, the natives of Siberia, the non-Aryan tribes of India, etc.

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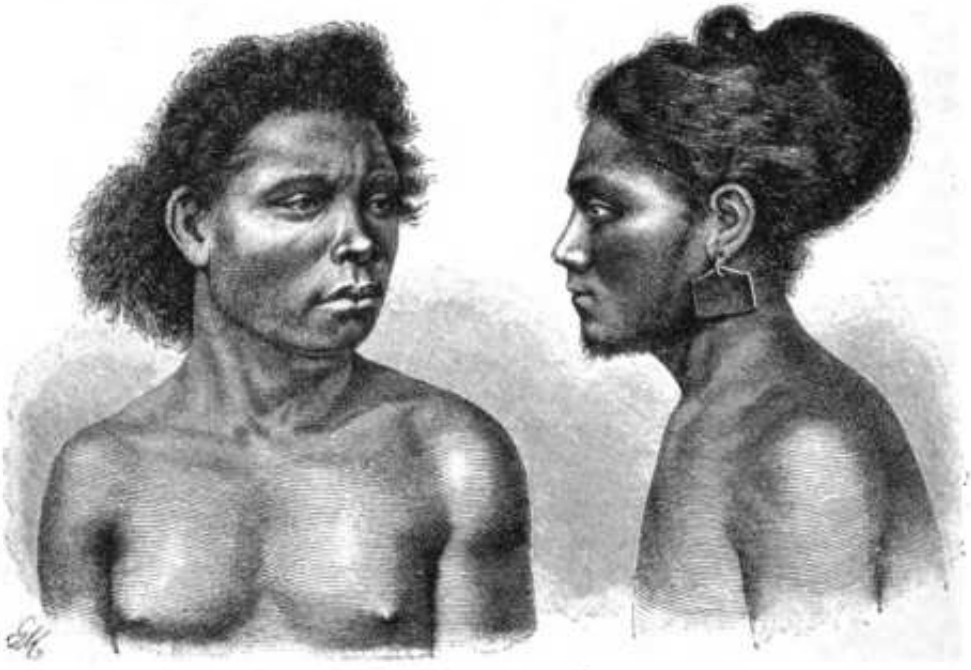
24. NATURE-MYTHS AND DIVINE AND HEROIC LEGENDS IN MICRONESIA, MELANESIA AND AUSTRALIA. TOTEMISM.

(1) **Myths About Origins (Caroline Islands).** —*Ligobund*, daughter of the most ancient of the celestial spirits, *Sabucor* and his wife *Halmelul*, and sister of *Eliulep*, who is worshipped as the "Great Lord of Heaven," finding herself pregnant in the midst of the air, descended to earth and there brought forth three children. She was astonished to see the earth arid and unfruitful, and at once, by means of her all-powerful voice, covered it with grass, flowers

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and fruit trees, enriched it with all sorts of verdure, and peopled it with thinking, reasoning beings. In the beginning death was not known; it was nothing but a short sleep. Men quitted this life the last day of the moon's decline, and entered again as soon as it began to reappear above the horizon, as if waked up from a peaceful sleep. But a certain *Erigiregers*, an evil spirit, afflicted because of human happiness procured for them a kind of death against which there was no resource, once dead, no one ever appeared again. —"*Lettres Edifiantes, Etc.*," *IV., p. 697.*

(2) **Origin of Night.**—*Gat* had a mother who was a stone that burst asunder and brought him forth. He had no father and he was born on the road. He grew up and talked at once. He soon began to make things—men, pigs, trees, rocks, as the fancy took him. But when he had made all sorts of things he still knew not how to make night, and the daytime was always light. Then said his brothers to him, "Hallo! Gat, this is not at all pleasant; here is nothing but day; can't you do something for us?" Then, seeking what he could do with the daylight, he heard that there was night at *Vava*, in the Torres Islands, so he took a pig and tied it, and put it into his canoe, and sailed over to *Vava*, where he bought night, *gong*, from *I Gong*, Night, who lived there. Others say that he paddled to the foot of the sky, to buy night from Night, and that Night blackened his eyebrows, and showed him sleep that evening, and taught him in the morning how to make the dawn. *Gat* returned to his brothers with the knowledge of night, and with a fowl and other birds to give notice of the time for the return of light. So he bade them prepare themselves bed-places; and they platted cocoanut fronds and spread them in the house. Then for the first time they saw the sun moving and sinking to the west, and called out to *Gat* that it was crawling away. "It will soon be gone," said he, "and if you see a change on the face of the earth, that is night." Then he let go the night. "What is this coming out of the sea," they cried, "and covering the sky?" "That is night," said he; "sit down on both sides of the house, and when you feel something in your eyes lie down and be quiet." Presently it was dark, and their eyes began to blink. "*Gat! Gat!* what is this? shall we die?" "Shut your eyes," said he; "this is it, go to sleep." When night had lasted long enough the cock began to crow and the birds to twitter; *Gat* took a piece of red obsidian and cut the night with it; the light over which the night had spread itself shone forth again, and *Gat's* brothers awoke. After this he occupied himself again in making things.—"*The Melanesians*," *R. Codrington, pp. 196, 197.*



Men from the Caroline Islands. (From Godeffroy Album.)

(3) **How the Black Fellows Lost and Regained Fire.**—Once *Bowkan*, a good spirit, was very angry with the Blacks and took their fire from them, but the *Bimla-Mrit* (the fire-tail finch) went off and stole fire from *Bowkan* without his knowing it, and brought it to the Black fellows, and that is why his tail is red. Another account is this: Once upon a time the Blacks were down at the lakes—a big lot of them, they were driving fish with their net. The gins would not give any of the fish to *Bowkan*. He was very wild with them, and took all their fire. All the mob of black gins ran after him, but could not get the fire back. A crow was there and caught up a black snake (Thoon-ya-rack), which he threw at *Bowkan*. *Bowkan* was so frightened that he dropped the fire and the gins recovered it.—"*Aborigines of Victoria*," *Brough Smyth, I., p. 478*

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RELIGION OF THE AUSTRALIAN ABORIGINES.

BY

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IT was customary at one time to regard the black race of the great island-continent of Australia as quite destitute of any form of religion, the test of which was the belief in the existence of a god and the practice of ceremonies consequent on such a belief. The natives of Australia, when first discovered by Europeans, were in a very low condition of culture, and they were thought to be too degraded to have any idea of religion. Enquiry by competent observers has shown, however, that simple as are their arts and barbarous as are some of their customs, they have well defined tribal organizations, combined with family or "gentile" associations which have been compared to those of Greece. Their social relations, moreover, are governed by laws which condemn acts such as theft, homicide, and trespasses on the rights of others in general; and which include elaborate regulations as to marriage and kinship, intended to prevent the possibility of marital unions being formed between near blood relatives, such unions being regarded with the utmost abhorrence. These laws have all the binding character which can be given to them by custom, perpetuated through many generations, but they are sanctioned also by what is equivalent to "divine command."



Australian Bushmen.

Under different names a Great Spirit is recognized by the Blacks throughout the whole of Australia, so far as their beliefs have been ascertained. To him is ascribed the origin of their institutions, laws and arts, and he is looked upon as the Father of the tribe, and usually as the creator of the first men and animals. The Great Spirit is supposed to be present during the initiatory ceremonies, in the course of which the youths are instructed in all the lore and laws of the tribe, and taught that if they infringe any of the commands of the Master, as he is also called, there expressed, they will be punished with disease and death. Although not usually named as the actual ancestor of the tribe, there are indications that this Master Spirit may have been at one time so considered. Thus *Bund-jel*, the Supreme Being of the Victoria Blacks, is referred to as the first man, and he is said to have created everything, and then the second man, *Kar-ween*, for whom he also made two wives. The Kurnai of Gippsland, who have been closely studied by W. A. W. Howitt, claim to be descended from *Tundun*, the son of *Mŭngan-Ngaur*, a supposed spirit often spoken of as "Our Father," and also the "Master." According to a legend common to the Dieri and other tribes of Central Australia, the Good Spirit, *Moora Moora*, created men out of lizards, and afterwards directed the division of the tribe into family groups distinguished by totemic names. But *Moora Moora* is the name given to the deceased ancestors of the tribe, hence the Great Spirit may be regarded as a kind of generalized great ancestor. The Australian aborigines, like all other primitive races, people nature with spirits. These spirits are not merely endowed with human attributes; they are supposed to have, at one time, inhabited human bodies. Many of the stars, for instance, Jupiter, Arcturus, Castor and Pollux, are identified with men who lived in the "early age," men who are called the Old Spirits, and are sometimes said to have been destroyed by a deluge in consequence of disobedience to the commands of the Master Spirit. The stars in Orion's belt and scabbard are young men dancing in a *corrobboree*, and the Pleiades are girls beating time to the dance. Even the animals, which play so important a part in the native mythology, are often said to have been men originally. After dark the whole country is believed to swarm with spirits, those of the unburied dead and the dead of hostile tribes, and no man will go out in the dark without carrying a light to keep off the spirits. The sorcery doctors

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are thought to be instructed by the spirits of deceased doctors, who initiate them into the secrets of their office, and afterwards aid them in curing diseases or canceling spells, as well as in inflicting disease or death on men belonging to strange or hostile tribes. If a sorcerer offends the spirits they cause the magic bones and stones carried in his "medicine" bag to be transferred to



Man of New South Wales. (After Ratzel.)

the bag of another doctor, and then he sickens and dies. The Good Spirit of the tribe usually has a malignant counterpart, who is sometimes nearly related to him. At times they are associated, as light and darkness, or thunder and lightning; and occasionally a third being, by some tribes spoken of as two spirits existing as one, is introduced.

The Australian aborigines have stories to explain various natural phenomena, such as the rising and setting of the sun, the waning of the moon, and the season of great heat. By some of the tribes the Good Spirit is thought to travel about in the whirlwind, and by others the whirlwind is identified with an Evil Spirit, who can be destroyed by throwing boomerangs at it, although this does not prevent him from appearing again in another or similar form. The Evil Spirit represents the destructive power in nature, as the Good Spirit, who sends rain to make the grass grow and to fill the water springs, represents its constructive power. The religious ideas of the Australian Blacks are thus intimately connected with what is termed nature-worship, but nature as reflected from their own minds. Its activities are those of beings like themselves, beings who are thought to have lived on the earth at one time as men, and whose present power corresponds to that which they then exercised; hence it is not surprising that everything in nature is classed by the Australian aborigines in one or other of their totemic divisions.

Enchantment of Ingnas (Spirits).—Disease and death, ill-success in hunting, loss of personal property—in fact, most of the misfortunes which can befall a man—are all attributed to the power which hostile tribes possess over the spirits and demons which infest every corner of the land. . . . Souls of departed black men who, from some cause, have not received the rights of sepulture, and in consequence are constrained to wander about the place of their death.—"*Trans. Ethnol. Society of London*," *Vol. III., p. 235.*

The Story of Bund-jel, the Creator.—*Bund-jel* was the first man. He made everything, and the second man (*Kar-ween*) he made also, as well as two wives for *Kar-ween*. But *Bund-jel* made no wife for himself, and after the lapse of time he came to want *Kar-ween's* wives. *Kar-ween* watched his wives very jealously, and was careful that *Bund-jel* should not get near them. *Bund-jel*, however, was clever enough to steal both of the wives in the night, and he took them away. *Kar-ween*, taking some spears with him, pursued *Bund-jel*, but he could not find him, nor could he find his wives. But in a short time *Bund-jel* came back, bringing with him the two women. He asked *Kar-ween* to fight on the following day, and he proposed that if *Kar-ween* conquered he should have the women, and if *Bund-jel* conquered that they should be his. To this *Kar-ween* agreed. But *Kar-ween* had in his mind a different plan. And this was his plan: To make *Ingarguill* (a *corrobboree*). *Kar-ween* spoke to *Waung* (the crow), and asked him to make a *corrobboree*. And many crows came, and they made a great light in the air, and they sang—

Mene-Nar-in-gee
Targo Barra Targo
Burra mene lang-go
Wah!

While they were thus singing, *Bund-jel* danced. *Kar-ween* took a spear and threw it at him, and wounded him a little in the leg, but not in such a manner as to hurt *Bund-jel* much. *Bund-jel*, however, was very angry, and he seized a spear and threw it at *Kar-ween*. It was so well thrown that it went through the joint of *Kar-ween's* thigh. And *Kar-ween* could walk about no more. *Kar-ween* became sick. He became lean as a skeleton, and therefore *Bund-jel* made *Kar-ween* a crane, and that bird was thereafter called *Kar-ween*. *Bund-jel* was the conqueror. The two women became his wives, and he had many children. After this *Ballen-ballen* (the jay), who at that time was a man, had a great many bags full of wind, and being angry, he one day opened the bags, and made such a great wind that *Bund-jel* and nearly all his family were carried up into the heavens.—"*Aborigines of Victoria*," *R. Brough Smyth, Vol. I., p. 425-7.*

Murdoo (Family) Legend of the Dieyerie.—After the creation, fathers, mothers, sisters, and brothers, and others of the closest kin, intermarried promiscuously, until the evil effects of

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these alliances becoming manifest, a council of the chiefs was assembled to consider in what way they might be averted, the result of their deliberations being a petition to the *Moora Moora* [Good Spirit], in answer to which he ordered that the tribe should be divided into branches, and distinguished one from the other by different names, after objects animate and inanimate, such as dogs, mice, emu, rain, iguana, and so forth, the members of any such branch not to intermarry, but with permission to mingle with another. Thus the son of a dog might not marry the daughter of a dog, but either might form an alliance with a mouse, an emu, a rat, or other family.—"*The Native Tribes of South Australia*" (*The Dieyerie Tribe, by S. Gason*), *p. 260.*

Season Myths.—The aborigines of Australia say that *Yurree* and *Wanjel*, who are the stars we call Castor and Pollux, pursue *Purra* the Kangaroo (our Capella), and kill him at the beginning of the great heat, and the mirage is the smoke of the fire they roast him by. They say also that *Marpean-Kurrk* and *Neilloan* (Arcturus and Lyra) were the discoverers of the ant-pupas and the eggs of the loan bird, and taught the aborigines to find them for food. Translated into the language of fact, these single myths record the summer place of the stars in question, and the seasons of ant-pupas and loan-eggs, which seasons are marked by the stars, who are called their discoverers.—"*Primitive Culture*," *Ed. B. Tylor, Vol. I., p. 357.*

Tharamulun, the Supreme Spirit.—He, it is said, taught the Murring all the arts they knew; he instituted the ceremonies of Initiation of Youths; he made the original *Mūdji* [a whirling instrument that makes a loud buzzing sound] . . . ordered animal names to be assumed by men; and directed what rules should be observed as to the food permitted or forbidden to certain persons. . . *Tharamūlūn* himself watched the youths from the sky, prompt to punish, by sickness or death, the breach of his ordinances. . . . This name of *Thara-mūlūn* is to them so sacred, that even in speaking to me of it, when no one else was present but ourselves, the old men have done so in almost whispers, and have used elliptical expressions to avoid the word itself, such as "He," "the man," or "the name I told you of.—"*On Some Australian Beliefs*," *W. A. W. Howitt* (*Jol. Anth. Inst. Vol. XIII, p. 192, 3*).

FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **NATURE GODS—FETISH WORSHIP AND SORCERY IN WESTERN AFRICA.**—Nature deities, Animal deities. Fetish, Magic, Sorcerer, Priest, Societies.
20. **THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD AND HUMAN SACRIFICES IN WEST AFRICA.**—Future Life, Cult of the Dead, Human Sacrifice, Cannibalism, Fear and Reverence, Srahmanadzi.
21. **THE RELIGIONS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.**—Cult of the Dead, Unkulunkulu, Magic, Bushmen, Hottentots.
22. **THE WORSHIP OF THE DEAD.—MAGIC IN POLYNESIA, MICRONESIA, MELANESIA, AND AUSTRALIA.**—Cult of the Dead, Cult of Nature, Commingling, Future Life, Kinds of Worship, Magic.
23. **NATURE MYTHS, AND DIVINE AND HEROIC LEGENDS IN POLYNESIA, TABOO.**—Myths, Departmental Gods, Hero-Gods, Taboo, Maori Myth about Heaven and Earth.
24. **NATURE MYTHS, AND DIVINE AND HEROIC LEGENDS IN MICRONESIA, MELANESIA AND AUSTRALIA, TOTEMISM.**—*Ndengei*, Difference from Polynesia, *Vui, Pund-jel, Pully-byan, Totemism.*

QUESTIONS.

19. *Specify the major nature-deities, Specify the minor. Which is the favorite animal-god? What is a fetish? Distinguish from the amulet. What dualism exists among the Blacks? State the powers and functions of a sorcerer?*

20. *What belief is universal in Western Africa? How is destiny in the future life decided? What service can the chiefs perform after death? Name the three forms of the cult of the dead. Why are human beings offered? Which deities are rather feared, and which reverenced?*

21. *What class of deities is mainly worshipped? Why are serpents worshipped? Who was Unkulunkulu? For what is magic used? What plays the chief part in the religion of the Bushmen? Describe the principal figure in Hottentot legend?*

22. *Name the two sources of religious ideas among the Oceanians? How are both forms connected with the minor nature-worship? What governs the future destiny of the soul? State the three possible relations of the soul to the body after death? What is mana? What is Karakia? Describe the making of rain?*

23. *What changes have taken place in Polynesian religion? How were natural phenomena explained? What double service did mythology perform? How are earth and sky understood? Who is the chief divine figure, and tell his achievements? Name some sources of the numerous myths? State the various purposes of taboos?*

24. *Name some myths current here? Who is the chief figure among the Fijians? What animals and what men are deified? Who are the Vui? Describe the two creators as conceived by the Australians? Relate the picturesque myth of the Origin of Night?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

19. *The present function of nature in religion.*
20. *The present function of deceased parents in religion.*
21. *The present function of magic, as in the case of the horseshoe and the mascot.*
22. *Contrast and compare ideas of the future life among the Oceanians with those current among modern Americans.*
23. *Compare and contrast taboo with modern ideas of sacredness.*
24. *Relate the "Origin of Night" to a child, and note the appreciation given it.*

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GAZETTEER AND GLOSSARY.

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION

a as in fat.
ā as in fate.
ä as in father.
a when obscure.
e as in met.
ē as in mete.
i as in pin.
ī as in pine.
o as in not.
ō as in note.
ö as in move.
u as in tub.
ū as in tube.
ü Place the lips for oo, but say ee.
oi as in joint.
ou as in proud.

g hard as in get.

ñ French nasalizing n.

The chief sources of our knowledge about Oceanians, Africans and Redskins are the reports of English observers, who, of course, wrote down names in English letters. These, therefore, need no key, and are omitted from this glossary.

Abhidharma (a-bhi-dhär'ma).—A Book on Metaphysics among the Buddhists.
Alvielia (äl-vēl'*la*).—Cf. Biography of Contributors.
Atharvaveda (a-t'här-vä-vä'dä).—One of the Vedas.
Avesta (ä-ves'tä).—The scriptures of the ancient Persians.
Ayllu (īl'lö).—Cf. Note 1 to Lesson 18.
Ayulla (ī-yöl'lä).—A Peruvian gens.



Primitive Eye-Shades, Mackenzie River.

Aztecs (az'tecs).—A tribe of Mexican Indians.
Bantou or Bantu (bän'tö).—A tribe in South Africa.
Bechuana (be-chwän'-ä).—Region in South Africa.
Bernal Diaz (ber-näl'dē'äth), 1498-1593.—A Spanish soldier and author.
Bharucha (bha-rö'chä).—Cf Biography of Contributors.
Bopp (bop), 1791-1867.—German philologist.
Brahmana (bräh'ma-na).—The secondary stratum of Indian scriptures.
Brugsch (bröksh), 1827-1894.—German Egyptologist.
Bunyin Nanjio (bön'yū nän'jeo).—A living Japanese linguist.
Chalchihuitzli (chäl'chē wēt'zlē).—A Mexican deity.
Chibchas (chēb'chäs).—A tribe of South American Indians.
Comte (koñt), 1798-1857.—French philosopher.
Confucius (kon-fu'shius), 550-478, B.C.—Chinese philosopher.
Creuzer (kroit'zer), 1771-1858.—German hierologist.
Cusanus (kū-zā'nus), 1401-1464.—German ecclesiastic and philosopher.
Cuzco (kōz'kō).—A city of Peru.
Damara (dä-mä'rä).—Two tribes in S. W. Africa.
De Mortillet (da-mōr'-tēyā'), 1821.—A French archæologist.
Deutsch (doitsh).—Cf. Biography of Contributors.
Dupuis (dü-püē'), 1742 1809.—French hierologist.
Eedmans (ārd'mäns) Cf. Biography of Contributors.
Eskimo (es'ki-mō).—A people of N. America.
Gaina (jī'nä).—A small sect in India similar to the Buddhists.
Gatha (gä't'hä).—A dialect used in the Mahâyâna scriptures.
Gitchi Gauzini (gēt'-chē gou-zē'nē).—An Indian chief.
Goethe (ger'te), 1749-1832.—German poet.
Guarani (gwä-rä-nē').—A race of South American Indians.
Haeckel (hek'el), 1834.—A German naturalist.
Hawaiians (hä-wē'yans)—People inhabiting a group of islands in the N. Pacific.
Hegel (hā'gel), 1770-1831.—German philosopher.
Herder (her'der), 1744-1803.—German critic and poet.
Hinayana (hi-na-yä'na).—Southern school of Buddhism.
Homo Alalus.—Latin. Non-speaking man.
Homo Sapiens.—Latin. Intelligent man.

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Huitzilopochtli (wēt'-zēl-ō-pōch'tlē).—Mexican god.
Hume (hūm), 1711-1776.—Scottish philosopher.
Illaticci (ēl'lä-tēs'sē).—An epithet of Viracocha.
Islam (is'lam), "submission."—An alternative name for Mohammedanism.
Julien (Zhü-lyaṅ') 1799-1873.—French sinologist.
Koran (kō-rän').—The scripture of the Mohammedans.
Lamarck (lä-märk'), 1744-1829.—French naturalist.
Laotze (lä'ō tsä'), born 604 B.C.—Chinese philosopher.
Legge (leg), 1815.—Scottish sinologist.
Mahabharata (ma-hä-bhä'ra-ta).—One of the two great epics of India.
Maharaja (mä-hä-rä'jä).—An Indian prince.
Mahayana (ma-hä-yä'na).—One of the two great schools of Buddhism.
Malqui (mäl'kē).—A Peruvian mummy.
Mandala (män'dä-lä).—A division of the Sanhita of the Rigveda.
Maoris (mä'ō-riz).—The aborigines of New Zealand.
Maspero (mäs-pe-ro'), 1846—.—French Egyptologist.
Mictlan (mēk-tlän').—"Place of the dead."
Mohammed (mō-ham'ed) the Praised One, 570-632.—The founder of Islamism.
Montezuma (mon-tē-zō'mä), 1390-1464.—Chief of Ancient Mexico.
Müller (mül'ler), F. Max, 1823—.—A German English philologist.
Müller (mül'ler), J. von, 1752-1809.—Swiss historian.
Nihil humanum a nobis alienum putamus: We consider nothing that is human foreign to us.
Nila kantha Ghoreh (nē'lä känt'hä ghō'ra).—A Hindu scholar.
Oceania (ō-sē-ā'ni-ä).—One of the divisions of the world, comprising the Islands in Malaysia, Australasia and Polynesia.
Ova-Herero (ō-vä-he-rā'-rō).—A Bantu tribe.
Pacarina (pä-kä-rē' nä).—A spirit among the Peruvians.
Pachacamac (päch-ä-kä' mäk).—A port of Peru.
Papuans (pä' pö-äns).—The people of Papua or New Guinea.
Pehlevi (pā'la-ve).—An ancient Persian dialect.
Pueblos (pweb'lōs).—A tribe of North American Indians.
Purana (pö-rä'na).—Later scriptures of India.
Quetzalcoatl (kät-zäl-kō-ät'l).—Mexican god.
Quichuas (kē-chö'äs).—The aborigines of Peru.
Radhakantadeva (rä'dhä-kän'ta-dā'vä).—A Hindu scholar.
Ramayana (rä-mä'ya-na).—One of the two great epics of India.
Ramirez (rä-mē'reth) 1765-1823.—A Spanish general in Peru.
Rammohun Roy (räm-mō hun'roi) 1774-1833.—Theistic reformer in India.
Remusat (rä mü-zä') 1788-1832.—French sinologist.
Reville (rā-vēl') 1826—.—French hierologist.
Rig-Veda Sanhita (rig vā'dä sän'he-ta).—The text of the Hymn Veda.
Sahagun (sä-ä-gön') 1499-1590.—A Spanish missionary and historian.
Sakhas (shäk'häs).—Branches of the Hindu scriptures.
Samaveda (sä-mä-vā'dä).—One of the Vedas.
Samoans (sa-mō'ans).—People inhabiting a group of Islands in the South Pacific.
Sangita (säṅ'ge-ta).—Text of any Veda.
Santa Lucia (san'tä lö-chē'ä) (English Saint Lucy).—Church in Naples.
Sastra (shas'tra).—A text book among the Hindus.
Saussaye (sös'sā) 1848—.—Dutch hierologist.
Sayce (sās) 1846—.—English philologist.
Shamanism (sham'an-izm).—The religion of the barbarous tribes of Siberia, etc.
Supay (sö'pi).—The Mexican Hades.
Sutra (sö'tra).—A book of rules in India.
Taote King (tä'o-ta-king').—Name of a Chinese scripture.
Teocallis (tā-ō-käl'-yēs).—Temples in Mexico.



Sorcerer of the Nyam-Nyam. (After a photograph by R. Buchta).

Tezcatlipoca (täth-kät-lē-pō'kä).—Mexican god.
Ticci (tēs'sē).—An ephitet of Viracocha.
Tici Viracocha (tē'sē vē rä kō'chä).—Supreme deity of the Peruvians.
Tiele (tē'la).—A living Dutch hierologist.
Titicaca (te te kä'kä).—The largest lake in South America.
Tlaloc (tlä-lōk').—Mexican god.
Tlapallan (tlä-pä'l-lan).—A mythical place.
Tollan (tol'lan).—A mythical place.
Tonatiah (tō-nä'tlän).—Place of the sun.
Torquemada (tōr-kä-mä'thä) 1545-1617).—A Spanish historian.
Tripitaka (tri-pi'ta-ka).—Scriptures of the Southern Buddhists.
Tula (tö'lä).—An ancient town in Mexico.
Uiracocha (wē-rä-kō'-chä).—Supreme deity of the Peruvians.
Upa-marca (ö-pä-mär'kä).—The Peruvian Hades.
Veda (vā'dä).—The earliest scriptures of the Indians.
Viracocha (vē-rä-kō'chä).—Cf. Uiracocha.
Vico (vē'kō) 1668-1744.—Italian philosopher.
Wylie (wī'le).—English sinologist.

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SIDE LIGHTS.

A Model of Candor for the Truthseeker.—The general inclinations which are naturally implanted in my soul to some religion, it is impossible for me to shift off; but there being such a multiplicity of religions in the world, I desire now seriously to consider with myself which of them all to restrain these my general inclinations to. And the reason of this my inquiry is not, that I am in the least dissatisfied with that religion I have already embraced; but because 'tis natural for all men to have an overbearing opinion and esteem for that particular religion they are born and bred-up in. That therefore, I may not seem biased by the prejudice of education, I am resolved to prove and examine them all, that I may see and hold fast to that which is best. . . . Indeed, there was never any religion so barbarous and diabolical, but it was preferred above all other religions whatsoever by them that did profess it; otherwise they would not have professed it. . . . And why, say they, may you not be mistaken as well as we? Especially when there are, at least, six to one against your Christian religion; all of which think they serve God aright; and expect happiness thereby as well as you. . . . And hence it is that in my looking out for the truest religion, being conscious to myself how great an ascendancy Christianity holds over me beyond the rest, as being that religion whereunto I was born and baptized; that the supreme authority has enjoined and my parents educated me in; that which everyone I meet withal highly approves of, and which I myself have, by a long-continued profession, made almost natural to me; I am resolved to be more jealous and suspicious of this religion than of the rest, and be sure not to entertain it any longer without being convinced by solid and substantial arguments of the truth and certainty of it. That, therefore, I may make diligent and impartial inquiry into all religions and so be sure to find out the best, I shall for a time look upon myself as one not at all interested in any particular religion whatsoever, much less in the Christian religion; but only as one who desires, in general, to serve and obey Him that made me in a right manner, and thereby to be made partaker of that happiness my nature is capable of.—*Bishop Beveridge, "Private Thoughts on Religion," Part I., Art. 1.*

This admirable statement was well chosen by Prof. F. Max Müller as a prelude to the Sacred Books of the East, for the perusal of them in any other spirit would prove of dubious benefit. As the value of a judgment depends in part upon its source, the reader will like to learn that W. Beveridge, 1637-1708, was Bishop of St. Asaph, Wales. He was very learned, earnest and devout, and justly esteemed. He has been styled "the great reviver and restorer of primitive piety."

Need for the Study of Religions.—The high merits of heathen systems, set forth with every degree of exaggeration, pass into the hands of Christian families, in books and magazines and secular papers. Apostles of infidelity are sent out to heathen countries to gather weapons against the truth. Natives of various Oriental lands, once taught in our mission schools perhaps, but still heathen, are paraded on our lecture platforms, where they entertain us with English and American arguments in support of their heathen systems and against Christianity. Young pastors, in the literary clubs of their various communities, are surprised by being called to discuss plausible papers on Buddhism, which some fellow member has contributed, and they are expected to defend the truth. Or some young parishioner has been fascinated by a plausible Theosophist, or has learned from Robert Elsmere that there are other religions quite as pure and sacred as our own. Or some chance lecturer has disturbed the community with a discourse on the history of religious myths. And when some anxious member of a church learns that his religious instructor has no help for him on such subjects, that they lie wholly outside of his range, there is apt to be something more than disappointment: there is a loss of confidence.

It is perfectly evident that in an age like this we cannot propagate Christianity under glass. It must grow in the open field where the free winds of heaven shall smite and dissipate every cloud of error that may pass over it, and where its roots shall only strike the deeper for the questionings and conflicts that may often befall it. Error cannot be overcome either by ignoring it or by the cheap but imbecile scolding of an ignorant pulpit. —*F. F. Ellinwood, "Oriental Religions and Christianity," pp. 35-37.*

Sympathy Needed in the Study of Religions.—This leads us to consider the second condition for the serious study of the comparative history of religions; it is the necessity of penetrating one's-self with the spirit of the people who form the object of particular research. It is necessary, as it were, to think with their mind, and to see with their eyes, making entire abstraction of one's own ideas, under pain of seeing everything in a false light as one sees nature through a colored glass, and of forming religious ideas the most erroneous and often even the most unjust. What European could, for example, form an exact notion of the *Sadasat*, the being-non-being of the Brahmans (which is not that of Hegel), or the *Khi* of the Chinese, or of the *Dharma* of the Buddhists, if he had not upon these concepts precise and complete ideas? Now to acquire them one must make *tabula rasa* of his own conceptions, and dream with these peoples.—*Mgr C. D. d'Harlez, "The World's Parliament of Religions," p. 620.*

Respect Due to Non-Christian Religions.—There has prevailed in our time an indiscriminate carelessness in the use of terms in dealing with this subject. The strong language which the Old Testament employed against the abominations of Baalism, we have seemed to regard as having equal force against the ethics of Confucius or Gautama. "Heathenism" is the one brand which we have put upon all the non-Christian religions. I wish it were possible to exchange the term for a better.

We may judge of the bearing of the common term heathen as applied to non-Christian nations,

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when we consider that the Greeks and Romans characterized all foreigners as "barbarians," that Mohammedans call all Christians "infidels," and the Chinese greet them as "foreign devils." The missionary enterprise as a work of conciliation should illustrate a broader spirit.—*F. F. Ellinwood, "Oriental Religions and Christianity," p. 63.*

Christian missionaries in Japan have of late with one consent ceased to use the approbrious term *heathen*, out of respect to the gifts and graces of the estimable people of that land.

Value of Hierology.—What is the value and importance of a comparative study of religions? What lessons has it to teach? I may answer, first, that the results of hierology form part of the great body of scientific truth, and as such have a recognized scientific value as helping to complete a knowledge of man and his environment; and I shall attempt to show that a serious study by an intelligent public of the great mass of facts already gathered concerning most of the religions of the world will prove of great value in at least two directions—first, as a means of general; second, as a means of religious culture. Matthew Arnold defines culture as "the acquainting ourselves with the best that has been known and said in the world, and thus with the history of the human spirit." This is a nineteenth century use of the word.—*E. R. Sunderland, "The World's Parliament of Religions," p. 622.*

Is Religion Possible?—It has often been said, What can be the good of an historical study of religious questions? We do not want to know what Manu, or Buddha, or Socrates, or Christ thought about the questions which trouble us. We want to know whether any living man can give us an answer that will satisfy the requirements of our own age, or prescribe a remedy which will cure the complaints of our own society. The burning question of the day is not what religion has been, or how it came to be what it is. The real question is the possibility of any religion at all, whether natural or supernatural; and if that question has once been answered in the negative, as it has been by some of the most popular philosophers of our century, why not let the dead bury the dead?

I do not wish to prejudge any of these questions; and in choosing for my own task a careful study of the historical development of religious thought among the principal nations of the world, I claim for it at first no more than that it may serve at least as a useful preparation for a final solution of the difficult problems which the great prilosophers of our age have placed before us. It would be strange indeed if in religion alone we could learn nothing from those who have come before us, or even from those who differ from us. My own experience has been, on the contrary, that nothing helps us so much to understand and to value our own religion as a study of the religions of other nations, and that nothing enables us better to deal with the burning questions of to-day than a knowledge of the difficulties inherent in all religions. These questions which are placed before us as the burning questions of the day have been burning for centuries. Under slightly varying aspects they belong to the oldest questions of the world, and they occupy a very prominent place in every history of religion. If there is continuity anywhere, it is to be found in the growth of religious opinions.—*F. Max Muller, "Natural Religion," pp. 221, 223.*

An Ancient Clock.—The clepsydra in the watch tower in Canton consists of four covered copper jars, the top of each of which is level with the bottom of the one above it; the largest measures 23 inches high and broad, and contains 70 catties, or 97½ pints of water; the second is 22 inches high and 21 inches broad; the third is 21 inches high, and 20 inches broad; and the lowest 23 inches high, and 19 inches broad. Each is connected with the other by an open trough along which the water trickles. The wooden index in the lowest jar is set every morning and afternoon at 5 o'clock, by placing the mark on it for these hours even with the cover, through which it rises and indicates the time. The water is dipped out and poured back



Industry of Ashantee Women, Africa.

into the top jar when the index shows the completion of the half day; and the water is renewed every quarter. Two large drums stand in the room, on which the watchmen strike the watches during the night. Probably a ruder contrivance to divide time can hardly be found the world over.—*Macgowan, "Sm. Rep.," 1891, p. 610.*

A Modern Clock.—In my room in the Patent Office there hangs a Connecticut clock of ordinary pattern and quite imperfectly regulated. Its variation of perhaps half a minute a day, however, gives me no concern, since being connected by wire with the transmitting clock at the Naval Observatory, it is every day, at noon, set to accurate time. At the moment of 12 o'clock there comes a stroke on a little bell and simultaneously the three hands, hour, minute and second, whether they may have gained or lost during the preceding twenty-four hours, fly to their vertical position. At the same moment and controlled by the same impulse, the ball, visible on its lofty staff from all the ships in New York Harbor, drops, and the seamen compare their chronometers for their coming voyage. The same signal is sent to railway offices and governs the clocks on thousands of miles of track and determines the starting and stopping and speed of their trains."—*F. A. Seely, "Sm. Rep.," 1889, p. 377.*

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BRIEF SKETCHES OF A FEW OF THE INSTRUCTORS FOR UNIVERSAL RELIGION.

Count Goblet d'Alviella, born in 1846. He has received the degrees of LL.D., Ph D., etc. He is a member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, and was Hibbard Lecturer in 1891. He is a professor in the University of Brussels, where he has also been Rector since 1896. He was Director of the "Revue de Belgique," 1874-1890; a National Representative, 1878-1884, and a Senator, 1892-1894. He became a member of the Belgian Academy in 1890, and President in 1897. Besides writing numerous reviews, articles, and brochures, he has published the following works, which have been translated into English: "Sahara and Lapland, Travels, etc.," 1874; "India and Himalaya," 1877; "Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought, in England, America and India," 1885; "The Migration of Symbols," 1894; "Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Conception of God, etc.," 1892.

John Henry Barrows was born in 1847, and was graduated from Olivet College, Michigan, in 1867. After three years' devotion to theological study and preaching, he spent a year traveling in Europe, Egypt, and Palestine. From 1875 to 1881 he was pastor of the Eliot Congregationalist Church, of Lawrence, Massachusetts. He came to Chicago in 1883, and for fifteen years was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of that city. He received his Doctor's Degree from Lake Forest University in 1881. He was chairman of the Committee of Religious Congresses during the World's Fair, and for three years has been Haskell Lecturer in the University of Chicago. In 1896 he spent seven months in Germany at the University of Göttingen, and during the winter of 1896-7 delivered the first course of Barrows Lectures in India and Japan. His published works are: "History of the World's Parliament of Religions," "The Gospels are True Histories," "I Believe in God," "Life of Henry Ward Beecher," and "Christianity, the World Religion."

Edmund Buckley, born 1855, and graduated from the University of Michigan in 1884. He studied further, 1884-6, in Berlin and London, and was Professor of Philosophy in the Doshisha College, Kyoto, Japan, 1886-1892. He spent the following year in travel through China, India, Egypt, Palestine, and Europe, and for 1893-4 was Fellow in Comparative Religion at the University of Chicago, where he graduated with the degree of Ph.D. in 1894, since which time he has been Docent in Comparative Religion. Besides various reviews and articles, he wrote "Mongolian Literature" for PROGRESS, and "Die Mongolen" for the "Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte," edited by C. de la Saussaye, in 1897.

Ervad Sheriayi Dadabhai Bharucha was born 1843, acquired and practiced the full knowledge of priesthood under his father, the late Mobed Furdoonji, of Broach. At the age of thirteen began to study Persian and Arabic under Sayyed Kutub-ud-din, *Rafdee* of Broach. Passed the F.E.A. examination of the Bombay University in 1874. Lecturer of the "Rahnumâi Sabhâ," of Bombay, from 1885-1896. Examiner in Avesta and Pahlavi at the Bombay University. Author of the following works:

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Samuel Ives Curtis, born in 1844, was graduated from Amherst College 1867; Union Seminary 1870. He took the degree of Ph.D. at Leipzic, 1876, where he enjoyed special instruction under Prof. Franz Delitzsch; and of Licentiate of Theology, Berlin, 1878. Iowa gave him D.D. 1878, Amherst 1883. In 1878 he was called to Chicago to a professorship which was soon limited to the Old Testament. In 1882 he was invited to Andover, but declined. He was pastor of the Alexander Mission, New York, 1869-1872, of the American Chapel, Leipzig, which he was instrumental in establishing, 1874-1878. He has been President of the Chicago City Missionary Society nine years. Notwithstanding heavy service in raising funds for the seminary and city missions, not to mention earlier dissertations, translations and books, he has been contributor of articles to the "Bibliotheca Sacra," "Presbyterian Review," "Current Discussions in Theology," "The Expositor" (London), "The Biblical World" and "The American

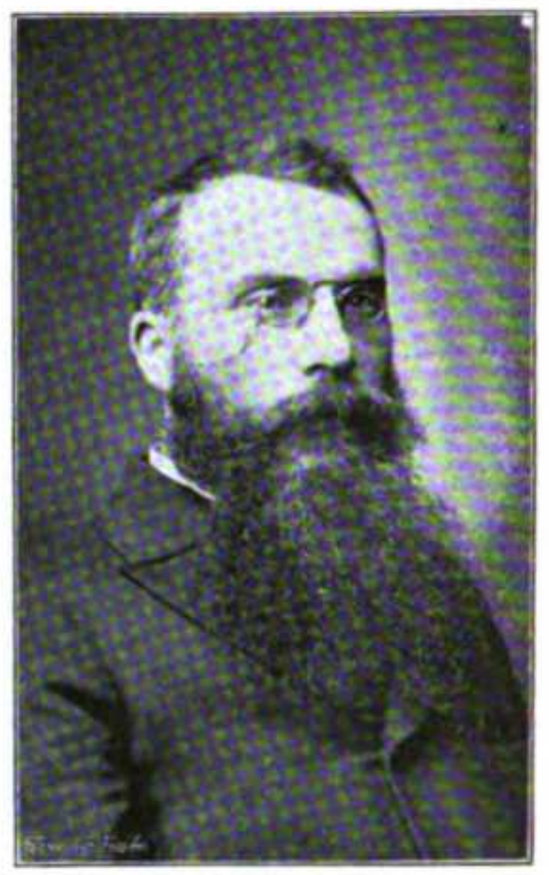
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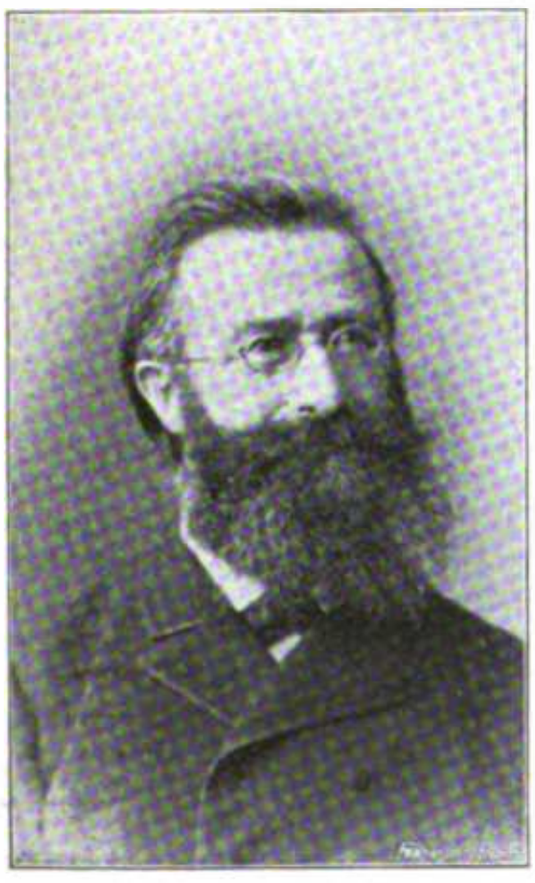
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Journal of Theology," "Schaff's Herzog," "Johnson's Encyclopedia," "The People's Bible" and "The Bible in Literature," besides other publications.

Gotthard Deutsch, born 1859, attended the Rabbinical Seminary at Breslau and took at the same time a historical course at the University, and graduated from the University at Vienna in 1881. In 1881 he was called to Brünn, where he gave instruction in Jewish religion at the higher schools of that city, and left this position in 1887, when he was elected to the rabbinical chair of Buix in Bohemia, whence he was called in 1891 to fill the chair of Jewish history and philosophy of religion in the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati.

Besides numerous articles in German, Hebrew and English periodicals, he published: "Die Symbolik in Cultus und Dichtung bei den Hebräern," 1886; "Paradigmentafeln zur hebr. Grammatik," 1886; "The Share of the Jewish People in the Culture of the various Nations and Ages," 1894; "The Scroll of the Law," 1895; "Epochs of Jewish History," 1895; "Andere Zeiten," a novel, 1896; "The Theory of Tradition," 1897.

George A. Dorsey is Assistant Curator of Anthropology at the Field Columbian Museum. He was graduated from Harvard University in 1890 and at once entered the Graduate School, completing his course in 1894 by receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology.

In 1891-1892 he conducted archæological explorations in South America on behalf of the World's Columbian Exposition, and during the Exposition was superintendent of American Archæology in the Department of Ethnology. Dr. Dorsey was in 1894 made Assistant in Anthropology at Harvard, and in 1895 was appointed Instructor. In June, 1896, he entered upon his work in the Field Columbian Museum.

His writings consist of papers on various phases of the Anthropology of Peru and the Osteology of the North American Indians.

C. C. Everett was born in 1829, and graduated from Bowdoin College in 1850. He was Instructor and then Professor of modern languages at Bowdoin College, 1853-1857. He graduated from Harvard Divinity School 1859, and settled over Independent Congregational Church in Bangor 1859-1867. He has taught as Professor in Harvard Divinity School since 1869, and served as Dean of the school since 1878. He has received the degree of D.D. from Bowdoin and Harvard. His principal books are "Science of Thought," "Fichte's Science of Knowledge," "Poetry, Comedy and Duty," and "The Gospel of Paul."

B. D. Eerdmans, Lecturer for Aramaic and Assyrian at the University of Leiden, was a pupil of Prof. Tiele, and studied at the Universities of Leiden, Strassburg, Leipzig and Heidelberg. He took his degree as Doctor of Divinity in 1891, and has written on the cult of Moloch and the star-cult in the Assyrian period of the Israelitic history, on the origin of the feast of Hasan and Hosein, on various Biblical subjects in the "Theologisch Tydschrift," and is now publishing one of the Scriptures of the Mendeans, "The Relations of the Kings."

Arthur Fairbanks has studied and given instruction as follows: A.B., Dartmouth College, 1886; Ph.D., Freiburg, in B. 1890 (after study at Union Theol. Seminary, Yale Divinity School, Freiburg University); Instructor in Greek, Dartmouth College, 1886-1887, 1890-1891; Assistant Professor of German and Logic, Dartmouth College, 1891-1892; Lecturer on Sociology, Yale Divinity School, 1892-1895; Instructor in Comparative Religion, Yale University, 1895—.

He has published: "The Dative Case in Sophokles," Trans. Amer. Philol. Asso., XVII., 78-126 pp. "Ethical Worth," a study as to the Basis of Ethics, 55 pp. "Present Tendencies in German Philosophy," New Englander, April, 1891,



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K. Furrer is Pastor of St. Peter's Church in Zurich, and also Professor of the History of Religion in the University of Zurich. He is author of numerous reviews and articles, especially upon Palestine, and is a member of the Committee of the German Union for Palestine Exploration.

George S. Goodspeed graduated at Brown University, A.B., in 1880, and from the Baptist Union Theological Seminary in 1883; the same year he took the degree of Master of Arts at Brown University. After serving four years in the ministry in California and Massachusetts, he was appointed Assistant in the Semitic Department of Yale University in 1888, and took the degree of Ph.D there in 1891. He studied the following year in the University of Freiburg, in Baden; in 1892 he was appointed Associate Professor of Comparative Religion and Ancient History in the University of Chicago, and in 1895 the University Recorder. He is associated in the editorship of the "Biblical World" and "The American Journal of Theology," published at the University of Chicago.

Geo. M. Grant, after graduation as M.A., became minister of St. Matthew's Church, Halifax, N.S. Since 1878 he has been principal of Queen's

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University, Kingston, Can., where also he has given instruction in philosophy. Besides numerous contributions to periodical literature, he has written "Ocean to Ocean," and "The Religions of the World."

John F. Hurst, D.D., LL.D., born 1834, graduated at Dickinson College, 1854, student of theology in the Universities of Halle and Heidelberg, 1856-7; served in pastorates 1858-66; Professor of Theology in the Mission Institute, Bremen, Germany, 1866-8, and in the Martin Mission Institute, Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1868-71; traveled in Europe, Egypt, and Syria, 1871; Professor of Historical Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, 1871-80, and President of the same 1873-80; elected Bishop, 1880; and chosen as Chancellor of the American University, 1891.

He has written numerous works, among which are these: "History of Rationalism," 1865; "Outline of Bible History," 1872; "Outline of Church History," 1875; "Our Theological Century," 1876; "Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology," 1884; "Indika," 1891; and "Short History of the Christian Church," 1892.

Leon Marillier was graduated from the University of Dijon, France, in 1881, and then for three years studied philosophy and science at the University of Paris, where he became a fellow in 1885, and then for another three years studied science and the history of religion. From 1887 to 1890 he lectured there on religious psychology and the non-civilized religions. He has composed or translated into French many works in the realm of psychology, religion, and anthropology. Since 1886 he has been joint editor with Jean Reville of the "Revue de l' Histoire des Religions" (Review of the History of Religions), a journal of international importance.

Otis T. Mason, born 1838, was graduated A.M. from Columbia College, Washington, in 1861. In 1872 began Professor Mason's official connection with the Smithsonian Institution. He prepared an abstract of Klemm's teachings in his "Culturgeschichte" as the basis of the museum administration then contemplated. Afterwards wrote out a classification for the Centennial Exhibit of 1876, and edited the Anthropological Department of the "American Naturalist," and of "Harper's Annual Record." The bulk of Professor Mason's writings have been published by the Smithsonian Institution. The last of them, "Primitive Travel and Transportation," sets forth the method of his study. It will be seen that only the procedures of natural history are allowed in ethnological studies. Two popular works by Professor Mason have appeared, "Woman's Share in Primitive Culture," and "Origins of Inventions." At present he is preparing for the press an elaborate work on the "Mechanic Arts of the American Aborigines."

Walter Miller graduated from the University of Michigan, Master of Arts, 1884; Student at the University of Leipzig, 1884-1885; Member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1885-1886; Instructor in Greek in the University of Michigan, 1886-1887; Instructor in Latin in the University of Michigan, 1887-1888; Acting Assistant Professor of Latin and Sanskrit in the University of Michigan, 1888-1889; Student at the University of Leipzig, 1889-1891; Senior of the Royal Archæological Seminary, Leipzig, 1890-1891 (prize-winner three times); Associate Professor of Greek in the University of the State of Missouri, 1891-1892; Professor of Classical Philology in the Leland Stanford Junior University, 1892.

Published works: "The Theatre of Thoricus," 1887, "Latin Prose Composition for College Use," Part I., 1890; Part II., 1891; Part III., 1894. "On the Pronunciation of Greek and Latin Proper Names in English," 1894. "A History of the Akropolis of Athens," 1893. "Pausanias and His Guide-Book," 1895. "The Life and Work of Overbeck," 1897. "Scientific Names of Latin and Greek Derivation," California Academy of Sciences, 1897. "Steller, de Bestiis Marinis," 1897.

Frederick Max Müller was born in Germany, 1823, and graduated from Berlin University with the degree of Ph.D. Since 1854 he has been Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Oxford, England; is also a foreign member of



W. M. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L.

the French Institute, and has been both Hibbert and Gifford Lecturer. His most important works are the following: "Vedic Hymns"; "Upanishads" (2 vols.); "Dhammapada"; "Buddhist Mahâyâna Texts" (these four works form five volumes of the famous Sacred Books of the East); "History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature," 1859; "India: What Can It Teach Us?" 1892; "Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, Translated," 1881; "On the Origin and Growth of Religion," 1882; "Chips from a German Workshop," 1867-75; "Selected Essays on Language, Mythology and Religion," 1881 (this replaces the "Chips," etc., which has long been out of print); "Lectures on the Science of Language," 1891; "The Science of Thought," 1889; and finally four Gifford Lectures: "Natural Religion," 1890, "Physical Religion," 1891, "Anthropological Religion," 1892, and "Psychological Religion," 1893.

John P. Peters graduated from Yale College, A.B., in 1873; took degree of Ph D. at Yale in 1876; studied Semitic languages in the University of Berlin 1879-1881; in 1885 appointed Professor of Hebrew in the University of Pennsylvania; in 1886 published the first volume of "Scriptures, Hebrew and Christian," and in 1889 the second volume.

In 1888 Dr. Peters went to the East as Director of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia, and remained until 1890, returning to Constantinople, however, in the year 1891, to

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work up the objects found by this expedition, and to secure a share of them for the University of Pennsylvania Museum. The expedition was an eminently successful one. The narrative of this work by Dr. Peters, entitled "Nippur; or, Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates," will appear this year.

On his return from Constantinople in 1891, Dr. Peters resigned the Professorship in the Divinity School in Philadelphia, and removed to New York to become a resident assistant of his father at St. Michael's Church, whom he succeeded in 1893.

W. M. Flinders Petrie was born in 1853, and educated privately. He was engaged in mapping and measuring ancient British earthwork (1874-1880), and has devoted much time to the recovery of ancient measurements from monuments. For the last sixteen years he has regularly devoted the winters to exploration in the delta and valley of the Nile, where he discovered and excavated the city of Naukratis, and later excavated Tel-el-amarna, Tanis, Koptos, and the Nekropolis at Thebes, and opened and identified the oldest historic pyramid, that of Medum. For several years he has been Professor of Egyptology in University College, London, England, and has been honored with the degree of D.C.L. He is the author of numerous works on archæology and Egyptology which describe his wonderful explorations. Of these the most important are "Stonehenge, etc.," 1880; "Tanis," 1885; "A Season in Egypt," 1888; "Hawara, Biahmu and Arsinoe," 1889; "Naukratis," 1890; "Tel-el-amarna," 1894.

G. L. Robinson graduated at Princeton College in 1887, was instructor in the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, Syria, 1887-1890, Student of Theology in Princeton Seminary 1890-1893, Hebrew Fellow from Princeton in Berlin University 1893-1894, and Leipzig 1894-1895, where he graduated Ph.D. in 1895. He became pastor of Roxbury Presbyterian Church, Boston, in 1896, and soon after Professor of Old Test. Literature and Exegesis, Knox College, Toronto, Canada.

S. D. T. Salmond was educated at the University of Aberdeen. After graduating there studied theology in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, and also in the University of Erlangen, Bavaria. He was appointed Assistant Professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen, and elected Professor of Systematic Theology and Exegesis of the Epistles in the Free Church College, Aberdeen, in 1876. He is editor of "The Critical Review," and of a series of "Bible Class Primers."

He translated "Gregory Thaumatugrus," "Dionysius," "Archelaus," Hippolytus," etc., for the "Ante-Nicene Library," and the "Harmony of the Evangelists" and other writings of Augustine.

He is author of the "Bible Class Primers" on "The Life of the Apostle Peter," "The Life of Christ," the "Parables of Our Lord," the "Sabbath," and the "Shorter Catechism," also of commentaries on I. and II. Peter (in Schaff's "Popular Commentary"), and "Jude" (in the "Pulpit Commentary"); and of "The Christian Doctrine of Immortality," of which the third edition is now in the press.

P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye was born 1848, educated at Leiden, Rotterdam, and finally at the University of Utrecht, where he obtained the degree of "Doctor Theologiæ" in 1871. After further study at German Universities he ministered to a small congregation of the Dutch Reformed Church, 1872 to 1878. In these years he wrote many papers and reviews, chiefly on biblical theology and on the relations of science and religion, for a Dutch theological review founded by him and Professor J. J. T. Valeton. In 1878 he was appointed Professor of Science and Religion at the newly founded University of Amsterdam, and still remains there. In 1888 he was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of the Netherlands. His chief work is the "Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte," 1887-1889.

Professor Saussaye is furthermore co-editor with Professor Valeton of a homiletual periodical, and is now preparing a "Teutonic Mythology" for the American series of "Hand-Books on the History of Religion."

C. M. Tyler is a graduate of Yale, in class of 1855. He was commissioned by Governor Andrew as officer in the army of Potomac, and served through battles of the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Sancho Ford, Coal Arbor, and around Petersburg. He was next pastor of South Congregational Church in Chicago, and for nineteen years of the First Congregational Church of Ithaca N. Y. He was appointed in 1891 to the Chair of History and Philosophy of Religion and Christian Ethics in Cornell University. He contributed in 1893 to Dr. Otto Pfleiderer's new "Geschichte der Religions-Philosophie" the last chapter, "Die Religions-Philosophie in Nord Amerika," the editorial form being Dr. Pfleiderer's. He will soon publish a little book entitled "Grounds of Religious Belief. Historical and Ideal."

C. Staniland Wake, Ex-Director of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland and Member of the General Committee of the British Association for Aid of Science has published the following books: "Chapters on Man," 1868; "The Evolution of Morality," being a History of the Development of Moral Culture (2 vols.), 1878; "Serpent-Worship" and other Essays, 1888; "The Development of Marriage and Kinship," 1889; "The Great Pyramid," 1882; "Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology," Chicago, 1893. He has also written numerous contributions to learned journals.

Herbert Lockwood Willett has studied and taught as follows: A.B., Bethany College, 1886, A.M., *ibid*, 1887; Graduate Student, Yale University, 1889-1891; Pastor Dayton, O., 1887-1893; non-resident Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature, Bethany College, 1892-1893; Graduate Student, the University of Chicago, 1893-1895; Instructor Bible Chairs, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1893-1895; Ph.D., the University of Chicago, 1896; Instructor Bible Chair, University of Virginia, 1897; Assistant in Semitics, and Dean of the Disciples' Divinity House, the University of Chicago, 1897—.

Andrew C. Zenos was born 1855 at Constantinople, and educated at Robert College, Constantinople, Princeton College and Theological Seminary, graduating at the latter in 1880. He received the degree of D.D. from Princeton in 1888. He was pastor of Presbyterian Church, Brandt, Pa., 1881-1883; Professor Greek Language and Literature in Lake Forest University, 1883-1888; Professor New Testament Exegesis and Literature, Hartford Seminary, Hartford, Conn., 1888-1891; Professor of Biblical and Ecclesiastical History, McCormick Theological Seminary, 1891-1894 and of Biblical Theology, 1894. He edited "Xenophen's Anabasis" (Boston, 1888); and published "Elements of Higher Criticism," 1895; "Compendium of Church History," 1896.

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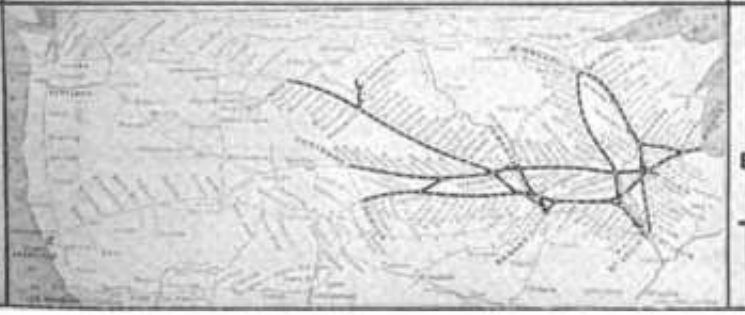
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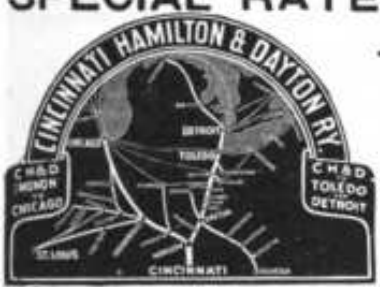
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CHINESE RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

BY

YUNG KWAI, A.B. (Yale), Delegate of the Chinese Government to the World's Congresses at Chicago, 1893.

1. CONFUCIAN CEREMONIES.

CHINA is the land of Confucius. I do not claim that every Chinese practices what Confucius teaches. I mean to say only that the spirit of Confucius pervades the whole system of Chinese society, and controls the national life of one-third of the human race. What a mighty force that is! If you are inclined to doubt my words, ask any schoolboy in China what he thinks of Confucius, and he will tell you that Confucius is the greatest teacher the world has ever produced.

Ask any laborer at the plough or any tradesman at the counter, and you will get the same answer. In fact, from the emperor on the throne down to the meanest tiller of the soil, there is no one throughout the length and breadth of the land but feels a certain pride in ranging himself among the followers of the great sage.



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Most Chinese may be called Confucianists as far as their preference goes. As there are Christians of various shades of belief and unbelief, so there are Confucian-

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ists and Confucianists. Since the teachings of Confucius are ethical rather than religious, the ceremonies practiced by a Confucianist consequently have more of a social and political than a religious significance.

All Chinese observe in their everyday conduct certain rules of propriety which Confucius inculcates. Everybody knows that the Chinese hold their parents in the greatest respect. It is exceedingly rare that Chinese children refer to their parents in their speech in any other than the most respectful terms. The respect for age, which is a national characteristic of the Chinese, is derived from a transfer of that respect which one has for one's own elders to somebody's else elders.

The separation of the sexes is a peculiar feature of Chinese society strongly insisted upon by Confucius. To such an extent is this carried at the present day that when a man unexpectedly comes face to face with his brother's wife, etiquette requires one to retire before the other.

The various marks of respect paid to the dead have a decidedly ceremonial character. A son, upon the death of his father or mother, at once changes his garments from those of gorgeous hues and finest silk to those of somber white and coarsest hemp. He allows his hair to grow, and his beard to remain unshaved. For seven times seven days the bare ground serves as his bed by night and his couch by day. No outward sign is wanting to show the utter casting down of the soul. If he happens to hold an office under the government, he surrenders it at once in order that official cares may not add further bitterness to his cup of sorrow. Then he spends the next three years in retirement, communing with nature and grieving over his irreparable loss. As a Confucianist, he may hold that he knows nothing about the hereafter, but he believes that the spirits of his ancestors hover about their former habitations. The worship of ancestors is but the natural outcome of this intense respect to parents. Every family has a shrine dedicated to the departed dead. Wooden tablets are used to indicate their invisible presence. At stated intervals, offerings of fruit, wine and meat are placed before these. Then the members of the whole household, from the oldest to the youngest, each in his turn, pay homage to the beloved dead by thrice falling down on their knees and nine times bowing their heads to the ground. This is what may be called ancestral worship in private families.



Kongtze.

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2. CONFUCIAN CEREMONIES (CONTINUED.)

As each family has an ancestral shrine of its own, so each clan has spacious public halls for the worship of their common ancestors. Twice a year, in spring and in autumn, the different families belonging to the same clan unite in one place for public worship. On the large tables before the tablets are placed the offerings—whole pigs roasted to a turn, fat and unblemished sheep, tiny cups of wine, fruits, cakes, pastry of every kind, and delicacies in their season.

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From a bronze censer rise the fragrant odors of burning incense, and tallow candles of bright colors and large dimensions lend their flickering light to the scene. The head of the clan, chosen on account of his age, position and influence in the community, usually acts as high priest on such occasions, and takes his place accordingly. The other members of the clan all range themselves in regular order on either side of him and behind him according to the rules of precedence governing such cases. Their part is simply to follow their leader. Standing apart from the rest of the performers is the master of ceremonies, whose duty consists in calling out in a stentorian voice what the others should do. At his word they kneel down, bow their heads to the ground the required number of times, and rise to their feet again. At his word musical instruments strike up, cannons are fired, libations are poured to the ground, and written prayers are read. At his word the whole troop marches in procession to other parts of the hall and goes through a similar performance. The whole ritual gives to the scene a certain solemnity which cannot but produce a deep impression on an observer. Ancestral worship is one of the things that make blood count for so much in China.



Moon-Goddess. (Musée Guimet, Paris.)

The 106th day from the winter solstice is specially set apart by the Chinese for an annual excursion to the family tombs. Whole cities often turn out to do honor to the occasion. All flock to the hillsides where most of the dead are buried. All the tombs are swept and put in order. The old and the young generally make a pleasant day's outing of it. Frequently, members of the same family stock from different parts of the country unexpectedly meet over the grave of their common ancestor. These pleasant surprises and extemporaneous reunions serve to keep family traditions alive and add strength to ties of blood.

Confucianists look upon the arrival at manhood, the solemnization of marriage, the disposition of the dead, and the offering of sacrifices as the four most solemn acts of life. As children are subject to the authority of their parents as long as they live, the arrival at manhood under such circumstances has no meaning, and is seldom observed nowadays. The ceremony of marriage as practiced to-day, however, retains a great many of its ancient features.

Before the marriage ceremonies can be performed, certain preliminary formalities have to be complied with. These are the six formal acts which must needs be gone through with in order to make a betrothal binding. The first of these formalities is called "the making known of the choice." It is worth while to note here that the most interested parties to a betrothal generally have the least to say about what steps to take. It is the parents of the couple that have charge of the whole affair, and they may be depended upon to talk over the matter in a most business-like way and make the best bargain possible. The initiative is usually taken by the young man's parents or guardians sending a go-between to the girl's family to open the negotiations. A certain amount of presents is always necessary to pave the way. The employment of go-betweens is a relic of the past. In ancient times, there used to be a high officer of state whose duty it was to keep a register of all the marriageable youths and maidens in the country. That office was early abolished, and the duties that had been performed by a public officer were taken up by private individuals. As there cannot be any marrying and giving in marriage without the intervention of some third person, from the Chinese point of view, so go-betweens prove to be a social necessity. The second formality is "the ascertainment of the girl's name." It is the universal custom in China that families having the same surname cannot intermarry. The desired information concerning the girl is usually obtained from a red card furnished by her family. A comparison of the young peo-

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ple's ages and other important points constitute the third formality, which is known as "the determination of the probability of a happy union." Oracles are consulted. If a favorable answer is received, then presents are sent to the girl's family in accordance with the requirements of the fourth formality, called "the proposal." The acceptance of the presents by the girl's family renders the betrothal at once binding.

Neither party is now allowed to withdraw from the engagement without the consent of the other. "The naming of the wedding day" is the fifth formality. This is a prerogative of the bridegroom's family. After the wedding day is fixed, it is customary for the bridegroom to send presents of jewelry, eatables and other things to the bride according to the means of his family. On the wedding day, a covered sedan chair, decorated with carvings and bright with red and gold, is dispatched with a band of musicians to fetch the bride.

This constitutes the sixth and last formality preliminary to the ceremony of marriage. In ancient times the bridegroom used to go in person to bring the bride home. Now this is seldom done. The dispatch of a bridal chair seems to satisfy all the requirements of custom.

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3. CONFUCIAN CEREMONIES (CONTINUED). TAOIST CEREMONIES.

These six formal steps preliminary to every legal marriage have been handed down to the present day from the remotest times. They are generally observed throughout the length and breadth of the land, though it frequently happens that two or even three of these steps are taken at the same time. Moreover, different parts of the country observe these formalities, usually with local variations. The arrival of the wedding chair generally finds the bride ready to start for her new home. She is dressed in garments of the brightest red, with her face veiled with pendants of pearl hanging down from the brim of her headgear. With feelings of anxious joy, not perhaps unmingled with regret at leaving the scene of her childhood, she takes her place in the sedan chair, and the procession starts amidst the firing of crackers and the thunders of musical bands. In the meantime preparations are hurried forward at the bridegroom's home for the reception of the bride. The wedding feast is ready. The invited guests are assembled. The groom has on his official robes. There is an air of festivity about the whole place. The arrival of the procession is an interesting moment. The bride, of course, is the central figure and cynosure of every eye. This is frequently the first meeting between the bride and the groom. Neither priest nor magistrate is needed to solemnize the union. In the presence of the invited guests, they eat out of the same trencher and drink out of the same cup, and henceforth they are man and wife. The presentation of the bride to the groom's parents and ancestors winds up the ceremonies. But the relatives and friends of the groom's family, as a rule, keep up the feasting and merrymaking for a few days longer. So much do the Chinese make of marriage.

Taoist Ceremonies.—Taoism derives its name from the word "tao," reason, and, according to the literal interpretation of the term, may be called Rationalism. The Chinese distinguish the Taoists from the Buddhists by the way they wear their hair. The Buddhist shaves his whole head, and the Taoist allows his hair to grow long and braids it into a knot on the top of his head. The people look upon the Taoists as a class of mystics, and wonderful powers are attributed to them. They are supposed to have a certain control over the spiritual world. On this account, their services are frequently called into requisition in case of sickness or death. This being

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a source of profit to them, they are the last persons to disabuse their victims of the belief.

When a disease baffles the skill of the medical profession, nine cases out of ten, a Taoist is called in to try his art. He takes a careful survey of the situation, and his practiced eye at once seeks out those spots where malignant spirits are apt to make themselves at home. To render them harmless, he draws magical lines round about, and scatters mystic figures with an unsparing hand. These are supposed to have the power of striking terror into the hearts of the Satanic host. If these coercive measures do not seem to have the desired effect, then more gentle methods are employed. Offerings of paper articles, such as gowns, robes, ornaments, money and the like, are burnt to coax them into amiability. It is safe to say that more money is spent every year in China to propitiate evil spirits than to relieve the sufferings of the living. In case of death, either Taoist or Buddhist priests, or both, are employed to offer up prayers for the departed and facilitate his passage to the lower world. They usually take their places at the dead body's feet for this purpose, and keep up a monotonous chant as long as they are paid for it.

There are, of course, Taoists of a higher order. These, however, generally spend their days in seclusion, and seldom appear in public. It is said that some of them have attained to such perfection in the practice of their art that they can by some secret process transmute the baser metals into gold or prepare from the elements a compound which has all the virtues of an elixir of life. In other words, they are the alchemists of China.



Chinese Marriage Procession.

The most prominent feature of Taoism of the present day seems to be that it holds out to its devotees the reward of immortality. This result is believed to be attainable by mortifying the flesh and purifying the spirit. There are stories in circulation to-day of eminent Taoists that remain in a sitting posture day after day facing a blank wall with the view of shutting out all the uncleanness of this world from their sight, and submit to a system of diet which reduces little by little the amount of nourishment necessary to sustain life in the body until they can inure themselves to live on nothing more substantial than air. Then it is commonly believed that they can prolong their existence indefinitely. The accounts of the exploits of some Taoists read like fairy tales, and most of them are undoubtedly such.

3. CONFUCIAN CEREMONIES (CONTINUED).

The Nature of Sacrifice.—Of all the methods for the good ordering of men, there is none more urgent than the use of ceremonies. Ceremonies are of five kinds, and there is none of them more important than sacrifices.

Sacrifice is not a thing coming to man from without; it issues from within him, and has its birth in his heart. When the heart is deeply moved, expression is given to it by ceremonies; and hence, only men of ability and virtue can give complete exhibition to the idea of sacrifice.

The sacrifices of such men have their own blessing; not indeed what the world calls blessing. Blessing here means perfection; it is the name given to the complete and natural discharge of all duties. When nothing is left incomplete or improperly discharged; this is what we call perfection, implying the doing everything that should be done in one's internal self, and externally the performance of everything according to the proper method.—"*Li Chi.*" *II., p. 236.*

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THE CHINESE RELIGIONS.

BY

EDMUND BUCKLEY, Ph.D., University of Chicago.

4. RELIGION OF THE UGRO-FINNS.

THE Mongolians, the Semites, and the Indo-Kelts form the three great *historic* races of mankind. The Mongolians comprise two great families and four nations, besides some mixed peoples in Further India. The first family is the Ugro-Finnic, comprising the Finns, Lapps, etc., in northern Russia, and the Ostjaks and Samoyeds in Siberia. The other family, called the Turko-Tartar, comprises several Turkish tribes in South Siberia, the Yakuts in the basin of the Lena, the Tunguses west ward from the Amur river, the Mongols, the Kalmucks, and the Manchus, in short, nine-tenths of the Siberian aborigines. All are barbarians, and are gradually dying out in competition with the immigrating Russians, who now number three millions, and occupy the best lands from the Caspian Sea to the Sea of Japan. The four nations, which all have risen to the semi-civilized grade of culture, are the Tibetans, the Chinese, the Koreans, and the Japanese.

Of the Ugro-Finns, all the tribes in Siberia, and the Lapps in Russia remain barbarians and Shamanists, a term we shall study in the next lesson. But the Finns, under the influence of their superior neighbors, the Scandinavians and Lithuanians, developed during the ninth and tenth centuries of our era a beautiful poetry and mythology, which has been collected and translated during the present century by E. Lönnrott, and appeared in various works of which the best known is the "Kalevala." The author of the *runes*, or folk-songs, collected here is the Laulaya, who is just the old shaman or sorcerer that has exchanged his tambourine for a harp, and elevated some of his conceptions, though he still conjures spirits in the oldtime way. His poetic form is very simple, so that he can improvise at will, while the many minstrels give rise to many variants of the same myth.

Religion with the Finns comprises an exceedingly naive and picturesque nature worship, and, as ever, companying with that an ancestor worship, which here, however, receives less attention than the nature cult.

There is no general creator, but various makers of various things, such as a bird's egg, a woman impregnate with the wind, and a deity that rubs his hands or knees. (1) The deities are indefinite, stiff personifications of various spheres of nature, without free human movement or moral qualities.

Ukko (the Ancient) held, as heaven-god, the highest rank, though he exercised no control over his fellows. The highest attributes given to him were borrowed from the Christain God, and make an odd mixture with the older ideas. (2) His spouse was *Akka*, though there was also an Earth goddess. Then there were divine pairs presiding over the waters, the forests, and the underworld, and single gods over the sun, moon, and stars. (3)

Besides these deities there were free spirits that animated persons and objects or processes in nature. But in general, everything, whether animal or tree, is naively treated as animated and rational. (4) The greatest of the numerous evil spirits was *Hiisi*. (5) The Finns had sacred places, idols, offerings, and festivals. One of the festivals was devoted to their ancestors, the others connected with husbandry. The motive of the "Kalevala" is quite secular, being the capture of a precious magical box, the *Sampo*, the symbol of wealth.

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The magic of the Finns is exceedingly ingenuous and in quite general use. The power of music, of heat in forging iron, and of herbal remedies are all referred to magic. (6) In another case an animistic summons to fishes has been followed by success, and has become fixed as a magic song. (7) The boastings of the heroes, and the magical means they propose to use, suggest the talk of children, or fairy stories; difficulties may be by nature insurmountable, but magic easily overcomes them; while there appears no adaptation of means to end, no insight, research or wisdom, but all crude wonders. Moon and stars can be reached from a tree, (8) and a man can transform himself into a pike. (9)

4. RELIGION OF THE UGRO-FINNS.

(1) Cosmogony.

And the eggs fall into ocean . . .
All the fragments come together,
Forming pieces two in number,
One the upper, one the lower,
Equal to the one, the other.
From one-half the egg, the lower,
Grows the nether vault of Terra:
From the upper half remaining,
Grows the upper vault of Heaven.
From the white part came the moonbeams,
From the yellow part the sunshine.
—"*Kalevala*," *p. 9.*

(2) The Supreme God.

Ukko, God of love and mercy,
God and Master of the heavens,
Come thou hither, thou art needed,
Come thou quickly I beseech thee,
Lend thy hand to aid thy children,
Touch this wound with healing fingers,
Stop this hero's streaming life blood,
Bind this wound with tender leaflets.
—*Ibid, p. 118.*

(3) Nature-god.

Mistress of the woods, Mielikki,
Forest-mother, formed in beauty,
Let thy gold flow out abundant,
Let thy silver onward wander.
—*Ibid, p. 186.*

(4) Compact With the Bear.

Thou, O Otso, forest apple,
Woodland bear, with honeyed fingers,
Let us make a lasting treaty,
Make a vow for future ages,
That thou wilt not kill my cattle,
Wilt not eat my milk providers;
That I will not send my hunters,
To destroy thee and thy kindred,
Never in the days of summer,
The Creator's warmest season.
—*Ibid, p. 516.*

(5) The Arch Demon.

Swiftly flew the stinging hornet,
Gathered all the Hisi horrors,
Brought the hissing of the serpent,
Brought the venom of the adder,
Brought the poison of the spider,
Brought the stings of all the insects.
—*Ibid, p. 113.*

(6) Magic.

Go not hence to Wainamoinen,
There with him to offer battle;
He will charm thee with his singing,
Will bewitch thee in his anger.
—*Ibid, p. 28.*

Grandly sang wise Wainamoinen,
Till the copper bearing mountains,
And the flinty rocks and ledges
Hear his magic tones and trembled;
Mountain cliffs were torn to pieces,
All the ocean heaved and tumbled.
—*Ibid, p. 37.*

Ilmarinen starts the bellows,
Gives three motions of the handle,
And the iron flows in streamlets
From the forge of the magician,
Soon becomes like baker's leaven,
Soft as dough for bread of barley.
—*Ibid, p. 110.*

Bits of bark chipped from the oak tree,
Many herbs of healing virtues;
Steeps them one day then a second,
Three long days of summer weather,
Days and nights in quick succession;
Then he tries his magic balsam.
—*Ibid, p. 119.*

(7) Magic Song.

Spake these words of magic import:
Come ye fish of Northland waters
To the regions of my fish net,
As my hundred meshes lower.
—*Ibid*

(8) The Sky No Higher Than a Tree.

Ilmarinen hastens forward
That he may behold the wonder,
Spies the Bear* within the fir-top,
Sitting on its emerald branches,
Spies the gleam of golden moonlight.
Spake the ancient Wainamoinen,
These the words the singer uttered:
'Climb this tree dear Ilmarinen,
And bring down the golden moonbeams,
Bring the Moon and Bear down with thee
From the fir-tree's lofty branches.
—*Ibid, p. 130.*

(9) Transformation.

Then the singer, Wainamoinen,
Leaped a pike, upon the waters,
Quickly swam the rapid river,
Gained the frigid Pohya-border,
Then his native form resuming.
Walked he as a mighty hero,
On the dismal isle of Louhi.
—*Ibid, p. 707.*

*The constellation bearing that name.

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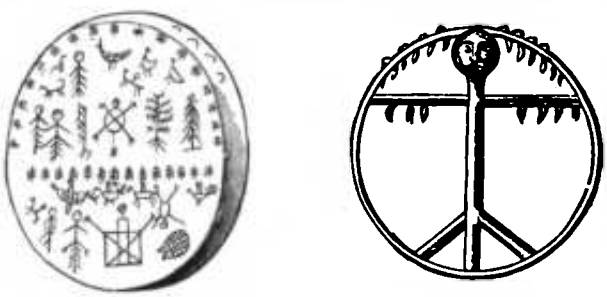
5. RELIGION OF THE TURKO-TARTARS.

All the tribes comprised in this family were previously Shamanists, though only the Tunguses remain so as a whole. The Mongols have mostly become Buddhists, the Turks, Mohammedans, and the Manchus a mixture of Confucianists and Buddhists. The native religion of these peoples is best known to us through the researches of the Russian ethnologist, Wilhelm Radloff, among the barbarians living on the Altai mountains (47 N. Lat. 90 E. Lon.), though even their belief shows traces of Buddhist and Christian influence.



Shaman Conjuring Spirits. (After Radloff.)

The great gods of the Turko-Tartars are the mutually opposed nature-powers of Light and Darkness. Below these stand the Spirits of the Earth, and lower still the local deities of fire, trees, stones, etc., besides the ancestral spirits. The Light-gods dwell in various superimposed heavens, an idea borrowed from Buddhism. In the highest lives, *Tengere Kaira Kan*, the Heaven God, and in the sixteenth other *Tengere*. (1) In the third heaven dwell the seven *Kudai* (gods), and with them the ancestral spirits that mediate between men and gods. The Spirits of the Earth are seventeen in number, called *Kane* (Princes), each of whom rules in beneficence over a separate region of the land. Below earth are the nine tiers of the underworld, each inhabited by some kind of Dark-gods, the ruler of whom is *Erlik Kan*, the Powerful, who is the terrible foe of humanity. He is propitiated with offerings, and called "Father Erlik," since all must yield to him in death at last. Every man has two recording spirits that accompany him through life, and to Erlik's judgment seat, whence he passes to heaven or hell, in the latter case only until friends in heaven rescue him.



The Two Sides of the Shaman's Tambourine. (After Radloff.)

But by far the most prominent and interesting figure in this religion is the *shaman* or priest, after whom it was therefore named Shamanism. (2)

While anyone is competent to worship the *Kane* or Earth-gods, only the shaman can convey an offering to the Light-gods or lead a departed soul into the underworld. These visits of the shaman are rendered possible only by the aid of his ancestors, whose spirits he first of all conjures into the magic tambourine which he always carries. This office is hereditary, for it depends upon a constitutional epilepsy, the first attack of which forms the call to his office. When great misfortune happens or threatens, the shaman is summoned, who first inquires from his familiar spirit the cause of the evil, and then directs an animal sacrifice to one or other of the gods. For *Bai Ilgen* a white horse is crushed to death and flayed. The skin with head and feet attached is elevated on a pole towards heaven, while the flesh is eaten. No blood must be spilled and no bone broken. Then the shaman, with great dramatic

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talent, which is further enhanced by his ecstasy, represents to his quaking audience a journey through the various heavens, where he obtains information upon all desired topics, and finally presents the offering. To purify a hut that has been contaminated by a death, the shaman must capture the soul of the deceased, and convey it to the underworld. Even Radloff was deeply impressed with this wild scene enacted at night in the forest gloom by an actor whose weird and convulsive movements were closed by an epileptic swoon. Indeed the numerous impersonations, the poetic form of the speech, and the places supposed to appear, justify a comparison with the Divine Comedy of Dante. (3)

Divination is very common and practiced through (a) the position of the sacrificed entrails, (b) natural phenomena, (c) the arithmetical play of pebbles, etc., (d) the ecstatic visions of the shaman.

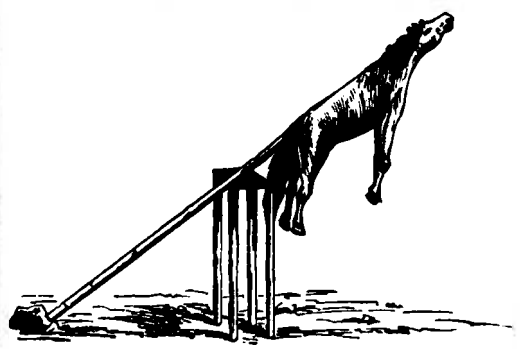
5. RELIGION OF THE TURKO-TARTARS.

(1) **Tengere.**—This is the Altaian form. Others are Tengri, Tonri, Tari, etc., all derived from a root tang, to shine. The Yakuts still use the name for the visible heaven, and we shall see later that the Chinese do the same with T'ien, the name of their supreme god, who is probably related to the above.

(2) **Shamanism.**—This term should be confined to its use here as the proper name of the religion of the Turko-Tartars, and not extended to other religions, as if it denoted a peculiar class. This it does not, for the practices of the shaman are world-wide among barbarians, though nowhere so elaborated as here.

(3) **Purification from a Ghost.**—Fourteen days after death, especially one from an epidemic where it is feared others may follow, some powerful shaman is summoned to abduct the soul of the deceased, which hovers round the house, unwilling to depart until it can take with it another member of the stricken family. Such is the supernatural theory of the Altaians devised to account for the epidemics that frequently decimate them, really by reason of their exceeding filthiness. "As it grew dark, the dull blows of the shaman's tambourine sounded at some distance. I stepped to the door of the hut and saw how the shaman with measured tread, pouring out his uniform monotonous song, circumambulated the hut at the distance of about a hundred paces, and from time to time struck heavily upon his tambourine. Gradually the circle of the shaman grew smaller and smaller, until finally he strode close along the outer side of the hut wall, and at last stepped through the door into the hut now lighted by a brightly burning fire. He then approached the fire, and held the tambourine over it in all directions so that the smoke streaked both inner and outer sides of it. Then he solemnly took his seat between the fire and door, and began a monotonous, droning song that was jerked out in short, broken tones. The song grew softer and shorter, and the blows on the tambourine gentler and gentler, until at last the song passed into a soft whining wail and whisper. Thereupon the shaman rose carefully and walked with a sliding gait round the fire, called the name of the deceased and turned his head on all sides as if he were seeking her. Sometimes he speaks in a falsetto voice, in order to imitate her voice, whining and begging him to leave her near her relatives. . . . Mercilessly the shaman presses her, by the might of his tambourine, which he had filled with many and mighty spirits before entering the hut, from one corner of the hut into another. Only after long effort and struggle did he succeed in seizing the soul of the deceased between tambourine and stick, and then in pressing her with the tambourine against the ground. His song now grew louder and stronger, but ever and anon interrupted by the gentle whine of the prisoner.

"Now the shaman turned the tambourine front side to the ground and struck it so that the blows sounded dull and hollow, as if they came from deep in the earth. The song also grew duller, and assumed at last a gurgling tone, for the shaman was receding from the hut and had entered on the way to the underworld, to the home of the dead. At the same time the song grew softer, and passed at last into a whisper. He signified finally with one violent blow that he had reached the kingdom of the dead. Now begins a conversation with the



The Horse-Sacrifice. (After Radloff.)

previously deceased relatives, who decline to receive the new soul. The shaman seeks to persuade, begs and prays them, but in vain. Then he seizes the brandy flask and distributes to the dead the water of life. They receive it gladly, and soon begin a confused hum which gradually becomes a lisping tone, for the brandy is working. The dead sing and cheer, and finally allow the new soul to be smuggled among them. Now the song of the shaman grows louder, since he has left the realm of death and is again nearing the upper world. Arrived above, he jumps suddenly up and passes into violent ecstasy. The song becomes at last a wild scream, while the shaman dances in wild springs around the hut, until at last, bathed in sweat, he falls unconscious to earth."—*Translated from Wilhelm Radloff, "Aus Sibirien," Vol. II., pp. 52-54.*

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6. THE CHINESE CULTURE.

We learned in the section on "Functional Anthropology" (p. 39) that religion shared its noble diginity as "a humanity, that is an activity proper and peculiar to man," with five other activities; and we learned further (p. 52) that "each one of these phases of culture is an element in all the others." The application of this principle of mutual influence to the case before us, that of Chinese religion, requires us to take a survey of the other five culture-elements in order to discover how far Chinese religion has been influenced by them, or can be traced to conditions of heredity and environment common to it with them.



Feeding Silkworms, and Sorting Cocoons.

The Chinese language belongs to an archaic form, the monosyllabic, where every word is a root without inflection or even agglutination. Its visible expression is not by an alphabet, but by over twenty thousand distinct ideographs, which are symbols, either natural as ⛰ now written 山 for mountain, or — where such failed, as of course very soon happened—arbitrary. Very early literary activity arrested the language at this intermediate stage of evolution. The use of these word-roots as one or other part of speech requires an invariable order in the sentence, viz.: subject, verb, complement, while every word that qualifies another must precede it. This lack of inflexion in words, and of flexibility in the sentence, has favored historical, descriptive and reasoned compositions, and has narrowly restricted free literary ones. In these qualities it supplies a remarkable example of that adaptation of language to mind which is universal. The immense number of homonyms resulting from the comparatively few sounds at disposal to represent the twenty thousand ideographs give rise to a dull monotony in the rhymes of Chinese poetry and a troublesome ambiguity in its colloquial.

To Chinese industry Europe owes silk, tea, china, and perhaps printing, which the Chinese invented in the eighth century, while they have made paper since the

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second century B.C. They invented also the mariner's compass and gunpowder, but used the latter only for fireworks. The Grand Canal and the Great Wall are monuments of gigantic labor, but not of great skill. During the milleniums since these inventions were made the Chinese mind has devised nothing new.

In all forms of art also Chinese progress ceased long ago. Its architecture allows no pretensions, its sculpture is crude, its painting lacking both in perspective and chiaroscuro, its music is elaborate but ineffective, its poetry narrowed by the nature of the language, and its dramas and novels filled with disconnected and arbitrary events.

The Chinese have preserved political continuity since the twenty-fourth century B. C., and are therefore incomparably the oldest nation upon earth. They have also expanded by growth and conquest until they include about four hundred millions, which again forms by far the largest nation upon earth. It is in part these unique facts that prompt that lofty pride and stubborn conservatism that come as such a surprise to us. For milleniums the Chinese have met only barbarians who submitted to their arms and borrowed their culture. What wonder, then, if they prove slow to treat differently not simply our religion, but rather our whole culture? (1) Yet this enormous extension in time and space has carried social culture no higher than to the patriarchal stage, in which both family and government stand arrested, to the great detriment of personal liberty and individual character, those precious possessions of the West. (2) That lack of personality in the Chinese so frequently remarked by Western writers is partly cause (by being an hereditary trait) and partly effect of the patriarchal stage. Another barbarous trait appears in weak nationalism. The Chinese masses, though passionately attached to family, clan and province, have little or no patriotism for China as a whole, while their weak loyalty appears in the easy change of Chinese dynasties.

Finally, the state of knowledge in China shows the same relatively low stage of culture, usually designated semi-civilized in comparison with our own fuller civilization, (which is sometimes designated enlightenment) while full civilization still remains our goal. The Chinese excel in the composition of histories or rather annals, and of vast encyclopedias. They have never devised either grammar, logic or mathematics, a failure that of course tells disastrously upon all science and philosophy. Even the fundamental notion of cause seems to be only obscurely apprehended by the Chinese mind, which, if questioned, often reasserts the bare fact instead of its cause, while, if left to itself, generally fails to propound the question of cause at all. It is this lack of scientific curiosity, of free intellectuality, in contrast to immediately useful factual knowledge, that has occasioned the arrest of Chinese development, which has long since reached the limits possible on its principles. Education in China is powerfully stimulated, not by the provision of schools, but by awarding all official positions to the successful competitors in state examinations on the classic literature. The sole aim is to secure the best intellects for the service of the government, and to this plan much of the stability of China is owing. Since women cannot fill offices their education is quite neglected, as is that of the masses, whose whole mental condition is very low.

In temperament the Chinese are stolid, phlegmatic, gentle, peaceful, practical, industrious, prudent, contented and patient. Their endurance is great; and they have "no nerves." They have been contrasted as muscular with the brainy Hindus.

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6. THE CHINESE CULTURE.

(1) **Christendom but not Christianity Obnoxious to the Chinese.**—Before starting, Mr. Ward (American Minister to China in 1859) had forbidden his interpreters to speak to the natives on the subject of religion, but on second thoughts he withdrew the embargo, saying that he had no wish to be held up to odium before the eyes of the American people. My experience was, as I

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assured him, that the more freely I spoke to the Chinese on the subject of their religion the more friendly they showed themselves. The presentation of the claims of Christianity has never in any case excited a tumult, mobs and outbreaks having always been connected with anti-foreign feeling, if not with magical superstitions. A residence built on high ground will give as much umbrage as a church.—*W. A. P. Martin, "A Cycle of Cathay," pp. 196, 197.*

The testimony of missionaries is uniform that the common people are well disposed until they are stirred up by members of the official classes.—*Ibid, p. 449.*

(2) **The Patriarchal System.**—The framework of Chinese society rests on a *patria potestas* as extreme as that of ancient Rome. Filial piety, which means paternal authority, is the ground-law of the empire. The head of the family is a diminutive type of the divinely appointed head of the state. Sons and grandsons, instead of being scattered to the winds by a centrifugal force, are expected to cleave to the ancestral tree, and, banian-like, take root in its shade. The family is therefore more complex than with us, the grandsire reigning over it with the power of a monarch, thrashing or maltreating his offspring, who continue to be minors as long as he lives. When several such units of one stock are combined in a class, with temple, cemetery, and glebe-lands in common, the power of their elders is such that if they do not defy the magistrate they can at least dispense with his services. They do not shrink in certain cases from inflicting a death-penalty. I have known a youth to be drowned by order of such a council; prodigals and other incorrigible offenders are sometimes buried alive, care being taken in such cases that the corpse shall bear no trace of a wound; otherwise official interference will be inevitable.

There is no country like China for home rule of this description, and it extends to villages, especially where they consist of one or more clans. Schooled in these patriarchal institutions, the people in rural districts grow up with a thorough indifference, if nothing worse, toward their mandarins; nor beyond the payment of a moderate tax do they concern themselves about the government. It is said of the Emperor Yao, who lived four thousand years ago, that, being on a tour of inspection, he heard an old man singing to the sound of his lute:

> "I plow my ground and eat,
> I dig my well and drink;
> For king or emperor
> What use have I?"

An emperor of the present day, if he made such tours, might in many a place have the same experience, and, like the venerable Yao, rejoice to be forgotten.—*Ibid, pp. 334, 335.*

FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **CONFUCIAN CEREMONIES.**—Religion, Ethics, Ancestor-Worship.
2. **CEREMONIES CONTINUED.**—Ancestral, Offerings, Ancestral-cult, Visit to the Tombs, Marriage Formalities.
3. **CEREMONIES CONTINUED.**—Ceremonies for the Sick, Ascetic Practices.
4. **THE UGRO-FINNS.**—The Literature, Creation, Ukko, Magic.
5. **THE TURKO-TARTARS.**—Heavens, Earth, Hells, Shaman, Dante.
6. **CHINESE CULTURE.**—Language, Industry, Art, Society, Knowledge.

QUESTIONS.

1. *What do the Chinese think of Kongtze? In what sense is Confucianism religious, and in what sense not? How do the Chinese treat elders? What is their etiquette on sex? Describe the mourning rites, and the ancestor-worship.*
2. *What offerings are made to the ancestors? Describe the ancestral ceremony. Describe the annual visit to the tombs. State "four formalities" preliminary to a marriage.*
3. *When are Taoist priests usually summoned? What methods do they then use? Describe the asceticism of some Taoists.*
4. *Name the three historic races. State the component peoples of the Mongolian race. Characterize the Finnic religion. Name some grounds of their magic.*
5. *Whence are derived the great gods? Describe the shaman, his offering to Bai Ilgen, and his descent into hell.*
6. *Why study culture? What does Europe owe to China? Have the Chinese any just grounds for their national pride? Describe the mental traits, education, and temperament of the Chinese.*

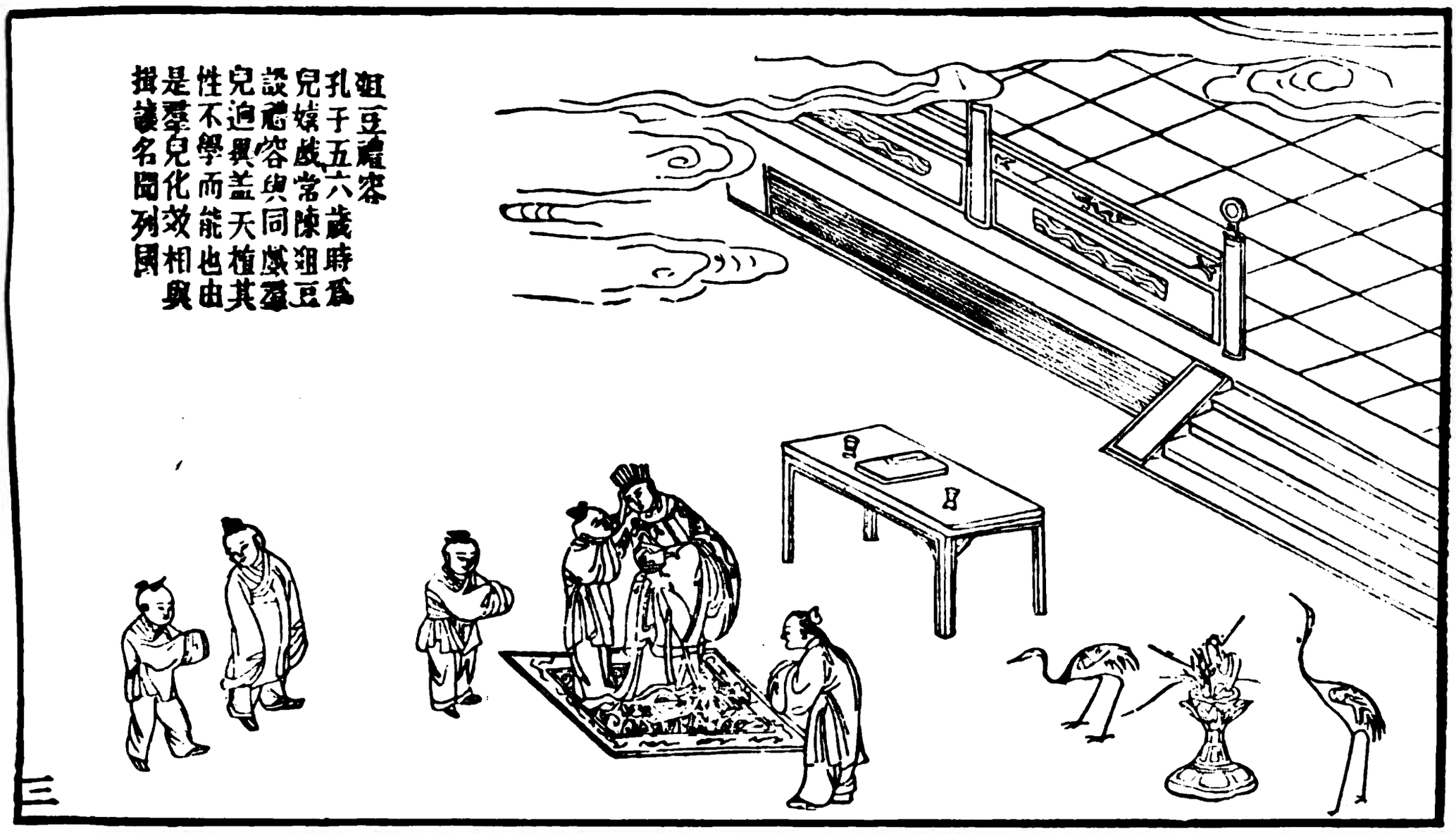
SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Mr. Yung K'wai's qualified denial that Confucianism is a religion is commonly made by the "literati." Indeed, it now constitutes Chinese orthodoxy, since the government examinations in the classics require conformity to the materialistic commentary upon them writen by Chu Hsi, twelfth century, A D. But reference to lessons 8-11 will show that such materialism is neither Sinism nor original Confucianism.*
2. *Compare and contrast these marriage "formalities" with the American usage.*
3. *Consider how the medical missionary unites monotheism and medicine against this exorcism.*
4. *Read in the account on Ethnology in any recent encyclopedia the section on the Mongolians.*
5. *Compare the hells of shaman, of Dante, and of current religious belief.*
6. *Compare this Chinese "type" with the American. They are antipodal.*

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7. HISTORICAL SETTING, AND SCRIPTURES.

The Chinese are distinguished for their historic sense. Professor W. A. P. Martin writes that "Besides these dynastic histories, there are typographical histories of provinces, prefectures, districts, and even of towns and villages, in number and extent to which we have no parallel." The confidence induced in us by these present conditions is extended to very remote times through the recent confirmation by astronomers of eclipses recorded in the Chinese annals. Thus, an eclipse that happened in the reign of Chung-kang, 2159-2146 B.C., has been identified by Professor Russell, of the Imperial College, Peking; while Professor Knobel, of Cambridge, England, has endorsed Chinese records on the basis of the Hia calendar. (1)



Kongtze, when a Boy, Playing at Religious Ceremonies.

The earliest times (what might be styled primitive), of course, are hidden from us here as everywhere else, but it is interesting to retrace our steps with security as here for nearly five milleniums.

About the twenty-fifth century B.C. probably some political disturbance drove the "hundred families" that subsequently became the rulers of China from the region south of the Caspian Sea, probably from Mesopotamia, (2) eastward along the southern slope of the Tien-shan range, through the Mongolian Desert until they reached the north bend of the Yellow river in latitude 41°, which is the garden of China. Similar migrations have occurred in more recent times in Asia, as with the Ottoman Turks westward, the Kalmucks eastward, and the Scythians southward. As with all emigrants known to us, whether in Asia or America, the invaders found the land preoccupied, and in this case with peoples of a culture only little inferior to their own in any sphere, and in some even superior. But the Chinese proved able to gradually master these aborigines, and to acquire their culture where superior. It was at that time that the "black-haired race," surrounded by "hordes of the north, of the south, of the east, and of the west," began to call their nation the "Middle Kingdom," which still survives, though no longer appropriate. (3)

The chief epochs to be remembered are the following: The reign of Yao, 2356-2255 B.C., with which the *Shu-King* "Book of History," begins its record, and

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that of Shun, who is constantly cited in company with Yao, as the "sage kings" of old. One of Shun's first public acts was to sacrifice to *Shang-ti* and other nature and ancestor deities, of whom we shall hear later. In this reign occurred the great flood, through the rising of the Yellow river—still known from recurrences of this disaster as "China's sorrow"—so that people had to flee to the mountains. Legend attributes the flood to a rebel's breaking the banks, and poetry tells how "He broke the pillars of heaven, and destroyed the supports of the corners of the earth." In 1765 B.C. began the second dynasty in the person of King Tang, who had recently ruled a neighboring state. Again, in 1126 B.C., disorder invited a conqueror, Wu, the king of Chau, who, with his father Wan, formed the types of Chinese virtue so often cited by Confucius. Even yet nobler was the Duke of Chau, younger brother of the king. But this dynasty fell in turn a victim to luxury, and when, in the sixth century B.C., Laotze and Kongtze (Confucius), the two greatest lights of China, appear, the feudal lords are defying the central court, and desolating the country with civil war. No one checked this disorder until 225 B.C., when the Chief of Tsin, in the northwest, mastered all rivals. His grandson, Chi Hwang-ti 246 B.C., abolished feudalism and made himself first Emperor of China. Since then one dynasty has succeeded another until now the twenty-first occupies the throne. (4)

The scriptures of the Chinese consist of the Five *King* or "Classics," and the Four *Shu* or "Books." These must now be briefly described.

The oldest and most honored is the *Yi King* or "Book of Changes." Chinese legend attributes its nucleus to Fu-hsi, supposed to have lived in the thirty-fourth century B.C. This nucleus consists of a whole and a broken line, so combined as to produce eight so-called trigrams. Thus a whole line (—) and a broken one (– –) were placed over themselves, and each of them over the other, which gives ☰ ☱ ☲ ☳. The same single lines placed successively over these double ones gives the famous eight trigrams, thus—

☰ ☱ ☲ ☳ ☴ ☵ ☶ ☷

Combinations of these eight make sixty-four hexagrams, each of which figures forms the subject of a comment written by King Wan, and enlarged by the Duke of Chau, in the twelfth century B.C. These comments apply the changes in the constitution of these hexagrams to the changes in nature and in the fortunes of man. This application is made partly according to a natural symbolism, and where that fails, partly by arbitrary rulings. The leading motion of the whole is a dualism where the whole line is light, male, etc., and the broken line is darkness, female, etc. Modern Confucianists have read most of the discoveries of modern science into these vague notions. The best trait of the work is that politico-ethical wisdom which is constantly taught, and this is characteristic of all the other scriptures too. So indispensable is divination to the conduct of life, both private and national, that this *Yi King* was spared when every other scripture was burned by Shi Hwang-ti.

Another great classic is the *Shu King* or "Book of History," which consists of selected governmental archives from the seventeenth to the seventh century B.C. The constant inculcation of politico-ethical conduct renders it probable that the work was compiled as a moral guide for rulers, who must show reverence to Heaven and ancestors by following their good examples. Nor is this content "mere ethics," but is ever connected with the righteous government of Heaven. The modern reader is perhaps most surprised to find the people repeatedly mentioned as the proper object of the ruler's care, if he fulfill his duty, but as the means of his downfall, if he do not. The people groan under ill-government until Heaven hears their cry, and sends some deliverer, quite in the style of the Hebrew people.

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The third of the canonical books is the *Shi King* a selection of folk-poetry made by Kongtze in the sixth century B.C. from a larger and much older one. The poetic form is very simple and the content various, including narrative and descriptive poems of the people and the court, and songs used at the offerings to gods and ancestors, which last date from the twenty-second to the nineteenth century B.C.

The fourth classic book is the *Li Chi*, or "Book of Ceremonies," and constitutes the chief source for our knowledge of the Chinese religion. It consists of directions and examples for conduct in every sphere of life, and remains to-day the directory for every Chinese. Though not put into its present shape until the second century A.D., it was formed by gradual accretion between the twelfth century B.C. and the former date. In its insistence on fixed ceremonial, whether religious, political or social, it presents a leading trait of the Chinese mind which decries all individuality, originality and innovation.

The fifth and last of the King called the *Chun Chiu* is nothing more than dry annals of the feudal state of Lu written by Kongtze.

Though not included in the above five canonical books, the *Hsiao King* or Book of Filial Piety, should be cited here as of equal authority. It purports to record instruction given to a pupil by Kongtze, and can be traced backwards to less than a century after the death of that great Chinese sage.

The classics of second rank, the Four *Shu*, are the "Confucian Analects," which afford us biographical notes and brief sayings of Kongtze; the "Great Learning" and the "Doctrine of the Mean," both probably written by a nephew of Kongtze and devoted to a statement of Confucian principles; and finally the "Works of Mencius," who lived 371-288 B.C. and ranks as the greatest teacher from the school of Kongtze.

It has sometimes been stated that these Chinese classics are hardly to be called sacred books, because, forsooth, they contain much history, ethics and social rules; but such a ruling as this would deprive us of not one, but all sacred literatures. It is, moreover, true that the Chinese religion expresses itself more in the ceremonial and ethical than in the mystical, meditative and devotional elements; but all these belong equally to religion, though few if any, people or even individuals have held them in perfect proportion.

No literature of the world, either sacred or secular, has exercised an influence at the same time so long and widespread and powerful as have these Classics upon the Chinese people. Yet their authority is unsupported by any claim of inspiration, though, in general, as we shall see later, Heaven's will is communicated to man in many ways. The Chinese scriptures are thus simply a *record* of revelation.

The distinction observed in these lessons between Sinism and Confucianism is based on only time limits, and even those overlap. Moreover, the collecting and editing by Kongtze of the four *King* (while he wrote the fifth) make it possible, and many other considerations make it probable, that Kongtze suppressed much of which his judgment did not approve. However, it is equally plain that he inserted nothing, and, therefore, for whatever is extant, the time limit applies, and should certainly be observed.

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7. HISTORICAL SETTING AND SCRIPTURE.

(1) In the reign of Chung-kang, the fourth in succession (2159-2146), occurred an eclipse of the sun, which Professor Russel, of the Imperial College, has succeeded in identifying after a laborious calculation of no fewer than thirty-six eclipses.—*W. A. P. Martin in his "Cycle of Cathay," p. 252.*

(2) Many interesting details in support of this view will be found in "China" by Prof. R. K. Douglas. The discovery is due to the researches of the late Prof. Terrien de Lacouperie.

(3) **Aborigines of China.**—The most accessible notices of these aborignes may be found in Douglas' "China," pp. 6, 175-176, 217, and 383-394. Much research is yet needed here.

(4) **Chinese Dates.**—Notice that the important dates occur in the third century and its multiples. Thus,

Yao and Shun in twenty-fourth century.
Wan and Wu in twelfth century.
Kongtze and Laotze in sixth century.
Chi Hwang-ti in third century.

While Buddhism entered China in the first century A.D.

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8. SINISM AS NATURE-WORSHIP.

Sinism affords us very many and indubitable deities of the two great classes, nature-deities and ancestor-deities. (1) Far above all the other nature-deities stands *Tien* or Heaven, sublime and noble. The ideograph used to write down Tien means Great One, obviously in reference to the vast expanse of heaven. In the Imperial worship still maintained in great state at Peking, Haitu or Earth is revered by offerings less only than those presented to Heaven, and occasionally the couple are mentioned together in the scriptures as recipients of a common worship; but the very natural and world-wide notion of a cosmogonic marriage between the two rarely appears. In fact, neither with *Tien* nor with the other nature-deities is the myth developed into a story, whence comes at the same time the poetic bareness and moral excellence of the deities in Sinism. Fancy is pruned, and conscience flourishes. The concept of *Tien* is remarkably free from crude anthropomorphisms. Nothing is said of his limbs or weapons, but much of his compassion and justice. (2) He is not even figured as a body, but identified with the sky, just as Heaven, our poetic term for God, sprang from heaven (sky). (3)



Temple on the Northern Altar of Heaven.

But the sacred texts repeatedly use *Ti* "Ruler" and *Shang-ti* "Supreme Ruler" in freest interchange with *Tien*. The opinion of some sinologues that *Shang-ti* serves as a more personal name for *Tien* is plausible, but cannot be proved by its usage in the texts. (4) It seems, therefore, that Dr. Legge, the translator of the Chinese classics, is misleading when he translates *Tien* by Heaven, but *Ti* and *Shang-ti* by God. However near to monotheism the concept may stand, the Chinese term should have been retained. This deity, other than and yet deemed worthy to coalesce with *Tien*, is probably the deified founder of the first Chinese dynasty, and thus offers a striking instance of the frequent union between naturism and animism. (5) The analogy here is striking, since heaven supplies in the movements of its orbs the chief examples of *natural* order, while the ruler is the head and guardian of the political order. Again, each is supreme in its own sphere, *Tien* in nature, and *Shang-ti* in society; and two supremes tend to annul each other, or as here to coalesce. This union of naturism and animism is of great importance, and will be met again and again. If not the creator, this *Tien* or *Shang-ti* was the source of all things and certainly exercises providence and sovereignty in the world. (6) All the exalted politico-ethics of the scriptures finds its sanction in him. (7) Heaven speaks in no special wise, makes no choice of individuals (8), but reveals itself in the customary course of nature. (9) Disturbances here are warnings to the rulers to rectify affairs of state. This close relation between Heaven and the Chinese State is referred to in the terms, "Heavenly Flowery Kingdom," and "Heavenly Dynasty," which have given rise to the contemptuous epithet, "The Celestials," used by Europeans. Heaven also makes its will known through the *vox populi*. (10) These three, Heaven, Earth, and Man, should stand in constant harmony with each

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other. Thus, when the longest day arrives that divides the growth of Spring from the decay of Autumn, "superior men give themselves to vigil and fasting"; and "at the equinox, they make uniform the measures of length and capacity; equalize the steelyards and their weights; . . . "Hence the sage forms a ternion with Heaven and Earth, and stands side by side with spiritual beings, in order to the right ordering of government."

The justice of Tien referred to above is supposed to be executed in this present world. (11) Heaven is occasionally mentioned as the abode of departed souls, but is nowhere described; while hell is conspicuous only by its absence. Deformed and otherwise afflicted people, while not treated with cruelty, are also not sympathized with, because supposed to have been punished for some secret sin. We find in the scriptures a Chinese Job, whom, however, his friend can persuade to acknowledge his guilt. (12) Fulfillment of the will of Heaven is one chief source of happiness. (13)

The attitude of the Chinese mind to the problem of freedom in presence of *Tien* is unsurpassed, by reason of its including the two elements, fate and freedom, that no human thought can combine, while it lays emphasis upon the freedom. The texts available here are so forceful and helpful that several are quoted in the notes. The last of these quotations comprises an entire speech made by the Duke of Chau (twelfth century B.C.), and therefore affords another example of the elements which constitute the *Shu King*. (14)

8. NATURE-WORSHIP.

(1) Inclusive Statement of Various Deities.—Thus it was that the ancient kings were troubled lest the ceremonial usages should not be generally understood by all below them. They, therefore, sacrificed to God (*i.e.*, Shang-ti) in the suburb of the capital, and thus the place of heaven was established. They sacrificed at the altar of the Earth inside the capital, and thus they intimated the benefits derived from the earth. Their sacrifices in the ancestral temple gave their fundamental place to the sentiments of humanity. Those at the altars of the hills and streams served to mark their intercourse with the spirits breathing in nature. Their fine sacrifices of the house were a recognition of the various business which was to be done.—"*Li Chi*," *vol I., p. 385.*

(2) The Compassion and Justice of Tien.—Ye numerous officers who remain from the dynasty of Yin, great ruin came down on Yin from the cessation of forbearance in compassionate Heaven, and we, the lords of Chan, received its favoring decree.—"*Shu King*," *p. 196.*

Where the sovereign's virtue is pure his enterprises are all fortunate; where his virtue is wavering and uncertain, his enterprises are all unfortunate. Good and evil do not wrongly befall men, but heaven sends down misery or happiness according to their conduct.—"*Shu King*," *p. 101.*

(3) Tien and Haitu are Living Persons.—"Why," they (the Chinese) have often been asked, "should you speak of those things which are dead matter fashioned from nothing by the hand of God as living beings? Heaven and earth are surely not persons." "And why not?" they have replied. "The sky pours down rain and sunshine. The earth produces corn and grass. We see them in perpetual movement, and we may therefore say that they are living."—*J. Edkins*, "*Religion in China*," *p. 95.*

On account of this identity in name between Heaven and heaven, the first verses of Genesis cannot be translated into Chinese without periphrasis.—*Happel*, "*Alt-chinesische Religion*," *p. 4.*

(4) Tien and Shang-ti are Synonymous.—And thus it was that, while Heaven (Tien) exerted a great establishing influence, preserving and regulating the House of Yin, its sovereigns on their part were humbly careful not to lose the favor of God (Shang-ti) and strove to manifest a good-doing corresponding to that of Heaven (Tien).—"*Shu King*," *p. 197.*

(5) Origin of Shang-ti.—Some have supposed that the title Ti was given to ancient Chinese emperors when they were deified, but one might equally well suppose that our titles Seigneur, Dominus, Herr and Lord had likewise been borrowed from God by earthly potentates, whereas the reverse was the real order. Chinese dictionaries gave "ruler of the empire" as the first meaning of Ti. The Shang often prefixed to Ti means oldest or first as well as supreme. This well accounts for the rule according to which only the emperor may sacrifice to Shangti, since in general only a man's descendants may worship him, and for the presence of the tablets of the emperor's more recent ancestors with that of Shangti during the sacrifice.—*Summarized from De Groot*, "*Les Fêtes à Emoui*," *pp. 678, 679.*

There are strong reasons for the inference that the early sovereigns of the Chinese worshipped the spirits of their deified ancestors under this term (Shang-ti).—*Wells Williams*' "*Syllabic Dictionary*," *p. 881.*

The former king was always zealous in the reverent cultivation of his virtue, so that he was the fellow of God.—"*Shu King*," *p. 99.* The emperor is the mate of God because he rules on earth as does God in heaven, and because associated with God in the great sacrifices.—*Note by J. Legge in loco.*

I think of my ancestors, who are now the spiritual sovereigns; when they made your forefathers toil, etc.—"*Shu King*," *p. 109.*

(6) Sovereignty of Tien or Shang-ti.—Rev-

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erently obeying the determinate counsel of Heaven, I pursue my primitive work to the East to give tranquility to its men and women.—"*Shu King*," *p. 135*.

(7) Tien Observes Man.

With reverence I will go
Where duty's path is plain.
Heaven's will I clearly know;
Its favor to retain
Is hard; let me not say
"Heaven is remote on high,
Nor notices men's way."
There in the starlit sky
It round about us moves,
Inspecting all we do,
And daily disapproves
What is not just and true.

—"*Shi King*," *quoted in* "*Religions of China*," *p. 114*

(8) **Tien is no Respector of Persons.**—Oh! Heaven has no partial affection; only to those who are reverent does it show affection. The people are not constant to those whom they cherish; they cherish only him who is benevolent. The spirits do not always accept the sacrifices that are offered to them; they accept only the sacrifices of the sincere.—"*Shu King*," *p. 99*.

(9) **Nature Reveals the Will of Tien.**—Therefore when the lessons for men are not cultivated, the masculine phenomena in nature do not proceed regularly; as seen in the heavens, we have the sun eclipsed. When the obedience proper to women is not cultivated, the feminine phenomena in nature do not proceed regularly; as seen in the heavens, we have the moon eclipsed.—"*Li Chi*," *vol. II., p. 433*.

O pitying Heaven, why see we thee
In terrors thus arrayed?
Famine has come. The people flee,
And homeless roam, dismayed.
In settled spots, and far and near,
Our regions all lie waste and drear.

—"*She King*," *p. 348*.

(10) **The People Reveal the Will of Tien.**—God was not for Yin, as appeared from the mind and conduct of our inferior people, in which there is the brilliant dreadfulness of Heaven.—"*Shu King*," *p. 197*.

Therefore Man is the heart and mind of Heaven and Earth, and the visible embodiment of the five elements. He lives in the enjoyment of all flavors, the discriminating of all notes of harmony, and the enrobing of all colors.—"*Li Chi*" *I., p. 382*.

Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to.—"*She King*," *p. 127*.

(11) **Chinese Theodicy is Earthly.**—Accordance with the right leads to good fortune; following what is opposed to it, to bad; the shadow, and the echo.—"*Shu King*," *p. 47*.

On this account God no longer protected him, but sent down the great ruin which we have witnessed. Heaven was not with him, because he did not make his virtue illustrious. Indeed, with regard to the overthrow of all states, great and small, throughout the four quarters of the kingdom, in every case reasons can be given for their punishment.—"*Shu King*," *pp. 197-8*.

(12) **The Chinese Job.**—When *Zze*-hsia was mourning for his son, he lost his eyesight. Zang-Zze went to condole with him and said, "I have heard that when a friend loses his eyesight, we should wail for him." Thereupon he wailed, and Zze-hsia also wailed and said, 'O Heaven, and I have no guilt!' Zang-Zze was angry, and said, 'Shang, how can you say that you have no guilt?' (Zang-Zze then proceeds to remind his friend how he sinned in pride, in neglect of duty, and now in losing his eyesight.) Zze-hsia threw down his staff, and bowed, saying, "I was wrong, I was wrong."—"*Li Chi*" *I., pp. 135-6*.

(13) **The Will of Heaven.**— . . . of the five sources of happiness—the first is long life; the second, riches; the third, soundness of body and serenity of mind; the fourth, the love of virtue; and the fifth, fulfilling to the end the will of Heaven.—"*Shu King*," *p. 119*.

His desire in all this is to serve his ruler. If he succeed in doing so and obtaining his ruler's approbation, he feels that he has done right; if he do not so succeed, he still feels that he has done right: prepared to accept the will of Heaven concerning himself.—"*Li Chi*." *II., p. 338*.

(14) **Fate and Freedom.**—Calamities sent by Heaven may be avoided, but from calamities brought on by oneself there is no escape.—"*Shu King*," *p. 98*.

Oh! it is as on the birth of a son, when all depends on the training of his early life, through which he may secure his wisdom in the future, as if it were decreed to him. Now Heaven may have decreed wisdom to the king; it may have decreed good fortune or bad; it may have decreed a long course of years; we only know that now is with him the commencement of his duties. Dwelling in this new city, let the king now sedulously cultivate the virtue of reverence. When he is all devoted to this virtue, he may pray to Heaven for a long-abiding decree in his favor.—"*Shu King*," *p. 187*.

The Duke of Chau spoke to the following effect: "Prince Shih, Heaven, unpitying, sent down ruin on Yin. Yin has lost its appointment to the throne, which our house of Chau has received. I do not dare, however, to say, as if I knew it, 'The foundation will ever truly abide in prosperity. If Heaven aid sincerity, . . .' Nor do I dare to say, as if I knew it, 'The end will issue in our misfortunes.' Oh! you have said, O Prince, 'It depends on ourselves.' I also do not dare to rest in the favor of God, not forecasting at a distance the terrors of Heaven in the present time, when there is no murmuring or disobedience among the people; the issue is with men. Should our present successor to his fathers prove greatly unable to reverence Heaven above and the people below, and so bring to an end the glory of his predecessors, could we in the retirement of our families be ignorant of it? The favor of Heaven is not easily preserved; Heaven is difficult to be depended on. Men lose its favoring appointment, because they cannot pursue and carry out the reverence and brilliant virtue of their forefathers. Now I, Tan, the little child, am not able to make the king correct. I would simply conduct him to the glory of his fathers, and make him, who is my young charge, partaker of that." He also said, "Heaven is not to be trusted, our course is only to seek the prolongation of the virtue of the tranquilizing king, that Heaven may not find occasion to remove its favoring decree which king Wan received."—"*Shu King*," *pp. 205-6*

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9. SINISM AS NATURE WORSHIP (CONTINUED). ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

Besides Heaven and Earth, many other nature gods are worshipped by the Chinese. (1) These are not controlled by Heaven, though, of course, all are inferior to it, and one set of them, the earth-gods, assume a natural gradation which prescribes limits for their worshipers. Thus, below Heaven and Earth, to whom only the Emperor may sacrifice, stand the Spirits of the Land and Grain, to whom only a feudal lord may sacrifice, while the commonalty were restricted to sacrificing to the Spirits of the Ground, which they tilled. (2)

Furthermore only the greater nature-powers—sun, moon, constellations, clouds, rain, wind, and thunder—are worshipped in company with Heaven at the Imperial Altar in Peking, while the host of minor nature deities are left to local cults. Thus Sinism includes many gods, and they stand in a graded system with Heaven at the top. It is therefore plainly a polytheism. This view has long been held by Professor C. P. Tiele, and J. J. M. de Groot, but the opposite has been so warmly supported by Professors de Harlez and J. Legge, that a brief survey of their reasons is called for. Prof. Legge claims a proper monotheism for *Tien* on the following grounds:



Meeting the Spring.

a Nature spirits other than *Tien* were worshipped only "as doing service to man on behalf of God."—"*Religions of China*," *pp. 18, 43-46, 89-90, 254.*

b Many things are predicated of Heaven "true only of the true God."—*Ibid. p. 27.*

c Spirits, though worshipped, are not called gods, and therefore no more exclude monotheism than do the angels and saints of Roman Catholicism.—*Ibid p. 52.* (3)

In objection to these grounds we notice about *a* that it receives no support from the ancient texts, in lieu of which Professor Legge is driven to quote from a ritual composed 1538 A.D., though Christian ideas may have been learned from the Nestorian Mission before the ninth century, and from the Catholic Mission in the thirteenth century. We notice about *b* that, though happily true, the same is true of all gods great and small; their attributes are really true only of the Absolute. As to *c*, what Professor Legge translates God is properly "Ruler" or "Supreme Ruler," which was explained in last lesson as a personal name, and is therefore not applicable to any class. Much confusion would have been spared readers, had the name *Shang-ti* been simply transferred to the English translation, just as are those of *Vishnu*, *Shiva*, and others. (4) The analogy with Roman Catholicism is quite invalid, since the latter permits only reverence, not worship of the saints and angels.

Finally, one should notice that Professor Legge by no means supposes that Chinese monotheism was derived from the Hebrews, for he explains both *Tien* and *Ti* as native myths. (5) The treatment by Professor de Harlez adds nothing essential above that of Professor Legge.

To return to the minor nature gods, we find that the Chinese assume their

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existence to account for active phenomena, and worship them from a sense of dependence. (6) Notice further how little individualized these nature spirits are. No stories are told of them, but they are held as the bare mental counterpart of this or that nature-power. They are invisible to sense, but very real, and penetrate and pervade all things. Like *Shangti* they promote righteousness, and are none of them evil. Sinism knows no Satan.

All observers agree that the dominant religious form in China is ancestor worship. De Groot agrees with Doolittle that, "There are two objects of worship, as the Chinese aver, to be found in every family, viz.: the ancestral tablet and the kitchen god." Prof. Martin thinks its influence "has been deeper than all other religions combined." It alone is enforced on the community by the State, so that even Mohammedans (in the northwest of the empire), Taoists, and Buddhists (including priests) are required on penalty (for priests one hundred lashes and remandment to secular life) to obedience, sacrifice, and mourning rites for parents. The poorest hamlets will provide a temple for this cult. The first rites of a married pair are those to Heaven and ancestors. This cult of parents has flourished equally and in closest connection with duty to parents (filial piety) which, according to the Chinese, is the prime virtue. Again it is intertwined with the entire social life, (7) and dominates whole towns. (8) It even supplies a powerful religious motive to marriage and propagation, since one's happiness in the future life depends upon the offering of his descendants. (9)

The moral effect of this ancestor worship has been variously judged. Professor Martin credits it with supplying the only light on the future the Chinese possess, and with supplying a common deterrent from baseness, as also the scriptures testify. (10) He even recommends control, instead of abolition by Christianity, but the missionaries are unanimous in demanding the latter. Rev. A. H. Smith attributes it to fear and self-love, quoting the Chinese proverb, "Trees are raised for shade, children are reared for old age." He also regards it as the prime cause of that leaden conservatism that closes China to the world. (11) E. Faber's charge that it sometimes involves worship of bad parents is annulled by the Chinese practice of selecting only the good qualities for remembrance. (12)

Mr. John Fiske has noticed how ancestor cult accompanies the patriarchal social system. Both belong only to the lower stages of culture, and both seem immoral to the higher, though they are really only unmoral. Ancestor worship has been treated above as practiced by the commonalty, though the *royal* practice varies but little from it.

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9. NATURE WORSHIP (CONTINUED). ANCESTOR WORSHIP.

(1) **Various Nature-Gods.**—By burying a sheep and a pig at the (altar of) Great brightness, they sacrificed to the seasons. (With similar) victims they sacrificed to (the spirits of) cold and heat, at the pit and the altar, using prayers of deprecation and petition; to the sun, at the (altar called the) royal palace; to the moon, at the (pit called the) light of the night; to the stars at the honored place of gloom; to (the spirits of) flood and drought at the honored altar of rain; to the (spirits of the) four quarters at the place of the four pits and altars; mountains, forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mounds, which are able to produce clouds, and occasion winds and rain, were all regarded as (dominated by) spirits.—"*Li Chi*," *II., p. 203.*

(2) **Rank Among the Gods.**—The rule is that only the Son of Heaven sacrifices to Heaven and Earth, and the princes of states sacrifice at the altars to the Spirits of the Land and Grain.—"*Li Chi*" *I., p. 385.*

The fortunate day is chosen, and orders are given to the people to sacrifice at their altars to the Spirits of the Ground.—*Ibid, p. 259.*

(3) **Roman Catholicism.**—As well might we argue that Roman Catholicism is not monotheistic, because of the place which is held in it by angels and saints, as that the religion of China is not so because of the inferior worship given in it to various spirits, real or fictitious.—*J. Legge, "Religion of China," p. 52.*

(4) **A Protest.**—In the preface to the third volume of the Sacred Books of the East . . . I have spoken of the Chinese terms Ti and Shang Ti, and shown how I felt it necessary to continue to render them by our word God, as I had done in all my translations of the Chinese classics since 1861. My doing so gave offence to some of our missionaries in China and others: and in June, 1880, twenty-three gentlemen addressed a letter to Professor F. Max Müller, complaining that, in such a work edited by him, he should allow me to

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give my own private interpretation of the name or names in question instead of translating them, or transferring them.—"*Yi King*," *p. 20.*

(5) **Origin of Tien and Ti.**—The earliest Chinese adopted Tien or Heaven as the name for the Supreme Power, which arose in their minds on the contemplation of the order of nature, and the principles of love and righteousness developed in the constitution of man and the course of providence, and proceeded to devise the personal name of Ti or God as the appellation of this; and neither Taoism, nor any other form of materialism, has succeeded in eradicating the precious inheritence of those two terms from the mind of peasant or scholar. —*Notes by Dr. Legge to "Li Chi" I., pp 387-8.*

(6) **Ground of Worship.**— . . . mountains, forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mounds, which are able to produce clouds, and occasion winds and rain, were all regarded as spirits.—"*Li Chi*" *II., p. 203.*

As to the sun and moon, the stars and constellations, the people look up to them, while forests, streams, valleys, hills, and mountains supply them with the materials for use which they require. Only men and things of this character were admitted into the sacrificial canon.—*Ibid, p. 209*

(7) **The Purpose of Ancestor Worship.**—The object of all the ceremonies is to bring down the spirits from above, even their ancestors; serving also to rectify the relations between ruler and ministers; to maintain the generous feeling between father and son, and the harmony between elder and younger brother; to adjust the relations between high and low; and to give their proper places to husband and wife.—"*Li Chi*" *I., p. 371.*

Emolument, rank, felicitations, and rewards were all transacted in the ancestral temple; and it was thus that they showed submissive deference.—"*Li Chi*" *II. p. 233.*

The inscriber (on the sacrificial tripod) discourses about and panegyrizes the virtues and goodness of his ancestors, their merits and zeal, their services and toils, the congratulations and rewards given to them, their fame recognized by all under heaven; and in the discussion of these things on his spiritual vessels, he makes himself famous and thus he sacrifices to his ancestors. In the celebration of his ancestors he exalts his filial piety. That he himself appears after them is natural. And in the clear showing of all this to future generations he is giving instruction.—*Ibid, p. 251.*

(8) **Prominence of Ancestor Worship.**—The worship of ancestors strengthens the ties of kinship and binds together those family and tribal groups on which the government so much relies for the control of its individual subjects. The family temple serves for a church, theatre, school-house, council room, and indeed for all the varied objects required by the exigencies of a village community. Domains attached to it for the maintenance of the sacrifices are held as common property: and glebe lands are often appended which are devoted to the support of needy members of the widely extended connection. I have seen a town of twenty-five thousand people, all belonging to the same clan, and bearing the same family name. A conspicuous edifice near the center bore the name of *She-tsu-miao*, i.e., Temple of our First Ancestor. Here the divergent branches of the family tree met in a common root; and all the citizens, under the cloud of incense arising from a common sacrifice, were led to feel the oneness of their origin, though separated, it might be, by half a millenium.—*W. A. P. Martin, "The Chinese," p. 266.*

(9) **Purpose of Marriage.** The ceremony of marriage was intended to be a bond of love between two families of different surnames, with a view, in its retrospective character, to secure the services in the ancestral temple; and in its prospective character, to secure the continuance of the family line.—"*Li Chi*" *II., p. 428.*

The man who worships his forefathers, and believes in their conscious existence, naturally desires to leave offspring who shall keep the fires burning on the family altar, and regale his own spirit with periodical oblations.—*W. A. P. Martin, "The Chinese," p. 266.*

(10) **Spirits Observe Men.**

When mingling with superior men,
In friendly intercourse, oh! then
How mild your face! what harmony!
All wrong and error, how you flee!
When in your chamber, 'neath its light,
Your conscience keep as pure and bright.
Say not, 'No one can see me here;
The place is secret.' Be in fear.
The spirits come, but when and where,
No one beforehand can declare.
The more we should not spirits slight,
But ever feel as in their sight.
—"*Shi King*," *3, 3, Ode 2.*

(11) **Ancestor Worship Mischievous.**—That tenet of the Chinese doctrine which makes filial conduct consist in leaving posterity is responsible for a long train of ills. It compels the adoption of children, whether there is or is not any adequate provision for their support. It leads to early marriages, and brings into existence millions of human beings, who, by reason of the excessive pinch of poverty, can barely keep soul and body together. It is the efficient cause of polygamy and concubinage, always and inevitably a curse. It is expressed and epitomized in the worship of ancestors, which is the real religion of the Chinese race. This system of ancestral worship, when rightly understood in its true significance, is one of the heaviest yokes which ever a people was compelled to bear. As pointed out by Dr. Yates, in the essay to which reference has been already made, the hundreds of millions of living Chinese are under the most galling subjection to the countless thousands of millions of the dead. "The generation of to-day is chained to the generations of the past." Ancestral worship is the best type and guarantee of that leaden conservatism to which attention has already been directed. Until that conservatism shall have received some mortal wound, how is it possible for China to adjust herself to the wholly new conditions under which she finds herself in this last quarter of the century? And while the generations of those who have passed from the stage continue to be regarded as the true divinities by the Chinese people, how is it possible that China should take a single real step forward? —*A. H. Smith, "Chinese Characteristics," pp. 183-184.*

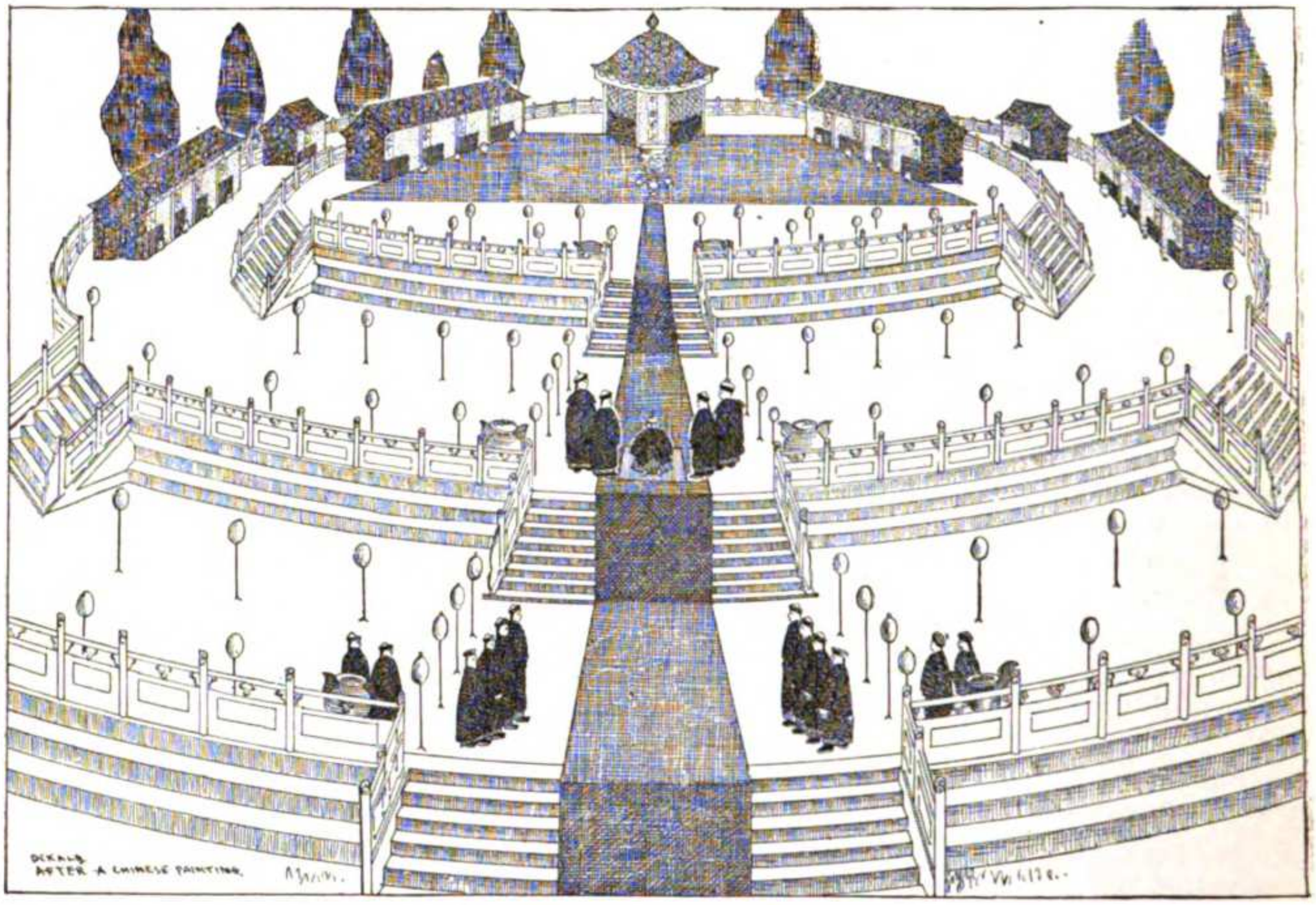
(12) **Bad Ancestors.**—Those ancestors must have had good qualities and also bad. But the idea of an inscription (on a sacrificial tripod) is to make mention of the good qualities and not of the bad; such is the heart of a filial descendant; and it is only the man of ability and virtue who can attain to it.—"*Li Chi*" *II., p. 251.*

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10. SINISM AS HERO WORSHIP. ESCHATOLOGY. CULT.

The worship of public benefactors after death is well recognized in Sinism. Among others we notice the "Father of Cookery," the "Father of War," the "Father of Husbandry," and the "Spirit of the Furnace," who is an "old wife." She and Earth are the only female deities known to Sinism. That the cats and tigers were not overlooked is another barbarian trait. (1)

The Chinese eschatology or doctrine of the future life is simply that of continued existence. Its condition of comfort or misery depends on the offerings of the son;



Imperial Worship at the Altar of Heaven.

the place is stated to be heaven in references made to kings and notables, but is only vaguely defined for the commonalty. (2) The duration is not limited, but as the ancestor grows more remote his cult gradually yields to those more recently deceased. When the Chinese heart was chilled by doubt as to survival after death, it took refuge in its spontaneous impulses. (3) No word is spoken about a hell or retribution. Indeed it would be superfluous, since reward or punishment overtakes man in this world at the hands of Heaven and the other gods; moreover, it would conflict with ancestor worship, since one could not well pray to an ancestor in hell.

Having sketched the religious ideas or doctrine of Sinism, we must now notice the religious acts or cult, which in the Chinese estimate is by far the more important, and is therefore prescribed in great detail. Yet Sinism has no priest, but entrusts its cult to the father of the family or of the nation, as we should expect under a patriarchal government. In the Emperor's cabinet was a "Minister of Religion," under whom stood many officials for the state sacrifices, while every father is also priest for his household cult. Church is not yet freed from state, nor has been until this day. Nature gods had no temple, so that offerings due them were pre-

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sented on altars before heaven, mountain or river. But ancestral gods already had temples of a size and splendor varying according to the rank of the deceased, who was represented by a tablet or wooden strip bearing his name, and in which his soul was believed to repose. (4) The commonalty placed the tablets in "the back apartment." The most notable sacrifices in China were and are that of the Emperor to Heaven and Earth, (5) and those by sons to their deceased parents. (6) The descriptions of these given in the scriptures show them to have retained up to that time (the millenium B.C.) much of their original simplicity, but the sacrifice to Heaven and Earth as now performed is most imposing, and beyond compare the grandest sacrifice on earth. The Altar of Heaven in Peking is double, one altar being paved with marble in three terraces (entire height is 25 feet, diameter of highest terrace 59 feet), and the other on the north of the former bearing upon it a lofty temple. A stone's throw southeast of the south altar stands the porcelain furnace in which the offerings are consumed. At the winter and summer solstices, the beginning of spring, and great occasions, such as a coronation or conclusion of a war, the Emperor sacrifices here in person to Heaven. The tablet inscribed *Hwang-tien Shang-ti* ("August Heaven, Supreme Ruler") is then placed, facing south, on the highest terrace, while the tablets of the Emperor's ancestors are arranged in two rows facing east and west. On the second terrace stand eastward the tablets of sun, planets and stars, while westward stand those of moon, rain, wind, etc. Accompanied by two thousand grandees and attendants he proceeds to the enclosing park, where he passes several hours of the evening in silent meditation before a copper man who has three fingers of his left hand laid upon his lips to teach silence. At midnight he bathes, dons his sacrificial robes, and mounts the altar, while princes and attendants take their places below. After presenting incense before the ancestral tablets, he prostrates himself three times and knocks his head upon the ground nine times before the tablet of Heaven, in all which the attendant worshipers follow his example. He then kneels, with a heifer behind him, before the table upon which lie twelve rolls of blue silk and a jade sceptre, and offers them. Next he presents many bowls of cooked meat, cereals, fruits and vegetables, followed by a cup of wine, before the various tablets, after which he reads a prayer suitable to the occasion, which he then places in a casket beside the sceptre. Certain officers then present the "cup of blessing" and the "meat of blessing" to the Emperor, who, after partaking, repeats the three prostrations and nine knockings to express his thankful reception of them. Finally all the offerings—prayer, silk, viands, and heifer now slain—are then burnt up in the furnace. Solemnity is secured throughout these proceedings by accompanying music and slow dances from a numerous corps, as well as by a ceremoniousness, in detail, which would require pages to describe.

The Imperial worship of Earth is substantially the same as that just described to Heaven, but with it is naturally associated that of mountains, rivers and seas, instead of heavenly bodies, as is the case with Heaven. The numbers of everything used for Heaven are odd, and the color is blue, while for Earth numbers are even and color yellow. (The loess soil in North China is a light brown, which imparts its color to the Yellow Sea.)

Though only the Emperor and court could participate in this sacrifice to Heaven, any commoner might pray and burn incense to him, as indeed was and still is commonly done at the new and full moon.

In China, as elsewhere, ancestor cult had led to the burying alive of servants and wives with the deceased. Not later than the sixth century B.C. it had substituted for them figures in wood or straw, though occasional reversions to the earlier practice still happened, and may even now when war provides the victims. In 1854 rebel prisoners were sacrificed to the names of the fallen soldiers, while their hearts were eaten by the living ones. Nature worship also sacrified a human victim to allay floods and draught, or to found a bridge, etc.

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10. HERO WORSHIP. ESCHATOLOGY. CULT.

(1) **Hero-Cat and Hero-Tiger.**—The ancient wise men had appointed all these agencies, and it was felt necessary to make this return to them. They met the representatives of the cats, because they devoured the rats and mice which injured the fruits of the fields, and those of the tigers, because they devoured the wild boars which destroyed them They met them and made offerings to them.—"*Li Chi*," *I.*, *pp. 431, 432*.

(2) **Eschatology.**—When the (burial) mound was completed he bared his left arm; and moving to the right, he went round it thrice, crying out, "That the bones and flesh should return again to the earth is what is appointed. But the soul in its energy can go everywhere; it can go everywhere."—"*Li Chi*," *I.*, *p. 193*.

Thus they looked up to heaven whither the spirit was gone and buried the body in the earth. The body and the animal soul go downwards; and the intelligent spirit is on high. Thus, also, the dead are placed with their heads to the north, while the living look towards the south. (The spirit went to the northern part of heaven, because that was the darker.)—"*Li Chi*," *I.*, *p. 369*.

(3) **Hope for the Future.**—The offerings to the unburied dead are placed in plain unornamented vessels, because the hearts of the living are full of unaffected sorrow. It is only in the sacrifices (subsequent to the interment) that the principal mourner does his utmost (in the way of ornament). Does he know that the spirit will enjoy his offerings? He is guided only by his pure and reverent heart.—"*Li Chi*," *I.*, *p. 168*.

(4) **Ancestral Tablets.**—The sacrifice is offered on the day of interment; they cannot bear that the departed should be left a single day without a place to rest in. On that day the offerings, previously set forth by the coffin, are exchanged for the sacrifice of repose. The continuous wailing is ended, and they say, "The business is finished." On that day the sacrifices of mourning were exchanged for one of joy. The next day the service of placing the spirit-tablet of the departed next to that of his grandfather was performed.—"*Li Chi I.*," *p. 171*.

(5) **Sacrifice to Hwang-t'ien Shang-ti.**—At the great border sacrifice, he welcomed the arrival of the longest day. It was a great act of thanksgiving, and the sun was considered as the residence of the Spirit of Heaven. The space marked off for it was in the southern suburb—the place most open to the brightness and warmth of the heavenly influence. The sacrifice was offered on the ground which had been swept for the purpose—to mark the simplicity of the ceremony. The vessels used were of earthenware and of gourds—to emblem the natural productive power of heaven and earth. The place was the suburb, and therefore the sacrifice was called the suburban or border. The victim was red, that being the color preferred by the Chau dynasty; and it was a calf—to show the estimation of simple sincerity. . . . The people watered and swept the road, and turned it up afresh with the spade; at the top of the fields in the neighborhood they kept torches burning—thus without special orders complying with the wish of the king. On that day the king assumed the robe with the ascending dragons on it as an emblem of the heavens. He wore the cap with the pendants of jade-pearls, to the number of twelve, which is the number of heaven. He rode in the plain carriage because of its simplicity. From the flag hung twelve pendants, and on it was the emblasonry of dragons, and the figures of the sun and moon in imitation of the heavens. Heaven hangs out its brilliant figures, and the sages imitated them. This border sacrifice is the illustration of the way of Heaven.

If there appeared anything infelicitous about the victim intended for Shangti, it was used for that intended for Chi. (Chi was the founder of the Chau family then reigning in China, and therefore associated by ancestor worship in this service to Heaven.) That intended for Shangti required to be kept in its clean stall for three months. That intended for Chi simply required to be perfect in its parts. This was the way in which they made a distinction between the spirits of Heaven and the manes of a man.

All things originate from Heaven; man originates from his great ancestor. This is the reason why Chi was associated with Shangti at this sacrifice. In the sacrifices at the border there was an expression of gratitude to the source of their prosperity, and a going back in their thoughts to the beginning of all being.—"*Li Chi*," *I.*, *pp. 427-137*.

(6) **Ancestral Sacrifice.**—Sacrifices should not be frequent lest irreverence ensue, nor infrequent lest indifference follow. But with the sadness of autumn the wise man will fancy that he once more parts with his departed, and with the joy of spring seems to welcome them again. "The severest vigil and purification is maintained and carried on inwardly; while a looser vigil is maintained externally. During the days of such vigil, the mourner thinks of his departed; how and where they sat; how they smiled and spoke; what were their aims and views; what they delighted in, and what things they desired and enjoyed. On the third day of such exercise he will see those for whom it is employed.

"On the day of sacrifice, when he enters the apartment, he will seem to see the deceased in the place where his spirit-tablet is. After he has moved about and performed his operations, and is leaving at the door, he will seem to be arrested by hearing the sound of his movements, and will sigh as he seems to hear the sound of his sighing. . . .

"The superior man, while his parents are alive, reverently nourishes them; and when they are dead, he reverently sacrifices to them; his chief thought is how to the end of life not to disgrace them. . . .

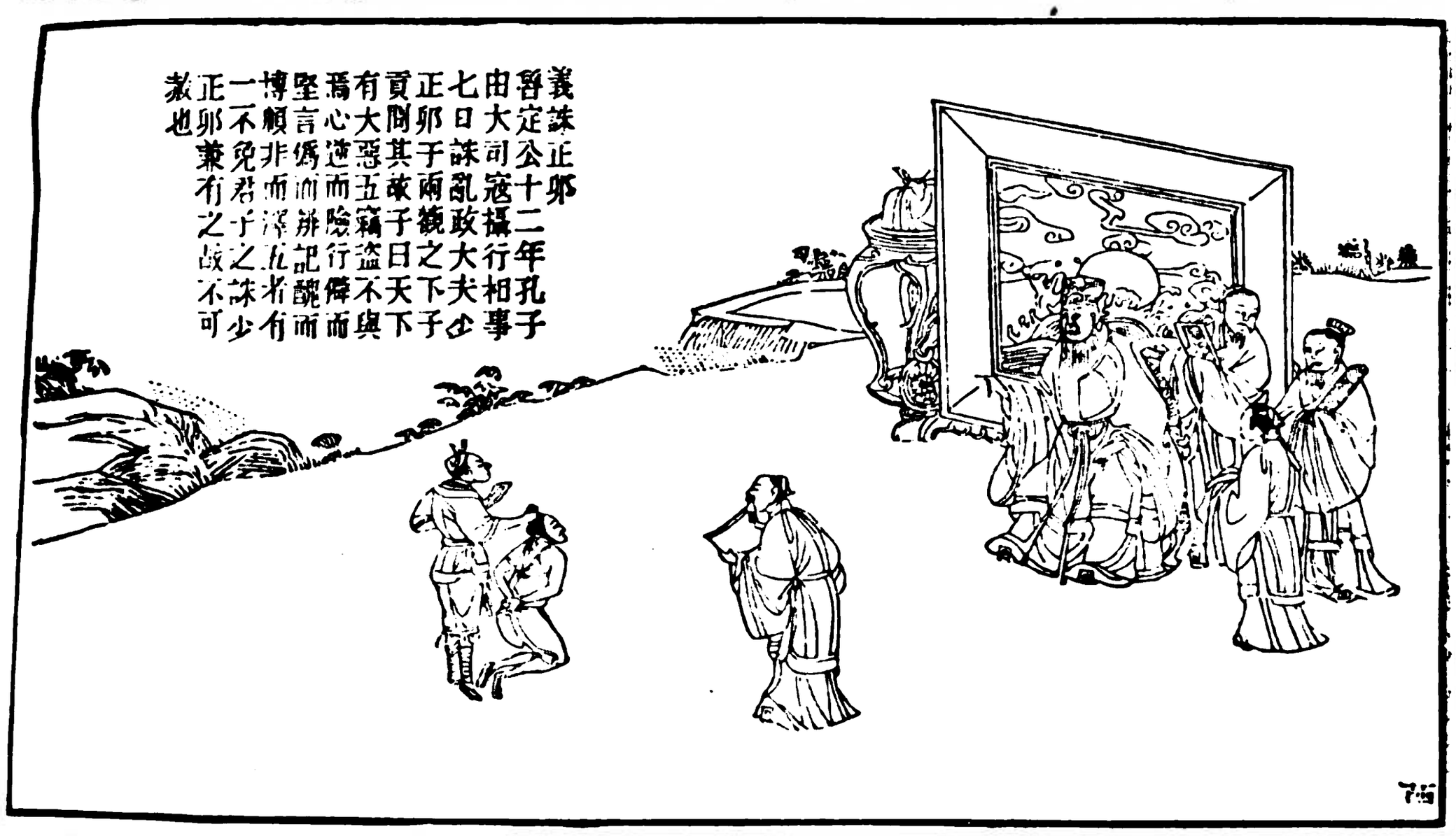
"The temple and its apartments having been repaired, the walls and roofs having been put in order, and all the assisting officers having been provided, husband and wife, after vigil and fasting, bathe their heads and persons and array themselves in full dress. In coming in with the things which they carry, how grave and still they are! how absorbed in what they do! as if they were not able to sustain their weight, as if they would let them fall. Is not theirs the highest filial reverence? He sets forth the stands with the victims on them; arranges all the ceremonies and music; provides the officers for the various ministries. These aid in sustaining and bringing in the things, and thus he declares his mind and wish, and in his lost abstraction of mind seeks to have communion with the dead in their spiritual state, if peradventure they will enjoy his offerings, if peradventure they will do so. Such is the aim of the filial son in his sacrifices."—"*Li Chi*," *II.*, *pp. 210, 211, 214*.

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11. KONGTZE. HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

Every great religion has found a great prophet. That of Sinism was Kongtze (Latinized form is Confucius), and his influence upon it was so profound that it is commonly called after him Confucianism, though the latter term should be kept for the doctrine of the Master and of his immediate disciples. There can be no doubt as to his eminent character, while his followers (some three hundred millions) yield precedence in numbers only to Christians.

Kongtze was born in the feudal State of Lu, 551 B.C., where his father was an officer eminent for stature, strength, and bravery, and of distinguished lineage. His much younger mother married the hitherto childless officer from a sense of duty to her parents. Legend runs that his mother, in obedience to a vision, went to be



Kongtze Ordering the Execution of a Rich Scoundrel.

confined to a cave, where fairies attended the nativity. His father's death when Kongtze was but three years old left him to poverty and his mother's care. At fifteen "his mind was set on learning"; at nineteen he married a woman whom later he was obliged to divorce, and his only son, who also proved unworthy, was born the year after. At twenty-two he was able to attract to his instruction young men of aspiration, and from that time disciples never failed him, a chosen number following him wherever he went, while others came to consult him on occasion. His beloved disciple was Yen Hui, while the boldest was Tze Kung. In 517 B.C., he visited the capital of the Chau dynasty, and there met the mystic Laotze. Great political corruption had kept Kongtze out of office, but at fifty-one years of age he became magistrate of a city and as such worked wonders in reform. He became the idol of the people and was celebrated in song. But a neighboring feudal chief, fearing the growing power of Lu, sent to its Marquis a present of horses and women, which so debauched him that Kongtze, then fifty-six years old, abandoned the court he could not reform, and for thirteen years traveled from one feudal state to another, ever disappointed in finding a ruler that would adopt his counsels. Often endangered from attack or want, Kongtze never failed in his serenity and trust in Heaven. Finally he was enabled to return to Lu, where after editing the scriptures, he died in disappointment 478 B.C.

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Kongtze and a Disciple.

Kongtze was no recluse, but constantly sought, as we have seen, to control human affairs. Nor was he ascetic, though temperate in all things, and patient under unavoidable deprivation. (1) Nor again was he a religious mystic, but was dominated by historic sense and practical wisdom. He declined to discuss the supernatural, and the future state, and ignored the current magic. (2) Yet he believed in Heaven, (3) from whom, indeed, he received his commission, (4) and shared in the household and court religious services. (5) He gave China, if not the golden, yet the silver rule of conduct, and many another precious moral insight. (6) The form of this rule is negative, but other statements show that Kongtze could conceive the duty positively. (7) He also possessed the rare trait of humility (8) and was conscious of his moral weakness. (9)

The chief limitation of Kongtze appears in his dependence upon rules as concontrasted with principles. He felt this himself and freely acknowledged it, in comparing himself with Laotze. He was the Chinese Moses, and Chinese pharisaism is the result. If compared with Socrates, he suffers from lack of that scientific method and philosophic insight which led to Plato and Aristotle, thinkers that have no analogues in China. With the Indic thinkers he stands in striking contrast.

His influence grew steadily after his decease, and to this day he rules China as the "Throneless King." (10) The secret of his success lay in his conformity to the Chinese mental type, of which he is the highest expression. As such his influence will never cease, whatever new ones may supplement it. The sober sense of the literati has never permitted his deification, though many so-called temples have been erected in his honor. He has inspired China for two milleniums, and may prove inspiring even to us.

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11. KONGTZE. HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

(1) **Contentment.**—With coarse rice to eat, with water to drink, and my bended arm for a pillow, I have still joy in the midst of these things. Riches and honors acquired by unrighteousness are to me as a floating cloud.—"*Analects*," *p. 157.*

The Master said, "Dressed himself in a tattered robe quilted with hemp, yet standing by the side of men dressed in furs, and not ashamed; ah! it is Yew who is equal to this."—*Ibid. p. 173.*

(2) **Relative Agnosticism of Kongtze.**—The subjects on which the Master did not talk were, prodigious things (i.e., thaumaturgy or magic),

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feats of strength (mere brute force, not skill), disorder, and spiritual beings.—*Ibid, p. 158.*

There were four things which the Master taught—letters, ethics, devotion of soul, and truthfulness.—*Ibid, p. 158.*

Ki Lu asked about serving the spirits of the dead. The Master said, "While you are not able to serve men, how can you serve their spirits?" Ki Li added, "I venture to ask about death?" He was answered, "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?"—*Ibid, p. 185.*

The Master said, "How uncultivated you are, Yu! A superior man in regard to what he does not know, shows a cautious reserve."—*Ibid, p. 200.*

(3) **Kongtze was Religious.**—By pretending to have ministers when I have them not, whom should I impose upon? Should I impose upon Heaven?—*Ibid, p. 173.*

There are three things of which the superior man stands in awe. He stands in awe of the ordinances of Heaven: He stands in awe of great men. He stands in awe of the words of sages.—*Ibid, p. 235.*

He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray.—*Ibid, p. 130.*

The Master said, "Alas! there is no one that knows me." Tsze-kung said, "What do you mean by thus saying—that no one knows you?" The Master replied, "I do not murmur against Heaven. I do not grumble against men. My studies lie low, and my penetration rises high. But there is Heaven; that knows me."—*Ibid, p. 218.*

(4) **Kongtze Commissioned by Heaven.**—The Master said, "Heaven produced the virtue that is in me. Hwan T'uy—what can he do to me?"—*Ibid, p. 158.*

The Master said, "If my principles are to advance, it is so ordered. If they are to fall to the ground, it is so ordered. What can Leaou do, where such ordering is concerned?"—*Ibid, p. 218.*

The Master was put in fear in K'wang. He said, "After the death of King Wan, was not the cause of truth lodged here in me? If Heaven had wished to let this cause of truth perish, then I, a future mortal, should not have got such a relation to that cause. While Heaven does not let the cause of truth perish, what can the people of K'wang do to me?"—*Ibid, p. 168.*

(5) **Kongtze Observes Religious Rites.**—Whenever the prince sent him a gift of undressed meat, he would have it cooked, and offer it to the spirits of his ancestors.—*Ibid, p. 180.*

Although his food might be coarse rice and vegetable soup, he would offer a little of it in sacrifice with a grave, respectful air.—*Ibid, p.*

(6) **Ethical Maxims of Kongtze.**—Tsze-kung asked, saying, "Is there one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all one's life?" The Master said, "Is not RECIPROCITY such a word? What you do not want done to yourself do not do to others."—*Ibid, p. 226.*

The Master said, "Is virtue a thing remote? I wish to be virtuous, and lo! virtue is at hand."—*Ibid, p. 159.*

The man who in the view of gain thinks of righteousness; who in the view of danger is prepared to give up his life; and who does not forget an old agreement, however far back it extends: such a man may be reckoned a COMPLETE man.—*Ibid, p. 211.*

The Master said, "I have not seen one who loves virtue as he loves beauty."—*Ibid, p. 171.*

The Master said, "T'ae-pi may be said to have reached the highest point of virtuous action. Thrice he declined the empire, and the people in ignorance of his motives could not express their approbation of his conduct."—*Ibid, p. 162.*

The Master said, "The path is not far from man. When men try to pursue a course, which is far from the common indications of consciousness, this course cannot be considered the PATH.

The Master said, "In archery we have something like the way of the superior man. When the archer misses the center of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause of his failure in himself."

The way of the superior man may be compared to what takes place in traveling, when to go to a distance we must first traverse the space that is near, and in ascending a height, when we must begin from the lower ground.—*Ibid, pp. 290, 291.*

(7) **The Art of Virtue.**—Tsze-kung said, "Suppose the case of a man extensively conferring benefits on the people, and able to assist all, what would you say of him? Might he be called perfectly virtuous?" The Master said, "Why speak only of virtue in connection with him? Must he not have the qualities of a sage? Even Yao and Shun were still solicitous about this. Now the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others. To be able to judge of others by what is nigh in ourselves; this may be called the art of virtue."—*Ibid, p. 152.*

Fan Ch'e asked about benevolence. The Master said, "It is to love *all* men." He asked about knowledge. The Master said, "It is to know *all* men." Fan Ch'e did not immediately understand these answers. The Master said, "Employ the upright and put aside all the crooked; in this way the crooked can be made to be upright."—*Ibid, p. 198.* (The meaning is, love the evil according to their needs, and therefore chastise them. Such chastisement springs not from hatred, but from love, and thus we can love the crooked, and so *all* men.)

(8) **The Humility of Kongtze.**—The Master said, "A transmitter and not a maker, believing in and loving the ancients, I venture to compare myself with our old P'ang."—*Ibid, p. 153.*

The Master said, "The sage and the man of perfect virtue; how dare I rank myself with them? It may simply be said of me, that I strive to become such without satiety, and teach others without weariness." Kung-se Hwa said, "This is just what we, the disciples, cannot imitate you in."—*Ibid, p. 160.*

The Master said, "The superior man is modest in his speech, but exceeds in his actions."—*Ibid, p. 216.*

(9) **Kongtze Confesses his Moral Weakness.**—The Master said, "The leaving virtue without proper cultivation; the not thoroughly discussing what is learned; not being able to move towards righteousness of which a knowledge is gained; and not being able to change what is not good: these are the things which occasion me solicitude."—*Ibid, p. 153.*

(10) **Kongtze as Moral Hero.**—On the tablet in the temple at Peking stand the words:

Great art thou, O perfect sage!
Thy virtue is full; thy doctrine is complete.
Among mortal men there has not been thine equal!

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12. CONFUCIANISM.

After the great man comes the compiler, systematizer and commentator, to which rule Kongtze affords no exception. To the compiler we owe the "Analects," which form our chief source for the person and sayings of the Master; to the systematizer we owe the three brief essays which reduce the notions of Kongtze to such system as we find there, while the commentator has been at work ever since.

Of these three, the "Doctrine of the Mean," and the "Great Learning," were probably written by a grandson of Kongtze, while the "Book of Filial Piety" was composed by some follower within a century of his death. Each reproduce doctrines of the Mas-



Kongtze Leaving the Court of Lu, when the Singing-girls Arrive.

ter, frequently in his very words, and the content of each is just that ethics—both individual and national—that we have met so uniformly before.

Man, though born for uprightness, has various affinities for it. "Those who are born in possession of knowledge are the highest class of men. Those who learn and so readily get possession of knowledge are the next class. Those who are dull and stupid, and yet succeed in learning, are another class next to these. While those who are dull and stupid and yet do not learn are the lowest of the people." The first and second are called respectively sage (or saint) and superior man, and the texts say much of each. The sage is the moral hero of antiquity, idealized by posterity. Kongtze's paragons of virtue were the "sage-kings of antiquity," to whom later Kongtze was officially added as last of the last of fourteen. Such men are supposed perfect in every respect, and can therefore be called the equals of Heaven. (1) Notice, in the quotation just referred to (*a*) the purely moral grounds—apart from any theory of incarnation—upon which the equality is based; and (*b*) the *universality* which such an ideal rightly claims in the remarkable fourth paragraph. Christianity, Buddhism, and Islamism have often been declared the only religions capable of universality, but only quantitative distinctions can be made in this respect. We shall meet another universal trait in Lesson 13, note 9.

The condition of the superior man is more attainable, and his type is the particular creation of Kongtze. (2) Learning makes his beginning and must be accom-

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panied by thought. "Learning without thought is labor lost; thought without learning is perilous." But learning is more profitable. "I have been the whole day," said Kongtze, "without eating, and the whole night without sleeping, occupied with thinking. But it was of no use. The better plan is to learn. Without it benevolence becomes folly, wisdom vagueness, sincerity recklessness, etc. Heaven should be known; and the lack of knowledge of man is far greater cause for regret than being unknown by men. But true knowledge is conscious of its weakness as well as of its strength." (3) Sincerity of thought or of intention corresponds roughly to our term conscience. The cultivation of the person forms the transition from self-improvement to influence over others, which must be exercised by model speech and conduct. He should be contented, resigned, humble and persevering; (4) and should cultivate the state of equilibrium and harmony, otherwise translated as the constant mean. (5) His rule of conduct towards others should be reciprocity. (6) Virtue is the first principle of man's nature, and joy is the effulgence of virtue. But virtue conforms to no invariable model, and is necessarily limited by the capabilities for good possessed by each individual. To one really in earnest virtue is not far to seek, and when found is a treasure of great price. Benevolence is the root of virtue, and while finding its highest development in the attachment to relatives, extends to all men. (7) And even though politics be corrupt, his friends misunderstand, and foes endanger him, he will still pursue his high aim of relieving the people. (8)

It is particularly to be noted that it is *such a superior man* to whom are due the duties of the "five relations" which will form the topic of next lesson, and which have been very generally decried as one-sided. Not only so, but these *mutual* duties are explicitly stated in one and the same sentence. (9) The error lay not here, but in (*a*) the deficient or exaggerated conception of the respective duties, the emphasis being laid upon that of the weaker, and (*b*) the permission of legal enforcement only to the stronger in each relation. In short, the error is quantitative.

12. CONFUCIANISM.

(1) **The Ideal Sage.**—It is only he, possessed of all sagely qualities, that can exist under heaven, who shows himself quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence and all-embracing knowledge, fitted to exercise rule; magnanimous, generous, benign, and mild, fitted to exercise forbearance; impulsive, energetic, firm, and enduring, fitted to maintain a firm hold; self-adjusted, grave, never swerving from the Mean; and correct, fitted to command reverence; accomplished, distinctive, concentrative, and searching, fitted to exercise discrimination.

All-embracing is he and vast, deep and active as a fountain, sending forth in their due season his virtues.

All-embracing and vast, he is like heaven. Deep and active as a fountain, he is like the abyss. He is seen, and the people all reverence him; he speaks, and the people all believe him; he acts, and the people are all pleased with him.

Therefore, his fame overspreads the Middle kingdom, and extends to all barbarous tribes. Wherever ships and carriages reach; wherever the strength of man penetrates; wherever the heavens overshadow and the earth sustains; wherever the sun and moon shine; wherever frosts and dews fall: all who have blood and breath unfeignedly honor and love him. Hence it is said, "He is the equal of Heaven."

It is only the individual possessed of the most entire sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can adjust the great invariable relations of mankind, establish the great fundamental virtues of humanity, and know the transforming and nurturing operations of Heaven and Earth; shall this individual have any being or anything beyond himself on which he depends?

Call him man in his ideal, how earnest is he! Call him an abyss, how deep is he! Call him Heaven, how vast is he!

Who can know him, but he who is indeed quick in apprehension, clear in discernment, of far-reaching intelligence, and all-embracing knowledge, possessing all heavenly virtue.—*J. Legge, "Life and Teachings of Confucius," pp. 315-8.*

Hence the sage forms a ternion with Heaven and Earth, and stands side by side with spiritual beings, in order to the right ordering of government.—*"Li Chi" I., p. 377.*

(2) **The Superior Man.**—The ancients . . . wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things. Things being investigated, knowledge became complete. Their knowledge being complete, their thoughts were sincere. Their thoughts being sincere, their hearts were then rectified. Their hearts being rectified, their persons were cultivated. Their persons being cultivated, their families were regulated. Their families being regulated, their States were rightly governed. Their States being rightly governed, the whole empire was made tranquil and happy.—*J. Legge, "The Life and Teachings of Confucius," p. 266.*

(3) **True Knowledge.**—"Yew, shall I teach you what knowledge is?" said Kongtze. "When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to allow that you

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do not know it; this is knowledge."—*R. K. Douglas, "Confucianism and Taoism," p. 95.*

(4) **The Superior Man.**—The superior man does what is proper to the station in which he is; he does not desire to go beyond this.

In a high situation, he does not treat with contempt his inferiors. In a low situation, he does not court the favor of his superiors. He rectifies himself, and seeks for nothing from others, so that he has no dissatisfactions. He does not murmur against heaven, nor grumble against men.

Thus it is that the superior man is quiet and calm, waiting for the appointments *of Heaven*, *from which grow all the human actings* in the world, and this HARMONY is the universal path *which they all should pursue.*

Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish.—*Ibid, pp. 283-4.*

Chung-ne said, "The superior man *embodies* the course of the Mean; the mean man acts contrary to the course of the Mean.

"The superior man's embodying the course of the Mean is because he is a superior man, and so always maintains the Mean. The mean man's



Kongtze Hastening to Lu.

while the mean man walks in dangerous paths, looking for lucky occurrences.

The Master said, "In archery we have something like the way of the superior man. When the archer misses the center of the target, he turns round and seeks for the cause of his failure in himself."—*J. Legge, "Life and Teachings of Confucius," p. 291.*

(5) **The State of Equilibrium and Harmony.**—What Heaven has conferred is called THE NATURE; an accordance with this nature is called THE PATH *of duty;* the regulation of this path is called INSTRUCTION.

The path may not be left for an instant. If it could be left, it would not be the path. On this account, the superior man does not wait until he sees things, to be cautious, nor till he hears things, to be apprehensive.

There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore, the superior man is watchful over himself, when he is alone.

While there are no stirrings of pleasure, anger, sorrow, or joy, the mind may be said to be in the state of EQUILIBRIUM. When those feelings have been stirred, and they act in their due degree, there ensues what may be called the state of HARMONY. This EQUILIBRIUM is the great root acting contrary to the course of the Mean is because he is a mean man, and has no caution."

The Master said, "Perfect is the virtue which is according to the Mean! Rare have they long been among the people, who could practise it!"

The Master said, "I know how it is that the path *of the Mean* is not walked in: The knowing go beyond it, and the stupid do not come up to it. I know how it is that the path of the Mean is not understood: The men of talents and virtue go beyond it, and the worthless do not come up to it.

"There is no body but eats and drinks. But they are few who can distinguish flavors."

The Master said, "Alas! How is the path of the Mean untrodden!"

The Master said, "Men all say, 'We are wise;' but being driven forward and taken in a net, a trap, or a pitfall, they know not how to escape. Men all say, 'We are wise;' but happening to choose the course of the Mean, they are not able to keep it for a round month."

The Master said, "This was the manner of Hwuy; he made choice of the Mean, and whenever he got hold of what was good, he clasped it firmly, as if wearing it on his breast, and did not lose it."—*Ibid, pp. 285-7.*

(6) See Lesson 11, note 6.

(7) **Benevolence due First to Relatives.**—

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Benevolence is *the characteristic element of* humanity, and the great exercise of it is in loving relatives. Righteousness is *the accordance of actions with what is* right, and the great exercise of it is in honoring the worthy. The decreasing measures of the love due to relatives, and the steps in the honor due to the worthy, are produced by *the principle of* propriety.—*Ibid, p. 299.*

(8) **Philanthropy in Spite of Danger.**—The scholar considers leal heartedness and good faith to be his coat of mail and helmet; propriety and righteousness to be his shield and buckler; he walks along, bearing aloft over his head benevolence; he dwells, holding righteousness in his arms before him; the government may be violently oppressive, but he does not change his course; such is the way in which he maintains himself.

The scholar lives and has his associations with men of the present day, but the men of antiquity are the subjects of his study. Following their principles and examples in the present age, he will become a pattern in future ages. If it should be that his own age does not understand and encourage him, that those above him do not hurry him, and those below do not push him forward, or even that calumniators and flatterers band together to put him in danger, his person may be placed in peril, but his aim cannot be taken from him. Though danger may threaten him in his undertakings and wherever he is, he will still pursue his aim, and never forget the afflictions of the people, which he would relieve—such is the anxiety which he cherishes.—"*Li Chi,*" *II., pp. 405-6.*

(9) **Duties are Mutual.**—What are the things which men consider right? Kindness on the part of the father, and filial duty on that of the son; gentleness on the part of the elder brother, and obedience on that of the younger; righteousness on the part of the husband, and submission on that of the wife; kindness on the part of elders, and deference on that of juniors; with benevolence on the part of the ruler, and loyalty on that of the minister; these ten are the things which men consider to be right.—"*Li Chi,*" *I., pp. 379-80.*

SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **HISTORICAL SETTING AND SCRIPTURE.**—Immigration, Aborigines, Chief Epochs, Yi, Shu, Li Chi, The Four Shu, Nature and Influence of Scriptures.
8. **SINISM AS NATURE WORSHIP.**—Tien and Haitu, Ti and Shangti, Harmony between Heaven, Earth, and Man; Justice, Freedom.
9. **NATURE WORSHIP CONTINUED. ANCESTOR WORSHIP.**—Major and minor nature gods, Professor Legge's View, Refutation, Ancestor worship, Moral effect, Patriarchate.
10. **SINISM AS HERO WORSHIP. ESCHATOLOGY. CULT.**—Hero deities, Eschatology, Father, —Priest, Tablets, Altar of Heaven, Imperial worship, Earth, Human sacrifice.
11. **KONGTZE, HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.**—Kongtze, Birth, Biography, Doctrine, Limitation, Influence.
12. **CONFUCIANISM.**—Sources, The Sage, The Superior Man, Five relations.

QUESTIONS.

7. *What early era is confirmed by an eclipse? Whence did the Chinese originate? What was the character of the aborigines they dispossessed? Name the four chief epochs? Of what do the scriptures consist? Describe the Yi King. Name some merits of the Shu King. What Chinese trait does the Li Chi exhibit? Are these scriptures religious? Were they considered inspired?*

8. *Who are the highest nature-deities? Characterize Tien. Why should Ti not be translated God? Why do we call the Chinese "Celestials"? What three terms should harmonize? How do the Chinese solve the problem of life (theodicy)? How that of freedom?*

9. *Prove that Sinism is polytheistic. State three reasons for considering it monotheistic. Refute these. Why are the minor nature gods supposed to exist? Specify instances where ancestor worship is dominant. What is its moral effect? Does it involve the worship of ancestors as wicked? To what social grade of culture does it belong?*

10. *On what does the condition in the future life depend? How was doubt met? Who officiate at religious rites? What was the use of the tablet? Describe the Altar of Heaven, and the Imperial worship there. How might the commoner approach Heaven? When are human victims still sacrificed?*

11. *How many followers has Kongtze? When born? Parentage? Occupation? What made him the idol of the people in Lu? Why did he abandon its court? How long did he itinerate? What was he in respect to philosophy, religion, and morality? What was his chief limitation? What is his present fame?*

12. *Name the four sources for Confucianism. State the four classes of men. Describe the Sage. Describe the Superior Man. What conduct is due such a man from others?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Find the analogues in the Old and New Testament to the various Chinese scriptures.*
2. *This lesson suggests a host of topics for comparative study, from which the student may select to suit his other sources.*
3. *Do any Christian churches afford an annual occasion for celebrating the Blessed Dead?*
4. *Compare this sacrifice on the Altar of Heaven with the burnt offering at Jerusalem.*
5. *Compare Kongtze with Socrates and Bishop Butler, as the latter two are described in any recent encyclopedia.*
6. *Compare the Superior Man with Christian in "Pilgrim's Progress"*

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13. CONFUCIANISM (CONTINUED).

The superior man, as described in the previous lesson, can rule a family or a state, and to him *therefore* conduct is variously due in the "five relations" of father and son, older brother and younger brother (Chinese has single words for these, to it, important terms), husband and wife, ruler and subject, friend and friend. The chief of all these duties, and indeed the root of all the others, is filial piety, (1) as is necessarily the case in a patriarchial community. The comprehensive definition runs that filial piety consists in serving our parents when alive according to propriety; in burying them when dead according to propriety; and in sacrificing to them according to propriety. Many details of the duty are given. A son should not promise anyone to die with him, so long as his parents live. He must not live under the same heaven with the murderer of his father. He should not only choose, but divorce or retain, his wife at any time in accord with his parents' wishes. (2) He must live in the same house with his father and have no private goods. (3) He shall not imperil himself or speak an evil word, lest he disgrace them. (4) He must ever yield the best place and food to them, and implicitly and respectfully serve them. (5) In case the parents be faulty, the son may remonstrate, but must never get angry, even if beaten. (6) Filial piety is human; (7) is the precondition of knowing and serving Heaven; (8) and is nothing less than universal. (9) The virtue has even excited the sober Chinese to exaggeration, as witness the "Four and Twenty Ensamples of Filial Piety." One of these, whose parents had no mosquito net, went to bed early and lay quiet all night, in order that the family mosquitos might gorge themselves upon him, and leave his parents in peace! Another disrobed and lay upon the ice to open a hole through which he might catch perch for his irascible stepmother!



Filial Piety. (Lai-tzu acting like a child, to make his parents forget their old age.)

These burdensome precepts on filial piety are observed to this day, most in the letter, and others in the full spirit. Cases are known to occur where sons have excised pieces of their flesh to feed as a medicine to a sick parent, or have even substituted themselves for a father condemned to capital punishment. Mourning rites for either parent, properly for three years, but shortened to twenty-seven months, take precedence of all other duties. Commonly the son spends every night of this long period in a hut erected near the grave, but a few spend days also there. One in government employ must resign office for that period.

As is inevitable, the excessive estimate of this duty is secured at the expense of others. The son is sacrificed to the father, (10) and the daughter and wife are sacrificed to the son, as we shall soon see. Ancestor worship, with its attendant evils of early marriage, concubinage, and conservatism, receives from it moral support. The missionary of Christian faith and scientific culture has grappled with it, and its doom is sealed.

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Little is said about the grade of the relation between ruler and subject, but that between older and younger brother is put next that between father and son, though nowadays Chinese moralists complain that the love for wife and children surpasses that of brother for brother. Per contra, woman has no claim to fraternal any more than to paternal regard, since she involves nothing but care and danger before marriage, and expense at that time. Not until she becomes a mother can she claim respect by the law of filial piety. (11)

The fourth relation, that between husband and wife is often faultily conceived. "Of all people," remarked Kongtze, "women and servants are the most difficult to manage. If you are familiar with them they become forward, and if you keep them at a distance they become discontented." Affection is due the wife, but she must follow her husband, and otherwise her father or son. (12) Both polygamy and concubinage (with purchased slaves, costing from six to thirty-five dollars) are allowed, though of necessity rare. The husband may divorce the wife on seven grounds, (13) but the wife never the husband. Women are confined to separate apartments from the age of ten, and foot-binding is probably a device to keep them there, so that women of the upper classes are as much confined in China as in India. Etiquette forbids a wife ever to appear in public with her husband, and to show more than her wrists to a doctor. She is universally ignorant, but not stupid; and morally women are China's better half—modest, graceful, and attractive. They often prefer nunnery or cemetery to union with vicious husbands, but are generally rulers inside the house, and suffer there mostly when young from the exacting mother-in-law. They may participate in the religious rites. (14)

The fifth and last relation, that of friend to friend, is the only one where equal meets equal. The prime virtue here is fidelity. (15)

A final word on sexual morality should be added. Sexual irregularities between women and those outside the family having been precluded by the confinement of women as shown above, special rules were needed only for conduct inside the family, which as constituted in China contained many members related only by marriage, or not at all. Careful rules of this kind are given in the texts. (16) Beyond one warning from Kongtze to flee lust in youth, no exhortation is made to man on this score in the texts. Sexual virtue was guarded from the side of the women, and where that failed men seemed to have been left free to their impulse in moderation.

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13. CONFUCIANISM (CONTINUED).

(1) **Filial Piety is Fundamental.**—The master said: "Now filial piety is the root of all virtue, and the stem out of which grows all moral teaching. Sit down again, and I will explain the subject to you. Our bodies—to every hair and bit of skin—are received by us from our parents, and we must not presume to injure or wound them; this is the beginning of filial piety. When we have established our character by the practice of the filial course, so as to make our name famous in future ages, and thereby glorify our parents; this is the end of filial piety. It commences with the service of parents; it proceeds to the service of the ruler; it is completed by the establishment of the character."—"*Hsiao King*," *pp. 466-7.*

To the Occidental, fresh from the somewhat too loose bonds of family life which not infrequently prevail in lands nominally Christian, the theory of Chinese filial conduct presents some very attractive features. The respect for age which it involves is most beneficial, and might profitably be cultivated by Anglo-Saxons generally. In Western countries, when a son becomes of age he goes where he likes, and does what he chooses. He has no necessary connection with his parents, nor they with him. To the Chinese such customs must appear like the behavior of a well-grown calf or colt to the cow and the mare, suitable enough for animals, but by no means conformable to *li* as applied to human beings. An attentive consideration of the matter from the Chinese standpoint will show that there is abundant room in our own social practice for improvement, and that most of us really live in glass houses, and would do well not to throw stones recklessly. Yet, on the other hand, it is idle to discuss the filial piety of the Chinese without making most emphatic its fatal defects in several particulars.—*A. H. Smith*, "*Chinese Characteristics*," *p. 182.*

(2) **Filial Piety Requires Divorce.**—If he very much approves of his wife, and his parents do not like her, he should divorce her. If he do not approve of his wife, and his parents say, 'She serves us well,' he should behave to her in all respects as his wife, without fail even to the end of her life —"*Li Chi*" *I., p. 457.*

(3) **Filial Piety Controls Property.**—A son and his wife should have no private goods, nor animals, nor vessels; they should not presume to borrow from, or give anything to, another person. If any one give the wife an article of food or dress, a piece of cloth or silk, a handerchief for her

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girdle, an iris or orchid, she should receive and offer it to her parents-in-law. If they accept it, she will be glad, as if receiving it afresh. If they return it to her she should decline it, and if they do not allow her to do so, she will take it as if it were a second gift, and lay it by to wait until they may want it.—*Ibid, p. 458.*

(4) **Filial Piety a Constant Motive.**—A son should not forget his parents in a single lifting up of his feet, nor in the utterance of a single word. He should not forget his parents in a single lifting up of his feet, and therefore he will walk in the highway and not take a by-path; he will use a boat and not attempt to wade through a stream; not daring with the body left him by his parents, to go in the way of peril. He should not forget his parents in the utterance of a single word, and therefore an evil word will not issue from his mouth, and an angry word will not come back to his person. Not to disgrace his person, and not to cause shame to his parents may be called filial piety.—"*Li Chi*" *II, p. 229.*

(5) **Respectful Obedience.**—When with their parents, sons and their wives, when ordered to do anything, should immediately respond and reverently proceed to do it. In going backwards or forwards, or turning round, they should be careful and grave; while going out or coming in, while bowing or walking, they should not presume to eructate, sneeze, or cough, to yawn or stretch themselves, to stand on one foot, or to lean against anything, or to look askance. They should not dare to spit or snivel, nor, if it be cold, to put on more clothes, nor, if they itch anywhere, to scratch themselves.—"*Li Chi*" *I., p. 453.*

(6) **The Case with a Faulty Parent.**—If a parent have a fault, the son should with bated breath, and bland aspect, and gentle voice, admonish him. If the admonition do not take effect, he will be the more reverential and the more filial; and when the father seems pleased, he will repeat the admonition. If he should be displeased with this, rather than allow him to commit an offence against anyone in the neighborhood or countryside, the son should strongly remonstrate. If the parent be angry and more displeased, and beat him till the blood flows, he should not presume to be angry and resentful, but be still more reverential and more filial.—"*Li Chi*" *I., p. 456*

(7) **Filial Piety is Natural.**—Such is the mind of the filial son, the real expression of human feeling, the proper method of propriety and righteousness. It does not come down from heaven, it does not come forth from earth; it is simply the expression of the human feelings.—"*Li Chi*" *II., p. 379.*

(8) **Heaven Known Through Father.**—The Master said, "Anciently the intelligent kings served their fathers with filial piety, and therefore they served Heaven with intelligence; they served their mothers with filial piety, and therefore they served Earth with discrimination."—"*Hsiao King*," *p. 484.*

(9) **Filial Piety of Universal Worth.**—Zang-tze said: "Set up filial piety, and it will fill the space from earth to heaven; spread it out and it will extend over all the ground to the four seas; hand it down to future ages, and from morning to evening it will be observed; push it on to the eastern sea, the western sea, the southern sea, and the northern sea, and it will be everywhere the law for men, and their obedience to it will be uniform. There will be a fulfilment of the words of the ode:

> From west to east, from south to north,
> There was no unsubmissive thought."
>
> —"*Li Chi*" *II., p. 227.*

(10) **Filial Piety Sacrifices the Son.**—Paul wrote to the Corinthians: "The children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children" I never quoted these words in a circle of Chinese friends without their encountering a storm of opposition.—*J. Legge* "*The Religion of China*," *p. 258.*

(11) **Love to Mother.**—The service due to a father is employed in serving a mother, and the love is the same for both. (But) in the sky there are not two suns, nor in a land two kings, nor in a state two rulers, nor in a family two equally honourable:—one (principle) regulates (all) these conditions. Hence, while the father is alive, the sackcloth with even edges is worn (for a mother), (and only) for a year—showing that there are not (in the family) two equally honourable.—"*Li Chi*," *II., p. 467.*

(12) **The Wife.**—They ate together of the same animal, and joined in sipping from the cups made of the same melon; thus showing that they now formed one body, were of equal rank, and pledged in mutual affection.—"*Li Chi*" *II., p. 430.* This is certainly a case where the principles of a people are better than its practice.

In passing out from the great gate of her father's house, he precedes, and she follows, and with this the right relation between husband and wife commences. The woman follows the man; in her youth she follows her father and elder brother; when married she follows her husband; when her husband is dead, she follows her son. "Man" denotes supporter. A man by his wisdom should be able to lead others.—"*Li Chi*" *I., p. 441.*

(13) **Grounds of Divorce.**—1. Disobedience to her father-in-law or mother-in law; 2. barrenness; 3. lewdness; 4. jealousy; 5. leprosy; 6. garrulousness; 7. stealing.

(14) **Woman at the Sacrifice.**—Her governess taught her . . . to watch the sacrifices, to supply the liquors and sauces, to fill the various stands and dishes with pickles and brine, and to assist in setting forth the appurtenances for the ceremonies. —"*Li Chi*," *I., p. 479.*

(15) **Duty to Friends.**—The scholar when he hears what is good, tells it to his friends, and when he sees what is good, shows it to them; in the view of rank and position, he gives the precedence to them over himself; if they encounter calamities and hardships, he is prepared to die with them; if they are long in getting advancement, he waits for them; if they are far off, he brings them together with himself. Such is he in the employment and promotion of his friends.—"*Li Chi*," *II., p. 407.*

(16) **Sexual Rules.**—Thus male and female in giving and receiving, do not allow their hands to touch; in driving his wife in a carriage, a husband advances his left hand; when a young aunt, a sister, or a daughter has been married, and returns to her father's house, no male may sit on the same mat with her; a widow should not wail at night; when a wife is ill, in asking for her, the nature of her illness should not be mentioned. In this way it was sought to keep the people; and yet there are those that become licentious, and introduce disorder and confusion among their kindred.—"*Li Chi*," *II., p. 298.*

When a man goes into the interior of a house, he should not whistle nor point. If he have occasion to move in the night, he should use a light; and, if he have no light, he should not stir. On the road, a man should take the right side, and a woman the left.—"*Li Chi*," *I., p. 455.*

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14. LAOTZE AND HIS TAOTE CHING.

We have now to enter the august presence of the thinker whom Kongtze himself was impelled to acknowledge his superior. The two thinkers were not simply different, but entirely opposed, Kongtze being the typical ceremonialist, and Laotze the typical mystic of the Mongolian race. Quite contrary to the case with Kongtze, very little is known about the life of Laotze. The trustworthy facts are that he was born about 604 B.C., was keeper of the archives at the capital of the Chau, where Kongtze visited him, that in advanced age he left his country by one of the western passes and was heard from no more, and that the famous Taote Ching was written by him. Later, many legends of the usual marvelous type marked his personality, until now he is worshipped by Taoists as their supreme God.



Laotze. (After Pauthier.)

Many things combine to make the *Tao Te Ching* one of the hardest books to understand in the world. The Chinese language, always ambiguous, is particularly so in the philosophical realm. Then the pregnant thoughts are couched in aphorisms, which, as in the case of the Indian philosophies, were probably meant only as bare formulæ to be explained by the teacher. Again, most of the aphorisms are also paradoxes, and finally, the various topics, namely, the world, man, morality and politics, are all treated in reference to *Tao*, variously translated as Reason, Word, Logos, Way, Nature and God. Professor Legge simply transfers the word *Tao*, so that his translation reads like a continuous enigma, challenging attention at every step. In the face of such difficulties, it is only the exceeding beauty, nobility, and profundity of the work that have induced some seven or eight European scholars to attempt a translation and exposition of it. An understanding of it is much assisted by familiarity with Brahmanic and other mysticism. Prof. R. K. Douglas even supposes that Laotze derived his doctrine from India; but, if so, he thoroughly assimilated it to the Chinese mind, while his references to Chinese antiquity render an entire originality quite as likely. In any case, *Tao* is sufficiently distinguished from the Indic Brahmă by the characteristically Chinese emphasis laid upon the moral elements of this concept as contrasted with the ontological in Brahmă. It is useless to seek a finite notion which will correspond with *Tao*. Its range can be covered only by an Absolute or Infinite that unfolds its mysterious nature into the personal *Shang-ti*, the rational world and moral man. It is one of those numerous attempts made by daring and rational man to solve the problem of his existence; to penetrate the mystery of his origin, of his present welfare, and his future destiny. From the theistic standpoint, one may say that *Tao* is the mysterious essence of God's nature—neither making nor made by him—abstracted from him and then posited as a precondition of him. Theism, on the contrary, knows nothing but one God and source of all, in whom principles, personality, and power are all combined.

But Laotze wishes to find some cause for the *Tien* and *Shang-ti* that satisfied

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Kongtze, and devised *Tao* as at first formless and changeless and even non-existent, but later source of all things, which it pervades and rules, until it withdraws them again into itself. (1)

After introducing his *Tao*, Laotze passes from one theme to another without logical sequence, but all supposed to exemplify the working of *Tao*, and all belonging as usual with the Chinese to the moral and political realms. Laotze is no philosophic dreamer, but, like his contemporary Kongtze, was offering a remedy for the troublous times in which they lived. The remedy proposed was a return to Arcadian simplicity, such as existed before rules and laws were devised or needed. With this pessimistic and reprehensible rejection of noble human culture, (2) he constantly blends the rejection of the really base ambition, pride, loquacity and greed which are commonly its by-products. (3) The forgotten, obscure and weak part is vindicated, and thereby many a pure gem brought to light, though often embedded in dull earth. (4)

14. LAOTZE AND HIS TAOTE CHING.

(1) **Tao.**—There was something undefined and complete, coming into existence before Heaven and Earth. How still it was and formless, standing alone, and undergoing no change, reaching everywhere and in no danger (of being exhausted). It may be regarded as the Mother of all things.

I do not know its name, and I give it the designation of the Tâo (the Way or Course). Making an effort (further) to give it a name I call it The Great.

Great, it passes on (in constant flow). Passing on, it becomes remote. Having become remote, it returns. Therefore the Tâo is great; Heaven is great; Earth is great; and the (sage) king is also great. In the universe there are four that are great, and the (sage) king is one of them.

Man takes his law from the Earth; the Earth takes its law from Heaven; Heaven takes its law from the Tâo. The law of the Tâo is its being what it is.—"*The Texts of Taoism*," *I., p. 67.*

The (state of) vacancy should be brought to the utmost degree, and that of stillness guarded with unwearying vigor. All things alike go through their processes of activity, and (then) we see them return (to their original state). When things (in the vegetable world) have displayed their luxuriant growth, we see each of them return to its root. This returning to their root is what we call the state of stillness; and that stillness may be called a reporting that they have fulfilled their appointed end.

The report of that fulfillment is the regular, unchanging rule. To know that unchanging rule is to be intelligent; not to know it leads to wild movements and evil issues. The knowledge of that unchanging rule produces a (grand) capacity and forbearance, and that capacity and forbearance lead to a community (of feeling with all things). From this community of feeling comes a kingliness of character; and he who is king-like goes on to be heaven-like. In that likeness to heaven he possesses the Tâo. Possessed of the Tâo, he endures long; and to the end of his bodily life, is exempt from all danger of decay.—*Ibid., pp. 59-60.*

(2) **Repress Culture.**—Not to value and employ men of superior ability is the way to keep the people from rivalry among themselves; not to prize articles which are difficult to procure is the way to keep them from becoming thieves; not to show them what is likely to excite their desires is the way to keep their minds from disorder.

Therefore the sage, in the exercise of his government, empties their minds, fills their bellies, weakens their wills, and strengthens their bones.

He constantly (tries to) keep them without knowledge and without desire, and where there are those who have knowledge, to keep them from presuming to act (on it). When there is this abstinence from action, good order is universal.—*Ibid., p. 49.*

(3) **Foster Contentment.**—When the Tâo prevails in the world, they send back their swift horses to (draw) the dung carts. When the Tâo is disregarded in the world, the war-horses breed in the border lands.

There is no guilt greater than to sanction ambition; no calamity greater than to be discontented with one's lot; no fault greater than the wish to be getting. Therefore the sufficiency of contentment is an enduring and unchanging sufficiency. —*Ibid., p. 88-89.*

(4) **Traits of the Tao.**—The thirty spokes unite in the one nave; but it is on the empty space (for the axle) that the use of the wheel depends. Clay is fashioned into vessels; but it is on their empty hollowness that their use depends. The doors and windows are cut out (from the walls) to form an apartment; but it is on the empty space (within) that its use depends. Therefore, what has a (positive) existence serves for profitable adaptation, and what has not that for (actual) usefulness.—*Ibid., pp. 54-55.*

> The movement of the Tâo
> By contraries proceeds;
> And weakness marks the course
> Of Tâo's mighty deeds.
>
> —*Ibid., p. 83.*

The softest thing in the world dashes against and overcomes the hardest; that which has no (substantial) existence enters where there is no crevice. I know hereby what advantage belongs to doing nothing (with a purpose).

There are few in the world who attain to the teaching without words, and the advantage arising from non-action.—*Ibid., p. 87.*

It is the way of Heaven not to strive, and yet it skillfully overcomes; not to speak, and yet it is skillful in (obtaining) a reply; does not call, and yet men come to it of themselves. Its demonstrations are quiet, and yet its plans are skillful and effective. The meshes of the net of Heaven are large, far apart, but let nothing escape —*Ibid., p. 116.*

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15. LAOTZE AND KONGTZE.

The most characteristic traits of these two greatest prophets of China can be best seen in their contrast. Kongtze seemed proud (1) to Laotze, who repeatedly commended humility (2); and on the occasion of their meeting at the Chau capital, Laotze severely rebuked Kongtze, then thirty-four years old, to his face. When the latter complained of his failure in reforming men, Laotze replied, "If it be known that he who talks errs by excess in arguing, and that he who hears is confused by too much talk, the Tao can never be forgotten."

A fundamental difference appears in reference to desire. Kongtze conformed to his national type of ethics, which would allow the satisfaction of normal human desire, except in purification for religious rites. (3) Laotze, on the other hand, makes the permanent suppression of all artificial desires a prime requisite. (4)



Kongtze Visiting Laotze.

Another contrast appeared when Laotze saw Kongtze busied in study and inquired what he was reading. "The Yi-King," replied Kongtze, "the sages of antiquity used to read it also." "The sages were able to read it," answered Laotze, "but you, to what end do you read it? What is the groundwork of the book?" "It treats of humanity and justice," answered the Sage. "The justice and humanity of the day are no more than empty names; they only serve as a mask to cruelty, and trouble the hearts of men; disorder was never more rife than at present. The pigeon does not bathe all day to make itself white; nor does the crow paint itself each morning to make itself black. The heaven is naturally elevated, the earth is naturally gross; the sun and the moon shine naturally; the stars and planets are naturally arranged in their places; the plants and trees fall naturally into classes according to their species. So, sir, if you cultivate *Tao*, if you throw yourself towards it with all your soul, you will arrive at it. To what good is humanity and justice? You are like a man who beats a drum while searching for a truant sheep. Master, you only trouble man's nature." (5)

Here Laotze shows himself the true mystic. Knowledge was to come by direct insight, and virtue by spontaneous impulse. On the other hand Kongtze believed

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in learning, (6) and in the nurture and preservation of virtue by means of the strict observance in every detail of ceremony, whether religious or social. (7) They supply the very body by which right can be preserved. (8)

But Tao is not to be thus obtained or preserved. "If Tao could be offered to men, there is no one who would not wish to offer it to his prince; if it could be presented to men, there is no one who would not wish to present it to his parents; if it could be announced to men, there is no one who would not wish to announce it to his brethren; if it could be transmitted to men, there is no one who would not wish to transmit it to his children. Why, then, are you not able to acquire it? This is the reason: it is that you are incapable of giving it an asylum in the bottom of your heart." (9) Such openness and immediacy of vision into life forms the impregnable stronghold of him that can claim it. Kongtze could not, and therefore wisely resorted to *his* forte. "I have edited the 'Book of Odes,' the 'Book of History,' the 'Book of Rites,' the 'Treatise on Music,' and the 'Book of Changes,' and I have composed the 'Spring and Autumn Annals;' I have read the 'Maxims of the Ancient Kings;' I have brought to light the splendid deeds of the Sages, and yet no one deigns to employ me. It is difficult, I see, to persuade men."

"The six liberal arts," replied Laotze, "are an old heritage from the kings of antiquity. That with which you occupy yourself results only in obsolete examples, and all you do is to walk in the footprints of the past, without producing anything new."

Kongtze retired from this interview discomfited, and for three days uttered no word. "At his voice," said he, "my mouth gaped wide, my tongue protruded, and my soul was plunged into trouble."

Fortunate was it for China that Kongtze regained sufficient confidence in the principles he was himself fitted and called to proclaim; for, while his countrymen have proved able to assimilate them, they have neglected or misunderstood those of his more rarely gifted rival.

The rareness of that gift appears plainly in Laotze's enunciation of that supreme ethical insight that we may call the diamond rule. (10) Here it was attained by a Mongolian, as we shall later see it was by a Semite and by an Indo-Kelt, and thus for the three great historic races. But it is remarkable how little it has been prized in China, from Kongtze down to the present. On being asked by a disciple what he thought of the principle, that Sage decidedly repudiated it in favor of justice, (11) or at best restricted its application to relatives. (12)

But is it not possible that we have read into this obscure Chinese essay a supreme ethical ideal which is not really there? It is not, for it is contained in two passages, both unambiguous, and the blessed result of the rule is given, *i.e.*, "Thus all get to be good." Finally, Laotze plainly commends self-sacrifice, (13) and states its reward. (14)

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15. LAOTZE AND KONGTZE.

(1) **Pride.**—On another occasion when Confucius had been enlarging on his admiration for the ancients, the cynical recluse cut him short by saying, "The men of whom you speak, sir, have, with their bones, already moulded into dust, and only their words remain. Moreover, if the superior man gets his opportunity, he mounts his car and takes office; and if he does not get his opportunity, he goes through life like a wisp of straw rolling over sand. I have heard that a good merchant, who has his treasure-house well stored, appears devoid of resources, and that the superior man of perfect excellence has an outward semblance of stupidity. Put away, sir, your haughty airs and many desires, your flashy manner and extravagant will; these are all unprofitable to you. This is all I have to say to you."—*R. K. Douglas, "Confucianism and Taoism," p. 177.*

(2) **Humility.**—The highest excellence is like that of water. The excellence of water appears in its benefiting all things, and in its occupying without striving to the contrary, the low place which all men dislike. Hence its way is near to that of the Tao.—"*The Texts of Taoism*," *I., p. 52.*

Therefore the Sage holds in his embrace the one thing of humility, and manifests it to all the world. He is free from self-display, and therefore he shines; from self assertion, and therefore he is distinguished; from self-boasting, and therefore his merit is acknowledged; from self-complacency, and therefore he acquires superiority. It is be-

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cause he is thus free from striving, that, therefore, no one in the world is able to strive with him.—*Ibid*., *p. 65.*

But I have three precious things which I prize and hold fast. The first is gentleness; the second is economy; and the third is shrinking from taking precedence of others.

With that gentleness I can be bold; with that economy I can be liberal; shrinking from taking precedence of others, I can become a vessel of the highest honor. Now-a days they give up gentleness and are all for being bold; economy, and are all for being liberal; the hindmost place, and seek only to be foremost—(of all which the end is) death.

Gentleness is sure to be victorious even in battle, and firmly to maintain its ground. Heaven will save its possessor, by his (very) gentleness protecting him.—*Ibid*., *p. 110.*

(3) **Sacrifice.**—Hence a superior man, unless for a great occasion, and unless he were animated by a great reverence, did not attempt this purification. While it was not attained, he did not take precautions against the influence of (outward) things, nor did he cease from all (internal) desires. But when he was about to attempt it, he guarded against all things of an evil nature, and suppressed all his desires.—"*Li Chi*," *II., p. 239.*

(4) Colour's five hues from th' eyes their sight will take;
Music's five notes the ears as deaf can make;
The flavours five deprive the mouth of taste;
The chariot course, and the wild hunting waste
Make mad the mind; and objects rare and strange,
Sought for, men's conduct will to evil change.

Therefore the sage seeks to satisfy (the craving of) the belly, and not the (insatiable longing of the) eyes. He puts from him the latter, and prefers to seek the former.—"*Texts of Taoism*," *I., p. 55.*

(5) *R. K. Douglas, "Confucianism and Taoism," p. 183.*

(6) **Learning.**—The master said, "The superior man, extensively studying all learning, and keeping himself under the restraint of the rules of propriety, may thus likewise not overstep what is right."—*J. Legge, "The Life and Teachings of Confucius," p. 152.*

(7) **Value of Ceremonies.**—While the rules of ceremony have their origin in heaven, the movement of them reaches to earth. The distribution of them extends to all the business (of life). They change with the seasons; they agree in reference to the (variations of) lot and condition. In regard to man, they serve to mature (his nature). They are practiced by means of offerings, acts of strength, words and postures of courtesy, in eating and drinking, in the observances of capping, marriage, mourning, sacrificing, archery, chariot-driving, audiences, and friendly missions.

Thus propriety and righteousness are the great elements of man's (character); it is by means of them that his speech is the expression of truth and his intercourse (with others) the promotion of harmony; they are (like) the union of the cuticle and cutis, and the binding together of the muscles and bones in strengthening (the body). They constitute the great methods by which we nourish the living, bury the dead, and serve the spirits of the departed. They supply the channels by which we can apprehend the ways of Heaven and act as the feelings of men require. It was on this account that the sages knew that the rules of ceremony could not be dispensed with, while the ruin of states, the destruction of families, and the perishing of individuals are always preceded by their abandonment of the rules of propriety.—"*Li Chi*" *I., p. 388, 389.*

So great is the Chinese insistence on ceremonial that the French Sinologue, P. Callery, has declared that "Ceremonial sums up the Chinese spirit. . . . for it, ceremonial is the man." To this J. Legge retorts ("Li Chi," I., p. 12.) "In hundreds of other passages the same thing in insisted on—that ceremony without an inspiring reverence is nothing. I do not deny that there is much attention to forms in China with a forgetfulness of the spirit that should animate them. But where is the nation against whose people the same thing may not be charged?"

(8) **Ceremonies Embodied.**—Thus, rules of ceremony are the embodied expression of what is right. If an observance stands the test of being judged by the standard of what is right, although it may not have been among the usages of the ancient kings it may be adopted on the ground of its being right —"*Li Chi*," *I., p. 390.*

(9) *R. K. Douglas, "Confucianism and Taoism," p. 181.*

(10) **The Diamond Rule.**—It is the way of the Tao to act without thinking of acting; to conduct affairs without feeling the trouble of them; to taste without discerning any flavor; to consider what is small as great, and a few as many; and to recompense injury with kindness.—"*The Texts of Taoism*," *I., p. 106.*

To those who are good to me, I am good; and to those who are not good to me, I am also good; and thus all get to be good. To those who are sincere with me, I am sincere; and to those who are not sincere with me, I am also sincere; and thus all get to be sincere.—*Ibid*, *p. 91.*

(11) **The Rule of Justice.**—Some one said, "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?"

The master said, "With what then will you recompense kindness. Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness."—*J. Legge, "Life and Teachings of Confucius," p. 217.*

(12) Cf. "*Texts of Taoism*," *vol. I, p. 92.*

(13) **Self-Sacrifice.**—Heaven is long enduring and earth continues long. The reason why heaven and earth are able to endure and continue thus long is because they do not live of or for themselves. This is how they are able to continue and endure.

Therefore the Sage puts his own person last, and yet it is found in the foremost place; he treats his person as if it were foreign to him, and yet that person is preserved. Is it not because he has no personal and private ends, that, therefore, such ends are realized?—"*The Texts of Taoism*," *I., p. 52.*

(14) **The Reward of Self-Sacrifice.**

Therefore a sage has said,
"He who accepts his state's reproach,
Is hailed therefore its altars' lord;
To him who bears men's direful woes
They all the name of king accord."
—*Ibid*, *p. 170.*

The sage does not accumulate (for himself). The more that he expends for others, the more does he possess of his own; the more that he gives to others, the more does he have himself.—*Ibid*., *p. 123.*

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16. TAOISM.

If the reader has marveled that the religion of an entire race could be solely staid and proper, practice nothing but solemn sacrifices, and teach nothing but moral philosophy, while it remained free from the fancy, impulse, revelry, and coarseness that are usually associated with the antique, he may now find that he was right. Besides the Sinism, Confucianism, and philosophies we have already reviewed, there is a religion called Taoism, influenced by and even bearing the name of Laotze's principle Tao, but as much older than he as is Sinism than Confucianism.

It is doubtful whether certain passages in the *Tao Te Ching* were meant as metaphor or as magic. (1) But probably its doctrine of a return of the individual to Tao excited later on the hope to attain immortality, made sometimes by moral



Woman Praying to Mount Ni for a Son.

conduct, but commonly by magical elixirs. Even an emperor, Chi Hwangti, dispatched a fleet, in the third century, B.C., to discover the Golden Isles where spirits dispensed the elixir of life. Next to life stand riches, and the Taoist priests claimed also to transmute metals, and thus probably laid the foundation of an alchemy that extended westward until it reached Europe. (2) Said Li Shan Kun to the Emperor Wu, 140–86 B. C.: "I know how to harden snow and to change it into white silver; I know how cinnabar transforms its nature and passes into yellow gold." During the three centuries before our era, emperors and people alike neglected labor to search for immunity from death and poverty, while morality sank to a low level. By various mechanical devices the magicians made it appear that they walked on fire, floated on water, trod on knives, and raised tempests; they also predicted the future, and knew the immortals of the Fortunate Isles. When one disappeared, it was given out that he had been carried to Paradise, and Taoist writings record the names of many persons so honored. Amulets were sold and effigies used through which to afflict enemies. Later on, and showing some influence from Buddhism, occurs a treatise prescribing rules for the suppression of all consciousness, in order to attain to immortality. (3)

Besides this magic, which, along with divination, it has retained to the present,

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Taoism includes most of the national hero and lower nature worship. It may be broadly distinguished as materialistic, while Confucianism is ethical, and Buddhism metaphysical and eschatological. The ethics that it still inculcates stand in no relation to any of its deities, while on the other hand the gods of Riches, Longevity, War and Learning, who all bestow only natural good, belong to its pantheon.

The gods of Taoism serve as a good index to its heterogeneous origin. The first idols seen in its temples are three huge images representing the *San Ching*, "Three Pure Ones," who are none other than a triplication of Laotze, done to correspond with a rival Buddhist triplet. But these three are sunk in contemplation, whence the Taoist looks to *Yu Hwang Shang Ti*, "Gemmeous Sovereign God," to superintend mundane affairs. They identify him with *Shang-ti* of Sinism, but his real source was a magician of the Chang family, living in the seventh century A.D. The five elements—metal, wood, water, fire and earth—have souls which rose to become the five planets and thus divine. Many stars also are deified. The Thunder-god can assume many shapes, and so can the Dragon-king, who represents water in its various forms, and therefore has numerous temples besides seas and rivers. The serpent passes as a manifestation of this diety, and as such was worshipped by Li Hung Chang on the occasion of a flood at Tientsin in 1874. Sun Cult survives in the bonfires at the Spring Festival, when Taoist priests, after scattering rice and salt on the fire, traverse it with bared feet, often semi-nude and with knives thrust through their cheeks. (4) The favorite place for these fires is before a temple of the God of Production. In his honor are held processions with lanterns, cars adorned with branches, and priests bloody with self-inflicted wounds. (5) Licentious processions and festivals have long since been suppressed in accord with the politico-ethical nature of the dominant Confucianism (Cf. note 3). The moon is associated in curious myths with the frog, hare, cassia tree, and a woodcutter. (6) The spiritual types of many animals also are worshipped. The most popular shrines in Peking are those of the fox, while the snake, hedgehog, and weasel compete for the second place. (7) The cassia, willow, banyan, pine, and peach trees are all sacred. (8)

We noticed before that the ancestral tablets and an image or picture of the Kitchen-god were found in every Chinese house. The household gods comprise these and certain others chosen variously according to locality, trade, and individual preference. Images and tablets all stand in an open shrine facing the front entrance to the house. The Kitchen-god, who probably represents an ancient Fire-god, makes an annual report to the Lord of Heaven upon the conduct of those committed to his charge.

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16. TAOISM.

(1) **The Tao Te Ching.**—But I have heard that he who is skillful in managing the life entrusted to him for a time travels on the land without having to shun rhinoceros or tiger, and enters a host without having to avoid buff coat or sharp weapon. The rhinoceros finds no place in him into which to thrust its horn, nor the tiger a place in which to fix its claws, nor the weapon a place to admit its point. And for what reason? Because there is in him no place of death.—"*Texts of Taoism*" *vol. I., p. 92.*

Let him keep his mouth closed, and shut up the portals (of his nostrils), and all his life he will be exempt from laborious exertion. Let him keep his mouth open and (spend his breath) in the promotion of his affairs, and all his life there will be no safety for him.—*Ibid, p. 95.*

(2) **Alchemy.**—The evidence is collected by Prof. W. A. P. Martin in his "*The Chinese.*" *pp. 188-193.*

(3) As to what should be done in a day, when the eating and drinking has been arranged, let one sit straight with his mouth shut, and not allow a single thought to arise in his mind. Let him forget everything, and keep his spirit with settled purpose. Let his lips be glued together, and his teeth be firmly pressed against one another. Let him not look at anything with his eyes, nor listen to a single sound with his ears. Let him with all his mind watch over his inward feelings. Let him draw long breaths, and gradually emit them, without a break, now seeming to breathe, and now not. In this way any excitement of the mind will naturally disappear, the water from the kidneys will rise up, the saliva will be produced in the mouth, and the real efficaciousness becomes attached to the body. It is thus that one acquires the way of prolonging life.

During the twelve hours of the day let one's thoughts be constantly fixed on absolute Purity. Where one thought (of a contrary kind) does not arise, we have what we call Purity; where nothing (of a contrary kind) enters the Tower of Intelligence (= the mind), we have what we call the Undefiled. The body is the house of the breath;

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the mind is the lodging of the spirit. As the thoughts move, the spirit moves; as the spirit moves, the breath is distributed. As the thoughts rest, the spirit rests; when the spirit rests, the breath is collected.

The true powers of the five elements unite and form the boat-like cup of jade (after partaking of which), the body seems to be full of delicious harmony. This spreads like the unguent of the chrismal rite on the head. Walking, resting, sitting, sleeping, the man feels his body flexible as the wind, and in his belly a sound like that of thunder. His ears hear the songs of the Immortals, that need no aid from any instrument; vocal without words, and resounding without the drum. The spirit and the breath effect a union and the bloom of childhood returns. The man beholds scenes unfolded within him; Spirits of themselves speak to him; he sees the things of vacuity, and finds himself dwelling with the Immortals. He makes the Great Elixir, and his spirit goes out and in at its pleasure. He has the longevity of heaven and earth, and the brightness of the sun and moon. He has escaped from the toils of life and death.—"*Texts of Taoism*," *II., pp. 269-271.*

(4) **The Spring Festival.**—We read in the "Histories of the North" (composed in the seventh century A. D.), "I, myself, have seen that in the capital, and outside also in the outer districts, on the evening of the full moon in the first month, they place theatres near one another and promenade by groups in the streets filled with people and in the obstructed roads, that the drums shook heaven with their rolling, and torches lit up the earth. They carried masks like the faces of animals, men dressed themselves as women; singing girls and comedians gave themselves, by all kinds of ingenious devices, a strange appearance and odd form. They took pleasure in obscene talk and delighted in vile insults, and all the spectators, equally those in the houses and outside, did nothing to shun them. High scaffolds obstructed the roads, and great curtains reached up to the clouds; people dressed themselves with care, and decorated and adorned themselves; carriages rolled along and horses neighed, and everywhere appeared stalls with food and wine. . . . Men and women mixed without order, and without any taking account of ranks and classes; they made no difference between blacks (the Chinese) and whites (the aborigines): misconduct sprang up, and thieves and brigands began there. . . . I demand in consequence that proclamation be made everywhere in the empire that all that is prohibited from this moment: that will be excellent."—*J. J. M. de Groot*, "*Les Fetes Annuellement Célébrées à Émoui*," *p. 150-1.*

(5) **Propitiating a God.**—Thirty or more young men, from fifteen to forty years old, walk painfully slow and with measured tread, stopping at times for a few minutes to get their balance. Each one has his arms extended at right angles from his body and propped up by a beautifully polished stick reaching from hand to hip. From the fleshy part of each lower arm was suspended by an iron hook, sunk in the flesh, a steel censer full of burning incense. It was a strange, a sad sight! For probably ten consecutive hours these intelligent-looking men bore that torture with the hope that that would atone for some of their own or their relative's sins, or secure the favor of the god of medicine on behalf of some sick friend, or in fulfillment of a vow conditionally given on the restoration of some loved one to good health. Are the heathen more ready to suffer for their false gods than we are to endure hardness for Christ's dear sake, though there is in the latter suffering at once a pleasant beneficent ministry and reasonableness and afterward an eternal joy?

The day's proceedings were closed by an event more tragic than anything I have mentioned. In front of the temple where the god was visiting was dug a deep, wide pit, into which an immense amount of incense was thrown and fired. There the grand oblation of the day was offered. A poor wretch who was intensely anxious for the recovery of a near relative—some said it was his mother—in order to propitiate the god and save the life of that relative by giving his own, leaped into the flaming pit and was speedily consumed. Of course his "good and glorious deed" was applauded, and his tablet will be worshiped from henceforth by all his relatives.—"*Missionary Herald*," *for Nov. 1888, p. 520.*

(6) **Moon Myth.**—Chinese and Indian legends agree in no respect more strikingly than with regard to the creatures by which the moon is said to be inhabited. These are the hare and the frog or toad. The hare is employed by genii in pounding the drugs which compose the elixir of life.

A cassia-tree is said to grow within the moon and a man named Wu Kang is alleged to have been condemned to the endless task of hewing it down. As fast as he dealt blows with his ax, the trunk of the tree closed again after the incision. Immortality is conferred upon those who eat of the leaves of this tree. The old man of the moon is popularly said to tie together with an invisible cord the feet of those who are predestined to a betrothal.—*W. F. Mayers*, "*The Chinese Reader's Manual*," *pp. 288-9.* These myths are phallic.

(7) **Fox Cult.**—There was a little cabinet, and in it a tablet with an inscription of which the following is a translation: "To the fox immortal of the spacious hall, the protector of the law, who efficaciously inspires." . . . Singular worship that the highest words of our faith, "Ask and ye shall receive," form the invariable motto for a fox temple!—*Rev. J. Macintyre in "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," China Branch, Vol. 21.*

The fox has the power of transformation at his command, and frequently assumes the human shape. At the age of fifty he can assume the form of a woman, at one hundred that of a young and beautiful girl. . . . When one thousand years old, he is admitted to the Heavens and becomes the 'celestial fox.' . . . He is the courser upon which ghostly beings ride.—*W. F. Mayers*, "*The Chinese Reader's Manual*," *p. 61.*

(8) **The Sacred Peach.**—The most ancient superstitions of the Chinese attributed magic virtues to the twigs of the peach tree; and the fabulists of the Hun Dynasty added many extravagant details to the legends already existing. They described the peach-tree of the gods as yielding the fruit of immortality. . . . One of the later panaceas of the Taoists was said to be composed of the gum of the peach tree mingled with the powdered ash of the mulberry, which not alone cured all diseases, but also conferred the boon of immortality.—*W. F. Mayers*, "*The Chinese Reader's Manual*," *p. 214.*

The Sacred Willow.—The singular custom prevailed in North-western China of abstaining throughout the whole of the third month in each year from the use of fire. At this time eggs dyed in divers colors were universally eaten; and willow twigs were placed above the doorways.—*W. F. Mayers*, "*Chinese Reader's Manual*," *p. 80.*

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17. TAOISM (CONTINUED).

Besides the above mentioned nature-gods, Taoists worship certain culture-gods who preside over the various callings of men. Thus students revere *Wan-chang* as God of Literature. He was an official of the Chau Dynasty, but has since often appeared in the person of celebrated scholars. Twice a year sacrifices and prayers are offered to him by representatives of the Emperor. He thus shares the official cult with Kongtze, and indeed his temples often adjoin colleges. Again, soldiers worship *Kwanti* as God of War. He was a soldier of fortune under the Han Dynasty in the second century B.C., and received no special notice until the twelfth century A.D., when it pleased the emperor to canonize him. After this he was often advanced, until in 1828 the then emperor deified him upon the ground of repeated supernatural interposition in favor of the Imperial troops. (1) *Tsai-shin*, the God of Riches, is second to none in rank, and is especially worshipped by tradespeople at the close of the year.



Wan-Chang: God of Letters. (Musée Guimet, Paris.)

Besides these great gods, there are innumerable spirits of whom the Chinese stand in daily terror. (2)

Unlike Sinism, Taoism has priests, who are probably cognate with the shamans of Siberia, but it copied the example of Buddhism in its monks and pope, monasteries and temples, and has even sometimes united with Buddhism in the conduct of religious services. Like Buddhism also, it has been alternately favored and persecuted by the reigning dynasties. Taoist priests conduct the worship of the city and state-gods, but their chief business is the magical purification of streets, houses, and persons, from evil spirits, and the preparation of paper amulets, which may be seen everywhere pasted on doorways for protection from those spirits. At some epochs under the influence of Buddhism and by the enactments of government, marriage has been proscribed Taoist priests, but they have persistently practiced it, and do so now, in spite of the prohibitions in the penal code of 1879. However, their calling is not hereditary, and they are recruited from the lowest classes. They are both ignorant and immoral, and generally despised by the literati. Especially the nunneries are considered haunts of every vice. One should carefully distinguish from these priest-magicians the monks who observe Laotze's principles by their celibacy, seclusion and devotion to mystical communion. Taoist popes of the surname *Chang* and with the title of Heavenly Master have lived on the *Lung-hu* mountain in the province of *Chiang-hsi* (Eastern China) since the first century A.D. They are elected by lot from among the members of the clan, and the spirit of the first pope is supposed to have reincarnated itself in all his successors. The Taoist pope exercises neither power nor influence of a temporal kind, but is considered the most powerful exorciser of spirits in China.

The most distinguished writers of the Taoists after Laotze was Chwang tse, who lived in the fourth century B.C. He declined offers of court appointment, and devoted himself to satirizing the doctrines of Kongtze, and defending and explaining those of Laotze, which he did with great ability. During the twenty-three centuries since then no able work has appeared, but an anonymous tract, composed about the eleventh century A.D., has had, and still enjoys, an immense popularity, so that it, and not the Tao Te Ching, must now be considered the Taoist scripture. It is the "Tractate of Actions and their Retributions," and subscriptions towards

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the gratuitious distribution of the work is deemed a great act of merit. Its two hundred and twelve brief statements fall into five sections. The first of these states the principle that happiness and misery follow virtue and vice; (3) the second that "spirits in heaven and earth," in "the Great Bear constellation," and "within man's person," execute this earthly theodicy by deducting some days from his life for every transgression, (4) the third specifies the virtues he must practice and their reward in becoming an "Immortal;" (5) the fourth, and by far the longest, contains the vices he must shun; (6) and the fifth provides for repentance, and enacts a new rule of theodicy. (7) The tract is characteristically Chinese and agrees with Sinism in its emphasis on morality and its belief in earthly theodicy, but the doctrines of the "Immortals" in the third section probably originated with Buddhism. These and other incongruities give no trouble to the average Chinese. The most popular religious work in China next to the "Tractate" is the "Book of Secret Blessings." Its five hundred and forty-one words express brief moral rules, with a flavor equally of Taoism, Confucianism and Buddhism, by all of which indeed it is approved. (8) In subsequent centuries Taoism further adopted from Buddhism its doctrine of hells, and plastic representations of these may now be seen in its temples (called by foreigners Chamber of Horrors); but properly speaking the Confucianists are right when they say of it, "What the sect of Tao chiefly attend to is the preservation of the breath of life."

17. TAOISM (CONTINUED).

(1) **Supernatural Interposition of Kwanti.**—After the suppression of the Mahommedan rebel-



Kwanti, God of War.

lion under Chang-kihur in 1828, the emperor published the following decree:

Ever since the tripod of our dynasty was firmly established, his majesty Kwan-te has often gloriously displayed spiritual and divine aid.

Chang Ling, the command-in-chief, reported last year that when the rebels, headed by Chang-kihur, advanced towards Aksu, and were attacked by our troops, a gale of wind suddenly arose, filling the air with flying sand and dust. The rebels saw in the distance a red flame illuminating the heavens, and they were either slain or taken prisoners.

On another occasion, whilst Chang Ling was leading on the Imperial forces at Hwan river, the rebels annoyed the camp during the whole night, till a violent tempest arose, which enabled our troops to dash in among the rebels without being perceived, when an innumerable multitude of them were taken and had their ears cut off.

The next morning the rebels all confessed that they saw in the midst of a red flame large horses and tall men, with whom they were utterly unable to contend; and hence they were obliged to flee.

It is therefore right to increase our sincere devotion to Kwan-foo-tsze, in hope of insuring his protection and the tranquility of the people, to tens and hundreds of thousands of years.

I therefore hereby order the Board of Ceremonies to prepare a few words to add to the title of Kwan foo-tsze, as an expression of gratitude for the protection of the god. Respect this.—*R. K. Douglas, "Confucianism and Taoism," pp. 281-2.*

(2) **Spirits.**—Spirits may assume the form of snakes and foxes, of men and women, and entrap the unwary, or they may take demoniac possession of their victims, and produce sickness, melancholy and frenzy. They haunt houses and frequent thickets. Their sounds, weird and eerie, are heard in the darkness of the night, when the wind is howling about the roof, or the rats and mice are holding revel on the floor or behind the wainscot in the crevices of the walls.—*J. Legge, "The Religions of China," p. 196.*

(3) **Theodicy.**—The Tractate says, "There are no special doors for calamity and happiness in men's lot; they come as men themselves call them.

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Their recompenses follow good and evil, as the shadow follows the substance."—"*The Texts of Taoism*," *II. p. 235.*

(4) **Spiritual Agents.**—Accordingly, in heaven and earth there are spirits that take account of men's transgression, and, according to the lightness or gravity of their offences, take away from their term of life. When that term is curtailed, men become poor and reduced, and meet with many sorrows and afflictions. All (other) men hate them; punishments and calamities attend them; good luck and occasions for felicitation shun them; evil stars send down misfortunes on them. When their term of life is exhausted they die.

In case of every man's transgressions, when they are great, twelve years are taken from his term of life; when they are small, a hundred days. Transgressions, great and small, are seen in several hundred things. He who wishes to seek for long life must first avoid these.—"*Texts of Taoism*," *II, pp. 235-6.*

(5) **Virtues that Lead to Immortality.**—Is his way right, he should go forward in it; is it wrong, he should withdraw from it.

He will not tread in devious by-ways; he will not impose on himself in any secret apartment. He will amass virtue and accumulate deeds of merit. He will feel kindly towards (all) creatures. He will be loyal, filial, loving to his younger brothers, and submissive to his elder. He will make himself correct and (so) transform others. He will pity orphans, and compassionate widows; he will respect the old and cherish the young. Even the insect tribes, grass, and trees he should not hurt.

He ought to pity the malignant tendencies of others; to rejoice over their excellences; to help them in their straits; to rescue them from their perils; to regard their gains as if they were his own, and their losses in the same way; not to publish their shortcomings; not to vaunt his own superiorities; to put a stop to what is evil, and exalt and display what is good; to yield much and take little for himself; to receive insult without resenting it, and honor with an appearance of apprehension; to bestow favors without seeking for a return, and give to others without any subsequent regret: this is what is called a good man. All other men respect him; Heaven in its course protects him; happiness and emolument follow him; all evil things keep far from him; the spiritual intelligences defend him; what he does is sure to succeed; he may hope to become Immaterial and Immortal. He who would seek to become an Immortal of Heaven ought to give the proof of thirteen hundred good deeds: and he who would seek to become an Immortal of Earth should give the proof of three hundred.—"*The Texts of Taoism*," *II., p. 237-8.*

(6) **Vices that Shorten Life and Blast Posterity.**—(Only the more notable cases are given). If he regard his wickedness as a proof of his ability, and can bear to do what is cruel and injurious; . . . if he maltreats the orphan and oppresses the widow; . . . if he sacrifices the public weal to his private advantage; . . . if he cooks animals for food, when no rites require it; . . . if he sees a beautiful woman and forms the thought of illicit intercourse with her; is indebted to men for goods or money, and wishes them to die; . . . if he sees others meeting with misfortune, and deigns to speak of their misdeeds; or seeing them with bodily imperfections, he laughs at them; or when their abilities are worthy of praise, he endeavors to keep them back; . . . if he by artifice and deceit seeks for promotion; . . . if he murmurs against Heaven and finds fault with men; reproaches the wind and reviles the rain; . . . recklessly hurries to join associate fraternities; is led by the words of his wife or concubine to disobey the instructions of his parents; . . . if he gives and afterwards repents that he has done so; or borrows and does not return; . . . if he indulges his lustful desires without measure; . . . if he mixes spurious articles with the genuine, and thus amasses illicit gain; . . . if in his liking for drink he is rude and disorderly; . . . if a woman is not gentle and obedient; if the husband is not harmonious with his wife, if the wife does not reverence her husband; if he is always fond of boasting and bragging; if she is constantly jealous and envious; . . . if he kills newly born children or brings about abortions; in the case of crimes such as these the Spirits presiding over the life, according to their lightness or gravity, take away the culprit's periods of twelve years or of one hundred days. When his term of life is exhausted, death ensues. If at death there remains guilt unpunished, judgment extends to his posterity.—"*The Texts of Taoism*," *II., pp. 238-244.*

(7) **Repentance.**—If one have, indeed, done deeds of wickedness, but afterwards alters his ways and repents, resolved not to do anything wicked, but to practice reverently all that is good he is sure in the long run to obtain good fortune; this is called changing calamity into blessing. Therefore the good man speaks what is good, contemplates what is good, and does what is good; every day he has these three virtues: at the end of three years Heaven is sure to send down blessing on him. . . . How is it that men will not exert themselves to do good?—"*The Texts of Taoism*," *II, pp. 245-6.*

(8) **Secret Blessings.**—Be upright and straightforward, and renew your heart. Be compassionate and loving. Be faithful to your master, and filially pious to your parents. Honour your elder brethren, and be true to your friends. Help the unfortunate; save those who are in danger; and set free the bird taken in a snare. Have pity towards the orphan and the widow; honour the aged, and be kind to the poor. Feed the hungry; clothe the naked; and bury the dead. Use just weights and measures, and do not overtax the people. Succour the sick, and give drink to the thirsty. Redeem the lives of animals, and abstain from shedding blood. Be careful not to tread upon insects on the road, and set not fire to the forests, lest you should destroy life. Burn a candle in your window to give light to the traveler, and keep a boat to help voyagers across rivers. Do not spread your net on the mountains to catch birds, nor poison the fish and reptiles in the waters.

Publish abroad lessons for the improvement of mankind, and devote your wealth to the good of your fellow-men. In all your actions follow the principles of Heaven, and in all your words follow the purified heart of man. Have all the Sages of antiquity before your eyes, and examine carefully your conscience. What good thing will be withheld from him who practises "secret benefits"?—*R. K. Douglas, "Confucianism and Taoism" pp. 272-3.*

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18. MAGIC AND DIVINATION. THE RELIGIOUS COMPOUND.

Besides the exorcism of evil spirits magical means are in general use. Thus, a youth was once seen burning incense before a hated stepmother in order by thus worshiping her to cause the decease which alone would render it proper! The first clothes of a child should be cut from those of an old man to insure to it longevity. The bows of junks are provided with two painted eyes, that they may see where to go. Sailors caught in a storm cast a paper model of their craft into the water to appease the storm god. No one will look into a mirror in a strange house lest



The Harvest Thanksgiving.

he should leave a part of himself there! During an eclipse, officials and commonalty join in producing a terrible din to scare away the monster attacking the sun or moon. As neither has ever yet been devoured, the means is regarded as efficacious! Another species of magic is geomancy (fangshui), according to which the suitability of house or grave depends on supposed magnetic currents, the azure dragon and the white tiger, and the like. This folly is strong enough to form the chief obstacle to civil-engineering in China. A telegraph pole would usually disturb the *fang-shui* of a place, and a railway that of a cemetry.

Divination is equally general. The analogues of our old Zadkiel's almanacs are still published in China, and that too by the Imperial Board of Astronomers. In them are specified the lucky and unlucky days for all sorts of actions. Portents are derived from the varying aspects of the planets. The ancients divined the outcome of an action from the lines of cleavage produced on a tortoise-shell by roasting. Otherwise the stalks of the millfoil might be used as lots to direct to one or other of the hexagrams described in lesson seven. Notice carefully that divination was used only in doubtful cases, i.e., where natural indications failed, and in accord with morality. (1) Common sense could displace it even in those cases. (2) But

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popular practice overruns such barriers, and no doubt involves much mischief. Horoscopes are drawn also from the physiognomy, from the palm, and by mesmerism, clairvoyance, and spiritualism. (3)

We have already noticed how dissimilar Taoism was from Confucianism, and must now anticipate a later topic enough to state that Buddhism forms a third religion in China. The attempts made to estimate (no census was ever made, of course) how many followers each of these religions has rest upon a complete misapprehension of the case. These religions exist not beside, but through one another. In general the men—and especially all that can read and write—would claim to be Confucianists, that being above all reproach, while only their priests are exclusive followers of either Buddhism or Taoism, though women affect especially Buddhism, in spite of opposition from their husbands. The fact is that the three religions are complementary each to the others, and hence the people turn to each in turn. Thus, they celebrate their marriages by the Confucian rites; seek the guidance of a Taoist priest when building a house, when sick, or to secure success in business; and finally employ the Buddhist burial service. (4) Confucianism is moral, but hard and cold; Taoism is religious, but earthly; while Buddhism throws light on man's future. Each has in turn been patronized by emperors, who then surpressed one or both of the others, but now for several centuries they have settled down to the *modus vivendi* described above, so that the popular view of them is *san-kiao i-kiao*, "the three doctrines are one." There are even found "temples of the three doctrines," where idols of Buddha and Laotze stand on either side of Kongtze. Confucianists never worship Kongtze, nor represent him by an idol, but by a tablet. The commonalty notice no inconsistency between the rivals, and ask about any religion, not "Is it true?" but "Is it good?" Tested thus, the three religions are good, in that all inculcate morality of a high order.

18. MAGIC AND DIVINATION. THE RELIGIOUS COMPOUND.

(1) **Checks Upon Divination.** — Divination by the shell is called *pu;* by the stalks, *shi*. The two were the methods by which the ancient sage-kings made the people believe in seasons and days, revere spiritual beings, stand in awe of their laws and orders; the methods also by which they made them determine their perplexities and settle their misgivings. Hence it is said, 'If you doubted, and have consulted the stalks, you need not any longer think that you will do wrong.—"*Li Chi*" *I.*, *p.* 94.

There was no divining twice about the same thing with a double mind. In asking about what had been referred to the tortoise shell or the stalks, two things were to be considered, whether the things asked about were right, and what was the diviner's own mind. On the matter of right he might be questioned, but not on what was in his own mind.—"*Li Chi*" *II.*, *p* 71.

"To this the priest of Tao replied, as he sat surrounded by his boxes of medicines, arranged in pigeon holes, with his recipe-book on the table before him, from which he selected the appropriate nostrum under the guidance of the oracle, 'If the person who comes to worship is wicked at heart, he will not be heard; the oracle will fail."—*J. Edkins*, "*Religion in China*," *p. 63*.

(2) **Divination and Duty.**—*Shih Tai-chung* died, leaving no son by his wife proper, and six sons by concubines. The tortoise shell being consulted as to which of them should be the father's successor, it was said that by their bathing and wearing of their girdle-pendants the indication would be given. Five of them accordingly bathed and put on the girdle-pendants with their gems. *Shi Chi-ze*, however, said, 'Whoever, being engaged with the mourning rites for a parent, bathed his head or his body, and put on his girdle-pendants?' and he declined to do either, and this was considered to be the indication. The people of Wei considered that the tortoise shell had shown a true knowledge.—"*Li Chi*" *I.*, *p. 181*.

(3) **Spiritualism.**—A peach stick bent at the end must be cut after repeating a spell, and then fastened into a cross-piece of wood about six inches long. After offerings and prayer, a medium then supports the crosspiece with his palms so that the stick just touches some red sand strewn on a table. After some formalities questions are proposed, and to them the stick immediately writes responses in the sand. When the ideograph is rightly interpreted, the magic pencil writes, "That's it." When the company flatter the spirit supposed to direct the pencil, it writes on the sand, "It's ridiculous." . . "The motions of the pencil are quite extraordinary, and apparently not produced by the medium on whose open palms the handle of the pencil rests, and who merely follows the spontaneous movements of the magic pencil."—*R. K. Douglas*, "*China*," *pp. 312-5*.

The Religious Compound.—It is not uncommon to meet with learned disquisitions upon the question as to the number of Buddhists and Taoists in China. In our view this question is exactly paralleled by an inquiry into the number of persons in the United Kingdom who use ten-penny nails as compared with the number of those who eat string-beans. Any one who wants to use a ten-penny nail will do so if he

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can obtain it, and those who like string-beans and can afford to buy them will presumptively consume them. The case is not different in China as regards the two most prominent "doctrines." Any Chinese who wants the services of a Buddhist priest, and who can afford to pay for them, will hire the priest, and thus be "a Buddhist." If he wants a Taoist priest he will in like manner call him, and this makes him "a Taoist." It is of no consequence to the Chinese which of the two he employs, and he will not improbably call them both at once, and thus be at once "a Buddhist" and "a Taoist." Thus, the same individual is at once a Confucianist, a Buddhist, and a Taoist, and with no sense of incongruity. Buddhism swallowed Taoism, Taoism swallowed Confucianism, but at last the latter swallowed both Buddhism and Taoism together, and thus "the three religions are one!"—*A. H. Smith, "Chinese Characteristics," p., 294.*

THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **CONFUCIANISM CONTINUED.**—Five Relations, Filial Piety, Mourning Rites, Results, Husband and Wife, Sexual Morality.
14. **LAOTZE AND HIS TAOTE CHING.**—Laotze and Kongtze, Taote Ching, Tao, Brahmā, Culture, Ethics.
15. **LAOTZE AND KONGTZE.**—Two Prophets, Learning contra Insight, Ceremonist contra Mystic, Editor contra Seer, Kongtze's Place, Diamond Rule.
16. **TAOISM.**—General Nature, Taote Ching, Elixir of Life, Philosopher's Stone, Materialism, San Ch'ing, Yu Hwang Shang Ti, Planets, Dragon king, Sun cult, Animals, Trees, Household gods.
17. **TAOISM CONTINUED.**—Wan-Chang, Kwan-ti, Tsai-Shin, Spirits, Priests, Monks and Pope, Tractate of Actions and their Retributions.
18. **MAGIC AND DIVINATION. THE RELIGIOUS COMPOUND.**—Exorcism, Junk, Model boat, Mirror, Geomancy, Divination, Spiritualism, The Religious Compound, State support.

QUESTIONS.

13. *Name the five relations. Which is regarded as chief? Why? Specify some particular duties that filial piety involves. Name three merits of filial piety. Instance some exaggerations. What do the mourning rites include? What counts can be made against filial piety? Specify particulars about the fourth relation. State the strength and weakness of the Confucian position on sexual virtue.*

14. *Compare Kongtze and Laotze. Facts about Laotze. Why is the Taote Ching hard to understand? Is it worth trying? How does Tao differ from Brahmā? Define Tao. Define it from the theistic standpoint. Characterize the content of the Taote Ching. What is its attitude to human culture? What vices does it specially condemn? Name the three precious things.*

15. *Contrast Kongtze and Laotze. How did Kongtze prize scriptures and authorities (sage-kings)? What did Laotze think of the outcome of this method? Specify particulars wherein Laotze was a mystic and Kongtze a ceremonialist. What cannot be done with Tao? What does Tao demand? How did Kongtze react? Was any place left to Kongtze? What place? Repeat the diamond rule. What is the reward of self-sacrifice?*

16. *Contrast Taoism with Sinism and Confucianism. Has the Taote Ching encouraged Taoism? How? Describe the Taoism of the three centuries B.C. Contrast Taoism with Buddhism. Who is the supreme god? What is the function of Yu Hwang Shang Ti? What was his source? How is the serpent related to the Dragon-king? Wherein does Sun cult survive? What animals are worshiped? What gods appear in every Chinese home?*

17. *Name and describe three culture-gods. What is the relation of Taoism to Buddhism? Describe the priests, the monks, and the pope. Name the contents of each section in the Tractate.*

18. *Describe some magical practices. How does geomancy influence progress? How was divination practiced? What checks were put upon it? Explain the religious compound. What is the reason for the existence of these three? How is each related to the State?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *How far does the ethics of Christianity differ from, and the morality (actual practice) of Christendom agree with, the Confucian view of sexual relations?*
2. *Commit to memory and for one month put into practice the three precious things quoted in Note 5. Such blessedness will accrue that neither memory nor practice will ever again fail.*
3. *Those readers who are not captivated by the exceeding force and beauty of these rare insights of Laotze must be religiously and ethically dead. They would better muse over them until the fire burns within and consumes every prejudice, indifference, and reluctance to acknowledge, cherish, and obey these supreme principles. Did the reader expect that such good could come out of despised China? Can he fail to compare it with the teachings of Jesus, whatever theory of their relation he may accept? Should not the harmony—and we shall see later that two or three other master voices will join it—have at any rate one effect, to confirm us in the higher life? Certainly commit to memory both forms of the Diamond Rule.*
4. *Compare the Spring festival with the old English May Day.*
5. *Specify some functions of the prophet, priest, monk and pope.*
6. *Indicate three phases in Christianity that correspond to the three religions of China.*

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SHINTOIST CEREMONIES.

BY

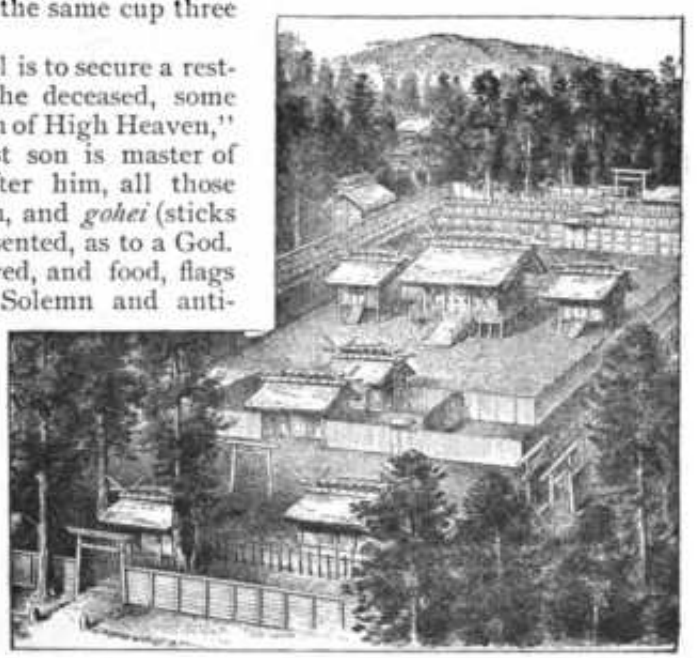
MR. GEN YOSHIOKA, OKAYAMA, JAPAN.

19. INDIVIDUAL CEREMONIES.

EVERY Japanese child should be governed throughout his life by the *Ujigami* or "Clan-god." On the twenty-first day after its birth, the child should be presented in the Temple of the *Ujigami* by his father, and there receive an amulet which he always carefully preserves. After this ceremony the mother becomes ceremonially clean; that is, she may again attend the temple.

Marriage is not a religious ceremony for the Shintoist, and neither priest nor official need be present. The bride and groom, in the presence of the parents of each, simply drink wine from the same cup three times three.

The purpose of the funeral is to secure a resting place for the soul of the deceased, some say in *Takama ga hara*, "Plain of High Heaven," others elsewhere. The eldest son is master of the ceremonies. In turn after him, all those present bow before the coffin, and *gohei* (sticks with paper pendants) are presented, as to a God. A new name is also bestowed, and food, flags and flowers are presented. Solemn and antique music is played. All this is done at the house, and other ceremonies are performed at the grave, where, besides a grave-post, a branch of evergreen *sakaki* is placed. During this absence, priests cleanse the house by scattering rice, salt, and water. On their return, all who attended the coffin to the grave also wash hands and mouth to purify



The Temple of the Sun-Goddess in Ise. (This is the holiest shrine in Japan).

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themselves. The deceased is celebrated on each seventh day after until the forty-ninth day, and later on the first, third, fifth, tenth, twentieth, etc., anniversary. Besides this, there is observed a general festival for the dead at the time of spring and autumn. Then prayers and food are presented to the deceased, and a feast is made for the living.

Public Ceremonies.—These are performed in or about the shrines. The Shintoist shrine or *Miya* forms a strong contrast to the Buddhist temple or *Tera*, and no Japanese thinks of confounding the two. Every magnificence that architecture, painting and sculpture can devise has been provided for the *Tera;* but the *Miya* has only a thatched roof, plain, uncolored wooden walls, and contains no paintings or sculptured idol. Still everything it has is the very best of its kind, and the



Boys Carrying a Festival Car.

whole looks pure, simple and antique. Then their situation is beautiful, being surrounded by trees in some secluded spot. After passing through the gate in one or more fences, the worshipper bathes his hands in a laver standing before the temple, and then mounts some steps into the worship-hall, where, bowing down quietly before the god, he claps his hands to call the god's attention, bows again two or three times, and then prays, either according to some form he knows, or, if he have any special need, in his own words. No one can fail to be impressed with awe, as he feels himself in the presence of the gods.

Every shrine holds a grand annual festival, when, besides the procession in which the god is given an outing, there are races, shows, wrestling, toy and candy stores, and old-fashioned music.

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SHINTOISM, THE ETHNIC RELIGION OF JAPAN.

BY

EDMUND BUCKLEY, Ph.D., University of Chicago.

20. SHINTOISM IN ITS DOCTRINE.

THE doctrine of Shintoism must be sought in the *Kojiki*, or "Record of Ancient Matters," which contains an account of the origin and fortunes of the world, of the gods, and of nobles and priests, all which are interpreted as Japanese. The *Kojiki* was compiled 712 A.D. at the command of the then emperor, and enshrines for us to this day the most faithful and full picture of barbarian culture that has escaped the tooth of time. The original Japanese barbarian, as he was before the varied Chinese culture, the rigid Confucian morals, and the Buddhist elaborate creed and gorgeous cult had shaped him into the refined and noble man he now is, appears in this *Kojiki* in all his unblushing coarseness, and murderous treachery; but, at the same time, quite as primitive in his simple and picturesque view of nature as animated and divine, and in his conception of the relation in which he stood to those divine beings. Not that the primitive Japanese did, or that the modern Japanese do, transgress in coarseness or treachery to any uncommon degree. These are simply universal traits at the lower culture levels. Those who think differently merely misjudge the *Kojiki* in comparison with the expurgated or unpublished literature of China, India, and Europe. The texts demonstrative of this statement are accessible, but are obviously unsuited to general publication. The Japanese theory of origins begins properly with *Izanagi* and *Izanami*, "Male Who-Invites" and "Female-Who-Invites," a primitive creative pair that still survive,



Shintoist Priest Carrying a Large Gohei.

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as every Japanese child knows, in folk-lore and folk-cult. The *Kojiki* relates in sections 3 to 10 how this pair begot the various islands—which, Japanese commentators explain, have grown enormously since,—and the deities of Japan. This crude conception is detailed with such coarseness that no quotation can be given here. The original production of all things is explained on the type of the present animal *re*production, which theory is just part of the much misunderstood and misjudged phase of religion called phallicism, which is by no means licentious, but just man's first crude cosmology. (1) After the death of his wife, in giving birth to the Fire-god, *Izanagi* visits her in Hades, and, while washing from the pollution thus incurred, produces numerous deities from the garments he casts off, from the parts of the river he visits, and especially three great deities, *Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami* from his left eye, *Tsuki-Yomi-no-Kami* from his right eye, and *Take-Haya-Susano-no-Mikoto* from his nose.

While such lore satisfied the unreflecting folk, and does so to this day, Yasumaro, the compiler of this folk-lore into the *Kojiki*, has attempted to account in turn for this creative pair by making them successors to a series of abstract deities mostly devised for this purpose and never actually worshipped. (2) The ideal scheme of the series is apparent, for the cosmologist has worked backwards from his concrete creative pair with ever increasing abstractness. Thus *Izanagi* and his sister-wife (after the fashion of the Incas and Pharaohs) *procreate* children, while the four preceding pairs simply *succeed* each other, and the seven deities preceding those are only *single;* for the phrase "were born alone and hid their bodies" means they were unmarried and invisible. Thus their reality is reduced as much as possible to ease the problem of origin.

The Rev. T. Matsuyama, a Christian pastor of Kyoto, has translated the second sentence of section 1, "These three deities were one and invisible," and considers it a relic of primitive monotheism. The exposition of these sections given above shows that Mr. Matsuyama's theory is as gratuitous as his translation is unwarranted. A similar account of Shintoism was presented at the Parliament of Religions by the Rt. Rev. R. Shibata, though he allowed that it was a "reformed" view. It is not unlikely that its innovations were suggested by Christian monotheism rather than by the "Spirit of Mount Fuji"; for, ten years before the founding of the sect to which Mr. Shibata belongs, Saint Xavier was preaching up and down the eastern coast of Japan. Professor K. T. Kume, of the Tokyo University, recently attempted to prove, but also without success, that the Lord in the Center of Heaven was identical with the Chinese *Tien*.

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20. SHINTOISM IN ITS DOCTRINE.

(1) **Phallicism.**—Advanced students may consult with advantage here my monograph entitled "Phallicism in Japan," which is obtainable only at the University of Chicago Press. The topic has been much abused by amateurs, and is unsuitable for detailed exposition in a work meant for general circulation.

(2) **The Earliest Deities.**—The names of the Deities that were born in the Plain of High Heaven when the Heaven and Earth began were the Deity Master-of-the-August-Center-of-Heaven, next the High-August-Producing-Wondrous-Deity, next the Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Deity. These three Deities were all Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next from a thing that sprouted up like unto a reed-shoot when the earth, young and like unto floating oil, drifted about medusa-like, were the Pleasant-Reed-Shoot-Prince-Elder-Deity, next the Heavenly-Eternally-Standing-Deity. These two Deities were likewise born alone, and hid their persons.

The five Deities in the above list are separate Heavenly Deities.

The names of the Deities that were born next were the Earthly-Eternally-Standing-Deity, next the Luxuriant-Integrating-Master-Deity. These two Deities were likewise Deities born alone, and hid their persons. The names of the Deities that were born next were the Deity Mud-Earth Lord; next his younger sister the Deity Mud-Earth Lady; next the Germ-Integrating-Deity, next his younger sister the Life-Integrating-Deity; next the Deity Elder-of-the-Great-Place, next his younger sister the Deity Elder-Lady-of-the-Great-Place; next the Deity Perfect-Exterior, next his younger sister the Deity Oh-Awful-Lady; next the Deity the Male-Who-Invites, next his younger sister the Deity the Female-Who-Invites —"*Kojiki*," *pp. 15 to 18.*

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21. SHINTOISM (CONTINUED).

Of the three great deities that sprang from *Izanagi's* eyes and nose, *Amaterasu-O-Mi Kami*, or "Heaven-shines-Great-August-Diety," and *Take-Haya-Susano-no-Mickoto*, usually abbreviated to *Susano* or "Impetuous Male," figure largely in the Kojiki and are still worshipped at innumerable shrines throughout the land, while the glorious *Amaterasu*, the Sun-goddess, stands supreme among the myriad deities, and is considered the ancestress of the Imperial line. Her origin in nature-myth is unmistakable. She sprang from the eye of her nature-father Izanagi; darkness prevails when she hides in her cave dwelling; the cock that crows in the morn is her attendant animal; the mirror with eight (semi-cardinal) points is her symbol; she restores light to the world; and is still daily worshipped from the summit of Mount Fuji by thousands of pilgrims who make its toilsome as cent, there to greet Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami, as she begins day for the world upon the Land of the Rising Sun. (1) The Japanese have never forgotten her nature origin, as they have that of most of their deities, but still hail her with general clapping as she rises, and stand facing her to address their prayer.



Mount Fuji. "The Peerless Mountain."

Usually the sun is masculine, but here, as with the cognate Turko-Tartars, feminine. All her mythic doings are in relation to her brother *Susano*, the Rain-storm-god, in contrast with whom she is the quiet, calm sun.

Susano was born from the nose of Izanagi, since from it issues the breath, the nearest analogue of the storm. He abandons his appointment "to rule over the sea-plain," i.e., the rain-storm blows up in the southwest monsoon from over the sea. "His weeping dries up all the rivers and seas," an apparent contradiction and a standing puzzle to the Japanese commentators, but plain enough, when the rains flood the country and hide the boundaries of rivers and lakes—a thing of annual occurrence in Japan. He mounts with great noise heavenwards to the great terror of his sister, *Amaterasu*, and devastates the country, whereupon *Amaterasu* retires into a cave and thus plunges the land into "eternal night." In nature-fact, the rain-storm rises from the horizon with thunder, obscures the sun, and spoils the carefully terraced and irrigated rice-fields of Japan. Another episode of the same struggle describes certain Torrent Princesses born from *Susano's* sword, while Gods of Luck, of Heaven, and of Life arise from *Amaterasu's* jewels; i.e., waterfalls notably increase after rain, and nature smiles when the sun reappears. For his misconduct *Susano* is expelled, whereupon he kills the Food-Goddess, from whom then spring the various cereals; and then in Izumo he kills the serpent with red eyes, bloody belly, and eight heads and tails, by first making him drink wine from eight vats arranged upon a platform; i.e., rain destroys the planted seed from which can then grow the new crops, and extinguishes fire, for which purpose it is to this day stored in tubs placed along the

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house ridge (the platform of the myth). From the tail of this serpent *Susano* extracts the marvelous Herb-Quelling-Great-Sword, famed in subsequent story; i.e., the steel sword is forged in the fire. (2) "When he began to build the palace of Suga, 'Pure,' clouds rose up thence;" i.e., clouds encompass the elevations where tarns form, and here the "Impetuous-Male" at last rests in peace, for in the usage of the *Kojiki* the erection of a palace closes the career of a hero. (3)



The Teapot Turning Badger. (From "Tales of Old Japan.")

The rule of *Susano* over Izumo descends through six generations to *O-Kuni-Nushi* or "Great Country Lord."

The following specifications from the *Kojiki* account of *Okuninushi* will plainly show that his origin lay in moon-myth. He has eighty brethren (stars) with whom he competes for the hand of a princess, and wins her by the help of a hare (a world-wide mythologic companion of the moon) that he had benefited. The eighty deities, enraged at this, roll a red hot stone upon him and thus kill him. (Sunrise conceals the moon.) Hereupon Princess Cockle-Shell and Princess Clam restore him to life. (The Chinese also connect shell-fish with the moon, probably through the tides, which were very early associated with the moon, though the correct reason was of course not known.) *Okuni* thus "becomes a beautiful young man, and wanders off," only to be again caught and tortured by insertion into the cleft of a tree, which on withdrawal of the wedge crushes him to death. (Phases of the moon.) Again restored to life, he visits the "Nether-Distant-Land," whence he is pursued by a deity so far as the "Even-Pass-of-Hades." (New moon appears once more on the horizon.) He then slays his eighty brethren. (Stars fade when the moon appears.) (4) Throughout his course he carries on amours, marrying in all eight women. (So ever with the "inconstant moon.") Finally *Amaterasu* requires him to abdicate in favor of her scion. (Sunrise conceals the moon.) (5)

The nature-origin of *Okuninushi* has been quite concealed by the identification with him of the last ruler of the Izumo tribe before its submission to the Kyushu one. He and his son, *Koto-Shiro-Nushi*, are now extremely popular as gods of wealth, under the names *Daikoku* and *Ebisu*. The former is seated on rice bales; the latter holds a fish.

If we now add the name of *Sukuna-Hiko*, or Little Prince, a medicine-god bearing a pot in his hand, and that of *Saruta Hiko*, a god of uncertain origin, we shall have noticed all the deities figured on the sacred scroll sold to pilgrims at the Izumo O Yashiro, the sacred shrine of *Okuninushi*.

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21. SHINTOISM (CONTINUED).

(1) **Amaterasu.**—So while [the other two Deities] each [assumed his and her] rule according to the command with which [their father] had deigned to charge them, His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness did not [assume the] rule [of] the dominion with which he had been charged, but cried and wept till his eight-grasp beard reached to the pit of his stomach. The fashion of

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his weeping was such as by his weeping to wither the green mountains into withered mountains, and by his weeping to dry up all the rivers and seas. For this reason the sound of bad Deities was like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they all swarmed, and in all things every portent of woe arose. So the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites said to His Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness: "How is it that, instead of ruling the land with which I charged thee, thou dost wail and weep?" He replied, saying: "I wail because I wish to depart to my deceased mother's land, to the Nether Distant Land." Then the Great August Deity the Male-Who-Invites was very angry and said: "If that be so, thou shall not dwell in this land," and forthwith expelled him with a divine expulsion.

So thereupon His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said: "If that be so, I will take leave of the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, and depart." [With these words] he forthwith went up to Heaven, whereupon all the mountains and rivers shook, and every land and country quaked. So the Heaven-Shining-Great-August Deity, alarmed at the noise, said: "The reason of the ascent hither of His Augustness my elder brother is surely no good intent. It is only that he wishes to wrest my land from me." . . . . .

So thereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, terrified at the sight, closed [behind her] the door of the Heavenly Rock-Dwelling, made it fast, and retired. Then the whole Plain of High Heaven was obscured and all the Central Land of Reed-Plains darkened. Owing to this eternal night prevailed. Hereupon the voices of the myriad Deities were like unto the flies in the fifth moon as they swarmed, and a myriad portents of woe all arose. . . . . While she was thus speaking, His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord, and His Augustness Grand-Jewel pushed forward the mirror and respectfully showed it to the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, whereupon the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity, more and more astonished, gradually came forth from the door and gazed upon it, whereupon the Heavenly-Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, who was standing hidden, took her august hand and drew her out, and then His Augustness Grand-Jewel drew the bottom-tied rope along at her august back, and spoke, saying: "Thou must not go back further in than this!" So when the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity had come forth, both the Plain of High Heaven and the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains of course again became light.—"*Kojiki*," *pp. 44-5, 54, 58-9*

(2) **Susanô.**—So, having been expelled [His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness], descended to a place [called] Tori-kami at the head-waters of the River Hi in the Land of Idzumo. . . . . "I had originally eight young girls as daughters. But the eight-forked serpent of Koshi has come every year and devoured [one], and it is now its time to come, wherefore we weep." Then he asked him: "What is its form like?" [The old man] answered, saying: "Its eyes are like *akakagachi;* it has one body with eight heads and eight tails. Moreover on its body grows moss, and also chamæcyparis and cryptomerias. Its length extends over eight valleys and eight hills, and if one look at its belly, it is all constantly bloody and inflamed." (What is here called *akakagachi* is the modern *hohodzuki*). Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness said to the old man: "If this be thy daughter, wilt thou offer her to me?" He replied, saying: "With reverence, but I know not thine august name." Then he replied, saying: "I am elder brother to the Heaven Shining-Great-August-Deity. So I have now now descended from Heaven." Then the Deities Foot-Stroking-Elder and Hand-Stroking Elder said: "If that be so, with reverence will we offer [her to thee]." . . . . "Do you distill some eight-fold refined liquor. Also make a fence round about; in that fence make eight gates, at each gate tie [together] eight platforms, on each platform put a liquor-vat, and into each vat pour the eight-fold refined liquor, and wait." So as they waited after having thus prepared everything in accordance with his bidding, the eight-forked serpent came truly as [the old man] had said, and immediately dipped a head into each vat, and drank the liquor. Thereupon it was intoxicated with drinking, and all [the heads] lay down and slept. Then His-Swift-Impetuous-Male-Augustness drew the ten-grasp saber, that was augustly girded upon him, and cut the serpent in pieces, so that the River Hi flowed on changed into a river of blood. So when he cut the middle tail, the edge of his august sword broke. Then, thinking it strange, he thrust into and split [the flesh] with the point of his august sword and looked, and there was a sharp great sword [within]. So he took this great sword, and, thinking it a strange thing, he respectfully informed the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity. This is the Herb-Quelling Great Sword.—*Ibid, pp. 60, 61-63.*

(3) I have preferred here to quote from my contribution to the *New World* for December, 1896, rather than to make a paraphrase without improvement.

(4) **Okuninushi.**—Thereupon the Princess of Yakami answered the eighty Deities, saying: "I will not listen to your words. I mean to marry the 'Deity Great-Name Possessor.'" So the eighty Deities, being enraged, and wishing to slay the Deity Great-Name-Possessor, took counsel together, on arriving at the foot of Tema in the land of Hahaki, and said [to him]: "On this mountain there is a red boar. So when we drive it down, do thou wait and catch it. If thou do not wait and catch it, we will certainly slay thee." Having [thus] spoken, they took fire, and burnt a large stone like unto a boar, and rolled it down. Then, as [they] drove it down and [he] caught it, he got stuck to and burnt by the stone, and died. Thereupon Her Augustness his august parent cried and lamented, and went up to Heaven, and entreated His Divine-Producing-Wondrous-Augustness, who at once sent Princess Cockle-Shell and Princess Clam to bring him to life. Then Princess Cockle-Shell triturated and scorched [her shell], and Princess Clam carried water and smeared [him] as with mother's milk, whereupon he became a beautiful young man, and wandered off. Hereupon the eighty Dieties, seeing [this], again deceived him, taking him with them into the mountains, where they cut down a large tree, inserted a wedge in the tree, and made him stand in the middle, whereupon they took away the wedge and tortured him to death. Then on Her Augustness his august parent again seeking him with cries, she perceived him, and at once cleaving the tree, took him out and brought him to life, and said to him: "If thou remain here, thou wilt at last be destroyed by the eighty Deities."—*Ibid, pp. 69-71.*

(5) Quoted from the *New World* as explained in note 3.

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22. SHINTOISM CONTINUED).

After the Kojiki has dealt in turn with the deities before mentioned, it describes how Amaterasu sent deputations from Heaven to demand from Okuninushi his abdication in favor of her own scion *Ni-Nigi-No-Mikoto*, known in subsequent rituals as the "Sovereign Grand-child." This, after much delay, *Okuninushi* gives, and *Ninigi* descends with a retinue in great pomp from Heaven. (1) The reader should notice several things in this important passage of Note one. First, *Ninigi* descends, not, as consistency would require, to Izumo, but to Kyushu, some two hundred miles to the south. Again, *Ninigi* brings with him the jewels, mirror, and sword that have since then formed the Japanese regalia, and is accompanied by certain deities identified as ancestors of priestly (*Nakatomi* and *Imibe*) and noble families. Lastly, notice how the statement that the point of descent was "opposite to the land of Kara" (=Korea) betrays the identity of heaven with that country. There remains to this day an odd bit of monumental evidence for this identity. Two animals, identical in appearance and function, in that they guard, one on either side, the entrance gates of some Shinto shrines, bear the names *Koma-inu* "Korean-dog," and *Ama-inu* "Heaven-dog." Their use is to scare away evil spirits. We therefore see the conquering Kyushu chieftain tracing his lineage to the beneficent *Amaterasu*, while the conquered Izumo chieftain is traced to the turbulent *Susano*, expelled from Heaven for misconduct (p. 155).



Demons Taking Vengeance on a Woman for Her Cruelty. (From "Tales of Old Japan.")

Thus the divine right to rule, always claimed by the Japanese emperors and allowed by the people, is based upon a divine descent "in lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal." The Imperial oath, prefixed to the Constitution of Japan promulgated in 1890, appeals to the "Imperial Founder of our House," namely *Jimmu Tenno*, the great grandson of the *Ninigi*, who was in turn supposititious "sovereign grandchild" of *Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami*. (2)

The Kojiki then proceeds to relate how Jimmu Tenno sailed northeastwards along the Inland Sea, landed at Osaka, and subdued the savages found there. The Izumo deity, *Okuninushi*, now known as the "Great Deity of Miwa," continues prominent in the cult, and even becomes supposititious father of the maiden whom Jimmu makes his chief empress. His function since abdication and death has been to rule the realm of the "invisible," by which is meant the world of thought and secret action, which escapes the notice of the earthly ruler. The tutelary gods of every province must report to *Okuninushi's* famous shrine in Izumo—the second holiest in Japan—every October—hence called everywhere, except in Izumo, the "godless month"—upon the condition of each individual's soul. *Okuninushi* then punishes or rewards by means of the natural good and evil that befall men. Later *Okuninushi* becomes a ruler of the dead. The mythical element now gradually

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decreases, and legend passes into annals which can be confirmed from Chinese sources, until the *Kojiki* ends with the fifth century A.D.

Mention should now be made of a nature-deity that played only a secondary part in the Kojiki and yet has come to great honor, namely, *Toyo-Uke-Bime*, "Abundant Food Goddess," usually represented with a rice-sheaf in her arms. She was slain by Susanō; that is, seed perishes in germinating under the influence of rain. Her commoner name is *Inari*, after her temple near Kyoto, and which served as the model for the thousands of tiny way-side shrines found everywhere in Japan. The foxes flanking these shrines are sacred in their own right.



The Feast of Inari Sama.

Besides these great nature-deities are many others, "eighty myriads" in all, of lower rank. Thus we read of gods of the Wind, of Pestilence, of Rivers, Wells, and of Fire. The last survives in many ways. A "Goddess of the Kitchen Range" is worshiped in households; people rekindle household shrines and fires from the braziers kept burning before temples on New Year's Eve, while traversing the bonfire in honor of the sun has become a test of moral purity. (3)

Again, of animals, beside the fox already mentioned, the snake is widely worshiped. The sacred tree is the evergreen *sakaki*, and the sacred number is eight.

The Japanese word that we translate "deity" is *kami* and simply means "superior." It can therefore properly include many objects to which we can apply "god" or "goddess" only with violence. (4)

The Kojiki recognizes "evil deities" only thus in general, and these are offset by a class of "rectifying deities." They are heard of only once. Misfortunes are traced to one or other of the great gods, e.g., the Great Deity of Miwa, or the Wind Gods.

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22. SHINTOISM (CONTINUED).

(1) **The Descent from Heaven.**—Then joining to him His Augustness Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord, His Augustness Grand-Jewel, Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female, Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me, and His Augustness Jewel-Ancestor, in all five chiefs of companies, they sent him down from Heaven. Thereupon they joined to him the eight-feet [long] curved jewels and mirror that had allured [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity from the Rock-Dwelling,] and also the Herb-Quelling-Great-Sword, and likewise the Deity Thought-Includer, the Hand-Strength-Male-Deity, and the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener of Eternal Night, and charged him thus: "Regard this mirror exactly as if it were our "august spirit, and reverence it as if reverencing us." Next did they say: "Let the Deity Thought-Includer take in hand our affairs, and "carry on the government." These two Deities are worshipped at the temple of Isuzu. The next, the Deity of Luxuriant-Food, is the Deity dwelling in the outer temple of Watarahi. The next, the Deity Heavenly-Rock-Door-Opener, another name for whom is the Wondrous-Rock-True-Gate-Deity, and another name for whom is the Luxuriant-Rock-True-Gate-Deity,—this Deity is the Deity of the August Gate. The next, the Deity Hand-Strength-Male, dwells in Sanagata. Now His Augustness the Heavenly-Beckoning-Ancestor-Lord (is the ancestor of the Nakatomi Chieftains), His Augustness Grand Jewel (is the ancestor of the Imibe Headmen), Her Augustness the Heavenly-Alarming-Female (is the ancestress of the Duchesses of Saru); Her Augustness I-shi-ko-ri-do-me (is the ancestress of the Mirror-Making Chieftains), His Augustness-Jewel-Ancestor (is the ancestor of the Jewel-Ancestor Chieftains).

So then [the Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity] commanded His Augustness Heaven's-Prince-Rice-ear-Ruddy-Plenty; and he, leaving the Heavenly Rock-Seat, pushing asunder the eight-fold heavenly spreading clouds, and dividing a road with a mighty road-dividing, set off floating shut up in the Floating Bridge of Heaven, and descended from Heaven onto the peak of Kuzhifuru which is Takachiho in Tsukushi. So His Heavenly Great Wondrous Augustness and His Augustness Heaven's-Round-Eyes, both taking on their backs the Heavenly rock-quivers, taking at their side the large mallet-headed swords, taking in their hands the Heavenly vegetable-wax-tree bow, and clasp-

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ing under their arms the Heavenly true deer-arrows, stood in his august van in respectful attendance. So His Heavenly-Great-Wondrous-Augustness (is the ancestor of the Ohotomo Chieftains), His Augustness Heaven's-Round-Eyes (is the ancestor of the Kume Lords). Thereupon he said: "This place is opposite to the land of Kara. One comes straight across to the august Cape of Kasasa, and it is a land whereon the morning sun shines straight, a land which the evening



Votive Picture. (The teeth have become so strong that they can hold an anchor! "Missionary Herald" 1883.)

sun's sunlight illumines. So this place is an exceedingly good place." Having thus spoken, he made stout the temple-pillars on the nethermost rock-bottom, and made high the cross-beams to the Plain of High Heaven, and dwelt there.—"*Kojiki*," *pp. 108, 113.*

(2) **The Imperial Oath.**—We, the Successor to the prosperous Throne of Our Predecessors, do humbly and solemnly swear to the Imperial Founder of Our House and to Our other Imperial Ancestors that, in pursuance of a great policy coextensive with the Heavens, and with the Earth, We shall maintain and secure from decline the ancient form of government.

. . . . .

That we have been so fortunate in Our reign, in keeping with the tendency of the times, as to accomplish this work, We owe to the glorious Spirits of the Imperial Founder of Our House and of Our other Imperial Ancestors.

We now reverently make Our prayer to Them and to Our Illustrious Father, and implore the help of Their Sacred Spirits, and make to Them solemn oath never at this time nor in the future to fail to be an example to Our subjects in the observance of the Laws hereby established.

May the Heavenly Spirits witness this Our solemn Oath.

(3) **Walking the Fiery Bed.**—The original old priest once more led off. Taking post at the bed's northern end, he piously clapped his hands, muttered a few consecrated words, and then salting his soles by a rub on the mat, stepped boldly on to the burning bed and strode with dignified unconcern the whole length of it. He did this without the least symptom of discomfort or even of notice of his own act.

In their order the others followed, each crossing with as much indifference as if the bed were mother-earth. When all had gone over, all went over again.

It was now the turn of the laymen. The passing of the priests had been a pageant, dignified and slow; the procession of the common folk was its burlesque. The priests had seemed superior to the situation; their lay brethren often fell ludicrously below it. . . .

Indeed, the procession was as humorous as humanity. All sorts and conditions of men, women, and children went over first and last. All were gain to religion, for nothing showed more conspicuous than the buoyant power of faith. It was not the sole, but the self that trod there, stripped of social covering. In the heat of the moment the walkers forgot their fellow-men and walked alone with their god. Character came out vividly in the process, like hidden writing before the fire. Now a sturdy jinrikisha man, persuaded that the crossing would bring him fares, went over as a matter of business, and in his wake a small boy, unable to resist so divine a variety of tittle-ties on thin ice, followed for doubtless a very different reason. Then a family in the order of etiquette ventured successfully along in a line. Now a dear old grandam, bent by years to a question mark of life, hobbled bravely across notwithstanding; and now a fair little girl, straight and slim as an admiration point, performed the feat vicariously, but I doubt not as effectively, in the arms of one of the priests. A touch of the fine in all this that tended to film the eyes, and lend the scene a glamour which, if not strictly religious, was its very close of kin. . . .

To the coldly critical eye of science two things conduce to the performance of this feat. One is the toughness of the far eastern sole. The far Oriental inherits a much less sensitive nervous organization than is the birthright of a European, and his cuticle is further calloused to something not unlike leather by constant exposed use. This leaves the distance to be traversed between the natural sensitiveness and the induced insensitiveness considerably less than it would be with us. The intervening step is the result of exaltation.



Votive Picture. (The donor has made a safe voyage. "Missionary Herald," 1883.)

By first firmly believing that no pain will be felt and then inducing a state of ecstasy whose preoccupation the afferent sensation fails to pierce, no pain is perceived.—*P. Lowell*, "*Occult Japan*," *pp. 53-4, 55, 60.*

(4) **Kami.**—"The word *kami* is applied to all the *kami* of heaven and earth, . . . and also to birds, beasts, plants and trees, seas and mountains, and all other things whatsoever which possess powers of an extraordinary and eminent character, or deserve to be revered and dreaded."—*A. Hirata in* "*Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*," *Appendix, Vol. III.*

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23. ANCESTORS AND HEROES. THE CULT.

The absorption of Shintoism by Buddhism was completest in ancestor-worship, by reason of the superiority of Buddhism in doctrines about the future life. Thus the family ancestral tablets were deposited in Buddhist shrines and temples, whereas in China they were kept separate. Each district, however, has managed to retain an *Uji-gami*, or Family-god, and to him the new-born child is presented for adoption.

Hero-worship is maintained mostly in the *Ryobu* shrines. The chief case of this class is the popular *Tenjin Sama.*, "Heaven Spirit Lord," originally none other than the great minister and scholar, Michizane, whose death, 903 A.D., was followed by portents. Another case is *Hachiman San*, an apotheosis of the Emperor Ojin—300 A.D.—as God of War. The magnificent temples at Nikko—one of the sights of Japan—are devoted to the worship of Ieyasu, the Japanese Napoleon, and his grandson, Iyemitsu. Several distinguished persons, among them the scholar *Motoori*, have been apotheosized during the present reign. Until the revolution in 1868, two *living* persons were regularly treated as divine: the Emperor, still called *Tenshi Sama*, "Heaven-Son-Lord," descendant of Amaterasu, and the High Priest of Izumo Temple, being the seventy-sixth generation from *Okuninushi*, and until 1868 styled *Iki.-gami*, or "Living God."



Virgin Priestesess who Officiate in the Kagura.

The *Yengishiki*, or Ceremonial Law, compiled 927 A.D., from much older sources, is a worthy companion to the *Kojiki.* It contains twenty-seven rituals, which consist, not of free petitions, but of statements of the *grounds* upon which the offerings—which are the essential thing—are made, namely, the reception of some natural good. (1) The famous *Obarai* affords a single exception to this quest for natural good. It enumerates various moral and ceremonial offenses, and states that when the priest shall request all the gods to hear, cut some branches and rushes into shreds for subsequent dispersion, and make certain offerings, to be later thrown away, the Gods in heaven and earth will listen, while the Gods of the Rapids, Sea, etc., will carry the offenses away. (2)

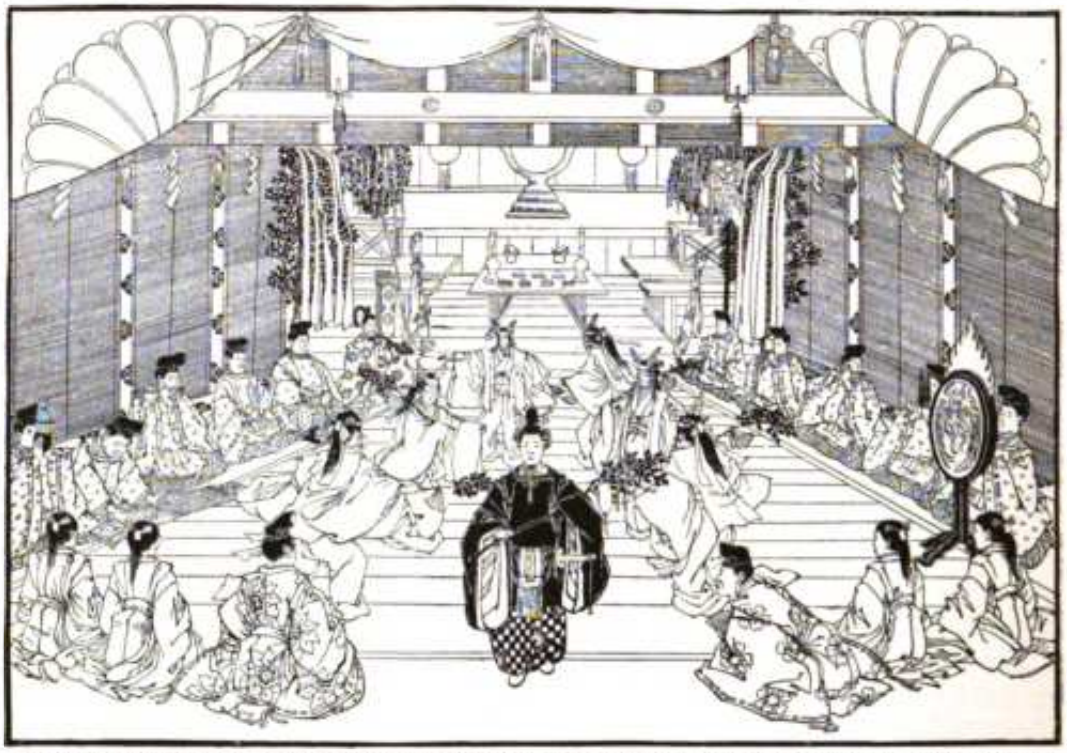
In a *Kaijo* "Purification Rite," prepared in 1874, but on ancient models, the applicant is measured with a rod, brushed with a branch of *sakaki*, and breathes on a straw manikin. These three articles are then tied up in a jar, which is thrown by the applicant into the nearest river. This ceremony, like the Obarai, is properly magical, though it may become symbolical so soon as the personal condition of repentance arises.

The chief rituals are those observed for the New Year, the praying for Harvest on February 4, that for deities connected with the Imperial Family on June 15, that for Firstfruits, September 15, that for Harvest, November 23, and the Obarai, on June 30 and December 31.

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The *Kagura* is a popular occasional ceremony, a peace-offering of food, music, and posture-dancing made to any deity by the temple attendants at the request and expense of any worshiper.

The priests marry; their office is hereditary, but they may at any time abandon it, and they wear distinctive dress only when officiating. They make no personal



The Dance in the Kagura. (In the Rear Stands the Altar to Amaterasu; in the Front Sit the Beneficiaries of the Ceremony.)

pretensions to sanctity or authority. The shrines probably originated in ancestor-cult, and were later adapted to nature-cult, which was originally in the open. They preserve to this day many features of a barbarian hut. Besides several subsidary buildings, there is the main shrine, which contains two chambers. In the closed and dark rear one is preserved the "soul-substitute," a sword, mirror or other personal belonging, and in this chamber the deity is believed to reside, in token of which a pillow is often placed there.

23. ANCESTORS AND HEROES. THE CULT.

(1) **Harvest Ritual.**—He says: "Hear all of you, assembled kannushi and hafuri."

He says: "I declare in the presence of the sovran gods, whose praises by the WORD of the sovran's dear progenitors augustness and progenitrix, who divinely remain in the plain of high heaven, are fulfilled as heavenly temples and country temples. I fulfil your praises by *setting-up* the great OFFERINGS of the sovran GRANDCHILD'S augustness, *made* with the intention of deigning to begin the HARVEST in the second month of this year, as the morning sun rises in glory."

He says: "I declare in the presence of the sovran gods of the HARVEST. If the sovran gods will bestow in many-bundled ears and luxuriant ears the late-ripening harvest which they will bestow, the late-ripening harvest which will be produced by the dripping of foam from the arms and by drawing the mud together between the opposing thighs, then I will fulfil their praises by setting-up the first fruits in a thousand ears and many hundred ears, raising high the beer-jars, filling and ranging-in-rows the bellies of the beer-jars, *I will present them* [*i.e., the first-fruits,*] in juice and in ear. As to things which grow in the great-field-plain—sweet herbs and bitter herbs; as to things which dwell in the blue-sea-plain—things wide of fin and things narrow of fin, down to the weeds of the offing and weeds of the shore; and as to CLOTHES—with bright cloth, glittering cloth, soft cloth and coarse cloth will I fulfil praises.

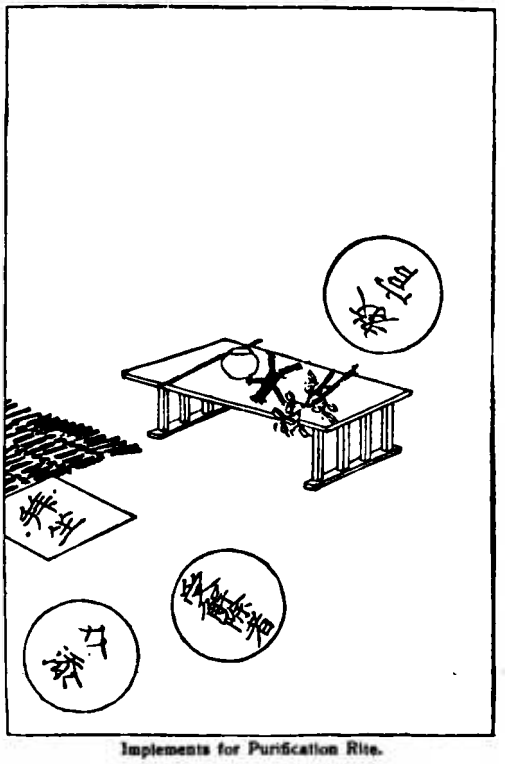
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And having furnished a white horse, a white boar and a white cock, and the various kind of things in the presence of the sovran god of the HARVEST, I fulfill his praises *by setting up* the great OFFERINGS of the sovran GRANDCHILD'S augustness."

He says: "Parting the words, I declare in the presence of the From-heaven-shining-great-DEITY who sits in Ise. Because the sovran great DEITY bestows *on him* the countries of the four quarters over which her glance extends, *as far as* the limit where heaven stands-up like a wall, *as far as* the bounds where the blue clouds lie flat, *as far as* the bounds where the white clouds lie away fallen; the blue-sea plain *as far as* the limit whither come the prows of the ships without letting their poles or paddles be dry, the ships which continuously crowd on the great-sea-plain: the road which *men* go by land, *as far as* the limit whither come the horses' hoofs, with the baggage-cords tied tightly, treading the uneven rocks and tree-roots and standing-up continuously in a long path without a break: *making* the narrow countries wide and the hilly countries plane, and as it were drawing together the distant countries by throwing many tons of ropes over them, *because she does all this*, he will pile-up the first-fruits like a range of hills in the great presence of the sovran great DEITY, and will tranquilly take to himself the remainder."—"*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*," *Vol. VII., Part II, pp. 109-111.*

(2) **The Obarai, or Great Purification.** — Amongst the various sorts of offenses which may be committed in ignorance or out of negligence by heaven's increasing population, which shall come into living in the country which the Sovereign Grandchild's augustness, hiding in the fresh Residence, built by stoutly planting the House-pillars on the bottommost rocks, and exalting the cross-beams to the plain of high heaven, as his Shade from the heavens, and Shade from the sun, shall tranquilly rule as a peaceful country, namely, the country of great Yamtato, where the sun is seen on high, which he fixed upon as a peaceful country, as the center of the countries of the four quarters thus bestowed upon him—breaking the ridges, filling up watercourses, opening sluices, double sowing, planting stakes, flaying alive, flaying backwards, and dunging, . . . cutting live flesh, cutting dead flesh, leprosy, proud flesh, the offense committed with one's own mother, the offense committed with one's own child; . . . the offense committed with beasts, calamities of crawling worms, calamities of a god on high (— lightning), the offenses of killing beasts and using incantations, may be disclosed. (The high priest then arranges the sacrifices, and, turning round to the assembled company, waves before them a sort of broom made of grass, to symbolize the sweeping away of their offenses. . . . He then recites a ritual inviting all the gods to listen to what follows.) When he has thus repeated it (the ritual), the heavenly gods will push upon heaven's eternal gates, and clearing a path with might through the manifold clouds of heaven will hear; and the country gods, ascending to the tops of the high mountains, and to the tops of the hills, and tearing asunder the mists of the high mountains and the mists of the low hills, will hear.

And when they have thus heard, the Maiden-of-Descent-into-the Current, who dwells in the current of the swift stream which boils down the ravines from the tops of the high mountains, and the tops of the low hills, shall carry out to the great sea-plain the offenses which are cleared away and purified, so that there be no remaining offense; like as Shinato's wind blows apart the manifold clouds of heaven, as the morning winds and the evening wind blow away the morning mist and the evening mist, as the great ships which lie on the shore of the great port, loosen their prows and loosen their sterns to push out into the



Implements for Purification Rite.

great sea-plain, as the trunks of the forest trees, far and near, are cleared away by the sharp sickle, the sickle forged with fire; so that there cease to be any offense called an offense in the court of the Sovran Grandchild's Augustness to begin with, and in the countries of the four quarters of the region under heaven.

And when she thus carries them out and away, the deity called the Maiden-of-the-Swift-Cleansing, who dwells in the multitudinous meetings of the sea-waters, the multitudinous currents of rough sea-waters shall gulp them down.

And when she has thus gulped them down, the Lord-of-the-Breath-Blowing Place, who dwells in the Breath-Blowing-Place, shall utterly blow them away with his breath to the Root Country, the Bottom Country.

And when they have thus been got rid of, there shall from this day onwards be no offense which is called offense, with regard to the men of the offices which serve in the court of the Sovran, nor in the four quarters of the region under heaven.

Then the high priest says: "Hear all of you how . . . he deigns to sweep away and purify with the general purification, as the evening sun goes down on the last day of the watery moon of this year.

"O diviners of the four countries, take (the sacrifices) away out to the river-highway, and sweep them away."—*E. Satow, in "Westminster Review" for July, 1878.*

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Pilgrims Bound for Mount Fuji. (The straw mats will protect from rain. The fans bear the names of famous hotels.)

24. THE CULT (CONTINUED).

The Japanese have never been enslaved by any notions analogous to the Chinese *fang-shui*, here, as in other respects, preserved by their fine sense from absurd extremes. Yet magic runs a fair course here; protective amulets are common on walls and persons; and foes were injured by torture of their effigies. Rice, salt, the *gohei*, and the *sakaki* are the common purifiers. Spells were in use, and rituals had to be repeated without faults.

Divination also was common. The primitive way was by observing the cracks on a deer's shoulder blade after roasting. Or, after sacrifice to the Road-god, one might draw an omen from the conversation of a passer by. Both are now obsolete, but divination through a medium in trance-possession is quite common. The medium trains himself by solitude, bathing, and fasting, and usually forms the center of a club. At a *seance*, after prolonged chanting by a company of eight, the medium takes a *gohei* between his hands, and is soon seized with a quiver, then with a convulsive throe, and finally subsides into a continuous quiver, with his eyeballs rolled up. In this state he will answer any questions put by an assistant, as if he were some god or other. Normal consciousness is restored by giving water to drink, and rubbing the arms and body. This possession trance differs from the western hypnotic-trance only in the expectation with which it is entered, viz., that a god will possess him. The abnormal nervous conditions are alike. (1)

All Japanese funerals, even those of Shinto priests, have for centuries been conducted according to Buddhist rites. The Shinto funeral, as revived since 1868,

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includes induction of the soul into a tiny shrine to be kept on the "god-shelf;" the worship of the soul now become a *kami;* and the burial of the corpse. Anciently the corpse was buried, after much mourning, with food, implements, horses, and retainers, both alive. Increasing humanity secured the substitution for these last two of their life-size effigies in clay, specimens of which are still preserved in Tokyo and the British Museum.

Every Japanese visits at least once one of the great shrines of his land, so that an untraveled Japanese is rarely met. These pilgrimages are made in parties on foot, and form occasions of great recreation as the beautiful country is leisurely traversed, and of pleasure-taking, for the great temple-towns are thronged with theaters, shows, and brothels. (2)

Shintoism uses no idols. The deity is represented in the opened ante-chamber of a temple, by a *gohei*, "august offering," a wooden wand suspending from its top a sheet of white paper cut into strips. Originally an offering of cloth, it became a sign of consecration, *haraibei*, or a symbol, and later a seat of deity, a *shintai*, "god's body," whenever a deity is caused to descend into it, *kami-oroshi*, by the invocation preceding a ceremony.

Every house, except those occupied by members of two exclusive Buddhist sects, is provided with a *kami-dana*, "god-shelf," which supports several tiny wooden shrines, one of which may contain paper amulets from some famous temple, particularly that of Amaterasu in Ise Province, another a *gohei*, and a third little images of *Daikoku* and *Ebisu*. Offerings of food, wine, and sakaki are made on the second, fifteenth, and twenty-eighth day of each month, and a lamp is lit every evening.

The ethics of Shintoism are as characteristic of barbarism as its other traits. The infrequent preaching of the priest always appeals to the examples of the gods. For positive rules he refers to the commands of the Mikado, who, it must be remembered, rules by divine right; and where these fail, to the dictates of the heart. (3) The imported Confucianism was modified so that the duty of retainer to feudal lord took precedence of all others, even of filial piety.

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24. THE CULT (CONTINUED).

(1) **A Seance of Trance-Possession.**—After the purification of the place, the next duty of the officiators is the purification of their persons. For this purpose they all go out to the well or to the bathroom to bathe, and return clad in the Ontaké pilgrim dress, a single white garment stamped with the names of the Ontaké gods, with the name of the mountain itself, and with the sign of their *kō* or pilgrim club. For, as we shall see more particularly later, all Ryōbu adepts, whether priests or laymen, are enrolled in some Ontaké pilgrim club. This solitary garment is bound about the waist by a white girdle.

In its full complement the company consists of eight persons. There is, first, the man whom the god is to possess. He is called the *nakaza*, or seat-in-the-midst. Equal to him in consideration is the man who presides over the function and who is to talk with deity, the exorcist, so to speak, called the *maeza*, or seat-in-front. Next in religious rank is the *wakiza*, or side-seat. He is one of the *shiten*, or four heavens, specialized as the *tōhō*, or eastern side, the *hoppō*, or northern side, the *nambō*, or southern side, and the *saihō*, or western side. Their duty is to ward off evil influences from the four quarters. In addition to these six there is a deputy *maeza* and a sort of clerk of court.

Severally clapping their hands, the performers now enter upon the ceremony proper. This consists of two parts: a general purification service, separated by a pause and a rearrangement from the communion service itself. The one is an essential preface to the other.

When the last man is fairly launched upon the general incantation, the *maeza* starts one of the purification prayers (*harai*), into which the others instantly fall. The prayer chosen to begin with is usually the *misogi no harai*. It is a chant chiefly in monotone, only occasionally lapsing for a note into the octave or the fifth. Every now and then a chanter sinks into a guttural grunt as if mentally fatigued, very suggestive of a mechanical dulling of the mind.

The *harai* over, or rather bridged by some of the company, the *maeza* starts another, the rest take it in swing, and the eight are off again together. In this manner prayer after prayer is intoned, and *uta* or songs chanted in like cadence between. Shakings of the *shakujō*, a small crosier with metal rings, emphasize the rhythm, and the pilgrim bells rung at intervals point the swift processional chorus of the whole.

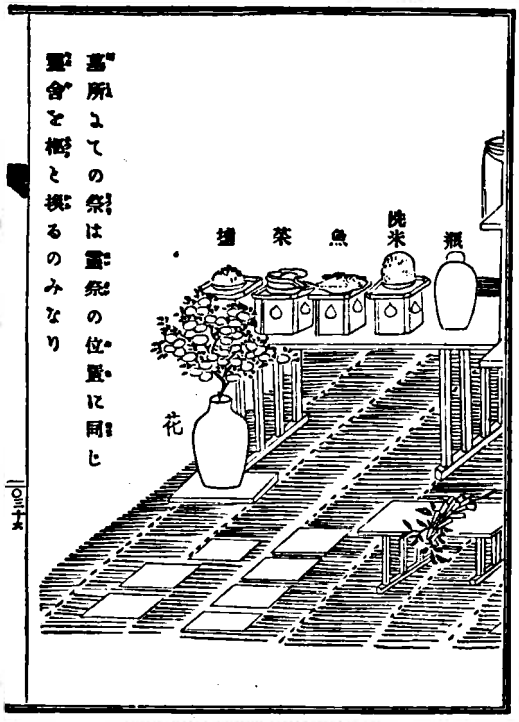
. . . Then the *gohei*-wand is brought down from the shrine and stood up in the midst.

The men take their seats for the descent of the god. Up to this time they squat on their heels in the usual Japanese fashion; from now on they sit with folded legs, which some say is the exalted seat of old Japan, and others ascribe to Buddhist influence. The *maeza* seats himself first, opposite and facing the shrine, folds his legs in front of him, and, drawing his dress over them, ties it to-

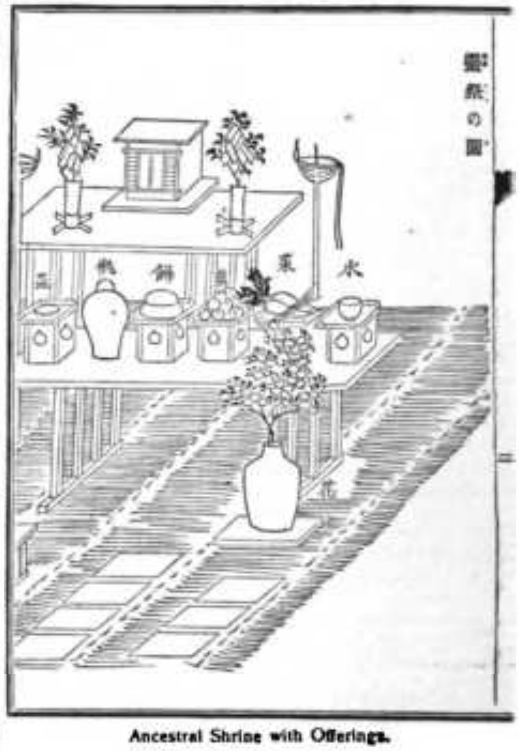
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gether from the sides and then brings the farther end up and ties it to his girdle. This is the usual Japanese mode of tying up a bundle. The others do the same, the *shiten* seating themselves at the four corners, and the deputy *maeza* and clerk by the side of the *maeza*. The *nakaza* is as yet unseated, officially speaking.

All face the *gohei* and go through a further short incantation. Then the *wakiza* reverently removes the *gohei*-wand and holds it while the *nakaza* seats himself where it was, facing from the



Ancestral Shrine with Offerings.



Ancestral Shrine with Offerings.

shrine, tucks himself in as the others did, and closes his eyes. After some private finger-twistings and prayer on the part of the *nakaza* and the *maeza*, the *nakaza* brings his hands together in front of him and the *maeza*, taking the *gohei*-wand from the *wakiza*, places it between them. Then all the others join in the chant, and watch for the advent of the god.

For a few minutes, the time varying with the particular *nakaza*, the man remains perfectly motionless. Then suddenly the wand begins to quiver; the quiver gains till all at once the man is seized with a convulsive throe—the throe, as we say in truth, of one possessed. In some trances the eyes then open, the eyeballs being rolled up half out of sight; in others the eyes remain shut. Then the throe subsides again to a permanent quiver, the eyes, if open, fixed in the trance look. The man has now become the god.

The *maeza*, bowed down, then reverently asks the name of the god, and the god answers; after which the *maeza* prefers his petition, to which the god makes reply. When he has finished asking what he will and the god has finished replying, the *nakaza* falls forward on his face.

The *maeza* concludes with a prayer; then striking the *nakaza* on the back, with or without the ceremony of previously writing a cabalistic character (a Sanskrit one) there, the *maeza* wakes him up. One of the others gives the man water from a cup, and when he has been able to swallow it, the rest set to and rub his arms and body out of their cataleptic contraction. For at first it is practically impossible to take the wand from his unnatural grasp.

From the moment he claps his hands each begins upon a chain of finger-charms, of the effective uncouthness of which it is difficult to convey any idea in words. Their uncanny character is distinctly the most impressive thing in the function. They are called *inmusubi*, or seal-bindings, which describes their intent, and incidentally their appearance. In form it is playing holy cat's-cradle with one's hands, but in feeling it is the most intense action imaginable. The fingers are tied into impossible knots with a vehemence which is almost maniacal; and the tying is timed to consecrated formulæ that, in consequence of the performer's exaltation, take on much of the emotion of a curse.

The several twists typify all manner of acts. The position of the fingers in one symbolizes a well, raising which above the head and then upsetting it souses one with holy water. Another represents a very realistic pull, which constrains a good spirit to enter the performer. A third compels evil spirits to avaunt; and so forth and so on. There is quite an esoteric library on the subject, and so thoroughly defined is the system that the several finger-joints bear special names.

The seal-bindings are themselves sealed by a yet simpler digital device wrought with one hand, and called cutting the *kūji*, or the nine characters. It

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consists in drawing in the air an imaginary five-barred gate, made of five horizontal bars and four vertical posts. This gate is to keep out the evil spirits. The reason there are nine strokes and not ten, which is the far-eastern dozen, is due to the far-eastern practice of always providing an enemy with a possible way of escape. If the Japanese devils could not thus run away it is said they would become dangerous. For, as a far-eastern proverb hath it:

"The cornered rat
Will bite the cat."

—*P. Lowell*, "*Occult Japan*," *pp. 129-132, 133-5, 136-7.*

The Subjective Side of Trance Possession.—We now come to the subjective side of the trance, the first point being the getting into it; the cause, that is, as distinguished from its occasion. Entrance is effected, in fact, in the simplest possible manner. It consists in shutting the eyes and thinking of nothing. From the moment the *nakaza* takes the *gohei*-wand into his hands, at which time it will be remembered he closes his eyes, he makes his mind as much of a blank as he can. . . .

He entered the holy ring as usual and remembers hearing the others repeating the prayers fainter and yet more faint, like singers departing into the distance, and then he was aware of being rudely and irrelevantly shaken by the rest. They were bringing him to. Possession had been like the unconscious dropping off to sleep; coming to himself again like waking in the morning, only that he felt dull and tired. He was told by the company that he had nodded, brandished the wand, and become perfectly rigid. . . .

All agree in the sense of oppression which is their last bit of consciousness before going off and their first on coming to. It is for this the *maeza* slaps the *nakaza* repeatedly on the back at and after the moment of waking. . . .

Possession begins, they say, at the *gohei*. The hands that hold it are the first parts of the man to be possessed. In the incipient cases they are all that are visibly affected. As the control deepens the cataleptic condition creeps on, like paralysis, till it involves all of the body not actually in use by the god.

Possession ends much as it begins. The subject's arms and hands are the last part of him to lose their induced catalepsy. After the man is well waked and to all intents and purposes himself again, it is difficult to take the wand away from him. Only after being rubbed and kneaded will the fingers let go their hold.

In the trance itself the anæsthesia is usually marked. I have repeatedly stuck pins into the entranced at favorably sensitive spots without the god's being aware of the pricks.—*P. Lowell*, "*Occult Japan*," *pp. 174-180.*

(2) **Pilgrimages.**—The third peculiarity about these pilgrimages consists in their being probably the most unreligious in the world. Speaking profanely, they are peripatetic picnic parties, faintly flavored with piety; just a sufficient suspicion of it to render them acceptable to the easy-going gods. For a more mundanely merry company than one of these same pilgrim bands it would be hard to meet, and to put up at an inn in their neighborhood is to seem bidden to a ball. They are far more the "jolly compagnie" of "fayerie" Chaucer tells us of than the joyless "lymytours" that displaced it.

The Japanese go upon pilgrimages because they thoroughly enjoy themselves in the process, the piety incident to the act simply relieving them from compunction at having so good a time. Sociability is the keynote of the affair from start to finish.—*Ibid, pp. 198-9.*

The brothels mentioned in the lesson are *not* examples of sacred prostitution, but simply go where men do congregate, in the absence of any proscription to the contrary. Shintoism is here as yet *un*moral.

(3) **Ethics.**—The foundations upon which the Ancient Learning is based are the writings in which the Imperial Court has recorded the facts of antiquity. Most people are wont to suppose that the only way to attain to a knowledge of right conduct is to read books full of precepts, but they labor under a mistake. Precept is far inferior to example, for it only arises in the absence of example, while it is unnecessary when example exists. (As Laotzŭ says, "When the Great Way decayed, Humanity and Righteousness arose.") In order to spur on a warrior to valiant deeds, rather than show him a book which says, "When you go to battle strive to be first, do not lag behind others," show him a book in which are written the facts about ancient heroes who led the way, fought bravely and achieved renown. The facts will sink deeply into his heart, and he will say to himself, "When the occasion arises, I will distinguish myself like such an one of antiquity," but the mere exhortation will scarcely stir his emotions.—*A. Hirata* (*Cf. close of Lesson 20*), *in* "*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*," *Vol. III. Appendix, p. 40.*

The "Holy Men" of China were merely successful rebels. The Mikado is the sovereign appointed by the pair of deites, Izanagi and Izanami, who created this country. The Sun-goddess never said, "Disobey the Mikado if he be bad," and therefore, whether he be good or bad, no one attempts to deprive him of his authority. He is the immovable ruler who must endure to the end of time, as long as the sun and moon continue to shine. In ancient language the Mikado was called a god, and that is his real character. Duty therefore consists in obeying him implicitly, without questioning his acts.

Human beings, having been produced by the spirit of the two Creative Deities, are naturally endowed with the knowledge of what they ought to do and what they ought to refrain from. It is unnecessary for them to trouble their heads with systems of morality. If a system of morals were necessary, men would be inferior to animals, all of whom are endowed with the knowledge of what they ought to do, only in an inferior degree to men. If what the Chinese call Benevolence, Righteousness, Propriety, Retiringness, Filial Piety, Brotherly Love, Fidelity and Truth really constituted the duty of man, they would be so recognized and practiced without any teaching; but as they were invented by the so-called "Holy Men" as instruments for ruling a viciously-inclined population, it became necessary to insist on more than the actual duty of man. Consequently, although plenty of men profess these doctrines, the number of those who practice them is very small. Violations of this teaching were attributed to human lusts. As human lusts are a part of man's nature, they must be a part of the harmony of the universe, and cannot be wrong according to the Chinese theory.—*N. Motoori* (*Cf. close of Lesson 20*), *in* "*Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*," *Vol. III. Appendix, pp. 24-5.*

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FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **SHINTOIST CEREMONIES.**—Clan-god, Marriage, Funeral, Tera, Miya, Worship, Festival.
20. **SHINTOISM IN ITS DOCTRINE.**—Kojiki—its date and traits. Origins in folklore and philosophy (*a la* Yasumaro). Monotheism.
21. **SHINTOISM (CONTINUED).**—Amaterasu, Susano, Okuninushi, Sukuna-Hiko.
22. **SHINTOISM (CONTINUED).**—Ninigi, Heaven and Korea, Divine right, Okuninushi, Inari, Fire Cult, Kami, Misfortunes.
23. **ANCESTORS AND HEROES. THE CULT.**—Ancestors, Heroes, Living gods, Ritual, Obarai, Kaijo, Ka gura, Priest, Shrine.
24. **THE CULT (CONTINUED).**—Magic, Trance-possession, Funerals, Pilgrimage, Gohei, Kamidana, Ethics.

QUESTIONS.

19. *Describe the birth ceremony. Is the marriage ceremony religious or social? Describe the funeral. On what subsequent days and years is the deceased celebrated? Contrast the miya with the tera. Describe the act of worship. Describe a festival.*

20. *What does the Kojiki contain? What value has it? Of what is it typical? What is its theory of origins? What method is there in this apparent madness? (Analogy.) How did Yasumaro supplement this crude lore? Discuss the monotheistic theory.*

21. *Prove Amaterasu a sun-deity. Specify the traits common to Susano and the rain-storm. (The analogy is much closer to one familiar with the "tsuyu" or "rainy season" of Japan. It depends on the southwest trade wind or monsoon.) Specify the traits common to Okuninushi and the moon. (Moreover, Okuninushi displaced Tsuki-Yomi-no-Kami of Lesson 20 whose name shows him to be the moon-god of the Kynshu clan.) To what class of gods did Sukuna-Hiko belong?*

22. *How is the nature-worship of Amaterasu connected with the ancestor-worship of the Imperial family? How is divine right to rule affected? Who was Jimmu Tenno? Prove the identity of Heaven and Korea. Why did Okuninushi assume rule over the invisible? How common is the cult of Inari San? What does kami mean, and how do we translate it? Whence comes evil?*

23. *What has become of the ancestor cult? Name three ancient hero-gods. What living persons were considered divine? What is the nature of the rituals? Describe the Obarai. Describe the Kaijo. Describe the Kagura. Describe the priest. Describe the shrine.*

24. *Instance some magical practices. Describe trance-possession. What was the occasion of human sacrifices? Where does the soul abide? Characterize the pilgrimage. What are the two uses of the gohei? How is the kami-dana used? When are offerings made it? What are the ethics of Shintoism?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *With the prominence and picturesqueness of ceremony here, contrast the entire absence of ceremony among the Quakers.*

2. *This sexual theory of origins is as natural and striking as it is insufficient. How has it been improved up to our day? Can we entirely escape anthropomorphism?*

3. *Relate the nature myths contained in Notes 1, 2, and 4 to a child, and mark the interest and satisfaction manifested. The child stands at the barbarian culture grade.*

4. *Compare and contrast these views of Heaven and the State with your own view.*

5. *Compare the Kaijo with the Judaic rite of the scapegoat.*

6. *Compare this possession-trance with the Western hypnotic trance. (This is done very well in P. Lowell's "Occult Japan."*

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GAZETTEER AND GLOSSARY.

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION.

a as in fat.	i as in pin.	ū as in tube.
ā as in fate.	ī as in pine.	ü Place the lips for oo, but say ee.
ä as in father.	o as in not.	oi as in joint.
a when obscure.	ō as in note.	ou as in proud.
e as in met.	ö as in move.	g as in get.
ē as in mete.	u as in tub.	ñ French nasal n.

N. B.—Great diversity appears among writers as to both the English letters used to represent Chinese sounds and the way of combining these, whether with hyphens or not. Letters and marks will be reduced to a minimum in this list.

Akka (äk'ka).—Finnic goddess.
Ama-inu (ä'mä-ē'nö).—"Heaven-dog."
Amaterasu-O-Mi-Kami (ä'mä-tä-rä'sö-ō-mē-kä'mē).—Shintoist sun goddess.
Bai ilgen (bī-il'gen).—Tartar God.
Chau (chou).—Chinese dynasty.
Chiang-hsi (chyäng-hsē).—Chinese province.
Chi Hwang-ti (chē-hwäng'tē).—Chinese Emperor.
Chun Chu (chön-chö).—Chinese annals.
Chwangtse (chwäng'tz).—Disciple of Laotze.
Daikoku (dī'kōkō).—Shintoist god.
Ebisu (ā'bē-sō).—Shintoist god.
Erlik (ār'lik).—Tartar Satan.
Fang-shui (fung'shö'ē).—Chinese geomancy.
Gen Yoshioka (gen yo'she-ō'kä).—Writer of Lesson 19.
Gohei (gō-hā'ē).—Shintoist symbol.
Hachiman San (hä'chē-män' sän).—Shintoist god.
Haitu (hī'tö).—Earth.
Haraibei (hä-rī-bā'e).—"Purifying gift."
Hiisi (hē'ē-sē).—Finnic Satan.
Hsiao King (hseou' king).—Chinese Book of Filial Piety."
Hwang-tien Shang-ti (hwäng'tē'en shäng'tē).—Chinese Supreme Deity.
Iki Gami (ē'kē-gä'mē).—Shintoist "living god."
Imibe (ē'mē-bā).—Japanese priestly clan.
Inari (ē-nä'rē).—Shintoist goddess.
Izanagi (e'zä-nä'-gē).—Shintoist god.
Izanami (ē'zä-nä'mē).—Shintoist goddess.
Iyemitsu (ē'yä-me'tsö).—Japanese Shogun.
Iyeyasu (e'yä-yä'sö).—Japanese Shogun.
Jimmu Tenno (jim'mö-ten'nō).—First Japanese "earthly emperor."
Kagura (kä'gö-rä).—Shintoist rite.
Kaijo (kī'jō).—Shintoist ritual.
Kalevala (kä'lä-vä'la).—Finnic epic.
Kami (kä'mē).—Shintoist gods.
Kami-dana (kä'mē-dä'nä).—Shelf for the gods in Shintoism.
Kane (kä'nā).—Tartar gods.
Kara (kä'rä).—Korea.
Kojiki (kō'jē-kē).—Shintoist scripture.
Koma-inu (ko'mä-ē'nō).—"Korean dog."
Kongtze (kong'tz).—Chinese sage.
Koto-Shiro-Nushi (kō'tō-shē'rō-nō'shē).—Shintoist god.
Kudai (kö-dī').—A class of Tartar gods.
Kwan-ti (kwän-tē).—Taoist god.
Laotze (lou'tz).—Chinese mystic.
Li Chi (lē-chē).—Chinese classic.
Lung-hu (lung-hö).—Chinese mountain.
Matsuyama (mä'tsö-yä'mä).—Japanese pastor.
Michizane (me'chē-zā'nā).—Japanese scholar.
Miya (mē'yä).—Shintoist shrine.
Nakatomi (nä'kä-tō'mē).—Japanese priestly clan.
Ninigi-no-Mikoto (nē-nē'gē-nō mē-kō'to).—Japanese legendary chieftain.
Obarai (ō'bä-rī').—Shintoist ritual.
Okuninushi (ō-kö'nē-nō'shē).—Shintoist god.
Ryobu (ryō'bō).—Shintoist sect.
Sakaki (sä-kä'kē).—Sacred tree.
San Ching (sän-ching).—Taoist idols.
Saruta-Hiko (sä'rö-tä hē'kō).—Shintoist god.
Shang-ti (shäng'tē).—"Supreme ruler."
Shi King (shē'king).—Chinese classic.
Shibata (shē bä tä).—Shintoist priest.
Shintai (shin'tī).—"God's body."
Shu (shö).—Chinese books of second rank.
Shu King (shö'king).—Chinese classic.
Sukuna-Hiko (sö'kö-nä-hē'kō.—Shintoist god.
Susano (sö'sä nō').—Shintoist god.
Takama ga hara (tä-kä'mä-gä-hä'rä). Heaven, according to Shintoism.
Take-Haya-Susano-no-Mikoto (tä'kä-hä'yä-sö'sä'nō'-nō-Mē-kō'tō).—Rain-storm God.
Tao (tou).—The Absolute of Laotze.
Tao Te Ching (tou'tä ching').—Book written by Laotze.
Tengere Kaira Kan (ten'gä-re kī'rä kän).—Tartar god.
Tenjin Sama (ten'jin sä'mä).—Shintoist god.
Tenshi Sama (ten'shē-sä'mä).—Title of the Japanese emperor.
Tera (tā'rä).—Buddhist temple.
Ti (tē).—"Ruler."
Tien (tē'en).—"Heaven."
Toyo-Uke-Bime (tō'yō-ö'kä-bē'mä).—Shintoist goddess.
Tsai-shin (tsī-shin).—Taoist god.
Tsuki-Yomi-no-Kami (tsö'kē-yō'mē-nō-kä'mē).—Shintoist Moon-god.
Ujigami (ö'jē-gä'mē).—Japanese god.
Ukko (ök'kō).—Finnic god.
Wan-chang (wän-chäng).—Taoist god.
Yengishiki (yen'-gē-shē'kē).—Shintoist Book of Rites.
Yi King (yē'king).—Chinese classic.
Yu Hwang Shang Ti (yö'hwäng-shäng'tē).—Taoist deity.
Yung Kwai (yöng kwī).—Writer of Lessons 1-3.

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SIDE LIGHTS.

History of Religion in Japan.—The Chinese and Japanese should be far more carefully and widely distinguished from each other than is commonly done, for they vary as widely as two peoples belonging to the same race well can. In Lesson 7 it was shown that the Chinese stock came from Western Asia, settled about the northern bend of the Yellow river, and only slowly subdued and absorbed the surrounding tribes. It may have been owing to the pressure consequent on this expansion that two related tribes in the remote Korea immigrated to Japan, one landing in Kyushu, its most southern island, probably about the second century B.C., and the other in the province of Izumo, on the western coast of the main island, several centuries earlier. The island of Tsushima, or 'Port Island," formed the convenient half-way house on this voyage. Both the Kyushu and Izumo tribes found the Ainus in possession of the land, but their influence was almost nil, either upon the physical or mental traits of the Japanese. They were savages, using only stone implements and weapons, and therefore easily exterminated by the steel-weaponed invaders, who deified and still remember by name several of their invincible swords. In the rare cases where the barbarian invaders consorted with these savage aborigines, their racial difference—for the Ainus are not Mongolians, but, among other differences, the hairiest people in the world—precluded survival of their descendants beyond the third generation. These Ainus, now limited to about fifteen thousand in the northern Yezo and Kuriles, are rapidly dying out, as unable to bear modern peace as they were ancient warfare.

The Kyushu tribe expanded chiefly northwards, where it met, subdued, and coalesced with the related Izumo tribe. This union was effected by a chief since known as Jimmu Tenno, about the first century B C. His imperial line has now for two milleniums occupied the Japanese throne, and is therefore incomparably the oldest ruling family in the world, though China is the oldest nation. Its divine descent and right to rule have under no circumstances ever been called in question.

From about the third century A.D. Chinese culture slowly filtered into Japan, and in the sixth and seventh centuries after the advent of Buddhism, about 550 A.D., burst in like a flood. This advent of Buddhism begins the second period of Shinto, as the native religion was now called to distinguish it from the missionary faith. This period proved to be one of complete arrest of development, and of absorption by Buddhism, except in the provinces of Ise and Izumo, respectively cult-centers of the Kyushu and Izumo tribes. The Buddhist priests made slow progress until they identified the Shinto deities as *avataras* of ancient Buddhas, which enabled them to assume control of most of the shrines and modify the cult of Shinto into a sect called Ryobu Shinto, while the various Buddhist sects grew mightily with the growth of the people.

As the advent of Buddhism determined the second period of Shinto, so did the revival of Confucianism in Japan during the seventeenth century determine its third period which was one of resuscitation. This historical, nationalistic and anti-Buddhistic Confucianism inspired the Japanese *literati* to investigate their own past, whence began a politico-religious movement which issued in 1868 in the disestablishment of Buddhism in favor of Shintoism, the overthrow of the Shogunate, that since the twelfth century had exercised imperial power, and the opening of Japan to foreign intercourse. The literary leaders in this great movement were the scholars Mabuchi (1697-1769), Motoori (1730-1801), and Hirata (1776-1843). Since this "revival of pure Shinto," in 1868, Buddhism has slowly reasserted itself, though never to state patronage, while Shinto has shrunk in importance, and Confucianism has simply vanished at sight of Western science, politics and law. Meantime, by the Constitution promulgated in 1890, a religious liberty is granted every Japanese, which had been practically conceded for more than a decade.

The foregoing sketch shows how far the religious compound is found in Japan. Here, of course, Shintoism replaces Taoism. Buddhism had a dominant influence in Japan for an entire millenium, which it never enjoyed in China; Confucianism was only secondary, and Shintoism came last in influence during historic times.

Besides the Ryobu sect noticed above, several others have arisen at various periods under the influence of Buddhist, Confucian or Christian doctrines. The most interesting of these sects are the Zhikko, the Kurozumi and the Tenri. The first and second can be well appreciated from the selections given below. The third, which forms at the same time the most recent and popular, has so little literature and is so shifting in its beliefs, that nothing more need be stated here than that its success—like that of the Kurozumi—has arisen chiefly from the promise of bodily healing it afforded.

The Kurozumi Sect.—Kurozumi Sakyō was born in 1780 in the province of Bizen, which is on the largest of the islands of Japan. From his early years he was remarkable for piety and filial affection. While still a child he firmly resolved that, for the sake of the joy it would give his parent, he would strive to gain the praise and esteem of men. When about twenty years old, there arose in his mind this thought: "He who steadfastly refrains from acts which in his heart he knows to be evil will become a *kami*." From that time he exercised the greatest circumspection concerning his conduct, carefully avoiding all known wrong. In the autumn of 1812 he lost both of his parents, there being an interval of only seven days between their deaths. This affliction caused so much grief that he himself became ill. His disease developed into consumption, and in the spring of 1814 it seemed to all that he had not much longer to live. It was while awaiting the death which he supposed to be inevitable that he made this vow: "When I die and become a *kami*, I will devote myself to the work of healing the diseases of mankind." As a preparation for his departure, he worshipped first the sun, then the celestial and

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terrestrial *kami*, also his ancestors, and especially his parents, to whom he returned thanks for the many favors which during their lives they had heaped upon him. Having done this, he calmly awaited the approach of death. Now, however, a new thought entered his mind: "By grieving over the loss of my parents I have inflicted injury upon my own soul, and have become filled with the negative, gloomy spirit (*in-ki*). This is the cause of my poor health. If, now, my soul can only imbibe the positive, cheerful spirit (*yô-ki*) the disease will of itself disappear. True filial piety should lead me to incessant care for the nourishing of my own soul." From that time he commenced the practice of considering everything he saw or heard as a blessing bestowed by Heaven, and as such to be received with gratitude. When in this way he applied himself earnestly to the nourishment of his soul, he began to recover his health. Here was the great crisis in the history of Kurozumi, and hence it is frequently referred to in books and sermons.

For a better understanding of the thought which exerted so great an influence upon Kurozumi, and through him upon others, it is necessary that something should be said concerning the words "*yô-ki*" and "*in-ki*." The syllable "*ki*" may perhaps be best translated "spirit," always bearing in mind the original meaning of that word. As found in the Kurozumi books, it seems to correspond very closely with the Greek word πνεῦμα. "*Yô*" is in Chinese philosophy the male or positive principle, while "*in*" is the female or negative principle in nature. "*Yô*" is often used for what is bright or cheerful; "*in*," of what is shady or gloomy. The sun is "*tai-yô*," or the "great *yô*," and is considered by the Kurozumi sect to be the source of *yô-ki*, so that an imbibing of the sun's rays, its light and heat, is an imbibing of vitality and cheerfulness. This connection with the sun needs to be constantly remembered in our study of a system which makes the sun-god its great object of worship. No single words suffice for a constant translation of the terms "*yô-ki*" and "*in-ki*." In this paper they will usually be rendered "positive spirit" and "negative spirit"; sometimes the sense can be more clearly expressed by the words "cheerfulness" and "gloom."

One day, soon after the events already narrated, Kurozumi crawled out from his bed, and, though as yet he had hardly the necessary strength, he bathed himself and then commenced to worship the sun. At once, just as frost vanishes before the morning sun, so did his illness depart, leaving him in perfect health. At the time of the next winter solstice, while again engaged in worshiping the rising sun, the positive spirit so penetrated his breast that he was filled with thoughts of joy and gratitude. Unconscious of what he did, he continued to drink in the sunlight, until his heart suddenly became pure, and he for the first time "laid hold on that life which vivifies the universe." He was at that time thirty-five years old.

Not long after, a maid-servant suffering from an attack of colic was driven almost crazy by the pain. Kurozumi, moved with pity, breathed out upon her the positive spirit with which he himself was filled, and the girl was immediately healed. From that time he commenced the practice of breathing upon those who requested his aid, while he also taught them to care for the welfare of the soul as well as for that of the body. Those suffering from chronic diseases experienced instant relief, and were thus led to investigate the teaching of their benefactor.

Kurozumi died in 1850. Even by those who do not accept his doctrine he is praised for his upright life, and for his earnestness in seeking to lead others to righteousness. One act of gross immorality has been reported to me through a member of the household in which it is said to have occurred. The charge is so contrary to the prevailing opinion of Kurozumi's character that I am inclined to give him the benefit of the doubt, and to hope there was no ground for the accusation.

The sect, though of such modern origin, has gained a large number of adherents, especially among the peasantry. Its success is largely attributable to the healing of diseases, which its believers profess to accomplish by means of various rites. There can be no doubt that, as in more or less similar methods of treatment found in western lands, there have been remarkable cures. These are made the most of, the facts are often exaggerated, while failures attract little attention.

Kurozumi left for the direction of his disciples seven commandments, as follows:

"1. Thou who was born in the Land of the Gods shalt not be without a constantly believing heart.

"2. Thou shalt not yield to anger nor grief.

"3. Thou shalt not become so self-conceited as to despise others.

"4. Thou shalt not in seeing the wickedness of others increase thine own.

"5. When in health thou shalt not be slothful in business.

"6. Thou who hast entered the Way of Truth shalt not have thy soul devoid of truth. [*i. e.*, Practice must agree with profession.]

"7. Thou shalt not let slip the daily blessings."

The following extracts are taken from a book entitled "A Short Explanation of the Seven Commandments":

"4th Commandment. 'Thou shalt not in seeing the wickedness increase thine own.' The following are sayings of Kurozumi:

"'When a man ill-treats us, we in our hatred and anger may seek to requite the evil, Thus we are led to acts worse than his, and ere we are aware, the wickedness of our own hearts has increased.'

"'Those who do evil are ignorant of the Way, and hence are to be pitied. We, remembering our blessed religion, must try without ill-will or anger to instruct them. Thus the wicked may be converted so that they shall walk with us in the ways of righteousness.'

"'Overlook the faults of men; see only their excellencies, and make these an example for your own guidance.'

"'If you requite another's evil deeds with the same, then both fall into sin and together receive punishment from Heaven. An old story tells of a hen with two heads, one of which was peacefully inclined, while the other was selfish. In picking up food the selfish head would snatch and gobble down everything that was found. For a while the peaceable head patiently endured this, but at last could bear it no longer. Seeing something poisonous fall to the ground, it pretended that it was going to eat it. The selfish head snatched away the morsel; but no sooner had it swallowed the poison than it became weak and paralyzed, at which the other head exclaimed, "I am glad of it." In a few minutes, however, the poison circu-

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lating through the body reached this head also, so that it too died.'"

The following sayings of Kurozumi are drawn from various sources:

"I am like one who wades first into the stream to see whether it can be forded. Let all of you follow close behind me."

"What I say is not drawn from books. I simply speak as Heaven directs. When my own thoughts incline me to say 'East,' I say 'West'; when I am about to say 'It is,' I am forced to say, It is not.'"

"Though in every dewdrop dwells a moon, the true moon in the sky is but one. The moon, the sun, and I myself all come from one soul, and I must not think of them as distinct beings."

[From a letter] "I thank you for the prayers you offered on my behalf during my recent illness. I myself did not pray. I simply submitted everything to Heaven's will. If I was no longer of any use to the world it would have been right had I died, while if I can be of the least use here I shall rejoice to live."

"There is nothing which men part with so reluctantly as self; but from reluctance to part with self they lose self."

"If I give up myself, the whole wide world is mine."

"While out walking the other day, I saw a number of people gathered about a well. On approaching I found that a cat having fallen into the water, some men had managed to get her into a bucket so as to draw her out. Just as they got her to the top, and put out their hands to take her, the cat, in fright, leaped out from the bucket, and, falling to the bottom of the well, was drowned. Heaven and the gods are always guarding men, but they, in their ignorance of this, take things into their own hands with results as disastrous as those following the leap of the cat."

The following sermon, preached by a disciple of Kurozumi, upon the text, "Have a cheerful spirit," may furnish some points for comparison with various doctrines of "mental healing," "faith-cure," etc.:

"A cheerful spirit (*yō-ki*) is a state of mind where one is filled with courage, happiness, firmness, and bravery. In common parlance, a man is often said to have a cheerful spirit when, in a dissolute manner, he sings and dances about; but such actions simply show that he is indulging his selfish desires. Though he may appear to be having a fine time, and to be very jolly, it is not true cheerfulness; it is only a depraved kind of enjoyment. A truly cheerful spirit is a vivifying influence, which comes from forgetting one's own selfish desires, and freeing one's self from the influence of human passions. It is the positive, cheerful spirit of light and warmth with which the Sun-god nourishes all nature. This spirit coming from the Sun-god congeals and becomes the heart of man, which thus has power to move the body. When a man's heart is courageous, joyful, and filled with the cheerful spirit, his diseases are healed, and good fortune attends all his affairs, but when the gloomy spirit fills him so that he is constantly worrying, this gives rise to ill-health."

The following extracts from another sermon:

"Faith is the one open road between gods and men. No matter how many prayers you repeat, if in your heart there is timidity and doubt as to whether an answer will be given, then there will be no manifestation of divine power. If only there is faith, then, laying aside all question about the gods, the god in your own soul will be manifested in power. As the proverb says, 'Though we ask for nothing more than a sardine's head, its reception depends upon our faith,' and the divinity within our soul is called out by this earnest faith. This divinity is an emanation from the Sun-god.

"An unbeliever will say with a sneer, 'So then, when you talk about receiving divine help for the cure of disease, all you mean is, that a man's own state of mind is the cause of his recovery, and the power of the gods has nothing to do with it.' I reply that this state of mind is true faith, and therein is the wonderful principle of the working together of the gods and men. In one of his letters Kurozumi wrote, 'He that has life in himself, so as to call out the life of the universe, readily obtains divine aid.' Also in one of his sermons he told the following story:

"'A certain man owned a charm that had proved very efficient in curing toothache. He often lent it to his friends, and as the applicants became numerous he kept it in his tobacco-box, where he could always have it handy to give to those who desired it. One day, a man to whom it had been lent brought it back, saying with great joy that, thanks to the efficiency of the charm, his tooth had immediately ceased aching. After he had gone the owner of the charm happened to notice that the paper in which it was enclosed looked a little different from the original wrapping, and on opening it he found that there was nothing inside except a fish-hook. He then opened the drawer of the tobacco-box, where he found the box safely lying, for in some way the fish-hook had been lent in its place. Nevertheless, because of sincere faith on the part of the borrower he had been cured. The man was in fact healed by his own state of mind, and you might think this a sufficient explanation; but the truth is that men are all endowed with a divine, omnipotent supernatural power, as may be learned from this incident.'"

The following is from a sermon on the text, "Become free from desire":

"Kurozumi said, 'A believing heart is the aim of religion, and when a man has put forth all his own strength he must, over and above that, seek for divine help.' Some believers who have found it difficult to keep the commandment, 'Thou shalt not yield to anger nor grief,' have at last, by offering prayers and vows to the gods, gained the required strength. When a young man I was troubled with dyspepsia. Many articles of food caused me great distress; yet they looked so tempting that I found it hard to restrain myself from eating them. One day I heard Kurozumi use the following illustration in a sermon: 'A rat once found a horseradish-grater to which some paste was adhering. On tasting the paste he found it so sweet that he forgot the pain of his tongue, and so kept lapping away, lapping away, until his body was all grated up and nothing was left but the tip of his tail. This is a good illustration of the way men are led astray by their desires.' The story taught me that there was no help for me unless I obtained divine aid. I got an artist to paint me a picture of the rat and the grater, put it where I could always see it, and was helped by its teaching to recover from dyspepsia. For persons like myself, who have not strength to banish human desires, it is necessary to cling closely to the gods."

The Zhikko Sect.—The Zhikkô (practical) sect, as the name indicates, does not so much lay stress upon mere show and speculation as upon the

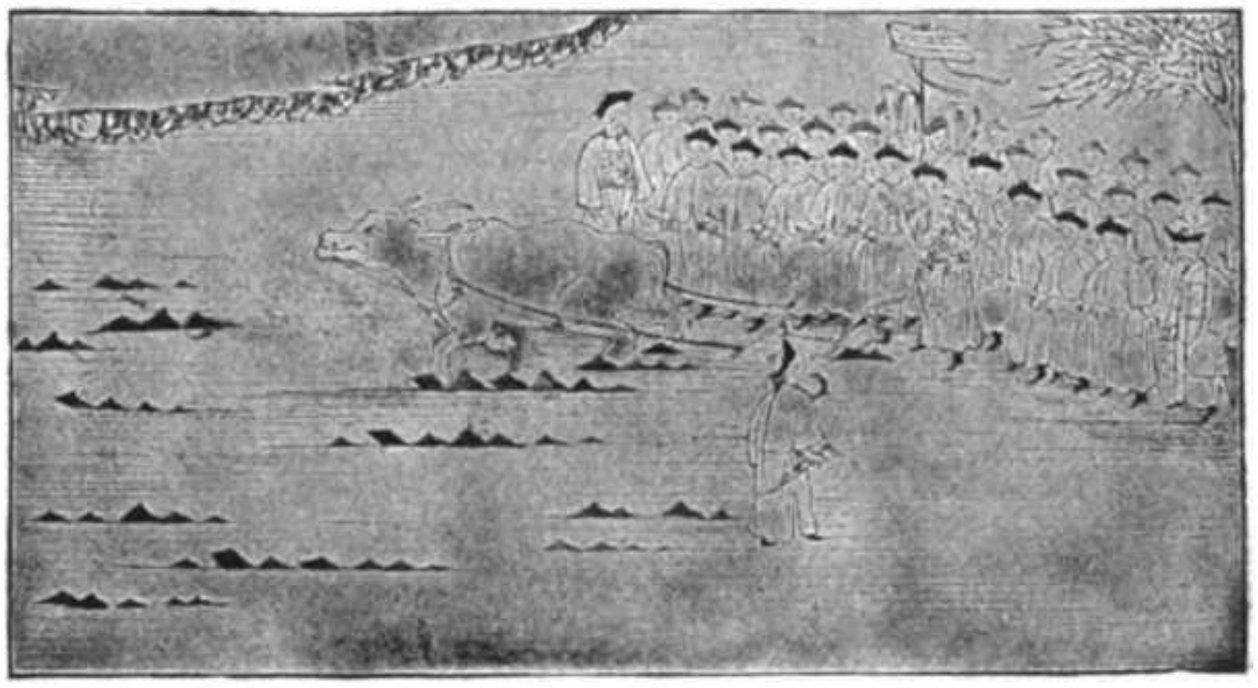
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realization of the teachings. Its doctrines are plain and simple, and teach man to do man's proper work. Being a new sect, it is free from the old dogmas and prejudices, and is regarded as a reformed sect. The scriptures on which the principal teachings of the sect are founded are Forukoto-bumi, Yamato-bumi and many others. They teach us that, before heavens and earth came into existence, there was one absolute Deity called Ame-no-minakanushi-no-kami. He has great virtue, and power to create, to reign over all things; he included everything within himself, and he will last forever without end. In the beginning the One Deity, self-originated, took the embodiments of two Deities, one with the male nature, and the other female. The male Deity is called Takami-musubi-no-kami, and the female Kami-musubi-no-kami. These two Deities are nothing but forms of the one substance, and unite again in the Absolute Deity. These three are called the "Three Deities of Creation." They caused a generation of Deities to appear, who in their turn gave birth to the islands of the Japanese Archipelago, the sun and moon, the mountains and streams, the Divine Ancestors, etc., etc. So their virtue and power are esteemed wondrous and bountiful.—"*Parliament of Religions*," *pp. 452-3.*

Mr. Shibata then follows with an excellent bit of mountain worship transformed to suit his new would-be monotheism. Remember that Mount Fuji is in and by itself divine to all Shintoists.

According to the teachings of our sect we ought to reverence the famous mountain Fuji, assuming it to be the sacred abode of the divine Lord, and as the brain of the whole globe. And, as every child of the Heavenly Deity came into the world with a soul separated from the one original soul of Deity, he ought to be just as the Deity ordered (in sacred Japanese, "kannagara") and make Fuji the example and emblem of his thought and action. For instance, he must be plain and simple as the form of the mountain, make his body and mind pure as the serenity of the same, etc. We should respect the present world with all its practical works more than the future world; pray for the long life of the Emperor and the peace of the country, and, by leading a life of temperance and diligence, co-operating with one another in doing public good, we should be responsible for the blessings of the country.—"*Parliament of Religions*," *p. 453.*

The Chinese Problem.—As the essential feature in the highest development of culture, we note the largest and most intimate interdependence among themselves and with past generations of all fellow-strivers after it; and as a result of it, the largest possible sum of achievement and acquisition. Between this and the opposite extreme lie all the intermediate stages which we comprise under the name "semi-civilization." This notion of a "half-way house" deserves a few words. When we see energetically at work in the highest civilization the forces which retain, as well as those concerned with extending and reshaping, the building, in semi-civilization it is essentially the former which are called into activity, while the latter remain behind and thereby bring about the inferiority of that state of things. The one-sidedness and incompleteness of semi-civilization lie on the side of intellectual progress, while on the material side development sets in sooner. Two hundred years ago, when Europe and North America had not yet taken the giant strides which steam, iron, and electricity have rendered possible, China and Japan caused the greatest astonishment to European travelers by their achievements in agriculture, manufactures, and trade, and even by their canals and roads, which have now fallen far towards dilapidation. But Europeans, and the daughter races in America and Australia, have in the last two hundred years not only caught up this start, but gone far ahead. Here we may perceive the solution of the riddle presented by Chinese civilization, both in the height it has reached and its stationary character,



The Chinese Emperor at the Plow.

and indeed by all semi-civilization What but the light in free, intellectual creation has made the west so far outrun the east? Voltaire hits the point when he says that Nature has given the Chinese the organs for discovering all that is useful to them, but not for going any further. They have become great in the useful, in the arts of practical life; while we are indebted to them for no one deeper insight into the connection and causes of phenomena, for no single theory.

Does this lack arise from a deficiency in their endowments, or does it lie in the rigidity of their social and political organization, which favors mediocrity and suppresses genius? Since it is maintained through all changes of their organization, we must decide for the defect in their endowments, which also is the sole cause of the rigidity in their social system. No doubt the future alone can give a decisive answer, for it will in the first place have to be shown whether and how far these races will progress on the ways of civilization which Europe and North America vie in pointing out to them; for there has long been no doubt that they will or must set foot on them. But we shall not come to the solution of this question if we approach it from the point of view of complete civilization, which sees in the incompleteness of China and Japan the signs of a thoroughly lower stage of the whole of life, and frequently at the same time signs of an entire absence of hope in all attempts at a higher flight. If they possess in themselves only the capacities for semi-civilization, the need of progress will bring more powerful organs to their head and gradually modify the mass of the people by immigration from Europe and North America. This process may have first raised to its present

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height many a civilized race of to-day; we may refer to the Russians and Hungarians, and to the fact that millions of German and other immigrants have stimulated in many ways the progress of these semi-Mongols in Europe.—*F. Ratzel*, "*The History of Mankind*," *pp. 25-7*.

Chinese and Japanese.—People are fond of drawing comparisons between the Chinese and the Japanese. Almost all seem agreed that the Japanese are much the pleasanter race to live with—clean, kindly, artistic. On the other hand, the Chinese are universally allowed to be far more trustworthy. "I know," says a late manager of the Hongkong and Shanghai bank in Shanghai, "of no people in the world I would sooner trust than the Chinese merchant or banker. . . . For the last twenty-five years the bank has been doing a very large business with Chinese in Shanghai, amounting, I should say, to hundreds of millions of taels, and we have never met with a defaulting Chinaman." Woefully different from this is the tale told by the European bankers and merchants in Japan. They complain, it is true, not so much of actual, willful dishonesty—though of that, too, they affirm there is plenty—as of pettiness, constant shilly-shallying, unbusinesslikeness almost passing belief. Hence the wide divergence between the impressions of the holiday-making tourist, and the opinions formed by the commercial communities at the open ports. Japan, the globe-trotter's paradise, is also the grave of the merchant's hopes. Another deep-seated difference between the Chinese and the Japanese is that the former have race pride, the latter national vanity. The Chinese care nothing for China as a political unit, an abstraction, an ideal to die for if need be; but they are nevertheless inalienably wedded to every detail of their ancestral civilization. The Japanese, though they have twice at intervals of a millenium thrown everything national overboard, are intense nationalists in the abstract. In fact, patriotism may be said to be their only remaining ideal. No Chinese but glories in the outward badges of his race; no Japanese but would be delighted to pass for an European, in order to beat Europeans on their own ground. The Japanese, too, are brave; they are also unpractical. The Chinese, eminently practical folks, follow the doctrine that

> He who fights and runs away
> Will live to fight another day.

The characteristic in which the Chinese and Japanese most agree (and other Far-Eastern peoples,—the Koreans, for example—agree in it also) is materialism. That is where the false note is struck, which, when long residence has produced familiarity, jars on European nerves and prevents true intellectual sympathy.

Mr. Walter Dening, whose acquaintance with modern Japanese literature and with the men who produce it is probably unrivaled, writes as follows:

"It is well known that one of the most marked characteristics of the Japanese mind is its lack of interest in metaphysical, psychological, and ethical controversy of all kinds. It is seldom you can get them to pay sufficient attention to such questions to admit of their understanding even their main outlines."

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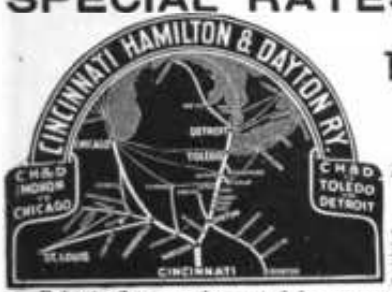
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BRAHMANISM AND HINDUISM.

BY

EDMUND BUCKLEY, Ph.D., University of Chicago.

1. INDIA: ITS PEOPLE, HISTORY AND CULTURE.

IN passing from China to India, the student should beware of supposing that, because both peoples belong to the Orient and stand at the same culture-level, he will meet the same mental traits in both. The precise opposite is rather the fact; and attention to this aspect of India and its culture—not overlooking, of course, fundamental human identities with China, as with the rest of the world—will frequently prove suggestive.

India consists of three great districts: the Himalayas with its slopes on the North, the valleys of the Indus and the Ganges in the middle, and the hills and plateaus of the Dekhan southwards from the Vindhya Mountains. Every variety of climate is found there, but the vast bulk of the people live in tropical heat. The average temperature for June in Delhi is ninety-five degrees Fahr., and the annual average for Madura is eighty-two. Rice grows in the low plains, and wheat in the high ones, but the staple food of the people is millet, the most prolific of all the cereals. The gigantic Himalayas and the vast Indian Ocean have barred steady intercourse with the rest of the world until the Modern Age, though three great gateways have admitted invaders from prehistoric times. The first of these is the valley of the Brahmaputra (Brahma's son) River, on the northeast, through which the yellow Kolarians entered from Tibet and drove the aboriginal black Dravidians to the Dekhan, where forty-six millions of them still speak their own languages. It may be, however, that these Kolarians were the first comers, and were driven east and west as the Dravidians made their way southward. What is certain is that, about 1500 B.C., tribes of fair-skinned and "beautiful nosed" Aryans entered India through the Khaiber and Bolan Passes on the northwest, and drove before them both Dravidians and Kolarians, partly exterminating them and partly making them low-caste artisans, laborers and out-castes. In the end the greater part of these aborigines mixed with the Aryan invaders and now form the mass of the Indian people, while comparatively pure descendants of Aryans and aborigines number each only about eighteen millions of the entire population of two hundred and forty millions. This admixture of aborigines with the conquering Aryans proved largely determinative of both the social and religious Hindu of later times, and must be constantly borne in mind.

The invaders consisted of large families, in which the father was in turn farmer, priest and warrior; but in conflict with the aborigines they differentiated into three classes, which subsequently hardened into the three "twice born" higher castes,

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namely, the Brahmans or priests, the Kshattriyas or warriors, and the Vaisyas or farmers. Only these three might be present at the sacrifices of the *deva* or shining gods. The Vaisyas tended to diminish by aspiration upwards, but in later times by absorption into numerous mixed castes, so that now they are extinct. This left the Brahmans and Kshattriyas to contend for the supreme place in the commonwealth. It was attained by the former, and thus the character of the Indians as the most religious people of the world assured, though at the expense of most of the other humanities. In spite of garbling by the Brahmans, Indian scriptures bear witness to the exercise of religious functions by the Kshattriyas. Thus no Indian names are greater than those of Visvamitra, Manu and Gautama Buddha, who all sprang from the Kshattriya caste.

Finally, however, the Brahmans prevailed, especially in the Ganges valley, the "Middle Land," and have controlled not only the religion, but the philosophy, law, literature and science of India to the present day. It is this monopoly of all the mental humanities that explains the persistence of their control under all the shocks of time. The priestly supremacy of the Brahman caste has often been assailed, was for several centuries overthrown by Buddhism, and has for centuries been shared in the Hindu sects by other "twice-born" castes; but for twenty-two centuries Brahmans have been the counsellors of Hindu princes, and the teachers of the Hindu people. They represent the Aryan culture of India; and the story of the attacks made upon them with their resultant modifications nearly coincides with the culture-history of India. Sir W. W. Hunter divides these attacks into six epochs: "First, the religious uprising of the half-Brahmanized Aryan tribes on the east of the Middle Land, initiated by the preaching of Buddha in the sixth century B.C., culminating in the Buddhist kingdoms about the commencement of our era, and melting into modern Hinduism about the eighth century A.D.; second, warlike inroads of non-Brahmanical Aryans or other races from the west, commencing with the Greek invasions in the fourth century B.C., and continuing under the Greco-Bactrian empire and its successors (Scythian or Tartar hordes from Central Asia), to probably the third or fourth century A.D.; third, the influence of the non-Aryan tribes of India, and of the non-Aryan low-castes incorporated from them—an influence ever at work, indeed by far the most powerful agent in dissolving Brahmanism into Hinduism, but represented in a special manner by the non-Aryan kingdoms about the seventh and eighth centuries A.D.; fourth, the reaction against the low beliefs, priestly oppression and bloody rites which resulted from this compromise between Brahmanism and aboriginal worship, a reaction which received an impetus from the preaching of Sankar-Acharya, who founded a philosophic Sivaite sect in the eighth or ninth century, and received its full development under a line of great Vaishnava reformers from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries A.D.; fifth, Mahometan invasions and the rule of Islam, 1000 to 1765 A.D.; sixth, the English supremacy, and the great popular upheaval which it has produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."

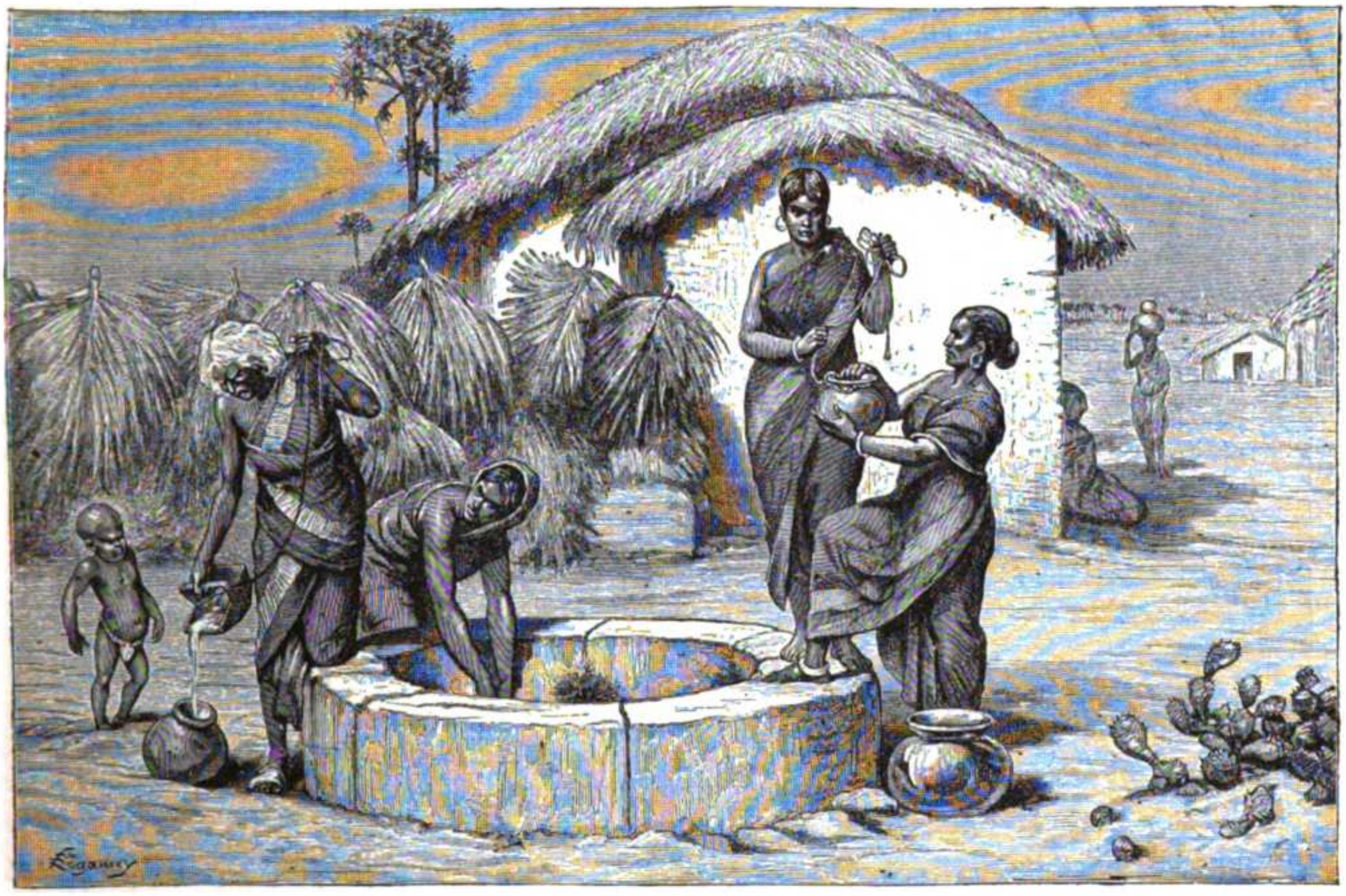
Indian culture has for three milleniums developed on the civilized grade with a variety and excellence surpassed only by Europe under its scientific culture of the last two centuries.

The classsic Indian speech, Sanskrit, the Indian alphabet, and the Indian grammar, each belong to the most perfect productions of its class, while the grammar remained unsurpassed down to the present century. In art, their skill, patience and taste have enabled them to teach something to the West and to still excel where machinery is not used.

It is to their mechanical skill that Europe owes cotton cloth (calico is derived from Calicut, and shawl and chintz are also words of Indian origin); and, where machinery is not involved, some Indian manufactures are still unsurpassed. In sculpture and painting Indians learned much from the Greeks, and early invented music, but have retrograded in all since about the tenth century; music and the dance are func-

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tions of their unfortunates, and as such shunned by the pure matron. However, in all species of literary art the Indians have contributed their full quota to the world's masterpieces. In politics and with that in history and biography again, the Indians have proved notable failures, as they have also in science. Even in medicine, after the Brahmans had taught both Greeks and Arabs, they degenerated on account of increasing reluctance to touch blood which caused ceremonial impurity. Astronomy fared better; but Indian devotion has been given to the mental sciences, logic, metaphysics, law and theology, in each of which, as we shall see, marvels have been accomplished. Religion in particular is allowed by all students of India to have



Hindu Women at the Well.

been its great achievement. Here may be studied in full operation at this present day every phase of religion from tree and serpent worship up to spiritual pantheism, and that with a practical consistency which as a whole is unrivaled elsewhere. India has been rightly characterized as God-drunk and priest-ridden, while the mechanical and fine arts have been left to the low castes, and science has been neglected.

The most conspicuous mental trait of the Indians is a well nigh boundless imagination, exercised without that consummate restraint by other elements that rendered Greek products so nearly perfect. This extravagant fancy has spoiled the Indian appetite for sober reality, and stands in striking contrast with the Chinese empiricism. It belongs to the youthful age and the barbarian culture-stage, along with such other Indian traits as the passion for jewelry, its doll-like treatment of idols quite as if living beings, its noisy music, general sensuousness, and often sensuality. Sultry climate and vegetable diet have brought about in the course of milleniums a decrease in energy, while lack of scientific control of nature has not reduced the labor requiring to be done. But the same causes have produced in the Indian great passive endurance, and resignation to his lot, whatever that may be.

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2. THE VEDAS AND DEVAS.

The earliest religious compositions of the Indians that have come down to us are called Vedas. They consist of three classes, quite distinct both in content, and time and place of composition. These are the *Mantras*, hymns, mostly of prayer and praise; the later *Brahmanas*, ritual rules and learned comments; and the still later *Upanishads*, theological discussions. The Mantras, which are alone often loosely designated Veda, are again to be divided into four collections (samhita), called respectively Rig-veda, Sama-veda, Yagur-veda and Atharva-veda. The first comprise the original hymns, 1,017 in number, the second and third are mere liturgical rearrangements of the first, while the last is distinguished for its incantations.

Veda, the class name for all these writings, means "knowledge" (cognate with Greek οἶδα, Latin *videre*, German *wissen*, and the English *wit*), and generations subsequent to those which composed it regarded it as sacred both in nature and origin. It proceeded like breath from the Self-existent (Brahman) to inspired sages (Rishis) who, in turn, transmitted it orally to their decendants, the Brahmans, whose peculiar property it has ever remained. Centuries later it was committed to writing, but has to this day remained unread by the Hindu masses, though upheld as infallible, and used in ritual.



Vishnu, One of the Sun-Gods.

The Rig-veda is by far the most important of its class. Its hymns reveal to us the Aryans "Nobles," as they called themselves, scattered in various tribes throughout the Punjab, about 1500–1000 B.C., sometimes warring with each other, but generally united against the aboriginal Blacks. The chiefs were elected; woman was honored, sometimes even composing hymns, and always worshiping with her spouse; widows were *not* burned on their husband's funeral pyre; agriculture was practiced, but the chief wealth and also the medium of exchange was cattle; beef was eaten and beer drunk, while their language was an early form of Sanskrit. These culture elements, including religion, possess a particular interest, because they point both backwards to a proto-Aryan culture, in which our own ancestors shared, and forwards to the culture of Hinduism, which differed from it in every point here specified. The common ancestry of these Indians with Persians, Greeks, Romans, Slavs, Teutons and Kelts, so as to form what has been variously called the Aryan, Indo-European, or Indo-Keltic race, was the wonderful discovery of philology only some fifty years ago, though it had been true for some five thousand years! In reading the Vedic hymns, therefore, we meet the earliest religious compositions of the race to which we ourselves belong.

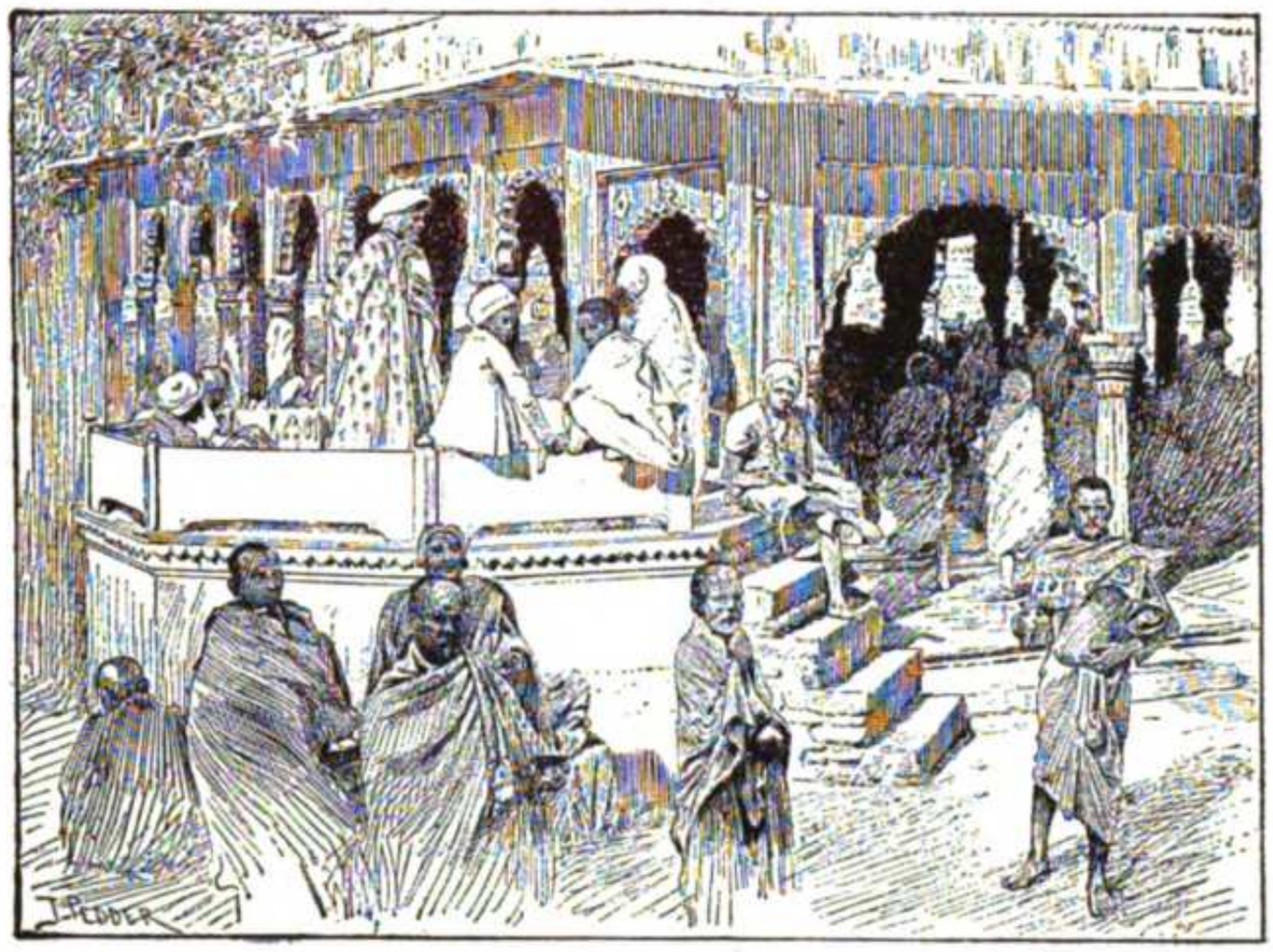
Yet the very existence of so refined a language, and again the elaborate and artificial rhetoric employed, show that we have not reached entirely primitive religion, as indeed we have not elsewhere. But this does not hinder the Rig-veda from enshrining many factors in the origin and growth of religion. No science was present to hide the gods from view with its secondary causes. The nature powers all seemed living, and therefore adorable. Though enough time has elapsed since the origin of these gods for their attributes to become somewhat mixed, so that sometimes a definitive decision upon a god's prototype in nature cannot be reached, as with *Varuna* and the *Asvins*, yet unmistakable single nature-elements appear in all the gods, while some of them are traceable in their entirety to single nature-powers, as is the case with *Agni* (fire) and *Soma* (wine). In any case, all

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are so plainly nature-gods, that there is positively no ground for seeking an explanation of them in a primitive tradition or the like.

Their class name was *deva*, derived from a word meaning "shine," "heaven," etc. (cognate with Latin *deus*, and English *divine*), and therefore meaning "the Shining Ones." The early hymns also call the gods *asuras*, "living ones," but later hymns change this use into a name for evil demons, enemies of the gods, and this usage remains ever afterwards.

Vedic theology spoke of thirty-three chief gods, and classified them according to their location in Heaven, in Air or on Earth. No one of these gods is master of the others, but each is chief in his own sphere. This has given occasion to the extravagant Indian to praise each in turn, as if he were supreme or sole, a practice that Professor Max Müller has thought deserving of a special name, henotheism (one-god-ism), and which he regards as a preliminary stage to the later Indian monotheism, and still later pantheism. Professor Hopkins prefers to designate it pantheistic polytheism, and Professor Lehmann syncretism; but these, with others like Muir and Barth, all agree on a transition from polytheism to a qualified monotheism and then to pantheism, which ends this first cyle of Indian evolution named Vedism and Brahmanism, though new elements subsequently enter, and thus begin Hinduism. (1)



The Gyan Kup, a Sacred Well at Benares.

Before we proceed to sketch these major nature-gods in their picturesque and impressive personality, we should recognize the crowds of religious objects popular with the common folk, such as minor deities or demons of mountains, of rivers, of animals, and of plants, devils, elves and spukes, who all required to be propitiated or worshiped. Even articles manufactured by the Indians themselves were personified and addressed in hymns, as were plough and furrow, weapon and war-car, and later chiefly the cultus-implements.

In general the higher gods resemble men in bodily appearance, in need for food and drink, in their emotions, and naturally also in their conduct, mixed of good and evil. But they possess immortality, omniscience, and omnipotence, though by no means uniformly, and are commonly well disposed towards man, whose afflictions spring from the demons.

2. THE VEDAS AND DEVAS.

(1) **Henotheism.**—If we knew nothing else of the religious poetry of the Veda, we might, after reading such praises bestowed upon the sun, feel inclined to say that the old Brahmans worshiped the sun under various names as their supreme deity; and that in that sense they might be said to worship one God only, to be, in fact, monotheists. Nothing, however, could be further from the truth. In this one evolution, no doubt, the sun assumed the character of a supreme deity, but even in the passages which we have quoted there is hardly an assertion of the sun's supremacy that could not be matched in the hymns addressed to other Devas.

This is the peculiar character of the ancient Vedic religion which I have tried to characterize as *Henotheism* or *Kathenotheism*, a successive belief in single supreme gods, in order to keep it distinct from that phase of religious thought which we commonly call polytheism, in which the many

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gods are already subordinated to one supreme god, and by which therefore the craving after the one without a second has been more fully satisfied. In the Veda one god after another is invoked. For the time being, all that can be said of a divine being is ascribed to him. The poet, while addressing him, seems hardly to know of any other gods. But in the same collection of hymns, sometimes even in the same hymn, other gods are mentioned, and they also are truly divine, truly independent, or, it may be, supreme. The vision of the worshiper seems to change suddenly, and the same poet who at one moment saw nothing but the sun, as the ruler of heaven and earth, now sees heaven and earth, as the father and mother of the sun and of all the gods.

Let us now see what became of this Vedic henotheism in its further development.

First of all, we find that several of these single deities, having sprung from one and the same source, have a tendency, after a very short career of their own, to run together. Dyaus was the sky as the ever-present light. Varuṇa was the sky as the all-embracing. Mitra was the sky as lighted up by the light of the morning. Sûrya was the sun as shining in the sky. Savitṛi was the sun as bringing light and life. Vishṇu was the sun as striding with three steps across the sky; Indra appeared in the sky, as the giver of rain; Rudra and Maruts passed along the sky in thunder-storms; Vâta and Vâyu were the winds of the air; Agni was fire and light, wherever it could be perceived, whether as rising out of darkness in the morning, or sinking into darkness in the evening. The same applies to several of the minor deities.

Hence it happened constantly that what was told of one deity could be told of another likewise; the same epithets are shared by many, the same stories are told of different gods.

And not the solar deities only, such as Sûrya, but Indra, the rain-god, the Maruts, the storm-gods, were all called the sons of Dyaus, or the sky; and as the sky was conceived as the husband of the earth, the earth might become the mother of all the gods.

When the sun rose, it was supposed not only to lighten, but to reveal and spread out heaven and earth; and from that it was but a small step to representing heaven and earth as brought back to us, or made for us, by the sun. The same achievement, however, was likewise ascribed to Indra, to Varuṇa, and to Agni, who is the light of the sun, and to Vishṇu, the god who measures the world with his three steps.

From another point of view, Agni is supposed to bring back the sun, and the same feat is by other poets ascribed to Indra, to Varuṇa, and to Vishṇu.

Though the great battle against darkness and the clouds is chiefly waged by Indra, yet Dyaus also wields the thunderbolt, Agni destroys the demons of darkness, Vishṇu, the Maruts, and Parganya, all take part in the same daily or yearly battle.

The old poets saw all this as well as we do, and they often go so far as to declare that one god is identical with the others. Thus Agni, really the god of fire, is said to be Indra and Vishṇu, Savitṛi, Pûshan, Rudra, and Aditi; nay, he is said to be all the gods.—*F. Max Müller, "Origin and Growth of Religion," pp. 276-277, 295-297.*

Syncretism.—A certain syncretism of the ideas about the gods is very striking in the Vedic belief. Since the god addressed on a particular occasion is celebrated as supreme, not only the excellencies of many other gods are frequently attributed to him, but also their characters, functions, and events are inserted into his picture in a quiet, uncritical manner. This mixture of divine predicates renders it very difficult to form a determinate idea of the single individualities of the gods. One can hardly regard this peculiarity as a preliminary to monotheism; it rather bears in its bosom the later pantheism. Only in quite late cosmogonic hymns do we find indications of a real monotheism; but these depart from the old Vedic circle of ideas both in their age and their kind.—*E. Lehmann in "Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte," II., p. 16.*

Pantheistic Polytheism.—Long before there was any formal recognition of the dogma that all gods are one, various gods had been identified by the Vedic poets. Especially, as most naturally, was this the case when diverse gods having different names were similar in any way, such as Indra and Agni, whose glory is fire; or Varuna and Mitra, whose seat is the sky. From this casual union of like pairs comes the peculiar custom of invoking two gods as one. But even in the case of gods not so radically connected, if their functions were mutually approximate, each in turn became credited with his neighbor's acts. If the traits were similar which characterized each, if the circles of activity overlapped at all, then those divinities that originally were tangent to each other gradually became concentric, and eventually were united. And so the lines between the gods were wiped out, as it were, by their conceptions crowding upon one another. There was another factor, however, in the development of this unconscious, or, at least, unacknowledged, pantheism. Aided by the likeness or identity of attributes in Indra, Savitar, Agni, Mitra, and other gods, many of which were virtually the same under a different designation, the priests, ever prone to extravagance of word, soon began to attribute, regardless of strict propriety, every power to every god. With the exception of some of the older divinities, whose forms, as they are less complex, retain throughout the simplicity of their primitive character, few gods escaped this adoration, which tended to make them all universally supreme, each being endowed with all the attributes of godhead. One might think that no better fate could happen to a god than thus to be magnified. But when each god in the pantheon was equally glorified, the effect on the whole was disastrous. In fact, it was the death of the gods whom it was the intention of the seers to exalt. And the reason is plain. From this universal praise it resulted that the individuality of each god became less distinct; every god was become, so to speak, any god, so far as his peculiar attributes made him a god at all, so that out of the very praise that was given to him and his confreres alike there arose the idea of the abstract godhead, the god who was all the gods, the one god. As a pure abstraction one finds thus Aditi, as equivalent to "all the gods," and then the more personal idea of the god that is father of all, which soon becomes the purely personal All-god. It is at this stage where begins conscious premeditated pantheism, which in its first beginnings is more like monotheism, although in India there is no monotheism which does not include devout polytheism.

It is thus that we have attempted elsewhere to explain that phase of Hindu religion which Müller calls henotheism.—*E. W. Hopkins, "Religions of India," pp. 138-39.*

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3. THE VEDIC DEITIES.

The Vedic deities afford peculiar interest to students of religion because the preservation of abundant ancient texts makes it possible to trace their temporal succession and logical relations as can be done nowhere else.

Dyaus Pitar, "Father Heaven," is undoubtedly one of the oldest Indian gods; for his cognates in Europe—Zeus Pater in Greece, Ju-piter in Rome, Tyr in Germany—show that he was known to the undivided Indo-Keltic race as it roamed the plains of Western Asia. The word *dyaus* is used frequently for the material heaven or sky; but Heaven, and always in company with *Prithivi*, "Earth," receives comparatively little attention in religion. Generally the two appear as Father and Mother of all things, but this sexual metaphor is not prominent.



A Brahman Family in Southern India.

The origin of *Aditi* remains uncertain, but she is undoubtedly very ancient and most beneficent, while the eight Adityas, her sons, were all distinguished for their moral traits, which culminate in the person of *Varuna*, the noblest god in the Vedic pantheon, the peer of the Chinese *Tien*, and like him in his freedom from myths and his source in heaven, for *Varuna* is just the "Encompasser," that is, the sky or heavens. He is far-sighted and thousand-eyed (sun and stars), wears a golden mantle, rides in a car, sits in his heavenly mansions with a thousand columns and doors, and is universal monarch. His functions, both physical and mental, are the sublimest conceivable. By his magic power he measured out the earth, which together with heaven he had established. He placed the sun in the sky, herb on the rock, and the wind is his breath. He makes the rivers flow, and gives the precious rain. (1) But quite as naturally does Heaven (the scene of the *regular* movements of the luminaries) preside over order and right, and is so vast that none can flee him, so observant that none can elude him. He knows not only the flight of birds and the path of the ships, but the secrets of men's hearts, for his spies traverse the earth. (2) The sinner he binds in fetters (like the spies, probably in analogy with the earthly ruler, and not based on a nature type); but to the penitent he is gracious, and to the righteous grants immortality at the last. (3) In the hymns to *Varuna* the prayer for forgiveness from guilt always occurs, as does in the hymns to all other gods that for worldly good. No one can fail here to be reminded of the attributes of Jehovah, and those who wish to do so may trace the comparison further through the references given in the "Rigveda" by Kaegi.

The deities thus far mentioned belonged to the *Asuras*, and none of them long remained intact. They were suited to the previous relatively quiet conditions of the Aryans, but were gradually debased or replaced, as the Indians fought their way into their new home, by the more active *Devas*. Continuous victory induces a joyful confidence in the warlike *Indra*, while *Agni* and *Soma* grow greater with their clients, the Brahman priests, and *Prajapati* absorbs the traits of *Varuna*.

The chief god of all the *Devas* and the national god of the Vedic Indians is undoubtedly the mighty *Indra* of gigantic size and unconquerable force, who rides through the sky, and wields the thunderbolt. He is the storm-god of the Indian

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monsoon, whose mighty achievement it is to smite with his lightning *Vritra*, "Hinderer," the vast cloud dragon that bars the path of the rain needed from high heaven (remember that Varuna sent the rain). The terrific violence of the Indian storm is well reflected in the story how the Maruts fled at the thunderous snorting of *Vritra* and left *Indra* to quell him alone. He is inspired for the fearsome fray by draughts of the intoxicating *soma* juice, which is therefore an indispensable offering, if one would secure his favor. All this naturally fitted him to become the war-god of the invaders, and as such his enemies are the *Dasyus*, properly aborigines, but mythically demons of the land. He even held back the river, and delayed the sun in its course. (4) He has both the vices and the virtues of the warrior: sensuous, and sometimes sensual, rough, hasty, gluttonous, yet brave, jolly, generous, and a foe to the haughty. (5)



Indra, Caves of Ellora.

At the head of the *Maruts* that support *Indra* stands *Rudra*, the Mountain and Forest god of evil fame, and interesting to us because he survives in the later *Shiva*.

The deities belonging to the realm of light are naturally numerous. First, the *Asvins* or "Riders" represent some nature pair, such as the evening and morning star. They preside over marriage and childbirth. *Ushas*, the "Dawn," hurries after the *Asvins*, her brothers, exposing her charms to all beholders. Like her cognates, the Greek *Eos* and the Latin *Aurora*, she received no worship, and belonged rather to poetry. *Vishnu*, destined to greatness later on, figures here as a dwarf (the setting sun) that traverses the sky with three steps (morning, noon, and afternoon). *Savitri*, "Stimulator," represents the golden, active sun, while *Surya* represents the sun-disk. (6) *Pushan* is yet another sun-god, this time as conceived by shepherds, and consequently a plebeian and comical figure.

3. THE VEDIC DEITIES.

(1) Varuna, the Creator.

His works bear witness to his might and wisdom,
Who fashioned firm supports for earth and heaven,
Who set on high the firmament uplifted,
And fixed the stars and spread out earth's expanses.

He mingled with the clouds his cooling breezes,
He gave the cow her milk, the horse his spirit,
Put wisdom in the heart, in clouds the lightning,
The sun in heaven, on the rock the Soma.

The sun's sure courses Varuna appointed,
He sent the streaming waters flowing onward,
The mighty path of days he first created,
And rules them as the riders guide their horses.
—*Kaegi, "The Rigveda," pp. 62, 63.*

(2) Varuna, the Omniscient.

The mighty Varuna, who rules above, looks down
Upon these worlds, his kingdom, as if close at hand.
When men imagine they do ought by stealth, he knows it.
No one can stand or walk or softly glide along
Or hide in dark recess, or lurk in secret cell,
But Varuna detects him and his movements spies.
Two persons may devise some plot, together sitting
In private and alone; but he, the king, is there—
A third—and sees it all. This boundless earth is his,
His the vast sky, whose depth no mortal e'er can fathom.
Both oceans find a place within his body, yet
In that small pool he lies contained. Whoe'er should flee
Far, far beyond the sky, would not escape the grasp
Of Varuna, the king. His messengers descend
Countless from his abode—for ever traversing
This world and scanning with a thousand eyes its inmates.
Whate'er exists within this earth, and all within the sky,
Yea, all that is beyond, King Varuna perceives.
The winkings of men's eyes are numbered all by him.
He wields the universe, as gamesters handle dice.
May thy destroying snares cast sevenfold round the wicked,
Entangle liars, but the truthful spare, O king!
—*M. Monier-Williams, "Indian Wisdom," p. 16.*

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(3) Varuna, the Forgiver and Rewarder.

If we to any dear and loved companion
Have evil done, to brother or to neighbor,
To our own countryman or to a stranger,
That sin do thou, O Varuna, forgive us.

Forgive the wrongs committed by ourfathers,
What we ourselves have sinned in mercy pardon;
My own misdeeds do thou, O God, take from me,
And for another's sin let me not suffer.

If ever we deceived like cheating players,
If consciously we've erred, or all unconscious,
According to our sin do not thou punish;
Be thou the singer's guardian in thy wisdom.

* * * * *

Thee I will follow, jealous god, and serve thee,
Faithful and true, as slaves a kindly master.
The god gives light to minds devout, though simple,
The wise a wiser one conducts to blessing.

* * * * * *

Go forth, go forth upon the path so ancient,
By which our fathers reached their home in heaven.
There Varuna shalt thou behold, and Yama,
The princes both, in blessedness eternal.

—*Kaegi*, "*The Rigveda*," *pp. 67 and 69.*

(4) Indra Rules Rivers and Sun.

The mighty stream, with flood o'erwhelming all things,
Thou heldest back for Vâyya and Turviti;
Obedient stood the rapid flood, O Indra,
And through its bed thou mad'st an easy pathway.

And Indra restrained the waters also for Yadu and Turvaça when they desired to cross the stream; and even all the gods could not withstand Indra when he prolonged day into the night, and the sun unharnessed his chariot in the midst of heaven (day).—*Kaegi*, "*The Rigveda*," *pp. 44, 45.*

(5) Indra, the Storm-God.

Indra, twin brother of the god of fire,
When thou wast born, thy mother Aditi
Gave thee, her lusty child, the thrilling draught
Of mountain-growing Soma—source of life
And never-dying vigor to thy fame.
Then at the thunderer's birth, apalled with fear,
Dreading the hundred-jointed thunderbolt—
Forged by the cunning Tvashtri—mountains rocked,
Earth shook and heaven trembled. Thou wast born
Without a rival, king of gods and men—
The eye of living and terrestrial things.
Immortal Indra, unrelenting foe
Of drought and darkness, infinitely wise,
Terrific crusher of thy enemies,
Heroic, irresistible in might,
Wall of defence, to us thy worshipers,
We sing thy praises, and our ardent hymns
Embrace thee, as a loving wife her lord.
Thou art our guardian, advocate, and friend,
A brother, father, mother, all combined.
Most fatherly of fathers, we are thine
And thou art ours; oh! let thy pitying soul
Turn to us in compassion, when we praise thee,
And slay us not for one sin or for many.
Deliver us to-day, to-morrow, every day.
Armed for the conflict, see! the demons come—
Ahi and Vritra, and a long array
Of darksome spirits. Quick, then, quaff the draught
That stimulates thy martial energy,
And dashing onward in thy golden car,
Drawn by thy ruddy, Ribhu-fashioned steeds,
Speed to the charge, escorted by the Maruts.
Vainly the demons dare thy might; in vain
Strive to deprive us of thy watery treasures.
Earth quakes beneath the crashing of thy bolts.
Pierced, shattered, lies the foe—his cities crushed,
His armies overthrown, his fortresses
Shivered to fragments; then the pent-up waters,
Released from long imprisonment, descend
In torrents to the earth, and swollen rivers,
Foaming and rolling to their ocean home,
Proclaim the triumph of the Thunderer.

—*M. Monier-Williams*, "*Indian Wisdom*," *pp. 17, 18.*



The Ghats at Benares.

(6) Surya, the Sun-God.

Behold the rays of Dawn, like heralds lead on high
The Sun, that men may see the great all-knowing god.
The stars slink off like thieves, in company with Night,
Before the all-seeing eye, whose beams reveal his presence,
Gleaming like brilliant flames, to nation after nation.
With speed, beyond the ken of mortals, thou, O Sun,
Dost ever travel on, conspicuous to all.
Thou dost create the light, and with it dost illume
The universe entire; thou risest in the sight
Of all the race of men, and all the host of heaven.
Light-giving Varuna! thy piercing glance doth scan
In quick succession all this stirring, active world,
And penetrateth too the broad ethereal space,
Measuring our days and nights and spying out all creatures.
Sûrya with flaming locks, clear-sighted god of day,
Thy seven ruddy mares bear on thy rushing car.
With these thy self-yoked steeds, seven daughters of thy chariot,
Onward thou dost advance. To thy refulgent orb
Beyond this lower gloom and upward to the light
Would we ascend, O Sun, thou god among the gods.

—*M. Monier-Williams*, "*Indian Wisdom*," *p. 19.*

The celebrated Gayatri, a short prayer to this Sun-god, has become the most sacred of all Vedic texts, and is used to this very day by every Brahman in his daily devotions. It runs as follows: "Let us meditate on that excellent glory of the divine Vivifier. May he stimulate our understandings."

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4. VEDIC DEITIES (CONTINUED).

Indra was preëminently the god of the warrior class; that of the priest is *Agni* (Latin *ignis*), and next to Indra he is the most prominent of all the Vedic gods, being celebrated in not less than two hundred hymns. The Indian imagination has wrought out into forms of wondrous beauty and deep meaning this element of fire, which indeed has helped the religious reflection of every people, while children still delight to "play with it." The appearance and functions of *Agni* are easy to trace, because his prototype was so closely observable by all in the household and the sacrificial fire. He sleeps in wood, from which he springs anew whenever the offerer whirls the firedrill; so soon as born he devours his parents (the two pieces of the drill), or, otherwise, his mother cannot suckle him, or, again, he is born from ten maidens (the fingers that whirl the drill). He dwells in the sun, and can also, as lightning, spring from the waters through the clouds above; whence his triple form. This earliest Indian trinity supplies the basis of much speculation, and the pattern of numerous subsequent trinities, as we shall soon see. Born first in heaven, he descended to earth to become the vital fire in plants, animals and man. Agni stands nearer humanity than any other god, being "house-lord," or "guest," or "immortal," who has taken his abode among men. Such terms, together with those of kinsman, friend, and father, arise from the use of fire in the household cult, which was prior to the public one. For the same reason he is the god of their fathers, whilst he also guides the soul to the realm of the dead, because Indian practice consigned corpses to the flames.



Worship of Parashurama by a Smarta Brahman.

From his use in sacrifice, again, he becomes the heavenly messenger that summons the gods to the sacrifice or conveys the sacrifice to them. Nobler still, he is celebrated as the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood, both as Brahman or praying and Hotri or offering priest, appointed both by gods and men. He is the great priest, as Indra is the great warrior, but is a later and higher development than is he.

Finally *Agni* is the divine seer or prophet, possessing all knowledge and wisdom, and an inspirer of wisdom in others. He forgives sin, averts the wrath of *Varuna*, and confers immortality on man at the last. (1)

But, if the might and mystery of fire supplied the basis for a wondrous God, how could it prove otherwise with the equally mysterious and mighty *soma* plant whence was pressed the intoxicating Vedic drink? Of course, like *agni*, it was personified and deified, and, from likeness of conditions with *Agni*, was developed in a closely parallel way, standing indeed next to him in importance. As many as one hundred and twenty hymns are dedicated to him, being mostly incantations sung as the *soma* was pressed by the stones into the vat, in which it was offered to the gods. Much of the Vedic theology about *soma* depends on details of its preparation which we cannot stay to describe; but the modern's experience still

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renders easily intelligible that *Soma* was considered both himself immortal, and the drink of immortality for gods, as later for men; that he was medicine god, lord of speech (*in vino veritas*) and a great fighter. The exhilarating effect of *soma* upon the gods occasioned the transfer to him of many of their attributes. Again as a fluid, and also because mixed with water, *Soma* becomes Lord of Waters in many ways. As such his original and true home would be in Heaven, whence he was brought to earth by the eagle *Agni* (lightning). The cult of *Soma* before the Indians had parted from the Iranians (Persians) is clearly evidenced; and indeed there are even indications that a beverage was held divine by their and our common ancestors on the high Asiatic plain, though then a honey-drink, mead (Sanskrit *madhu*). As *soma* juice is yellow and is passed through a sieve, it was associated with the yellow moon passing through clouds.

But if the sacrificial fire and wine are divine, so too is the liturgy that accompanies them. Hence arises *Brahmanaspati* or *Brihaspati*, "Lord of Prayer." He is a later priestly production, a spiritual *Indra* and *Agni*, and a forerunner of the great *Brahma*.

Towards the close of the Vedic period (1500-1000 B.C.) philosophy begins to influence theology, and there appear signs of scepticism especially in regard to *Indra*, who, it will be noticed, had no constantly visible seat, as had the other deities. Hence a demand for faith (*shraddha*, Latin *credo*, English *creed*) especially in his behalf. Again attempts were made to discover a single supreme deity that could account for both world and gods. Such an one seemed to appear in *Visvakarman* and *Prajapati*, both which terms had been already used as epithets of other gods. The former, the "Allmaker," is figured as a germ resting in the lap of the fertilizing waters; while *Prajapati*, "Lord of Creatures," was figured as a golden egg. (2) Another device to account for the universe purported that *Purusha*, "Male Person," was himself dismembered to provide its parts. This materialistic fancy reminds one of the Chinese *Panku* and the Japanese *Izanagi*. (3) In characteristic fashion, however, the Brahman has modified his account into a *sacrificial* partition of the primitive giant's frame. The reference to early Semitic tradition that some older scholars have supposed here is therefore quite unfounded. These ideas are still crude, and a nature-myth of the sun and dawn incorporated into *Prajapati* makes him guilty of incest, to the great scandal of a subsequent generation. The highest mark reached in the Vedas was expressed in a hymn that is simply an interrogation, though the ability to put it shows plainly what progress the principle of unity had made by the close of the Vedic age. (4)

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4. VEDIC DEITIES (CONTINUED).

(1) Agni, the Fire God.

Great Agni, though thine essence be but one,
Thy forms are three; as fire thou blazest here,
As lightning flashest in the atmosphere,
In heaven thou flamest as the golden sun.

It was in heaven thou hadst thy primal birth;
By art of sages skilled in sacred lore
Thou wast drawn down to human hearts of yore,
And thou abid'st a denizen of earth.

Sprung from the mystic pair, by priestly hands
In wedlock joined, forth flashes Agni bright;
But, O ye Heavens and Earth, I tell you right,
The unnatural child devours the parent brands.

But Agni is a god; we must not deem
That he can err, or dare to reprehend
His acts, which far our reason's grasp transcend;
He best can judge what deeds a god beseem.

And yet this orphaned god himself survives;
Although his hapless mother soon expires,
And cannot nurse the babe, as babe requires,
Great Agni, wondrous infant, grows and thrives.

Smoke-bannered Agni, god with crackling voice
And flaming hair, when thou dost pierce the gloom
At early morn, and all the world illume,
Both Heaven and Earth and gods and men rejoice.

In every home thou art a welcome guest;
The household's tutelary lord; a son,
A father, mother, brother, all in one;
A friend by whom thy faithful friends are blest.

A swift-winged messenger, thou callest down
From heaven, to crowd our hearths, the race divine,
To taste our food, our hymns to hear, benign.
And all our fondest aspirations crown.

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Thou, Agni, art our priest, divinely wise.
In holy science versed; thy skill detects
The faults that mar our rites, mistakes corrects,
And all our acts completes and sanctifies.

Thou art the cord that stretches to the skies,
The bridge that spans the chasm, profound and vast,
Dividing Earth from Heaven, o'er which at last
The good shall safely pass to Paradise.

But when, great god, thine awful anger glows,
And thou revealest thy destroying force,
All creatures flee before thy furious course,
As hosts are chased by overpowering foes.

Thou levelest all thou touchest; forests vast
Thou shear'st like beards which barber's razor shaves,
Thy wind-driven flames roar loud as ocean-waves,
And all thy track is black when thou hast past.

But thou, great Agni, dost not always wear
That direful form; thou rather lov'st to shine
Upon our hearts with milder flame benign,
And cheer the homes where thou art nursed with care.

Yes, thou delightest all those men to bless,
Who toil, unwearied, to supply the food
Which thou so lovest, logs of well-dried wood,
And heaps of butter bring, thy favorite mess.

Though I no cow possess, and have no store
Of butter—nor an axe fresh wood to cleave,
Thou, gracious god, wilt my poor gift receive—
These few dry sticks I bring; I have no more.

Preserve us, lord, thy faithful servant save
From all the ills by which our bliss is marred;
Tower like an iron wall our homes to guard,
And all the boons bestow our hearts can crave.

And when away our brief existence wanes,
When we at length our earthly homes must quit,
And our freed souls to worlds unknown shall flit,
Do thou deal gently with our cold remains.

And then thy gracious form assuming, guide
Our unborn part across the dark abyss
Aloft to realms serene of light and bliss,
Where righteous men among the gods abide.
—*J. Muir, "Original Sanskrit Texts," pp. 221-3.*

(2) Prajapati, Lord of Creatures.

What god shall we adore with sacrifice?
Him let us praise, the golden child that rose
In the beginning, who was born the Lord—
The one sole Lord of all that is—who made
The earth, and formed the sky, who giveth life,
Who giveth strength, whose bidding gods revere,
Whose hiding-place is immortality,
Whose shadow, death; who by his might is king
Of all the breathing, sleeping, waking world—
Who governs men and beasts, whose majesty
These snowy hills, this ocean with its rivers
Declare; of whom these spreading regions form
The arms; by whom the firmament is strong,
Earth firmly planted, and the highest heavens
Supported, and the clouds that fill the air
Distributed and measured out; to whom
Both earth and heaven, established by his will,
Look up with trembling mind; in whom revealed
The rising sun shines forth above the world.
Where'er let loose in space, the mighty waters
Have gone, depositing a fruitful seed
And generating fire, there *he* arose,
Who is the breath and life of all the gods,
Whose mighty glance looks round the vast expanse
Of watery vapor—source of energy,
Cause of the sacrifice—the only God
Above the gods. May he not injure us!
He the Creator of the earth—the righteous
Creator of the sky, Creator too
Of oceans bright, and far-extending waters.
—*M. Monier-Williams, "Indian Wisdom," p. 23.*

(3) **Purusha, the Giant.** — Purusha has a thousand heads a thousand eyes, and a thousand feet. He transcended this whole [universe], whatever has been, and whatever shall be. . . . As soon as born he extended beyond the earth, both behind and before. When the gods offered up Purusha as a sacrifice, the spring was its clarified butter, summer its fuel, and autumn the [accompanying] oblation. . . . From that universal sacrifice sprang the hymns called Rich and Sāman, the metres, and the Yajush. From it were produced horses, and all animals with two rows of teeth, cows, goats, and sheep. When they divided Purusha, into how many parts did they distribute him? . . . The Brāhman was his mouth; the Rājanya became his arms; the Vaisya was his thighs; the Sūdra sprang from his feet. The moon was produced from his soul; the sun from his eye; Indra and Agni from his mouth; and Vāya from his breath. From his navel came the atmosphere; from his head arose the sky; from his feet came the earth; from his ear the four quarters; so they formed the worlds.—*J. Muir, "Old Sanskrit Texts," V., pp. 368-72.*

(4) The Mystery of Creation.

In the beginning there was neither nought nor aught,
Then there was neither sky nor atmosphere above
What then enshrouded all this teeming Universe?
In the receptacle of what was it contained?
Was it enveloped in the gulf profound of water?
Then was there neither death nor immortality,
Then was there neither day, nor night, nor light, nor darkness,
Only the Existent One breathed calmly, self-contained.
Nought else than him there was—nought else above, beyond.
Then first came darkness hid in darkness, gloom in gloom.
Next all was water, all a chaos indiscrete,
In which the One lay void, shrouded in nothingness.
Then turning inward he, by self-developed force
Of inner fervor and intense abstraction, grew.
And now in him Desire, the primal germ of mind,
Arose, which learned men, profoundly searching, say
Is the first subtle bond, connecting Entity
With Nullity. This ray that kindled dormant life,
Where was it then? before? or was it found above?
Were there parturient powers and latent qualities,
And fecund principles beneath, and active forces
That energized aloft? Who knows? Who can declare?
How and from what has sprung this Universe? the gods
Themselves are subsequent to its development.
Who, then, can penetrate the secret of its rise?
Whether 'twas framed or not, made or not made; he only
Who in the highest heaven sits, the omniscient Lord
Assuredly knows all, or haply knows he not.
—*Ibid, p. 22.*

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5. THE VEDIC CULT, ETHICS, ESCHATOLOGY.

The hymns, through which we have just become acquainted with the Vedic deities, were not the free religious effusions of primitive shepherds, as was once thought, but were composed to accompany offerings to the gods. Thus the offering is the original religious act, and in Vedism it was also the central one. It was the medium of exchange with the gods, and sanctified and secured daily life and especial occasions, and even the regular course of nature. Its origin was in heaven, where the gods wrought by sacrifice, where sun and lightning were the fires, rain and rivers the libation, and thunder the hymn.

The Vedic offering was properly a feast for the gods, who were invited to take their places on the sacred grass spread before the altar either in the house or out of doors, for the temple was as yet unknown, and were then served in abundance with cakes and dumplings, milk and butter, fat and flesh, above all with the precious *soma*, while incense, music, dance and the hymns of praise gratified the higher senses. The celebrants expected in return for all this that the gods would guard them from enemies and demons, sickness and bad weather, but bestow upon them riches, long life, and children, while spiritual good, except the clearing from sin, is not mentioned. "Here is the butter . . . where are thy gifts?" The prayers seldom breathe devotion or fervor, and never humility, while the word "thank" is unknown to the Vedic speech.

Offerings were distinguished as private when only one fire was used, and as public when three were used The original, and still more commonly used, was the former, the sacred house fire, kindled with the firedrill by the householder at his wedding, and thereafter maintained in reverence, never blown upon with the mouth, or used for warming the feet, but regarded as the brilliant guest from heaven who mediated between it and earth. The lawgiver Manu wrote, "The first birth is from the natural mother, the second from the sacred thread, the third from due performance of the sacrifice." Here, at morning and at evening, the householder with his wife and children cooked and offered food to the immortals. He might also perform the public service, but usually the increasingly complex ritual required here the service of priests at the order and expense of the beneficiary. There was the prayer-reciter, the singer, and the operator, while the Brahman supervised the whole, lest any fault render the whole invalid; for the utmost care was needed in executing the elaborate details—preparation of the place and altar, lighting the fire, cooking the food, and pressing the *soma*. The priests had to wash, anoint, and robe themselves, and observe numberless rules during the ceremony—measured steps and attitudes, various calls or mysterious silence, and especially had to repeat the hymns and passages without the least failure. The beneficiary and his wife were also required to prepare by a purification through bathing, fasting, and continence, usually only for two days, but, in the case of the greater offerings, for weeks or months.

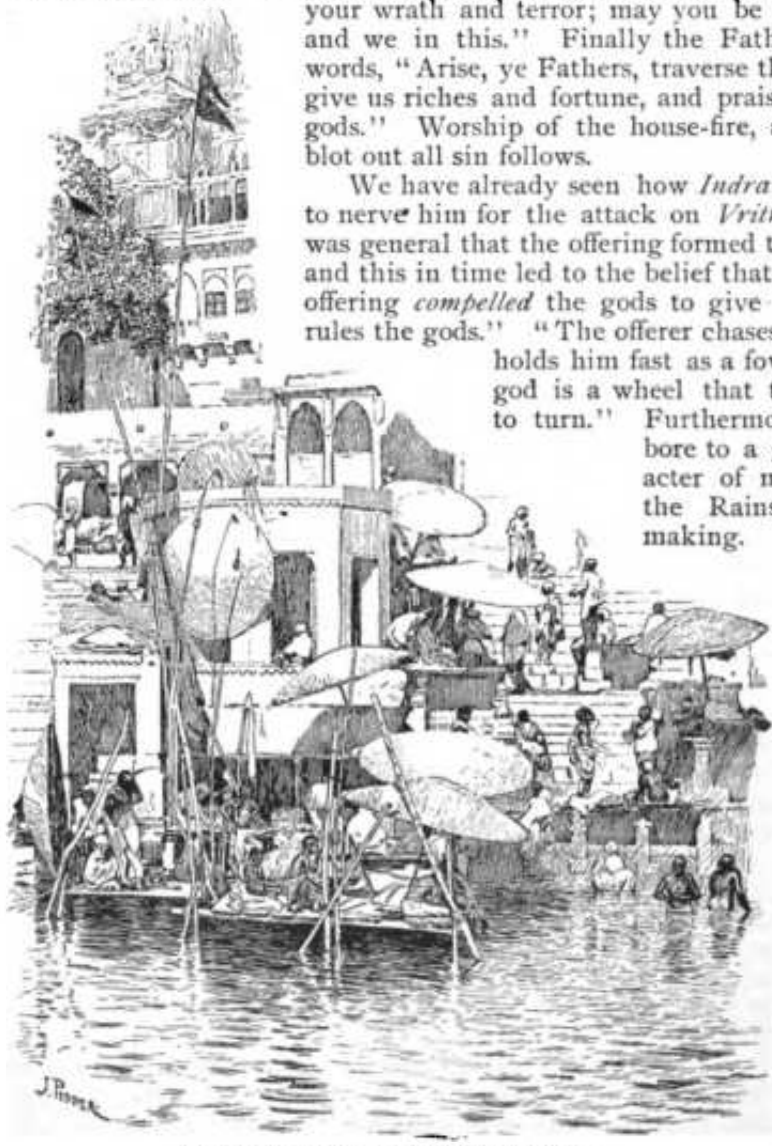
The chief public offerings were as follows: The Fire-offering performed every morning and evening, as before all great offerings, and consisting of a libation of hot milk. The new or full Moon offering, every fourteen days, which was typical of all and, like the Fire-offering, embodied in all greater offerings. Here cakes and butter were presented, and a meal shared by the beneficiary and priests. Still richer were the offerings at the three (Indian) seasons, Spring, Rains, and Autumn. For these new periods new fire was made from the drill, with a symbolic meaning. At the Rains-offering a ram and a ewe were made from dough and wool, probably meant to render the herds fruitful; and similar magic with images was frequent in other offerings.

First-fruits were offered at the barley and rice harvests. At the two solstices and the rainy season, instead of the usual vegetable offering, a male goat was strangled, divided, cooked, and shared by men and gods, the omentum especially being reserved for the latter.

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The greatest of all the annual ceremonies was the *Soma*-offering at Springtide, a genuine folk feast to which crowds came. But the "king of the offerings" was the great horse-sacrifice, undertaken by an entire people at the command of their kiug, for the protection of the land. For an entire year the consecrated horse roamed the land watched by four hundred youths. Immediately after the slaughter of the horse, the queen had to lie beside it, in symbolism of the devotion of the land to the sun. Anciently human sacrifice was included here. The folk made the occasion one of great merrymaking.

Besides this nature-cult appears the equally ancient ancestor-cult. It consisted in conjuring the ancestors from their abode iu the earth to a place purified and strewn with grass, where the celebrant, bended on his left knee, sprinkles purifying water and then lays on the ground three dumplings, saying, "Here, O Fathers, enjoy each one his part," adding a wish for long life. Then presenting ointment and clothes, he prays, "Reverence to your sap and strength, reverence to your life, to your wrath and terror; may you be the best in yon world, and we in this." Finally the Fathers are sped with the words, "Arise, ye Fathers, traverse the mysterious old path; give us riches and fortune, and praise our gifts among the gods." Worship of the house-fire, and prayer to *Agni* to blot out all sin follows.



Devotions on the Ghats of the Ganges at Benares.

We have already seen how *Indra* needed the *soma*-juice to nerve him for the attack on *Vritra*. Indeed, the notion was general that the offering formed the support of the gods, and this in time led to the belief that a faultlessly performed offering *compelled* the gods to give their aid. "Devotion rules the gods." "The offerer chases Indra, like a deer; he holds him fast as a fowler does the bird; the god is a wheel that the singer knows how to turn." Furthermore, the Vedic offering bore to a grave degree the character of magic. Especially was the Rains-offering really rain-making. Where only demons are concerned, the magic is unmistakable, for the Atharva-veda abounds in spells for securing every good, and banishing every ill that could accrue through them, as also through animated plants and things. The content of the latter is usually, "Do thou, O Plant, preserve from harm," etc. Sometimes the magic is symbolic, as in the following love-charm: "As the wind twirls around the grass upon the

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ground, so I twirl thy mind about, that thou mayest become loving, that thou mayest not depart from me," etc. In general the Atharva-veda records the religion of the Vaisyas, as the Rig-veda does that of the two upper classes; but, as usual, the commonalty found no historian till long after their social betters, and the collection accordingly dates after the Rig-veda.

Evidence for the ethical ideas of the Vedic people must be gathered from stray passages in the hymns. A maiden, wife and widow were well honored and protected in their relations with men, probably beyond the usual barbarian level, (1) while the exposure of aged people and weak infants, with human sacrifice, quite conforms to that level. With such a god as *Varuna* in mind, conscience toward the gods could and did come into play. The adultress, for example, must confess her sin before approaching the altar. Yet, often, both sin and its removal are conceived in a ceremonial and not yet wholly moral way. The emphasis upon the duty of truth is remarkable, and this with courage, piety to gods and ancestors, and liberality to priests form the chief traits of the Vedic good man, while morality generally seems to have been conceived as justice, and not higher, which gives it a formal and stiff character.

The disposition of the dead was by burial, later by burning, and to these two methods correspond the two notions of the future life; one in the under world, the other in the upper. Continuous existence in company with the blessed dead is assumed in both views. The king of these dead is *Yama*, the first man (with *Yami*, his sister), and the first to die, consequently the guide for all his descendants to the home he has prepared, whence, moreover, they can watch their children, and afford them help and comfort. (2) Later this home was placed in heaven with *Varuna* and the righteous, while those guilty of great crimes were destined to hell, though this side of the future is only rarely and obscurely noticed. The joys expected in heaven are simply the enlarged reflections of the sensuous ones sought on earth, with the spiritual joy of reunion to the fathers.

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5. THE VEDIC CULT, ETHICS, ESCHATOLOGY.

(1) **Sexual Morality.**—In this connection it is particularly interesting to see how they have treated the myths which relate the manifold intermarrying that forms the basis of all mythologies, the union of a male divinity with a female being, conceived almost always as irregular, and very often incestuous. This union lies no less at the basis of a great number of representations in the Veda. All the gods there are conceived as begetters of offspring, males or bulls; they are lovers of the *Waters*, the *Mothers*, the *Gnâs* (genetrices), of the *Apsaras*, the Undine class, of *Apyâ Yoshî*, the wife of the waters, who is capricious and wanton, and they are at once their sons and husbands. It would, however, be difficult to extract from the Hymns a chapter on the amours of the gods. With very few exceptions, everything is resolved into brief, rapid hints, isolated features, or mere symbols. With the exception of Aurora, the goddesses here have only a featureless physiognomy, and the most conspicuous gods are hardly alluded to in these stories. Once only is Indrâṇi, the wife of Indra, the unchaste Venus; once only is there mention made of the relations of Varuṇa with the Apsaras, of whom, however, he is, agreeably to his origin, the true lover. In this capacity he gives place to the Gandharva, a being purely mythical. In this there certainly appears a touch of moral delicacy, which it would be unjust not to acknowledge. In the dialogue between Yama and his sister Yamî, for instance, the attempted incest is spurned, and yet it is almost certain that originally Yama yielded to the temptation.—*A. Barth, "The Religions of India," pp. 27-8.*

(2) King Yama.

To Yama, mighty king, be gifts and homage paid.
He was the first of men that died, the first to brave
Death's rapid rushing stream, the first to point the road
To heaven, and welcome others to that bright abode.
No power can rob us of the home thus won by thee.
O king, we come; the born must die, must tread the path
That thou hast trod—the path by which each race of men,
In long succession, and our fathers, too, have passed.
Soul of the dead! depart; fear not to take the road—
The ancient road—by which thy ancestors have gone;
Ascend to meet the god—to meet thy happy fathers,
Who dwell in bliss with him. Fear not to pass the guards—
The four-eyed brindled dogs—that watch for the departed.
Return unto thy home, O soul! Thy sin and shame
Leave thou behind on earth; assume a shining form—
Thy ancient shape—refined and from all taint set free.

—*M. Monier-Williams, "Indian Wisdom," pp. 21-2.*

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6. THE BRAHMANAS.

To the Mantras or Hymns of each Veda there was added a prose composition, called Brahmana, for the purpose of explaining to the Brahmans the very complicated sacrificial ceremonies described in the previous lesson. As these Brahmans formed for three milleniums the most powerful hereditary class of men in the world, the view of their mental condition afforded by these writings has been highly prized. Time has moved forward to about the eighth century B.C., and the Indian immigrants have reached the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges. No new hymns are composed, while the old ones are assuming a sacred and infallible character, and change in the vernacular, leaves their language intelligible only to the priests. But the most important change made, and the key to the entire situation, is that in the Brahman. He now calls himself a "human god," (1) while, as we shall soon see, familiarity with the original gods has bred some contempt for them. We shall see in the Laws of Manu how strict a discipline this high position of the Brahman entailed upon him, but can gather from these Brahmanas evidence only for his puerilities, pedantry and pride, except that he must not be blameworthy. (2)



Brahman in Position for Sun-Worship.

The gods are the same as in the Vedas, but their wives now receive a cult separate from them, while *Prajapati* is confirmed as chief of the gods, and indeed as source of gods, *asuras*, and men equally. The term *asura*, "living one," once a synonym of *deva*, "shining one," is now used for the dark powers, in struggle with the devas and worsted only by the craft of the latter. (3) In the myth just quoted, daylight yields to night-darkness, and is saved by sun, who, though a dwarf at night, rises again, and with three steps (morning, noon, and afternoon) crosses the entire heaven. It is characteristic of the Brahmanas that the rising of *Vishnu* is attributed to *Agni*, the flame of the morning sacrifice, and patron god of the priests. This feat is then used to support a false etymology which, however, glorifies the altar, and this in turn serves as a basis for magical triumph over rivals, both which procedures are common traits of the Brahmanas.

The true and original ground of sacrifice, namely as food for the gods, is plainly stated, and with that the order of value of the various animals, man being at the head. (4) But other passages show that images in metal, earth and dough were sometimes subsituted for these living victims. This change, as also the one from larger to smaller animals, arose from the increasing need for economy, rather than from humanity (except in case of the man) or the belief in rebirth.

The abundant evidences for the belief in magic have a special interest here, because the belief is entertained by the highest (Brahman) class, not merely by the lower ones, and is therefore a trait of the age. Thus, if the cart creaks at the sacrifice, it is the voice of evil spirits, and must be averted by a formula; and if the sacrificer mutter the words, "Let such an one die," he will surely die. Myths, low estimate of the deities, bloody, including human sacrifices, magic, and great vulgarity in sexual references, all prove that the Aryans in India have not yet risen above the barbarian culture and therefore stand only one stage above the savage aborigines. To charge them with superstition, silliness, cruelty, or obscenity, simply shows lack of historic sense.

The virtues inculcated also rise no higher than those common to barbarism, namely, murder, adultery, theft, and abortion, though the proscription of gluttony, anger, and procrastination are signs of progress. The insistence on truthfulness is continued from Vedic times, and indicates an Indian characteristic.

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The common view of the future life comprises heaven and hell, but occasional references to a rebirth on earth are made.

It is in one of the Brahmanas, namely the Satapatha, that the first Indian account of a flood occurs. (5) The elements common to this account and that in Genesis (ship and mountain) naturally suggest derivation from a common Babylonian source, which is possible, though the differences in the stories, the absence of any other loans from Babylon, and the prevalence of floods in India as elsewhere, point the other way.

6. THE BRAHMANAS.

(1) **The Brahmans are Gods.**—The reason why he gives fees to priests is this:

Verily, there are two kinds of gods; for, indeed, the gods are the gods; and the Brâhmans who have studied and teach sacred lore are the human gods. The sacrifice of these is divided into two kinds: oblations constitute the sacrifice to the gods; and gifts to the priests that to the human gods, the Brâhmans who have studied and teach sacred lore. With oblations one gratifies the gods, and with gifts to the priests the human gods, the Brâhmans who have studied and teach sacred lore. Both these kinds of gods, when gratified, place him in a state of bliss (sudhâ).

Even as seed is poured into the womb, so the officiating priests place the sacrificer in the (heavenly) world, when he now makes gifts to those who, he hopes, will make him go thither. Such, then (is the manner) of gifts to priests. — "*Satapatha Brahmana*," *I., pp. 309-310.*

(2) **Brahmans Must Be Good.**—The Bahishpavamâna chant truly is a ship bound heavenwards: the priests are its spars and oars, the means of reaching the heavenly world. If there be a blameworthy one, even that one (priest) would make it sink; he makes it sink, even as one who ascends a ship that is full would make it sink. And, indeed, every sacrifice is a ship bound heavenwards: hence one should seek to keep a blameworthy (priest) away from every sacrifice. — "*Satapatha Brahmana*," *II., pp. 310-311.*

(3) **Contest of the Devas and Asuras.**—The gods and the Asuras, both of them sprung from Pragâpati, were contending for superiority. Then the gods were worsted, and the Asuras thought: "To us alone assuredly belongs this world!"

They thereupon said: "Well, then, let us divide this world between us; and having divided it, let us subsist thereon!" They accordingly set about dividing it with ox-hides from west to east.

The gods then heard of this, and said: "The Asuras are actually dividing this earth: come, let us go to where the Asuras are dividing it. For what would become of us, if we were to get no share in it?" Placing Vishnu (in the shape of) this very sacrifice, at their head, they went (to the Asuras).

They then said: "Let us share in this earth along with yourselves! Let a part of it be ours!" The Asuras replied rather grudgingly: "As much as this Vishnu lies upon, and no more, we give you!"

Now Vishnu was a dwarf. The gods, however, were not offended at this, but said: "Much indeed they gave us, who gave us what is equal in size to the sacrifice."

Having then laid him down eastwards, they enclosed him on all (three) sides with the metres, saying (Vâg. S. I., 27), on the south side, "With the Gâyatri metre I enclose thee!" on the west side: "With the Trishṭubh metre I enclose thee!" on the north side: "With the Gagati metre I enclose thee!"

Having thus enclosed him on all (three) sides, and having placed Agni (the fire) on the east side, they went on worshiping and toiling with it (or him, *i.e.*, Vishnu, the sacrifice). By it they obtained (sam-vid) this entire earth; and because they obtain d by it this entire (earth), therefore it (the sacrificial ground) is called vedi (the altar). For this reason they say, "As great as the altar is, so great is the earth;" for by it (the altar) they obtained this entire (earth). And verily he who so understands this, wrests likewise this entire (earth) from his rivals, excludes his rivals from sharing in it. — "*Satapatha Brahmana*," *I., pp. 59-60.*

(4) **The Ground and Order of Animal Sacrifices.**—Now when he slaughters those animals, he prepares a home for Agni; for nowhere but in his home does one enjoy himself. But the home means food; it is that he lays down in front, and when Agni sees that, he turns unto him.

There are a man, a horse, a bull, a ram, and a he-goat; for such are all the animals (used for sacrifice). Animals are food: he thus lays down in front whatever food there is; and seeing that, Agni turns unto him.

A man (purusha) he slaughters first, for man is the first of animals; then a horse, for the horse comes after man; then a bull, for the bull (or cow) comes after the horse; then a ram, for the sheep comes after the cow; then a he-goat, for a goat comes after the sheep; thus he slaughters them according to their form, according to their excellence.—"*Satapatha Brahmana*," *III., pp. 165-6.*

(5) **The Indian Flood.**—In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing, just as now also they (are wont to) bring (water) for washing the hands. When he was washing himself, a fish came into his hands.

It spake to him the word, "Rear me, I will save thee!" "Wherefrom wilt thou save me?" "A flood will carry away all these creatures: from that I will save thee!" "How am I to rear thee?"

It said, "As long as we are small, there is great destruction for us; fish devours fish. Thou wilt first keep me in a jar. When I outgrow that, thou wilt dig a pit and keep me in it. When I outgrow that, thou wilt take me down to the sea, for then I shall be beyond destruction."

It soon became a *g*hasha (a large fish); for that grows largest (of all fish). Thereupon it said, "In such and such a year that flood will come. Thou shalt then attend to me (*i.e.*, to my advice) by preparing a ship; and when the flood has risen thou shalt enter into the ship, and I will save thee from it."

After he had reared it in this way, he took it down to the sea. And in the same year which the fish had indicated to him, he attended to (the ad-

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vice of the fish) by preparing a ship; and when the flood had arisen, he entered into the ship. The fish then swam up to him, and to its horn he tied the rope of the ship, and by that means he passed swiftly up to yonder northern mountain.

It then said, "I have saved thee. Fasten the ship to a tree; but let not the water cut thee off, whilst thou art on the mountain. As the water subsides, thou mayest gradually descend!" Accordingly he gradually descended, and hence that (slope) of the northern mountain is called "Manu's descent." The flood then swept away all these creatures, and Manu alone remained here.—"*Satapatha Brahmana*," *I., pp. 216-8.*

FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **INDIA: ITS PEOPLE, HISTORY, AND CULTURE.**—Districts of India, Climate, Food, Gateways, Invaders, Castes, Epochs of History, Culture-spheres, Traits.
2. **THE VEDAS AND DEVAS.**—Mantras, Brahmanas, Upanishads, Inspiration, Vedic Culture, Devas and Asuras, Henotheism, Lower Deities.
3. **THE VEDIC DEITIES.**—Dyaus and Prithivi, Varuna, Devas and Asuras, Indra and Vritra, Ashvins, Ushas, Vishnu, Savitri, Surya, and Pushan.
4. **VEDIC DEITIES (CONTINUED).**—Agni, Soma, Brahmanaspati, Visvakarman, Prajapati, Final Stage.
5. **THE VEDIC CULTS, ETHICS, AND ESCHATOLOGY.**—The Offering, as Private, and as Public, Priests, Ceremonies, Chief Public Offerings, viz., Fire, New and Full Moon, Three Seasons, Harvests, Solstices, Soma, and Horse Sacrifice, Ancestor-cult, Magic, Ethics, Disposal of the Dead, Future Life.
6. **THE BRAHMANAS.**—Their Nature, Conditions at the Time, Brahmans, Prajapati, Sacrificial Animals, Magic, Barbaric Traits, Flood.

QUESTIONS.

1. *Specify the three great districts of India. What is the temperature, and what the food products of the country? What people colonized India from the northeast? What peoples from the northwest? Where is the Dekhan? Who now inhabit it? How many pure Aryans and pure aborigines now survive? Why is the aboriginal element important? How were the Aryans divided? Which class was dominant? Why? Specify the six epochs of Indian history. State the attainments of the Indians in the six culture-spheres: speech, mechanics, art, society, science, and religion. What are their chief mental traits?*

2. *What are the earliest scriptures of India? Name the three classes of these. How was the Veda esteemed? Describe the culture revealed by the Rig-veda. How primitive was all this? Distinguish devas from asuras. Describe henotheism. What minor deities were recognized?*

3. *Name the European cognates of Dyaus. Describe Varuna in full. Trace these attributes to their two sources in nature and in man. Contrast asuras and devas. Describe the conflict of Indra and Vritra. What was the moral character of Indra? Name the European cognates of Ushas. Characterize the four sun-gods.*

4. *Trace the deeds and traits of Agni to their prototypes in nature. How did religion silence moral scruples concerning Agni's murder of his parents? (Answer lies in note 1, stanza 4) Compare Soma with Agni. What traits of Soma can moderns still readily comprehend? What primitive drink was thought divine? (Note that our word "spirits" arose from a similar idea). Explain Brahmanaspati. To what philosophical demand did Visvakarman and Prajapati answer? What was the highest mark reached in Vedic religious thought?*

5. *For what purpose were the hymns written? What was the nature of the Vedic offering? What did the offerer expect? Describe the "family worship," and the "public worship." How many priests were required for a public offering? Sketch the public offering. Name some of the chief twelve public offerings. Describe the ancestor cult. Repeat the love-charm. What were the chief traits of the good-man? Who was Yama? What joys are expected in heaven?*

6. *What was the purpose of the Brahmanas? How had conditions been changed? What is now the claim of the Brahman? Who has become chief god? Name the sacrificial animals in their order of value. Give an instance of the spell. Name some barbarian traits of this period. Discuss the problem of the Vedic flood.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Use any accessible source on Indian culture, such as the encyclopedias under "India," or Sir W. W. Hunter's masterly work, "A Brief History of India."*

2. *Compare these exaggerations of henotheism with the hyperboles of all imaginative compositions, secular or sacred, and with the extravagancies of modern American speech.*

3. *Commit to memory the beautiful and sublime hymn to Varuna, as given in note 2. Find parallel passages in the Psalms, Job, and Paradise Lost.*

4. *The prototypes of the famous hymn in note 3 are gestation, desire, and generation. Identify these several elements. Desire was particularly apt in this usage, since it turns feeling into action.*

5. *Examine your illiterate acquaintances for spells, charms, magic, or other so-called superstitions, and report to the editor if you discover anything definite.*

6. *Recall any parallels you can to the priestly position at this period.*

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7. THE UPANISHADS:—BRAHMAN.

The term Upanishads means either something mystical that *underlies* the surface, or something esoteric taught to a pupil who *sits near* his master. It designates certain additions made to the Brahmanas, explanatory of the origin of the universe and of the nature and relations of the Absolute, as also of the world and of man. In short, these writings constitute the first Indian attempt at metaphysics, but with a deep religious purpose, and not as mere indifferent speculation. Of the 150 that stand on record, the oldest date from about the seventh century B.C., if not a century later. They are of special interest for several reasons. First, they reveal to us the most influential element in the formation of the character and opinions of Gautama Buddha. Especially does the personality of Nachiketas in the Katha Upanishad resemble him. Second, they close the Veda, which alone the Hindus call *shruti*, "heard," namely, by revelation, as distinguished from *smriti*, "remembered," namely, traditional matter. Thus their systematized doctrine was known later as *Vedanta*, "End of the Veda." Third, they alone exercise any influence upon the thinking men of modern India, such as Rammohun Roy. These men recognize in it qualities of depth, devotion, insight, and conviction that "find them," or appeal to them, even after acquiring familiarity with the scriptures of other peoples. Fourth, they have even influenced the course of European philosophy through the agency of Schopenhauer, who declared his preference of them even to Erigena and Spinoza. Fifth, the pantheism they mostly inculcate has ever since remained the dominant, though not exclusive, philosophy of the Hindu people.



A Brahman.

A few hymns of the Vedas indicated a dawning sense of the insufficiency of the nature-gods there celebrated; and towards their close the gods *Brahmanaspati*, *Visvakarman* and *Prajapati* appear. The last is the prominent deity of the Brahmanas, though others are recognized. But the Upanishads offer an entirely different scene. Here is only one God, "One only without a second," as his father taught Shvetaketu. This unique being is named *Brahman*, and forms the culmination of a long growth from *brahma*, "power," and later "prayer," as the word of power (probably with magical implications), through *Brahmana*, "the (personal) pray-er," and *Brahmanas-pati*, "the Lord of Prayers," to *Brahmā* (personal and masculine) the equal of *Prajapati*, and finally *Brahma* or *Brahman* (neuter, not as denying, but as transcending all sexual qualities).

The quest of the Upanishads is for some being that stood at the absolute *beginning* and now includes the *whole*, and they find this wondrous being in *Brahman*, "Power," otherwise named *Purusha*, "Soul," but preferably *Atman*, "Self"; that is, the Great Self or Over-soul. (1) This last name, "Self," especially suits the identification, which the Indian thinker posited between the Infinite God and finite man, so that indeed it is sometimes hard to tell whether self (small initial) or Self is meant. Such *atman* was distinguished from the *manas*, "mind," or "soul," of every day experience, and is translated by Williams "spirit." This *Brahman* or *Atman* is the Existent, without qualities, inscrutable, and immanent in gods, nature and man alike, the only one without a second. (2) As life permeates all branches of a tree, tissue constitutes all fruit, and salt pervades salt water, so the Existent is present in every being, "and thou Shvetaketu art it." The love of anything,

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however noble, should be regarded only as a means to loving this Self. (3) Notice that no distinction of good and bad is made here. The difficulty of attributing evil things to an imminent god is not dealt with in these Upanishads.

This one Self dwells in man as his self and can be perceived there by the lower merely human powers, the heart, soul, or mind: such is the second great thought of the Upanishads. (4) The self is distinguished as the *jivatman*, "individual self," the Self as the *paramatman*, "world self." It is precisely because of this indwelling, or what is the same thing, the essential identity of self and Self, that the former is enabled to *know* the latter, both being the only complete and invisible things in the world. (5)

7. THE UPANISHADS:—BRAHMAN.

(1) **Atman.**—This word originally meant breath, and as such is cognate with the German *athmen*. "to breathe," as with the Greek ἀτμός, "smoke," from which the English word "atmosphere" is derived. Atman soon come to mean life or body, and later still essence or self, and was used as a reflexive pronoun.

(2) **Brahman, the Existent.**—He (the Self) cannot be reached by speech, by mind, or by the eye. How can it be apprehended except by him who says: "He is"?

By the words "He is," is he to be apprehended, and by (admitting) the reality of both (the invisible Brahman and the visible world, as coming from Brahman). When he has been apprehended by the words "He is," then his reality reveals itself.

When all desires that dwell in his heart cease, then the mortal becomes immortal, and obtains Brahman.

When all the ties of the heart are severed here on earth, then the mortal becomes immortal – here ends the teaching.—"*Upanishads*" *II, p. 23.*

A mortal who has heard this and embraced it, who has separated from it all qualities, and has thus reached the subtle Being, rejoices, because he has obtained what is a cause for rejoicing—*Ibid, p. 10.*

He who knows the bliss of that Brahman, from whence all speech with the mind turns away unable to reach it, he never fears.—*Ibid, p. 56.*

And when they say, Sacrifice to this or to that god, each god is but his manifestation, for he is all gods.—*Ibid, p. 86.*

The god who is in the fire, the god who is in the water, the god who has entered into the whole world, the god who is in plants, the god who is in trees, adoration be to that god, adoration!—*Ibid, p. 243.*

That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the true. It is the Self, and thou, O Shvetaketu, art it.—"*Upanishads*" *I, p. 108.*

In the beginning, my dear, there was that only which is (τὸ ὄν), one only, without a second. Others say, in the beginning there was that only which is not (τὸ μὴ ὄν), one only, without a second; and from that which is not, that which is, was born.

But how could it be thus, my dear? the father continued. How could that which is, be born of that which is not? No, my dear, only that which is, was in the beginning, one only, without a second.—*Ibid, p. 93.*

(3) **True to the Self.**—Now when Yâgñavalkya was going to enter upon another state, he said: Maitreyî, verily I am going away from this my house (into the forest). Forsooth, let me make a settlement between thee and that Kâtyâyanî (my other wife).

Maitreyî said: My Lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it?

No, replied Yâgñavalkya; like the life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth

And Maitreyî said: What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal? What my Lord knoweth (of immortality), tell that to me.

Yâgñavalkya replied: Thou who art truly dear to me, thou speakest dear words Come, sit down, I will explain it to thee, and mark well what I say.

And he said: Verily, a husband is not dear, that you may love the husband; but that you may love the Self, therefore a husband is dear.

Verily, a wife is not dear, that you may love the wife; but that you may love the Self, therefore a wife is dear.

Verily, sons are not dear, that you may love the sons; but that you may love the Self, therefore sons are dear.

Verily, wealth is not dear, that you may love wealth; but that you may love the Self, therefore wealth is dear.

Verily, everything is not dear that you may love everything; but that you may love the Self, therefore everything is dear.—"*Upanishads,*" *II., pp. 108-10.*

(4) **Self in the self.**—That god, the maker of all things, the great Self, always dwelling in the heart of man, is perceived by the heart, the soul, the mind; they who know it become immortal.—*Ibid, p. 253*

(5) **Brahman known only through the self or spirit.**—And when by means of the real nature of his self he sees, as by a lamp, the real nature of Brahman, then having known the unborn, eternal god, who is beyond all natures, he is freed from all fetters.—*Ibid, p. 243.*

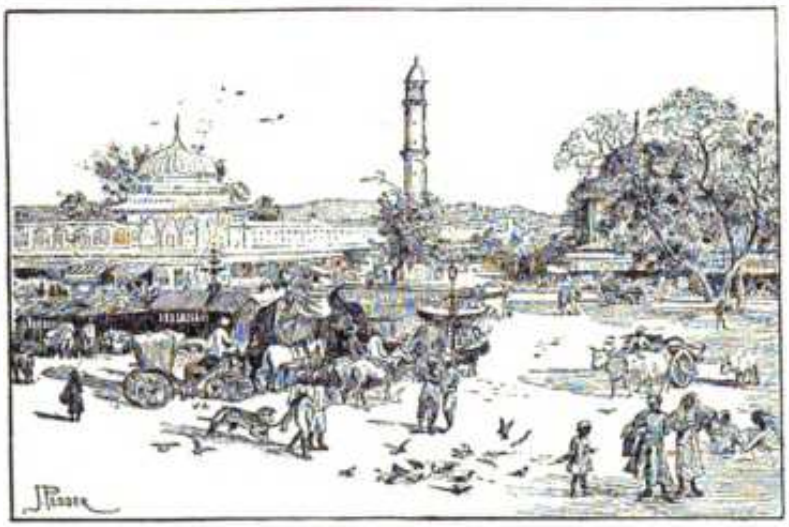
He cannot be seen, for, in part only, when breathing, he is breath by name; when speaking, speech by name; when seeing, eye by name; when hearing, ear by name; when thinking, mind by name All these are but the names of his acts. And he who worships (regards) him as the one or the other, does not know him, for he is apart from this (when qualified) by the one or the other (predicate). Let men worship him as Self, for in the Self all these are one. This Self is the footstep of everything, for through it one knows everything. And as one can find again by footsteps what was lost, thus he who knows this, finds glory and praise.—*Ibid, p. 87.*

His form cannot be seen, no one perceives him with the eye. Those who through heart and mind know him thus abiding in the heart, become immortal.—*Ibid, p. 254.*

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8. THE UPANISHADS:—SALVATION AND METEMPSYCHOSIS.

This identity of *Brahman* and the human spirit is of the utmost moment, for recognition of it secures *salvation* from this sorrowful life, and from rebirth into it, or even into heaven, which could afford only relative satisfaction; whereas the old method of sacrifice secured merely earthly good and a subsequent life in heaven. Indeed the winning of this knowledge, to which the later years should be devoted in retirement, is itself a spiritual offering, of a deeper meaning and greater efficacy. The Self cannot be gained by the Veda, nor without strength, earnestness, and meditation, which involve renunciation of family ties and comforts. But the reward is great; the painful distinctions of society and the sting of conscience are equally left behind as facts belonging only to the finite mind or soul, while eternal peace awaits the spirit. (1) Notice the method here: Social inequalities are not reformed, nor sins forgiven, but both are simply abandoned with the sphere to which they belong. That sphere is *Maya*, "Illusion," (2) a notion only indicated here, but developed in the Vedanta philosophy, a notion which comprehends all ordinary experience, and must be shaken off by a meditation so deep that consciousness of everything external is lost, and the spirit is joined (*yoga*) to *Brahman*. (3)



The Fountain Square, Jaipur.

Thus far have been grouped the *mental* aspects of this system, but these are often accompanied by a purely materialistic aspect. The seeds of a fig consist in turn of invisible seeds which constitute its essence or being. Again, *Brahman* dwells in the *cavity* of the heart, whither man can lead his spirit and so gain union with *Brahman*. Again, the human self, the spirit, can be felt making its way through the arteries as a pulse, and can even be seen, by a second person, in the eye, while after death it escapes the body and resorts to the sun. Other Upanishads transcend these crude views. Thus one, the Khandogya, after rejecting mirror, pan of water, eye, dreams, and sleep as revelations of the self, declares that it is the true agent now animating the body.

Thus we may behold in these Upanishads religious philosophy in its very birth and growth, and this must account for and thus excuse the inexactness and crudities that mar it. The mixture of sense and folly that so surprises us is not intimate, however, for the sense usually begins when the Kshattriya speaker appears. The Brahman speakers deal mostly with obsolete mythology and magical sacramentarianism; the Kshattriya stands as philosopher and prophet for the new thought. The Brahman's merit here as always was to adopt the good he was unable to create. The racial youth, here at work on philosophy, is often repetitious, illogical, vague and metaphoric, but he is talented, makes such mistakes as only an explorer can, and

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has been matched in philosophy only by the wonderful Greek, where also a similar mixture of sense and folly has been noted by A. Lang.

The Indians were well aware of the new departure made in these Upanishads, and named the way of salvation described there *jnana-marga*, "knowledge-way," in distinction from the previous *karma-marga*, "work-way," of the Vedas and Brahmanas. This distinction is of great importance, and will reappear later.

But perhaps the most fundamental and characteristic of all the Indian ideas that first obtain expression in the Upanishads is the rebirth or transmigration of souls, or briefly metempsychosis. In the Brahmanas rebirth upon earth is mentioned in a general way in antithesis to life in heaven; but in the Upanishads it is stated in full; while in the later laws of Manu many details are added, and it has remained the common belief of all schools and sects in India ever since. Sir Monier-Williams has well characterized it as the nightmare and daymare of the Indian thinker. No historic evidence of its rise has yet been obtained, but its growth in India implies its rise there, whence probably it was derived by the Greeks, Pythagoras and Plato. Metempsychosis rests upon the notion of the complete kinship of man with animals, plants, and even stones below him, but also and equally with spirits, demons, angels, deities, and even Brahman or Self above him. The notion would easily flourish at a culture-stage where deities are but magnified men, while monkeys are believed able to talk, but wise enough not to do so, lest they should then be compelled to work!

However, when the doctrine of metempsychosis appears, it is already joined with a belief in retribution. Goodness enables a person to rise in the scale of being; badness compels him to sink. Thus, again, a man's present lot is easily explicable as the result of conduct in a former existence, while his future destiny will be determined by his conduct in this. The former view solves the vexing problem of theodicy, how God can justify himself in respect to his government of so unfair a world; the latter supplies a powerful motive to morality. (4)

Guilt and merit are equally recognized in such a scheme of life. When the two are mixed, the person moves up or down the scale, according as one or the other preponderates. When merit is exhausted by residence in heaven, the man must return to earth. Thus the series is endless, with constant liability to sinking, through painful rebirths, into miserable lower forms of life. Virtue, with its rewards, entails equally with vice, with its punishments, this perpetual change and its uncertain outcome. Only one way of escape is possible, and that is absorption out of the vicissitudes of life into *Brahman*, in whom all distinctions, whether intellectual, sensitive or moral, vanish, because all really belonged to *Maya*, "Illusion." Such a high aim, however, was rare, and prominence in the "Laws of Manu" is given to the lower aims and deterrents, which are assigned on a principle of poetic justice. (5) Persons suffering from marked congenital defect were considered plain cases of retribution, and accordingly to be despised by the virtuous.

The very obvious objection to metempsychosis, that a man should then remember his previous births, was of course made. The failure was explained by the pain suffered at each new birth, while recollection was promised on special conditions.

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8. THE UPANISHADS: — SALVATION AND METEMPSYCHOSIS.

(1) **The Reward of Gaining the Self.**—Then a father is not a father, a mother not a mother, the worlds not worlds, the gods not gods, the Vedas not Vedas Then a thief is not a thief, a murderer not a murderer, a *Kândâla* not a *Kândâla*, a Paulkasa not a Paulkasa, a *Sramana* not a *Sramana*, a Tâpasa not a Tâpasa. He is not followed by good, not followed by evil, for he has then overcome all the sorrows of the heart.—"*Upanishads*" *II.*, *p. 169*.

He who knows the bliss of that Brahman, from whence all speech, with the mind, turns away unable to reach it, he fears nothing.

He does not distress himself with the thought, Why did I not do what is good? Why did I do what is bad? He who thus knows these two (good and bad), frees himself. He who knows both, frees himself. This is the Upanishad.—*Ibid*, *p. 63*.

There is one eternal thinker, thinking non-eternal thoughts, who, though one, fulfills the

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desires of many. The wise who perceive him within their self, to them belongs eternal peace, not to others.—*Ibid, pp. 19-20.*

(2) **Maya or Illusion.**—That from which the maker (mâyin) sends forth all this, the sacred verses, the offerings, the sacrifices, the panaceas, the past, the future, and all that the Vedas declare —in that the other is bound up through that mâyâ.

Know then Prakriti (nature) is Mâyâ (art), and the great Lord the Mâyin (maker); the whole world is filled with what are his members.

If a man has discerned him, who being one only, rules over every germ (cause), in whom all this comes together and comes asunder again, who is the lord, the bestower of blessing, the adorable god, then he passes for ever into that peace.—*Ibid, pp. 251-2.*

(3) **Yoga, or Ecstatic Union with Brahman.**—And thus it has been said elsewhere: He who has his senses hidden as in sleep, and who, while in the cavern of his senses (his body), but no longer ruled by them, sees, as in a dream, with the purest intellect, Him who is called Pranava (Om), the leader, the bright, the sleepless, free from old age, from death, and sorrow, he is himself also called Pranava, and becomes a leader, bright, sleepless, free from old age, from death, and sorrow. And thus it is said:

Because in this manner he joins the Prâna (breath), the Om, and this Universe in its manifold forms, or because they join themselves (to him), therefore this (process of meditation) is called Yoga (joining).

The oneness of breath, mind, and senses, and then the surrendering of all conceptions, that is called Yoga.—*Ibid, p. 323.*

If a wise man hold his body with its three erect parts (chest, neck, and head) even, and turn his senses with the mind towards the heart, he will then in the boat of Brahman cross all the torrents which cause fear

Compressing his breathings let him, who has subdued all motions, breathe forth through the nose with gentle breath Let the wise man without fail restrain his mind, that chariot yoked with vicious horses.

When Yoga is being performed, the forms which come first, producing apparitions in Brahman, are those of misty smoke, sun, fire, wind, fire-flies, lightnings, and a crystal moon.

When, as earth, water, light, heat, and ether arise, the fivefold quality of Yoga takes place, then there is no longer illness, old age, or pain for him who has obtained a body, produced by the fire of Yoga.

The first results of Yoga they call lightness, healthiness, steadiness, a good complexion, an easy pronunciation, a sweet odor, and slight excretions.—*Ibid, pp. 241-3.*

When the five instruments of knowledge stand still together with the mind, and when the intellect does not move, that is called the highest state.—*Ibid, p. 328.*

(4) **Metempsychosis.**—Those who know this (even though they still be grihasthas, householders) and those who in the forest follow faith and austerities (the vânaprasthas, and of the parivrâgakas those who do not yet know the Highest Brahman) go to light (arkis), from light to day, from day to the light half of the moon, from the light half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the north, from the six months when the sun goes to the north to the year, from the year to the sun, from the sun to the moon, from the moon to the lightning. There is a person not human,—

He leads them to Brahman (the conditioned Brahman). This is the path of the Devas.

But they who living in a village practise (a life of) sacrifices, works of public utility, and alms, they go the smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the dark half of the moon, from the dark half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the south. But they do not reach the year.

From the months they go to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the ether,



A Jogi.

from the ether to the moon. That is Soma, the king. Here they are loved (eaten) by the Devas, yes, the Devas love (eat) them.

Having dwelt there, till their (good) works are consumed, they return again that way as they came, to the ether, from the ether to the air. Then the sacrificer, having become air, becomes smoke; having become smoke, he becomes mist.

Having become mist, he becomes a cloud; having become a cloud, he rains down. Then he is born as rice and corn, herbs and trees, sesamum and beans. From thence the escape is beset with most difficulties. For whoever the persons may be that eat the food, and beget offspring, he henceforth becomes like unto them.

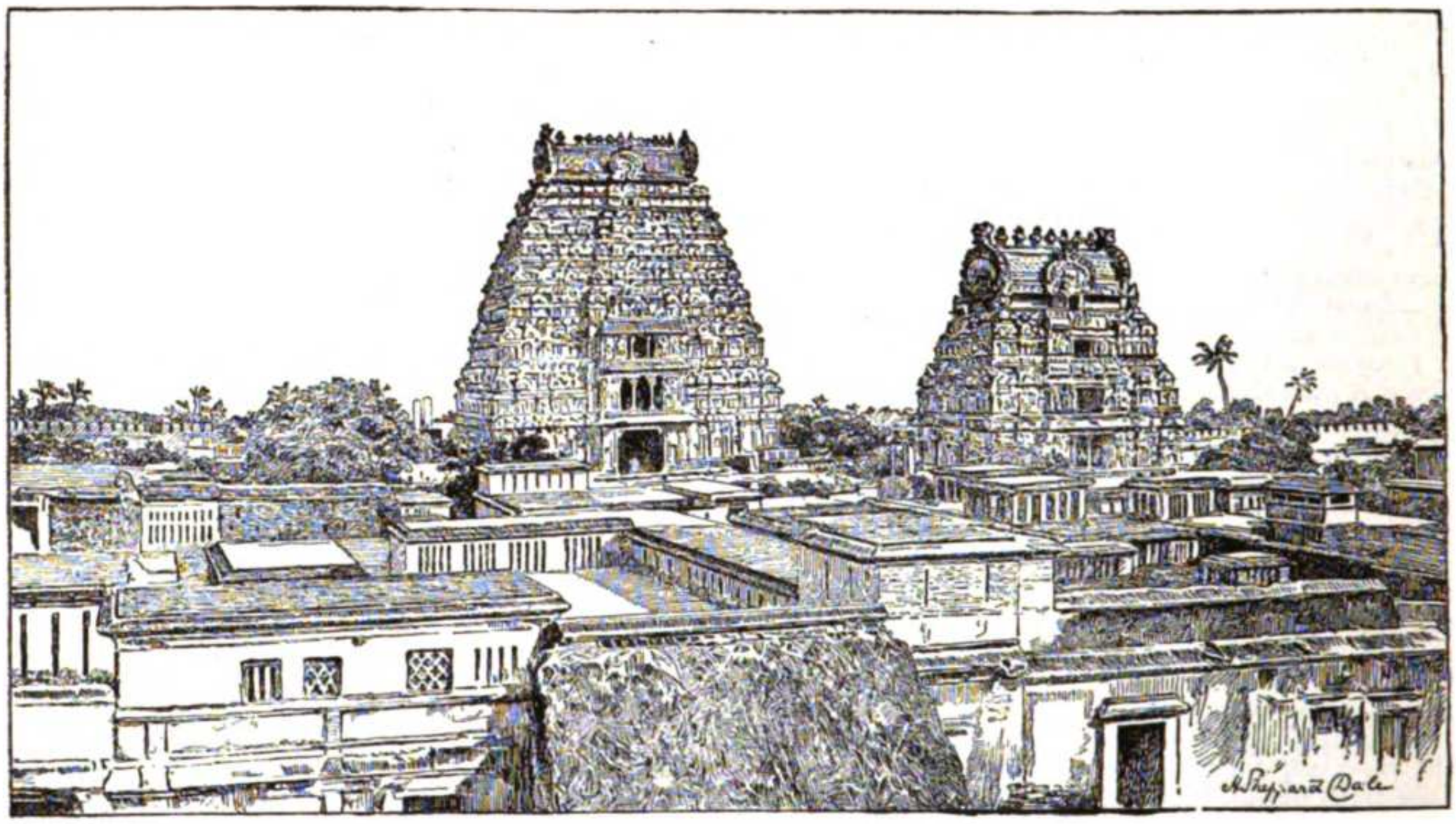
Those whose conduct has been good, will quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a Brâhmana, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya. But those whose conduct has been evil, will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog, or a hog, or a Kandâla. —"*Upanishads,*" *I., pp. 80-84.*

(5) **Poetic Justice.**—Men who delight in doing hurt become carnivorous animals; those who eat forbidden fruit, worms, thieves, creatures consuming their own kind; those who have intercourse with the lowest women, Pretas (famished ghosts). . . . For stealing grain a man becomes a rat . . . for stealing a deer or an elephant, a wolf; for stealing a horse, a tiger; for stealing fruit and roots, a monkey; for stealing a woman, a bear.—"*Laws of Manu,*" *pp. 497-8.*

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9. THE SYSTEMS OF PHILOSOPHY.

The diverse elements latent in the Upanishads were soon developed into six distinct schools of philosophy, some knowledge of which is necessary for an understanding of the subsequent Buddhism and Hinduism. Philosophic enquiry was pursued mostly by the Kshattriya caste, and only later appropriated by the Brahmans. In consequence of this some of the systems are unfavorable to religion, though all agree in their first principle, the eternity of both spirit and matter; and in their last aim, to emancipate that spirit from its bondage to that matter, in other words from metempsychosis, that bugbear of the Indian mind. This, in turn, implies common possession of a psychology, as follows: The spirit (*atman*) becomes



The Temple at Sriringham.

active only when joined with a subtile body which has, besides its external sense organs, an internal organ, mind (*manas*), which alone can perceive, know, or will. The spirit is accompanied by this subtile body in all its rebirths into this or that gross body—man, bird, tree, etc.—until it regains its original condition. It is this union with the body that occasions to the spirit all its misery, whether in pain or pleasure (because always mixed with pain), and involves it in rebirths where its conduct may be rewarded or punished—an endless series of woe. (1)

The Nyaya system includes the only logic ever devised independently of Aristotle. The Vaisheshika is an extension of the Nyaya, and possesses no special interest for us, but the Sankya does, from its being the forerunner in different ways both of Buddhism and Hinduism. The Sankhya is indeed the oldest and simplest of the Indian philosophies, for it would interpret this cosmos of mind and matter on the ancient type of father and mother. With this clue, the way out of its maze of strange and obscure notions is easily found. This sexual type had already formed the chief basis for the cosmogonies in the Vedas, and will appear again in the dual deities as described in the Puranas and Tantras. The terms in this dualism are Prakriti and Purusha. The former is eternal, a first cause. "From the absence of a root in the root, the root (of all things) is rootless. Even if there be a succession of causes (one before the other), there must be a halt at some one point; and so Prakriti is

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only a name for the primal source of all productions. From this germ of nature arise spontaneously twenty-three other entities. Unlike all these is Purusha or Spirit, which neither produces (*i.e.*, bears, for it does, as it were, beget) nor is produced, but it is for it that Prakriti does its work, as a blind man carries a lame one. "There is a ruling influence of Purusha over Prakriti, caused by their proximity, just as the loadstone (draws iron to itself). That is, the proximity of Purusha to prakriti impels the latter to go through the steps of production. This sort of attraction between the two leads to creation, but in no other sense is Purusha an agent or concerned in creation at all. Prakriti is threefold, of *sattva*, "goodness or purity"; *rajas*, "passion or activity," and *tamas*, "darkness or ignorance," held in equipoise. With these three *gunas* or cords Prakriti binds Purusha to herself, and according as one or the other prevails is the individual that is thereby produced divinely noble, humanly selfish, or bestially ignorant. Purusha is many, but like Prakriti in being eternal. Salvation comes to a Purusha so soon as it becomes aware of its essential difference from Prakriti and the *gunas*. During life Purusha can avoid the mere reflexion of sorrow, which is all that really falls upon it, while after death it can become absolutely unconscious. Such a system has no need for Brahman or any other god, and is therefore atheistic; or, since the existence of such a supreme being is not denied, but only considered incapable of proof, the system may be called agnostic.

The Yoga system is generally regarded as a branch of the Sankya, but is rather a religious method than a philosophical one. It prescribes as the means of reunion with *Ishvara*, "Lord," complete suppression of both thought and feeling till the mind becomes like a crystal when uncolored by adjoining objects. This suppression must be secured by eight practices: 1. Forbearance; 2. ceremonies; 3. postures; 4. peculiar breathings; 5. restraint of the senses; 6. steadying of the mind; 7. *dhyana*, "contemplation; 8. *samadhi*, "profound meditation," really trance. Those who hold *Shiva* as the Supreme Being add to this mental asceticism a bodily one, which in variety and intensity almost surpasses credibility. Such are gazing at the sun until blindness ensues, sitting between hot fires, sleeping on spiky beds, and holding the arm aloft until fixed and withered.

The Mimansa is limited to exegesis and apologetic for the Vedas. The Vedanta, the sixth and last of the orthodox systems, is pure pantheism and the most important of all, both from its closer conformity to the Upanishads, and better adaptation to the national character, then as now. It secures its monism simply by declaring the sensible world to be *Maya*, "Illusion." "Brahma is true, the world is false, the spirit is only Brahma and no other." Brahma is to the world what yarn is to cloth, earth to a jar, and gold to a bracelet. He is Existence, Knowledge, and Joy, but yet without action, consciousness or emotion (*i.e.*, he is the abstractions, but has not the concretions, which is just ideal-ism, as apposed to real-ism). Each human spirit is not a part, but the whole of Brahma. Salvation comes when the spirit can recognize this identity. Moral purification would not secure salvation, since it affects only the mind, and not the unalterable spirit. (2)

Perhaps the most characteristic fact about all Indian philosophy is its refusal to the Charvaka system of a place with its six regular schools. Charvakism was blank materialism, opposed equally to religion, idealism and metempsychosis, and as such quite alien to the national mind, which indeed produced it but only to utterly repudiate it. (3)

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9. THE SYSTEMS OF PHILOSOPHY.

(1) **Happiness Unattainable.**—For the truth is that any attempt to establish happiness as the *summum bonum*, since it is inevitably accompanied by various causes of pain, is only like the man who would try to grasp a red-hot ball of iron under the delusion that it was gold. In the case of objects of enjoyment got together by rightful means, we may find many fire-fly like pleasures; but then how many are the rainy days to drown them? And in the case of those got together by

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wrong means, the mind cannot even conceive the future issue which will be brought about. Let our intellight readers consider all this, and not attempt to disguise their own conscious experience. Therefore it is that we hold it as indisputable that for him, pre-eminent among his fellows, who, through the favor of the Supreme Being, has, by the regular method of listening to the revealed *Shruti*, etc., attained into the knowledge of the real nature of the soul, for him the absolute abolition of pain is the true Liberation.—"*Sarva-Darsana-Samgraha*," *translated by Cowell and Gough, p. 171.*

(2) Vedantism.

Knowledge alone effects emancipation.
As fire is indispensable to cooking,
So knowledge is essential to deliverance.
Knowledge alone disperses ignorance,
As sunlight scatters darkness—not so acts;
For ignorance originates in works.
The world and all the course of mundane things
Are like the vain creation of a dream,
In which Ambition, Hatred, Pride, and Passion
Appear like phantoms mixing in confusion.
While the dream lasts the universe seems real,
But when 'tis past the world exists no longer.
Like the deceptive silver of a shell,
So at first sight the world deludes the man
Who takes mere semblance for reality.
As golden bracelets are in substance one
With gold, so are all visible appearances
And each distinct existence one with Brahma.
By action of the fivefold elements
Through acts performed in former states of being,
Are formed corporeal bodies, which become
The dwelling-place of pleasure and of pain
The soul inwrapped in five investing sheaths
Seems formed of these, and all its purity
Darkened, like crystal laid on colored cloth.
As winnowed rice is purified from husk,
So is the soul disburdened of its sheaths
By force of meditation, as by threshing.
The soul is like a king whose ministers
Are body, senses, mind, and understanding.
The soul is wholly separate from these,
Yet witnesses and overlooks their actions.
The foolish think the Spirit acts, whereas
The senses are the actors, so the moon
Is thought to move when clouds are passing o'er it.
When intellect and mind are present, then
Affections, inclinations, pleasures, pains
Are active; in profound and dreamless sleep
When intellect is non-existent, these
Exist not; therefore they belong to mind.
As brightness is inherent in the sun,
Coolness in water, warmness in the fire,
E'en so existence, knowledge, perfect bliss,
And perfect purity inhere in soul.
The understanding cannot recognize
The soul, nor does the soul need other knowledge
To know itself, e'en as a shining light
Requires no light to make itself perceived.
The soul declares its own condition thus:
"I am distinct from body, I am free
From birth, old age, infirmity, and death.
I have no senses; I have no connection
With sound or sight or objects of sensation.
I am distinct from mind, and so exempt
From passion, pride, aversion, fear, and pain.
I have no qualities, I am without
Activity and destitute of option,
Changeless, eternal, formless, without taint,
For ever free, for ever without stain.
I, like the boundless ether, permeate
The universe within, without, abiding
Always, for ever similar in all,
Perfect, immovable, without affection,
Existence, knowledge, undivided bliss,
Without a second, One, supreme am I."
The perfect consciousness that "I am Brahma"
Removes the false appearances projected
By Ignorance, just as elixir, sickness.
The universal Soul knows no distinction
Of knower, knowledge, object to be known.
Rather is it enlightened through itself
And its own essence, which is simple knowledge.
When contemplation rubs the Arani
Of soul, the flame of knowledge blazing up
Quickly consumes the fuel ignorance.
The saint who has attained to full perfection
Of contemplation, sees the universe
Existing in himself, and with the eye
Of knowledge sees the All as the One Soul.
When bodily disguises are dissolved,
The perfect saint becomes completely blended
With the one Soul, as water blends with water,
As air unites with air, as fire with fire.
That gain than which there is no greater gain,
That joy than which there is no greater joy,
That lore than which there is no greater lore,
Is the one Brahma—this is certain truth.
That which is through, above, below, complete,
Existence, wisdom, bliss, without a second,
Endless, eternal, one—know that as Brahma.
That which is neither coarse nor yet minute,
That which is neither short nor long, unborn,
Imperishable, without form, unbound
By qualities, without distinctive marks,
Without a name—know that indeed as Brahma.
Nothing exists but Brahma; when aught else
Appears to be, 'tis like the mirage, false.
—*M. Monier Williams*, "*Indian Wisdom*," *pp. 120-3*, being part of a tract in verse attributed to the great Shancara Acharya, ninth century A.D.

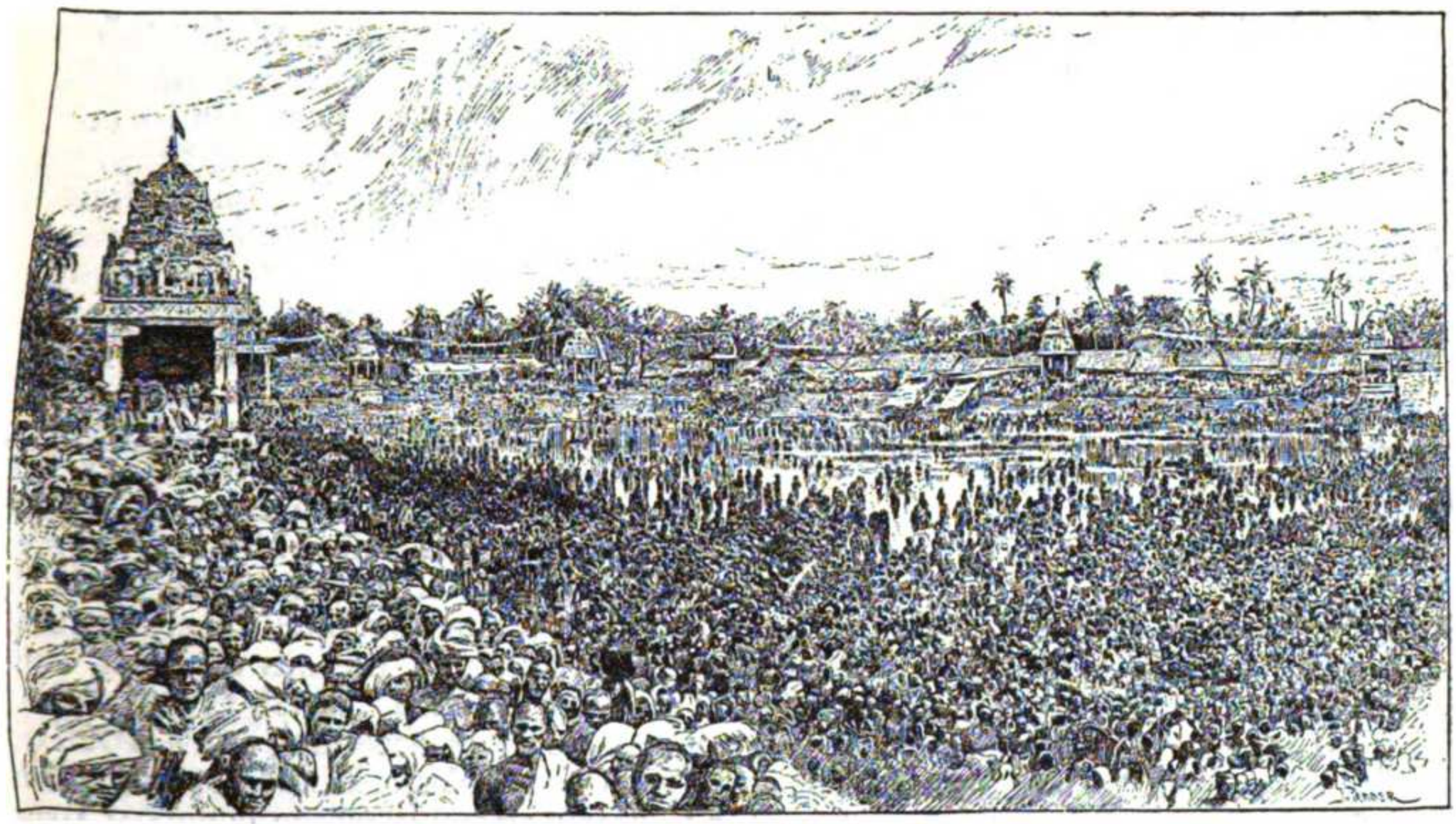
(3) Charvakism.

No heaven exists, no final liberation,
No soul, no other world, no rites of caste,
No recompense for acts; the Agnihotra,
The triple Veda, triple self-command,
And all the dust and ashes of repentance—
These yield a means of livelihood for men
Devoid of intellect and manliness.
If victims slaughtered at a sacrifice
Are raised to heavenly mansions, why should not
The sacrificer immolate his father?
If offerings of food can satisfy
Hungry departed spirits, why supply
The man who goes a journey with provisions?
His friends at home can feed him with oblations.
If those abiding in celestial spheres
Are filled with food presented upon earth,
Why should not those who live in upper stories
Be nourishd by a meal spread out below?
While life endures let life be spent in ease
And merriment; let a man borrow money
From all his friends and feast on melted butter.
How can this body when reduced to dust
Revisit earth? and if a ghost can pass
To other worlds, why does not strong affection
For those he leaves behind attract him back?
The costly rights enjoined for those who die
Are a mere means of livelihood devised
By sacerdotal cunning—nothing more.
The three composers of the triple Veda
Were rogues, or evil spirits, or buffoons.
The recitation of mysterious words
And jabber of the priests is simple nonsense.
—*Ibid, pp. 133-4.*

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10. THE LAWS OF MANU.

The determination of the date of compilation of these laws is a matter of great difficulty, and cannot be made nearer than between the fifth century B.C. and the fifth century A.D. The second century B.C. would be a safe compromise, and is favored by Prof. G. Bühler, the translator of them into English. Certainly some centuries have elapsed since the composition of the Upanishads, for they, with their forerunners, the Brahmanas and Mantras, are now classed together as Veda and distinguished as *Shruti* or Revelation from all subsequent religious literature which is called *Smriti* or Tradition. Manu is the last literary monument of Brahmanism, and indeed contemporaneous with the rise both of Buddhism and Hinduism, both of which, how-



Annual Festival at Combaconum.

ever, it ignores. It is the most important and ancient specimen of a large class of legal literature, and still constitutes the chief authority in Indian law. It grew out of earlier domestic rules, called Smarta Sutras; is certainly a compilation of several previous codes made by some unknown Brahman, who attributes his laws to a mythical Manu; and at first prevailed only among the Manavas living northwest from Delhi, whence, however, it spread gradually over India, though always with accommodation to local customs, as a precondition of acceptance. It is probable that many of the rules were never executed, being inserted simply to complete an ideal. These "Laws of Manu" comprise very diverse material, such as religion and philosophy, law and private morality, both of which receive the sanction of religion. We find here the working out of the religious and philosophical principles of the Veda into practical life, first and chiefly that of the Brahman, but largely of the lower and mixed cases.

The religion presented in the "Laws of Manu" is based upon the Veda. Its eternity and infallibility, with the duty and expiatory effect of a knowledge of it, are insisted on in the strongest language. (1) It follows from this that the deities worshiped are those of the three successive strata of the Veda—Mantras, Brahmanas, and Upanishads; and the particularly interesting thing is that deities of later logical and psychological origin, like *Prajapati* and *Brahman*, have not ousted the earlier

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nature-deities, like *Indra* or *Agni*, but stand close beside them. The directions given to a judge for charging witnesses of all four castes show that the new gods are now known to the commonalty, though only Brahmans, and that in old age, are directed to practice the austerities that produce absorption into *Brahman*, who is here also called *Purusha*. This same passage shows, too, how the Upanishadic doctrine of identity between the finite spirit and Infinite Spirit was applied in the moral sphere in a thoroughly wholesome way. Notice that *Yama*, the Vedic god of the dead, is used representatively for *Purusha*, "the sovereign ruler of them all, as is proper upon Upanishadic principles." (2) A quite new god is *Dharma*, "Law" or "Justice," and obviously suited to moral requirement, as *Prajapati* was to a cosmological one.

The cult of the age is just the inherited one unchanged; for the psychological god, *Brahman*, could never be worshiped other than by meditation, limited here to aged Brahmans. Much space is given to the definition of very severe penances, and the specification of the offences for which they are respectively appointed. (3)

The most important of the social rules was that of caste, which receives in the Laws of Manu its fullest and strictest expression. Originally nothing more than a class distinction based upon occupation, and later upon subjugation of the aborigines, it had by this time hardened into exact rules enforced with severe penalties against intermarriage, or even eating in common. At the top of this system stood the Brahman, sacred and even divine; (4) and believed to possess a supernatural power, especially through his curse, still dreaded throughout India. (5) The Brahman's person was inviolable, even for crimes requiring the death of other men. Their sole proper avocations were conducting the offerings, both public and private, and teaching the Veda. Their support was well provided for by the rule that the efficacy of all repetitions of the Veda and all rites depended upon the gifts with which they were accompanied. Later the Brahmans were allowed to enter other avocations. Such privileges were not secured without stern conditions, promoting intellectual, moral and religious excellence. The Brahman's entire course of life was divided into four periods (*asramas*), and the strictest rules provided for each. First, as a student he must remain with a chosen teacher for from 9 to 36 years, according to his ability, until he has gained a thorough knowledge of the three Vedas. In the boy's eighth year he was invested with the sacred cord, a threefold strand of cotton hanging over the left shoulder, by his teacher (Guru), who then initiated him into the daily use of the Savitri or holy prayer, and admitted him to the performance of certain rites. When his long instruction and stern discipline (6) are completed, he returns home, marries, and thus begins the second *asrama*, that of householder.

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10. THE LAWS OF MANU.

(1) The Infallible Veda.

The Veda is of patriarchs and men,
And e'en of gods, a very eye eternal,
Giving unerring light; it is beyond
All finite faculties, nor can be proved
By force of human argument—this is
A positive conclusion. Codes of laws,
Depending on the memory of men—
Not grounded on the Veda—heresies
And false opinions, all are held to be
Barren and worthless and involved in darkness.
Whatever doctrine rests not on the Veda
Must pass away as recent, false, and fruitless.
The triple world and quadruple distinction
Of classes and of Asramas, with all
That has been, is, and ever will be, all
Are through the Veda settled and established.
By this eternal Veda are sustained
All creatures: hence we hold it as supreme—
Chief instrument of happiness to man.
Command of armies, regal dignity,
Conduct of justice and the world's dominion.
He merits who completely knows the Veda.
As with augmented energy the fire
Consumes e'en human trees, so he who knows
This book divine burns out the taint of sin
Inherent in his soul through former works;
For he who apprehends the Veda's truth,
Whatever be his Order, is prepared
For blending with the great primeval Spirit,
E'en while abiding in this lower world.

—*M. Monier-Williams, "Indian Wisdom," p. 215.*

(2) Purusha (Atman or Brahman) in Man's Heart as a Witness and Judge.—The witnesses being assembled in the court in the presence of the plaintiff and of the defendant, let the judge examine them, kindly exhorting them in the following manner:

"What you know to have been mutually transacted in this matter between the two men before

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us, declare all that in accordance with the truth; for ye are witnesses in this (cause).

"A witness who speaks the truth in his evidence, gains (after death) the most excellent regions (of bliss) and here (below) unsurpassable fame; such testimony is revered by Brahman (himself).

"He who gives false evidence is firmly bound by Varuna's fetters, helpless during one hundred existences; let (men therefore) give true evidence.

"By truthfulness a witness is purified, through truthfulness his merit grows; truth must, therefore, be spoken by witnesses of all castes (varna).

"The Soul itself is the witness of the Soul, and the Soul is the refuge of the Soul; despise not thy own Soul, the supreme witness of men.

"The wicked, indeed, say in their hearts, 'Nobody sees us;' but the gods distinctly see them and the male within their own breasts.

"The sky, the earth, the waters, (the male in) the heart, the moon, the sun, the fire, Yama and the wind, the night, the two twilights, and justice know the conduct of all corporeal beings."

The (judge), being purified, shall ask in the forenoon the twice-born (witnesses) who (also have been) purified, (and stand) facing the north or the east, to give true evidence in the presence of (images of) the gods and of Brâhmanas.

Let him examine a Brâhmana (beginning with) "Speak," a Kshatriya (beginning with) "Speak the truth," a Vaisya (admonishing him) by (mentioning) his kine, grain, and gold, a Sûdra (threatening him) with (the guilt of) every crime that causes loss of caste.

(Saying) "Whatever places (of torment) are assigned (by the sages) to the slayer of a Brâhmana, to the murderer of women and children, to him who betrays a friend, and to an ungrateful man, those shall be thy (portion), if thou speakest falsely.

"(The reward) of all meritorious deeds which thou, good man, hast done since thy birth, shall become the share of the dogs, if in thy speech thou departest from the truth.

"If thou thinkest, O friend of virtue, with respect to thyself, 'I am alone,' (know that) that sage who witnesses all virtuous acts and all crimes, ever resides in thy heart.

"If thou art not at variance with that divine Yama, the son of Vivasvat, who dwells in thy heart, thou needest neither visit the Ganges nor the (land of the) Kurus."—"*Laws of Manu*," *pp. 268-270.*

[The words "the male," "the sky," "the earth," etc., above, would have been better rendered by "Purusha," "Dyaus," and "Prithivi," etc., since the *personalized* nature-powers are plainly meant.]

(3) Penances.—Penances, therefore, must always be performed for the sake of purification, because those whose sins have not been expiated, are born (again) with disgraceful marks.—*Ibid., p. 440-41.*

(4) Brahmans Are Divine.—As the Brâhmana sprang from (Brahman's) mouth, as he was the first-born, and, as he possesses the Veda, he is by right the lord of this whole creation.

A Brâhmana, be he ignorant or learned, is a great divinity, just as the fire, whether carried forth (for the performance of a burnt oblation) or not carried forth, is a great divinity.

Thus, though Brâhmanas employ themselves in all (sorts of) mean occupations, they must be honored in every way; for (each of) them is a very great deity.

By his origin alone a Brâhmana is a deity even for the gods, and (his teaching is) authoritative for men, because the Veda is the foundation for that.—*Ibid., pp. 24, 398-99, 447.*

(5) Brahmans Are Powerful.—A Brâhmana who knows the law need not bring any (offence) to the notice of the king; by his own power alone he can punish those men who injure him.

His own power is greater than the power of the king: the Brâhmana, therefore, may punish his foes by his own power alone.

Let him use, without hesitation, the sacred texts, revealed by Atharvan and by Angiras; speech, indeed, is the weapon of the Brâhmana; with that he may slay his enemies.—*Ibid., p. 436.*

(6) The Student Period.—But a student who resides with his teacher must observe the following restrictive rules, duly controlling all his organs, in order to increase his spiritual merit.

Every day, having bathed, and being purified, he must offer libations of water to the gods, sages and manes, worship (the images of) the gods, and place fuel on (the sacred fire).

Let him abstain from honey, meat, perfumes, garlands, substances (used for) flavoring (food), woman, all substances turned acid, and from doing injury to living creatures.

From anointing (his body), applying collyrium to his eyes, from the use of shoes and of an umbrella (or parasol), from (sensual) desire, anger, covetousness, dancing, singing, and playing (musical instruments).

From gambling, idle disputes, backbiting, and lying, from looking at and touching women, and from hurting others.

Let him always sleep alone; let him never waste his manhood; for he who voluntarily wastes his manhood, breaks his vow.

Let him fetch a pot full of water, flowers, cow-dung, earth, and Kusa grass, as much as may be required (by his teacher), and daily go to beg food.

A student, being pure, shall daily bring food from the houses of men who are not deficient in (the knowledge of) the Veda and in (performing) sacrifices, and who are famous for (following their lawful) occupations.

Let him not beg from the relatives of his teacher, nor from his own or his mother's blood-relations; but if there are no houses belonging to strangers, let him go to one of those named above, taking the last-named first.

Or, if there are no (virtuous men of the kind) mentioned above, he may go to each (house in the village, being pure and remaining silent; but let him avoid Abhisastas (those accused of mortal sin).

Having brought sacred fuel from a distance, let him place it anywhere but on the ground, and let him, unwearied, make with it burnt oblations to the sacred fire, both evening and morning.

The teacher is the image of Brahman, the father the image of Pragapati (the lord of created beings), the mother the image of the earth, and an (elder) full brother the image of oneself.

That trouble (and pain) which the parents undergo on the birth of (their children) cannot be compensated even in a hundred years.

Let him always do what is always agreeable to those (two) and always (what may please) his teacher; when those three are pleased, he obtains all (those rewards which) austerities (yield).

Obedience towards those three is declared to be the best (form of) austerity; let him not perform other meritorious acts without their permission.

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11. LAWS OF MANU (CONTINUED).

It was the duty of the Brahman householder to perform daily the five great devotional acts, namely: 1. To Brahman by repetition and teaching of the Veda; 2. to the ancestors by a libation of water; 3. to the Vedic gods by oblations of butter; 4. to aerial goblins by rice grains scattered on the housetop or the ground; 5. to men by hospitality. Of these the first was considered most efficacious. (1) These offerings not only subserved the spiritual need of the three other castes, but maintained the natural sources of food. (2)



A Brahman Sannyasi.

The duties of hospitality were fully laid down, and guarded from abuse by religious impostors. Originally, meats were offered to the gods because they were eaten by men; but now that increased sympathy for all sentient life has prohibited meat for the three higher castes, special reasons — only specious of course—are devised to justify its use for the gods.

So much, then, for the Brahman householder, whose religious life was governed by the Mantras and Brahmanas. But just as those two stages of the Veda were followed by the Upanishads, so was the householder order or stage by the hermit order, and later its intensified form, the mendicant order, both which are just the application of the psychology and metaphysics of the *atma* or spirit. When, therefore, "the householder sees his skin wrinkled, and his hair white, and the sons of his sons, then he may resort to the forest." There he was to observe the abstinences from all luxuries and even comforts, practice the austerities by which he could "dry up his bodily frame," and study the Upanishads by which he could unite with the *Atman*. (3) Finally, when tired of this hermit life, he may proceed to the fourth and last order, that of the *bhikshu*, "beggar," or *sannyasin*, "renouncer," which differs from the former by requiring the renunciation of all home ties for the wanderer's life. (4) Here he may hope by abandoning "all the pairs of opposites," *i.e.*, all forms of ordinary human experience which invariably involve distinction, plurality, mixture, and therewith misery, to repose in *Atman* (*Brahman*) alone. This complete renunciation includes resentment, of course, and

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thus involves the diamond rule of conduct (cf. p. 140). Not even in religious and extravagant India was it likely that all Brahmans would consent to such heroic discipline, and accordingly provision was made for a milder course conducted at home, but likewise leading to Brahman. (5) It is altogether likely that this compromise was commonly made, for only thus would the ascetic's body be recoverable for cremation in the sacred funeral ceremonies. Indeed all the directions are introduced with a *may*, not a *shall*. Certainly the subsequent narrative Epics and the present practice evidence the practice of Yoga only by lower castes. That the compromise has not yet quite died out may be seen by the preceding picture of a recent *sannyasi*, who had been prime minister to a native prince.

Twelve *sanskaras*, "purificatory rites," from hereditary sin are prescribed for all three higher castes. (6) They begin even before birth and close with marriage, which is therefore a religious duty for all. The feeding an infant with rice between the fifth and eighth month, the cutting off the hair except one lock on the crown in the third year, and the investiture with the sacred cord are still observed. It is especially this investiture that confers the second and spiritual birth. (7) All these rites, except investiture with the thread, were performed for females also, but without recitation of the sacred texts. As for the "four orders" described above, "serving her husband" was the woman's equivalent for studentship (for she did not learn to read, as she still does not), and household duties that for the householder's worship. (8) Sudras, the aborignal caste, might use only the rice-eating and marriage rites. The marriage rite varies according to the caste and contract, but a common rite is prescribed in which, among other picturesque symbolisms, the pair are sprinkled with rice and water, and are finally blessed by Brahmans.

As with the Chinese, the funeral and the later ancestral rites, *shraddhas*, are the most important of all. At a funeral the relatives bore the deceased with his sacrificial fire and implements to a purified place near his abode, where, after exorcising evil spirits from it, the pyre was prepared and the corpse laid upon it. Then the wife lay down on the pyre beside her dead husband, until either his brother or pupil or old servant made her rise, while repeating the Vedic text: "Rise up, O woman, come back to the world of life; thou art lying by a dead man; come back. Thou hast sufficiently fulfilled the duty of a wife and mother to the husband who wooed thee and took thee by the hand." The sacrificial implements and portions of the sacrificial animal (for the sustenance of the deceased) were then placed in the dead hands, and the pyre lighted. During the burning, portions of Vedic hymns were repeated. (9) It is then certain that the soul, invested with a subtle body, ascends in the smoke to heaven. After purification the mourners return home. Some days later the bones and ashes are collected into a vase and buried in the ground, while someone repeats the Vedic hymn, "Go to thy Mother Earth," etc. The special *shraddha* performed soon after was accompanied with much feasting and costly gifts to the officiating Brahmans. This should be repeated each month, and subsequently each year. In the adjoining picture, the feet of the corpse are laid in the sacred Ganges to insure salvation. The two columns on the right commemorate notable cases of *sati*, "devoted wife," who allows herself to burn up with her husband's corpse. This odious custom found no authority in the Vedas or these Laws of Manu, but sprang up soon afterwards.

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11. LAWS OF MANU (CONTINUED).

(1) **Repetition of the Veda Surpasses All Other Rites.**—But, undoubtedly, a Brâhmaṇa reaches the highest goal by muttering prayers only; (whether) he perform other (rites) or neglect them, he who befriends (all creatures) is declared (to be) a (true) Brâhmaṇa.

Let him, without tiring, daily mutter the Veda at the proper time; for they declare that to be one's highest duty; (all) other (observances) are called secondary duties.—"*Laws of Manu*," *pp. 76, 152.*

(2) **Offerings Control Nature.**—An oblation duly thrown into the fire, reaches the sun; from the sun comes rain, from rain food, therefrom the living creatures (derive their subsistence).

As all living creatures subsist by receiving sup-

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port from air, even so (the members of) all orders subsist by receiving support from the householder.

Because men of the three (other) orders are daily supported by the householder with (gifts of) sacred knowledge and food, therefore (the order of) householders is the most excellent order.—*Ibid.*, *p. 89.*

(3) **The Hermit Order.**—A twice-born Snâtaka, who has thus lived according to the law in the order of householders, may, taking a firm resolution and keeping his organs in subjection, dwell in the forest, duly (observing the rules given below).

When a householder sees his (skin) wrinkled, and (his hair) white, and the sons of his sons, then he may resort to the forest.

Abandoning all food raised by cultivation, and all his belongings, he may depart into the forest, either committing his wife to his sons, or accompanied by her.

Taking with him the sacred fire and the implements required for domestic (sacrifices), he may go forth from the village into the forest and reside there, duly controlling his senses.

Let him offer those five great sacrifices according to the rule, with various kinds of pure food fit for ascetics, or with herbs, roots and fruit.

Let him wear a skin or a tattered garment; let him bathe in the evening or in the morning; and let him always wear (his hair in) braids, the hair on his body, his beard, and his nails (being unclipped).

Let him either roll about on the ground, or stand during the day on tiptoe, (or) let him alternately stand and sit down; going at the Savanas (at sunrise, at midday, and at sunset) to water in the forest (in order to bathe).

In summer let him expose himself to the heat of five fires, during the rainy season live under the open sky, and in winter be dressed in wet clothes, (thus) gradually increasing (the rigor of) his austerities.

When he bathes at the three Savanas (sunrise, midday and sunset), let him offer libations of water to the manes and the gods, and practising harsher and harsher austerities, let him dry up his bodily frame.

Having reposited the three sacred fires in himself, according to the prescribed rule, let him live without a fire, without a house, wholly silent, subsisting on roots and fruit.

Making no effort (to procure) things that give pleasure, chaste, sleeping on the bare ground, not caring for any shelter, dwelling at the roots of trees.

Or (the hermit) who dwells in the forest may bring (food, from a village, receiving it either in a hollow dish (of leaves), in (his naked) hand, or in a broken earthen dish, and may eat eight mouthfuls.

These and other observances must a Brâhmaṇa, who dwells in the forest, diligently practise, and in order to attain complete (union with) the (supreme) Soul, (he must study) the various sacred texts contained in the Upanishads.

Or let him walk, fully determined and going straight on, in a northeasterly direction, subsisting on water and air, until his body sinks to rest. —*Ibid.*, *pp. 198-204.*

(4) **The Beggar Order.**—But having thus passed the third part of (a man's natural term of) life in the forest, he may live as an ascetic during the fourth part of his existence, after abandoning all attachment to wordly objects.

Let him always wander alone, without any companion, in order to attain (final liberation), fully understanding that the solitary (man, who) neither forsakes nor is forsaken, gains his end.

He shall neither possess a fire, nor a dwelling, he may go to a village for his food, (he shall be) indifferent to everything, firm of purpose, meditating (and) concentrating his mind on Brahman.

A potsherd (instead of an alms-bowl), the roots of trees (for a dwelling), coarse worn-out garments, life in solitude and indifference towards everything, are the marks of one who has attained liberation.

Let him not desire to die, let him not desire to live; let him wait for (his appointed) time, as a servant waits for the payment of his wages.

Let him go to beg once (a day); let him not be eager to obtain a large quantity (of alms); for an ascetic who eagerly seeks alms, attaches himself also to sensual enjoyments.

Let him not be sorry when he obtains nothing, nor rejoice when he obtains (something), let him (accept) so much only as will sustain life, let him not care about the (quality of his) utensils.

Against an angry man let him not in return show anger; let him bless when he is cursed, and let him not utter speech, devoid of truth, scattered at the seven gates.

By the restraint of his senses, by the destruction of love and hatred, and by the abstention from injuring the creatures, he becomes fit for immortality.

Let him reflect on the transmigrations of men, caused by their sinful deeds, on their falling into hell, and on the torments in the world of Yama.

On the separation from their dear ones, on their union with hated men, on their being overpowered by age and being tormented with diseases.

On the departure of the individual soul from this body and its new birth in (another) womb, and on its wanderings through ten thousand millions of existences.

Let him recognize by the practice of meditation the progress of the individual soul through beings of various kinds, (a progress) hard to understand for unregenerate men.

Making over (the merit of his own) good actions to his friends and (the guilt of) his evil deeds to his enemies, he attains the eternal Brahman by the practice of meditation.

He who has in this manner gradually given up all attachments and is freed from all the pairs (of opposites), reposes in Brahman alone.

All that has been declared (above) depends on meditation; for he who is not proficient in the knowledge of that which refers to the Soul reaps not the full reward of the performance of rites.

Let him constantly recite (those texts of) the Veda which refer to the sacrifice, (those) referring to the deities, and (those) which treat of the Soul and are contained in the concluding portions of the Veda (Vedânta).—*Ibid.*, *pp. 204-213.*

(5) **The Compromise Order.**—By twice-born men belonging to (any of) these four orders, the tenfold law must be ever carefully obeyed.

Contentment, forgiveness, self control, abstention from unrighteously appropriating anything (obedience to the rules of) purification, coercion of the organs, wisdom, knowledge (of the supreme Soul), truthfulness, and abstention from anger, (form) the tenfold law.

Those Brâhmaṇas who thoroughly study the tenfold law, and after studying obey it, enter the highest state.

A twice-born man who, with collected mind,

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Burning Ghat at Benares.

follows the tenfold law and has paid his (three) debts, may, after learning the Vedânta according to the prescribed rule, become an ascetic.

Having given up (the performance of) all rites, throwing off the guilt of his (sinful) acts, subduing his organs and having studied the Veda, he may live at his ease under the protection of his son.

He who has thus given up (the performance of) all rites, who is solely intent on his own (particular) object, (and) free from desires, destroys his guilt by his renunciation and obtains the highest state.—*Ibid*, *pp. 215-16.*

(6) **Purificatory Rites.**—With holy rites, prescribed by the Veda, must the ceremony on conception and other sacraments be performed for twice-born men, which sanctify the body and purify (from sin) in this (life) and after death.

By burnt oblations during (the mother's) pregnancy, by the *Gâtakarman* (the ceremony after birth), the *Kauda* (tonsure), and the Mauñgibandhana (the tying of the sacred girdle of Muñgu grass) is the taint, derived from both parents, removed from twice-born men.—*Ibid.*, *pp. 33-34.*

(7) **The New Birth.**—Thus has been described the rule for the initiation of the twice-born, which indicates a (new) birth and sanctifies; learn (now) to what duties they must afterwards apply themselves.—*Ibid.*, *p. 42.*

(8) **Female Rites.**—This whole series (of ceremonies) must be performed for females (also), in order to sanctify the body, at the proper time and in the proper order, but without (the recitation of) sacred texts.

The nuptial ceremony is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for women (and to be equal to the initiation), serving the husband (equivalent to) the residence in (the house of the) teacher, and the household duties (the same) as the (daily) worship of the sacred fire.—*Ibid.*, *p. 42.*

(9) Funeral Hymns.

Open thy arms, O earth, receive the dead
With gentle pressure and with loving welcome.
Enshroud him tenderly, e'en as a mother
Folds her soft vestment round the child she loves.
Soul of the dead! depart; take thou the path—
The ancient path—by which our ancestors
Have gone before thee; thou shalt look upon
The two kings, mighty Varuna and Yama,
Delighting in oblations; thou shalt meet
The fathers and receive the recompense
Of all thy stored-up offerings above.
Leave thou thy sin and imperfection here;
Return unto thy home once more; assume
A glorious form. By an auspicious path
Hasten to pass the four-eyed brindled dogs—
The two road-guarding sons of Saramâ;
Advance to meet the Fathers who, with hearts
Kindly disposed towards thee, dwell in bliss
With Yama; and do thou, O mighty god,
Intrust him to thy guards to bring him to thee,
And grant him health and happiness eternal.
—*M. Monier-Williams, "Indian Wisdom," p. 197.*

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12. THE LAWS OF MANU (CONTINUED). THE ABORIGINAL RELIGIONS.

That a man's condition in the future life depend upon his merit and guilt in this has been often implied before, but is plainly stated in Manu. (1) This law, however, does not preclude the expiation of sins by penances, which are carefully specified, or by confession, repentance, austerity, reciting the Veda, and liberality. (2)

The tenfold law binding on all twice born men was given in Note 7 of the preceding lesson. The absence of analogues to the first three commandments of the Mosaic Law permit polytheism and idolatry; but the omission of the fifth commandment would be wrongly supposed to imply neglect of that duty. Of vices a "tenfold set" is given that spring from love of pleasure, and an "eightfold set" that spring from wrath, while both sets are traced to greed. (3). The example of the gods is cited as a motive to virtue only once, and in reference to a king's duties. This exception proves the general rule of silence on this topic.

The duties and rights of wife and children are determined by the patriarchal system, as was the case in China. The father can make no testament, but must leave his estate to be divided according to law. The son can hold no property during his father's lifetime, and is liable for his debts. The wife also could hold no property. All members of the family may be beaten by the father in chastisement for faults. (4). Again, a twice-born man, after marrying a woman of equal caste, might proceed to marry another from each caste below; but the rule was for one wife. (5) Rape was punished corporally, and adultery with death, except in the case of a Brahman, who could only be banished, whatever his crime was.

Woman's part in the sacred rites was stated in the previous lesson. Her salvation will be secured by obedience to her husband alone. (6) Maiden sisters received from each brother a quarter of his share, when the paternal estate was divided. A wife could be "superseded" for bad conduct or disease, but not so a husband, who indeed was in any case to be worshiped as a god. (7) A man might remarry, but a woman not. When the deceased had been childless, the brother-in-law was appointed to beget one son with the widow. Woman is never independent, is harshly judged, but must be honored, and, if need be, cared for by the king. (8) She needs guarding against evil inclinations, but her own prudence better serves that end than confinement in a house. (9) Finally, a European writer has declared that Indians classed women below cows. Manu, at any rate, classes the sacred cow with the mighty Brahman, and women with children. (10)

Before proceeding to the study of Hinduism, it will be well to notice the religions of those aborigines that were mentioned in Lesson 1, and that, as all students are agreed, deeply influenced the rise of Hinduism, as they still do its condition and prospects. To this end I select some passages from the excellent sketch given by Professor Hopkins. (11)

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12. THE LAWS OF MANU (CONTINUED). THE ABORIGINAL RELIGIONS.

(1) **Merit and Guilt.**—Giving no pain to any creature, let him slowly accumulate spiritual merit, for the sake (of acquiring) a companion to the next world, just as the white ant (gradually raises its) hill.

For in the next world neither father, nor mother, nor wife, nor sons, nor relations stay to be his companions; spiritual merit alone remains (with him).

Single is each being born; single it dies; single it enjoys (the reward of its) virtue; single (it suffers the punishment of its) sin.

Leaving the dead body on the ground like a log of wood, or a clod of earth, the relatives depart with averted faces; but spiritual merit follows the (soul).

Let him therefore always slowly accumulate spiritual merit, in order (that it may be his) companion (after death); for with merit as his companion he will traverse a gloom difficult to traverse.—"*Laws of Manu*," *p. 166.*

(2) **Expiation of Sins.**—I will (now) describe to you those means, adopted by the gods, the sages, and the manes, through which a man may remove his sins.

A fast for twelve days by a man who controls himself and commits no mistakes, is called a Parâka *Krikkhra*, which removes all guilt.

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By confession, by repentance, by austerity, and by reciting (the Veda) a sinner is freed from guilt, and in case no other course is possible, by liberality.

In proportion as a man who has done wrong himself confesses it, even so far he is freed from guilt, as a snake from its slough.

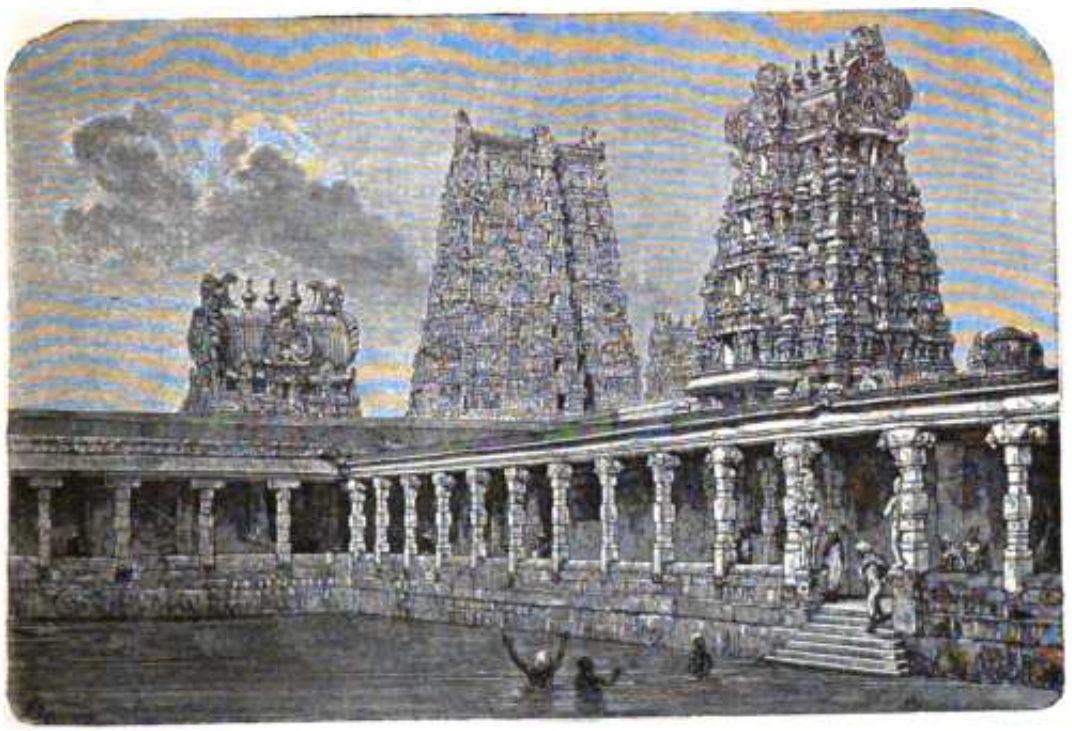
In proportion as his heart loathes his evil deed, even so far is his body freed from that guilt.

He who has committed a sin and has repented, is freed from that sin, but he is purified only by (the resolution of) ceasing (to sin and thinking) "I will do so no more."

born men (wives) of equal caste are recommended; but for those who through desire proceed (to marry again) the following females, (chosen) according to the (direct) order (of the caste), are most approved.

It is declared that a Śûdra women alone (can be) the wife of a Śûdra, she and one of his own caste (the wives) of a Vaiśya, those two and one of his own caste (the wives) of a Kshatriya, those three and one of his own caste (the wives) of a Brâhmaṇa.

He only is a perfect man who consists (of three persons united), his wife, himself, and his off-



Shaiva Temple at Madura.

If his mind be uneasy with respect to any act, let him repeat the austerities (prescribed as a penance) for it until they fully satisfy (his conscience).—*Ibid*, *pp*. 473, 474, 477.

(3) **Prohibition of Vices.**—Hunting, gambling, sleeping by day, censoriousness, (excess with women, drunkenness, (an inordinate love for), dancing, singing, and music, and useless travel are the tenfold set (of vices) springing from love of pleasure.

Tale-bearing, violence, treachery, envy, slandering, (unjust) seizure of property, reviling, and assault are the eightfold set (of vices) produced by wrath.

That greediness which all wise men declare to be the root even of both these (sets), let him carefully conquer; both sets (of vices) are produced by that.—*Ibid*, *p*. 223.

(4) **Patriarchal Punishment.**—A wife, a son, a slave, a pupil, and a (younger) brother of the full blood, who have committed faults, may be beaten with a rope or a split bamboo.—*Ibid*, *p*. 306.

(5) **Marriage.**—For the first marriage of twice-

spring; thus (says the Veda), and (learned, Brâhmaṇas propound this (maxim) likewise, "The husband is declared to be one with the wife."

Neither by sale nor by repudiation is a wife released from her husband; such we know the law to be, which the Lord of creatures (Pragâpati) made of old.

"Let mutual fidelity continue until death;" this may be considered as the summary of the highest law for husband and wife.

Let man and woman, united in marriage, constantly exert themselves, that (they may not be) disunited (and) may not violate their mutual fidelity.—*Ibid*, *pp*. 77, 335, 345.

(6) **Woman's Salvation.** No sacrifice, no vow, no fast must be performed by women apart (from their husbands); if a wife obeys her husband, she will for that (reason alone) be exalted in heaven. *Ibid*, *p* 196.

(7) **Husband and Wife.**—She who drinks spirituous liquor, is of bad conduct, rebellious, diseased, mischievous, or wasteful, may at any time be superseded (by another wife).

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A barren wife may be superseded in the eighth year, she whose children (all) die in the tenth, she who bears only daughters in the eleventh, but she who is quarrelsome without delay.

She who shows disrespect to (a husband), who is addicted to (some evil) passion, is a drunkard, or diseased, shall be deserted for three months (and be) deprived of her ornaments and furniture.

Though destitute of virtue, or seeking pleasure (elsewhere), or devoid of good qualities, (yet) a husband must be constantly worshiped as a god by a faithful wife.—*Ibid, pp. 341, 196.*

(8) **Woman's Position.**—In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons; a woman must never be independent.

For women no (sacramental) rite (is performed) with sacred texts, thus the law is settled; women (who are) destitute of strength and destitute of (the knowledge of) Vedic texts, (are as impure as) falsehood (itself), that is a fixed rule.

Women must be honored and adorned by their fathers, brothers, husbands, and brothers-in-law, who desire (their own) welfare.

Where women are honored, there the gods are pleased; but where they are not honored, no sacred rite yields rewards.

Where the female relations live in grief, the family soon wholly perishes; but that family where they are not unhappy ever prospers.

In like manner care must be taken of barren women, of those who have no sons, of those whose family is extinct, of wives and widows faithful to their lords, and of women afflicted with diseases. —*Ibid, pp. 195, 330, 85, 257.*

(9) **Woman's Character.**—Women must particularly be guarded against evil inclinations, however trifling (they may appear) for, if they are not guarded, they will bring sorrow on two families.

Women confined in the house under trustworthy and obedient servants, are not (well) guarded; but those who of their own accord keep guard over themselves, are well guarded.—*Ibid, pp. 328-9.*

(10) **Woman and Cows.**—Dying, without the expectation of a reward, for the sake of Brâhmaṇas and of cows, or in the defence of women and children, secures beautitude to those excluded (from the Âryan community, vâhya).—*Ibid, p. 416.*

(11) **Aboriginal Religions.**—Gonds: These savages, mentioned in early literature, are the most numerous and powerful of the wild tribes, and appear to have been less affected by outside belief than were any other, except the related Khonds. Their religion used to consist in adoring a representation of the sun, to which were offered human sacrifices. As among the Oraons, a man of straw (literally) is at the present day substituted for the human victim. Besides the sun, the moon and stars are worshiped by them. They have stones for idols, but no temples. Devils, witchcraft, and the evil eye also are feared. They sacrifice animals, and, with the exception of the Rāj Gonds, have been so little affected by the Hindu respect for that holiest of animals, that they slaughter cows at their wedding-feasts, on which occasion the bacchanalian revels in which they indulge are accompanied with such excess as quite to put them upon the level of Çivaite bestiality.

The Khonds: Even more striking is the religion of the Khonds. Their chief rite is human sacrifice to the earth-goddess, Tari; but, like the Gonds, they worship the sun as chief divinity. Other gods among them are the river-god, rain-god, spring, wealth, hill-god, and smallpox-god. All their religious feasts are excuses for excess both in drinking and otherwise. One of their beliefs is that there is a river of hell, which flows around a slippery rock, up which climbs the one that would escape torment. Their method of sacrificing a human victim is to put him into the cleft of a tree, where he is squashed, or into fire. They seem to have an odd objection to shedding blood for this purpose, and in this respect may be compared with the Thugs. Another very interesting trait is the religion which is intertwined with business, and its peculiar features. Victims offered either to the sun or to the war-god serve to mark boundary lines. Great is the patience with which these victims, called *merias*, are waited for. The sacrificer captures fit specimens when they are young, and treats them with particular kindness till they are almost grown up. Indeed, they are treated thus by the whole village. At the appointed time they are slowly crushed to death or smothered in a mud bath, and bits of their flesh are then cut out and strewn along the boundary lines. Boys are preferred, but either boys or girls may be used. This sacrifice is sometimes made directly to the "Boundary-god," an abstraction which is not unique; for, besides the divinities recorded above, mention is made also of a "Judgment-god." Over each village and house preside the Manes of good men gone; while the "father is god on earth" to every one. They used to destroy all their female children, and this, together with their national custom of offering human sacrifices, has been put down with the greatest difficulty by the British, who confess that there is every probability that in reality the crime still obtains among the remoter clans. These Khonds are situate in the Madras presidency, and are aborigines of the Eastern Ghâts. The most extraordinary views about them have been published. Despite their acknowledged barbarity, savageness, and polytheism, they have been soberly credited with a belief in One Supreme God, "a theism embracing polytheism," and other notions which have been abstracted from their worship of the sun as "great god."

They that do not worship Tari do not practice human sacrifice. Thus the Çivaite sacrifice of man to the god's consort is very well paralleled by the usage that obtains among them. The Khond priests may indulge in any occupation except war; but some exercise only their priestcraft and do nothing else. The chief feast to the sun-god is Salo Kallo (the former word means "cow-pen"; the latter, a liquor), somewhat like a *soma*-feast. It is celebrated at harvest time with dancing, and drinking, "and every kind of licentious enjoyment." Other festivals of less importance celebrate the substitution of a buffalo for human sacrifice (not celebrated, of course, by the Tari worshipers). The invocation at the harvest is quite Brahmanic; "O gods, remember that our increase of rice is your increase of worship; if we get little rice we worship little." Among lesser gods the "Fountain-god" is especially worshiped, with a sheep or a hog as sacrifice. Female infanticide springs from a feeling that intermarriage in the same tribe is incest (this is the meaning of the incest-law above; it might be rendered "to marry in the tribe")

The Sunthâls: These are immigrants into the West Bengal jungles, and have descended from the North to their present site. They are called the finest specimens of the native savage. The guardian of the tribe is its deceased ancestor, and his ghost is consulted as an oracle. Their race-

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god is the "Great Mountain," but the sun represents the highest spirit; though they worship spirits of every sort, and regard beasts as divine; the men revering the tiger, and the women, elephants. The particularly nasty festival called the *bandana*, which is celebrated annually by this tribe, is exactly like the "left-hand" cult of the Çaktas, only that in this case it is a preliminary to marriage. All unmarried men and women indulge together in an indescribable orgie, at the end of which each man selects the woman he prefers.

Of the Savāras or Sauras of the Dekhan the most interesting deity is the malevolent female called Thākuāni, wife of Thākur. She was doubtless the first patroness of the throttling Thugs (*thags* are *thaks*, assassins), and the prototype of their Hindu Kāli. Human sacrifices are offered to Thākurāni, while her votaries, as in the case of the Thugs, are noted for the secrecy of their crimes.

Bilth-rites, marriage-rites, funeral rites (all of blood), human sacrifice, *tabú* (especially among the Burmese), witchcraft, worship of ancestors, divination, and demonology are almost universal throughout the wild tribes. In most of the rites the holy stone plays an important part, and in many of the tribes dances are a religious exercise. —*E. W. Hopkins*, "*Religions of India*," *pp. 526-7, 528-9, 532-3-535.*

SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **THE UPANISHADS: BRAHMAN.**—Upanishads, Reasons for interest, Gautama Buddha, Shruti, Rammohun Roy, Schopenhauer, Pantheism, One God, Brahman, Atman, Indwelling, Knowledge of the Atman.
8. **THE UPANISHADS: SALVATION AND METEMPSYCHOSIS.**—Salvation, The Self, Maya, Materialism, Crudities, Kshattriya, Karma and Jnana; Metempsychosis, Its culture stage, Retribution, Escape.
9. **THE SYSTEMS OF PHILOSOPHY.**—Common Views of all Systems, Psychology, Nyaya, Sankhya, Yoga, Vedanta, Charvaka.
10. **THE LAWS OF MANU.**—Relations to the Past, Formation, Contents, Religion, Yama, Dharma, Penance, Asramas.
11. **THE LAWS OF MANU (CONTINUED).**—Devotional Acts, Meat-eating, Hermit, Beggar, Compromise, Sanskaras, Woman, Funeral.
12. **THE LAWS OF MANU (CONTINUED).**—Expiation, Tenfold Law, Patriarchate, Man and Woman, Aborigines.

QUESTIONS.

7. *What does Upanishads mean? What did these writings constitute? State some reasons for taking special interest in them. Have they exercised any influence on Europeans? What innovation did they make? What is Brahman? What is Atman? What is the second great thought of the Upanishads? How can Atman be known?*

8. *How is salvation secured? How can the Self be gained? What is Maya? State some materialistic aspects of the Atman doctrine. Account for the crudities present. What part did the Kshattriya take? Distinguish karma from jnana. Define metempsychosis. Upon what notion does it rest? Where does it easily flourish? How connected with retribution? How are guilt and merit recognized? Where is the way of escape?*

9. *In what do all the systems of philosophy agree? State the common psychology. Characterize the Nyaya. What serves as a type to the Sankhya system? How are Purusha and Prakriti related? Name the three gunas. Why is the Sankhya not theistic? What does Yoga prescribe? Specify some ascetic methods. Describe the Vendanta system.*

10. *What was the epoch of Manu? How formed? What does it contain? Upon what is its religion based? What moral use was made of the Atman theory? Who was Yama? Dharma? State some penances. Describe the Brahman's social position. How was his life divided? Describe his student life.*

11. *State the five devotional acts. Relate the history of meat-eating. When was the Brahman to resort to the forest? Why? State the rules for the bhikshu. State the setting of the diamond rule. What was the compromise method? Name three sanskaras. What was woman's religious duty? Describe a funeral.*

12. *Name the various methods of expiation. To what vice are all others traced? How are the duties and rights of women and children defined? Specify some examples. Contrast some duties of man and woman. State some customs of the aborigines.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Confirm the correctness of the philosophy in Note 5, by reference to any modern work on theism or theology.*
2. *Trace the decline of metempsychosis in Greek thought.*
3. *Contrast the failure of Charvakism in India with the success of Materialism in Europe.*
4. *State the Western equivalent for the moral use of the atman theory.*
5. *Discuss the relative merits of the Indian and American conceptions of old age.*
6. *Compare the "tenfold law" with the "ten words" (which is the Hebrew phrase for what we call the ten commandments).*

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13. HINDUISM.

While Brahmanism was religion chiefly for the highest caste, or Brahmans, and Buddhism for the military caste, or Kshattriyas, Hinduism resulted from the fusion of these two with the crude and varied beliefs of low castes and outcastes, including hero worship, and even animal, plant and stone worships. Reference to Lesson 1 will remind how from the fourth century B.C. the Aryans in India were in turn attacked by Greco-Bactrians and Scythians, whose monarchs, or those of native Shudra extraction, reduced Brahmanic influence to a minimum, and compelled its compromise with rival beliefs. It was thus that Buddhism could flourish in India from about 500 B.C. to about 500 A.D., when it yielded to the Vaishnavism that had caught its spirit of charity and fraternity. Shaivism had arisen during the same period, and these two have formed ever since the chief divisions of Hinduism. Vaishnavism is just exclusive worship of the Vedic god *Vishnu;* and Saivism that of the god *Rudra*, later known as *Shiva*; while each is exalted by his sectaries to the position reserved in Brahamism for *Atman*, and at the same time believed to have appeared upon earth in some tangible shape, such as a man, animal, plant or stone. Thus pantheism, polytheism and polydemonism coalesced into a personal pantheism, and later, as with Ramanuja, a true monotheism. In early Hinduism, the other Vedic gods appear, but with weakened powers. *Agni* remains the priest of the gods, but no longer wins battles for men. *Varuna* and *Indra* descend to earth and fight in battle, but to little purpose. None the less, however, is *Indra's* Heaven still the hope of the dying warrior. The creator *Brahma* received no cult, but survived in creed as the third and inferior member of the *trimurti*, "three forms," a device of later and perhaps Christian origin, made in order to reconcile the conflicting claims of the supreme Brahmanic god with *Vishnu* and *Shiva*. (1) The notion never attained any importance in Hindu speculation or faith, and may be compared with another combination, this time a dual one between *Vishnu* and *Shiva*, under the title *Hari-Hara*. In the cut on page 215 *Shiva* is represented as the supreme member of this *trimurti*, but the rival Vaishnavas claim the supremacy for *Vishnu*. Only *Surya*, one of the sun gods, retained an active cult, especially in western India, as he does to this day.

Concomitant with this change to a *personal* Supreme in the conception of deity, there arose another in the relation of the worshiper to him; namely, the previous *karma-marga*, or way of works, and *jnanamarga*, or way of knowledge, yielded place, or, more exactly, precedence to the *bhakti-marga*, or way of faith, trust, or devotion to the personal deity. The goal of such *bhakti* is either the particular heaven of the god worshiped, or absorption into the god. The insistence in the texts upon the latter view shows how firmly fixed and how decidedly preferred was the former in the popular mind. In either case metempsychosis continues to be the belief of all parties. The founders of the various Hindu sects have invariably opposed caste distinctions, but with varying success. Some excuse their retention of caste on the ground that "it is well enough for God to ignore social distinction, but not for man;" while others ignore it only while in the sacred precincts of their temples.

The scriptures of Hinduism well represent its slow growth and composite origin. The famous Mahabharata, "Great (war of the) Bharatas," the Iliad of the Indians and the longest epic poem in the world, originally consisted of poetic legends of the war between two rival families, the Kauravas and Pandavas, which raged near the present Delhi. These were collected about the fifth century B.C., but during the entire millennium following additions and interpolations of an ethical and religious nature were made until the whole became the comprehensive though often inconsistent Bible equally of Vaishnavas and Shaivas. A second great epic, the Ramayana, "Adventures of Rama," narrates the war waged by Rama against the

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aborigines of southern India as far as Ceylon. It stands second in fame only to the Mahabharata, compared with which it is rather later, much shorter, and more unitary, being attributed to a single poet, Valmiki. It is distinguished for the general elevation and purity of its content above all other Indian writings, sacred or secular.

But the scriptures proper and peculiar to the various sects are the eighteen Puranas, "Ancient (stories)," which were composed during the millennium after the Mahabharata, namely, from the fifth to the fifteenth centuries A.D. They express an intensified sectarianism, and a weakened moral and religious spirit. The typical Parana amounts to a popular encyclopedia, for it includes such topics as creation, geography of earth, heaven, and hells, astronomy, rites and social rules, heroic legends, and directions for future salvation. All are mere elaborations of the original materials found in the Vedas, Manu and Epics, and possess no literary merit.

Finally, the Tantras have been written during the last few centuries, commonly in the interests of the secret cults to be described later.



Rama and Sita, with Hanuman (on the bottom, left.)

It is all the more important, in view of the fabrications and abominations that will meet us later on, to notice here those religious and ethical principles found scattered throughout the two great Epics, and which should therefore be regarded as the common property of all Hindu sects. They are generally enunciated by sages like Vidura, "wisest of the wise," or by *rishis* like the "Son of Atri." In both cases the speakers are credited with divine descent, and also regarded as inspired. Their ethics has therefore religious sanction very much in the degree and manner of the Proverbs of Solomon. We meet the diamond rule again here, and now commended to all, not only to the ascetic. (2)

In the ninth century A.D. the old Brahmanism was revived, and given its final exposition by the great Shankara, whose followers are called Smartas and still form a small though influential sect.

13. HINDUISM.

(1) **The Trimurti.**—Having the form of *Brahmâ* he creates; having a human body (as *Krishna*) he protects; in the nature of *Shiva* he would destroy. These are the three appearances or conditions of *Prajapati.* — *Mahabharata quoted in Hopkins' "Religions of India," p. 412.*

(2) **Religious and Ethical Maxims from the Epics.**

Whate'er the work a man performs,
The most effective aid to its completion—

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The most prolific source of true success—
Is energy without despondency.
—"*Rámáyana*," *V., xii. 11.*

A wife is half the man, his truest friend,
Source of his virtue, pleasure, wealth—the root
Whence springs the line of his posterity.
—"*Mahá-bharata*," *I. 3028.*

An evil-minded man is quick to see
His neighbor's faults, though small as mustard-seed;
But when he turns his eyes towards his own,
Though large as Bilva fruit, he none descries.
—*Ibid, I. 3069.*

Conquer a man who never gives by gifts;
Subdue untruthful men by truthfulness;
Vanquish an angry man by gentleness;
And overcome the evil man by goodness.
—*Ibid, III. 13253.*

Triple restraint of thought and word and deed,
Strict vow of silence, coil of matted hair,
Close shaven head, garments of skin or bark,
Keeping of fasts, ablutions, maintenance
Of sacrificial fires, a hermit's life,
Emaciation—these are all in vain,
Unless the inward soul be free from stain.
—*Ibid, III. 13115.*

Two persons will hereafter be exalted
Above the heavens—the man with boundless power
Who yet forbears to use it indiscreetly,
And he who is not rich and yet can give.
—*Ibid, V. 1028.*

Sufficient wealth, unbroken health, a friend,
A wife of gentle speech, a docile son,
And learning that subserves some useful end—
These are a living man's six greatest blessings.
—*Ibid, V. 1057.*

Repeated sin destroys the understanding,
And he whose reason is impaired repeats
His sins. The constant practising of virtue
Strengthens the mental faculties, and he
Whose judgment stronger grows, acts always right.
—*Ibid, V. 1242.*

Bear railing words with patience, never meet
An angry man with anger, nor return
Reviling for reviling, smite not him
Who smites thee; let thy speech and acts be gentle.
—*Ibid, V. 1270, 9972.*

Do naught to others which if done to thee
Would cause thee pain; this is the sum of duty.
—*Ibid, V. 1517.*

When men are ripe for ruin, e'en a straw
Has power to crush them, like a thunderbolt.
—*Ibid, VII. 429.*

A king must first subdue himself, and then
Vanquish his enemies. How can a prince
Who cannot rule himself, enthral his foes?
To curb the senses, is to conquer self.
—*Ibid, XII. 2599.*

Who in this world is able to distinguish
The virtuous from the wicked? both alike
The fruitful earth supports, on both alike
The sun pours down his beams, on both alike
Refreshing breezes blow, and both alike
The waters purify. Not so hereafter—
Then shall the good be severed from the bad;
Then in a region bright with golden lustre—
Centre of light and immortality—
The righteous after death shall dwell in bliss;
Then a terrific hell awaits the wicked—
Profound abyss of utter misery—
Into the depths of which bad men shall fall
Headlong, and mourn their doom for countless years.
—*Ibid, XII. 2798.*

Enjoy thou the prosperity of others,
Although thyself unprosperous; noble men
Take pleasure in their neighbor's happiness.
—*Ibid, XII. 3880.*

Even to foes who visit us as guests
Due hospitality should be displayed;
The tree screens with its leaves, the man who fells it.
—*Ibid, XII. 5528.*

What need has he who subjugates himself
To live secluded in a hermit's cell?
Where'er resides the self-subduing sage,
That place to him is like a hermitage.
—*Ibid, XII. 5961.*

Do good today, time passes. Death is near,
Death falls upon a man all unawares,
Like a ferocious wolf upon a sheep.
Death comes when his approach is least expected.
Death sometimes seizes ere the work of life
Is finished, or its purposes accomplished.
Death carries off the weak and strong alike,
The brave and timorous, the wise and foolish,
And those whose objects are not yet achieved.
Therefore delay not; Death may come today.
Death will not wait to know if thou art ready,
Or if thy work be done. Be active now,
While thou art young, and time is still thy own.
This very day perform tomorrow's work,
This very morning do thy evening's task.
When duty is discharged, then if thou live,
Honor and happiness will be thy lot,
And if thou die, supreme beautitude.
—*Ibid, XII. 6534.*

This is the sum of all true righteousness—
Treat others as thou would'st thyself be treated.
Do nothing to thy neighbor, which hereafter
Thou would'st not have thy neighbor do to thee.
In causing pleasure, or in giving pain,
In doing good, or injury to others,
In granting, or refusing a request,
A man obtains a proper rule of action
By looking on his neighbor as himself.
—*Ibid, XIII. 5571.*

Before infirmities creep o'er thy flesh;
Before decay impairs thy strength and mars
The beauty of thy limbs; before the Ender,
Whose charioteer is sickness, hastes toward thee,
Breaks up thy fragile frame and ends thy life,
Lay up the only treasure: do good deeds;
Practise sobriety and self-control;
Amass that wealth which thieves cannot abstract,
Nor tyrants seize, which follows thee at death,
Which never wastes away, nor is corrupted.
—*Ibid, XIII. 12084.*

Heaven's gate is very narrow and minute,
It cannot be perceived by foolish men,
Blinded by vain illusions of the world;
E'en the clear-sighted who discern the way,
And seek to enter, find the portal barred
And hard to be unlocked. Its massive bolts
Are pride and passion, avarice and lust.
—*Ibid, XIV. 2784.*

— Translated by M. Monier-Williams in "Indian Wisdom," pp. 412-451.

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14 SHAIVISM AND SHAKTISM.



Shiva as Androgyne.

The Hindu *Shiva* may be traced back to the Vedic *Rudra*, "Red," the god of the red lightning, father of the *Maruts* or Storm-gods, whose home was among the blue clouds of the giant Himalayas, worshiped from terror of his destructive bolt, and called *Shiva*, "Gracious," to deprecate his wrath. Later he attracts to himself the destructive qualities of fire from *Agni*, and other traits from crude aboriginal cults, especially that of reproduction. This composite origin accounts for his many-sided character. First, he is the dreaded god of destruction in whatever sphere; his haunt is the graveyards, and his aspect terrible, with three eyes, skulls round his neck, and snakes round his body. But, again, he is god of reproduction, gracious, and helpful, or even a reveler devoted to women and wine; lastly, he is patron god of ascetics. (1) To millions in India he is *Mahadeva*, "The Great God," or *Ishvara* "The Lord," trust in whom will save from the woes of rebirth, either in his eternal heaven, Kailasa, or absorbed into himself. But he has fewer exclusive worshipers than has Vishnu, to whom even Shaivas sometimes turn in the hour of death.

Both sides of *Shiva* are reflected and even enlarged in his wife of many names: *Parvati* "Mountain-daughter," *Durga* "Inaccessible," *Kali* "Black," or *Shakti* "Power," *i.e.*, the magic power of *Shiva*. She is represented now as a terrible form with gaping mouth, bloody tongue, and equipped with weapons; or again as a gracious woman, intercessor with *Shiva*. *Parvati* is represented by idols, but *Shiva* always and only by the *linga* or phallos, the coarse but apt symbol of that reproductive power witnessed everywhere in nature. The symbol is conventionalized into a mere shaft, resting on a circular base the *yoni* which represents his spouse, *Parvati*. It is estimated that not less than thirty millions of these symbols exist throughout India, varying in size from those a dozen feet high in the temples to the tiny ones carried as amulets. Sometimes *Shiva* is represented as androgyne or combining in himself both the male and female forces of nature.



Shiva as Trimurti, with the Linga-Yoni.

Shiva is taken as sole and supreme god by two very different classes. By most Brahmans, because of his mystic and ascetic traits; but also by the numerous low castes, because of his essential kinship with their own aboriginal demons previously worshiped in fear, many of whom indeed have been identified as forms of *Shiva* and *Parvati*. The religious murders and licentiousness of Shaivism are just survivals from the native cults on their amalgamation with Brahmanism. The cult is cheap, since it consists mainly in administrating water and leaves to the *linga*; their literature is poor, and their sect steadily waning before its rival Vaishnavism. Among a people where everyone is religious, it belongs mostly to the intellectual and moral dregs of society.

With *Shiva* are associated two minor deities, *Ganesha* and *Skanda*, as his sons, delegated to control the hosts of spirits, both good and evil, that *Shiva* rules. Since failure in any undertaking is attributed to the mischievous interference of spirits, *Ganesha* is in constant demand to insure

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success, and is invoked at the beginning of all enterprises. His image, smeared with red paint, in token of success, may be seen throughout India. His elephant head symbolizes sagacity.

A large part of the following of *Shiva* worship exclusively his wife as *Shakti*, and are then called Shaktas. These are again divided into those of the right hand and those of the left. The former are distinguished by their bloody sacrifices of animals still carried on, *e.g.*, at *Kalighat*, whence the English "Calcutta," and originally of the nobler animal, man. The rites of the left-handers sometimes include licentious orgies, and are executed only in secret, while few openly profess belonging to them. (2) It was to *Kali's* temple that the infamous Thugs conveyed their offerings, when they had decoyed and murdered some hapless traveler. These monsters were suppressed by the British only so recently as 1840, and were described by Reynolds as "mostly men of mild and unobtrusive manners, possessing a cheerful disposition." This last trait depended no doubt upon the religious sanction obtainable from *Kali*, who delights in blood, especially human.

14. SHAIVISM AND SHAKTISM.

(1) **Shiva.**—He assumes many forms of gods (as Brahmā, Vishnu, Indra, Rudra), and of men, of goblins, demons, barbarians, tame and wild beasts, birds, reptiles, fishes, with many varieties of human disguises, etc. He is the soul of all the worlds, all-pervading, residing in the heart of all creatures, knowing all desires. He carries a discus, a trident, a club, a sword, an axe He has a girdle of serpents, earrings of serpents, a sacrificial cord of serpents, and an outer garment of serpents' skins. He laughs, sings, dances charmingly, and plays various musical instruments. He leaps, gapes, weeps, makes others weep; speaks like a madman or a drunkard, as well as in sweet tones. He laughs terrifically. He is both visible and invisible, on the altar, on the sacrificial post, in the fire, a boy, an old man, a youth. He dallies with the daughters and the wives of the rishis, with erect hair, obscene appearance, naked, with excited look. He is one-faced, two-faced, three-faced, many-faced.

Then Phālguna (Arjuna) beheld the god Mahādeva, Girisa, bearer of the trident, resplendent, together with his goddess. Falling on the ground on his knees, and bowing his head, the son of Pṛithā, conqueror of hostile cities, propitiated Hara (Mahādeva) in these words: "God with the spirally-braided hair, lord of all the gods, extinguisher of Bhaga's eyes, god of gods, Mahādeva (the great god), blue-necked, wearer of matted hair, I know thee to be of causes the supreme, Tryambaka, the mighty, the refuge of the gods. From thee this world has been produced. Thou art invincible by the three worlds, including the gods, Asuras, and men. Adoration be to Siva in the form of Vishnu, to Vishnu in the form of Siva, to the destroyer of Daksha's sacrifice, to Hari-Rudra, to him with the frontal eye, to Sarva, the beneficent, the wielder of the trident, the bearer of the bow, the sun, the Mārjacīya, the disposer. I propitiate thee, divine lord of all creatures, lord of troops, benefactor of the world, cause of the causes of the world (*i.e.*, ultimate creator of the immediate creators), who transcendest Pradhāna and Purusha (matter and spirit), the supreme, most subtile, Hara "

The gods went to heaven. They asked Rudra, "Who art thou?" He said, "I alone was before [all things], and I exist, and I shall be. No other transcends me." He entered into one space after another, and into the space of the sky. "I am eternal and not eternal, discernible and undiscernible; I am Brahma, I am not Brahma. I am the eastern, western, southern, northern [breaths, etc., Comm.]; I am below and above the regions, and the intermediate regions, I am male, eunuch, and female, I am the Sāvitrī, I the Gāyatrī, I the Trishtubh, Jagatī, and Anushtubh (metres), I am metre, I am the household, the southern, and the āhavanīya fires, I am true, I am the earth (or cow), I am Gaurī, I am the eldest, I am the chief, I am the most excellent, I am the waters, I am brilliancy, I am the Ṛik, Yajush, Sāman, Atharvāngirases, I am the undecaying, I am the decaying, I the mysterious, I the secret, I dwell in the forests, I am the pushkara (sacrificial jar), the filter, the end, the middle, the outside, the front, and light, —I alone He who knows me only, me, to be all, knows all the gods. By my own energy I satisfy the earth with rays (or the cow with cows), the Brahmans with Brahmanhood, oblations with oblations, life with life, truth with truth, righteousness with righteousness.—*Mahabharata, translated by J. Muir, "Original Sanskrit Texts," pp. 191-2, 231-2, 359.*

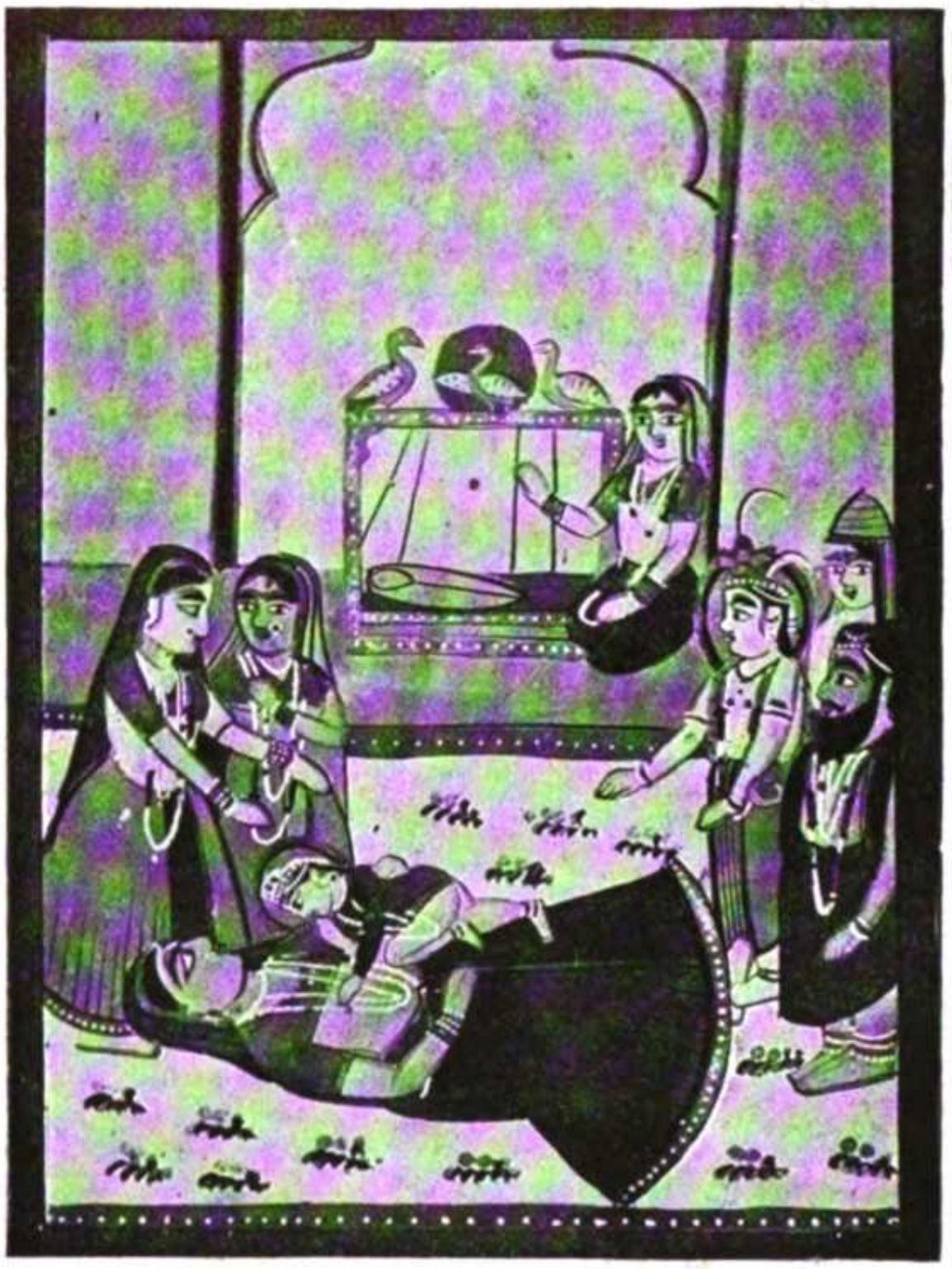
(2) **Shakta Cult.**—This is the *Cricakra*, "the holy circle," or the *Pūrṇābhishēka*, "the complete consecration," the essential act, or rather foretaste of salvation, the highest rite of this delirious mysticism. For there is something else than licentiousness in these aberrations. The books which prescribe these practices are, like the rest, filled with lofty speculative and moral reflections, nay, even with ascetic theories; here, as well as elsewhere, there is a profession of horror at sin and a religiosity full of scruples; it is with pious feelings, the thoughts absorbedly engaged in prayer, that the believer is to participate in these mysteries, and it would be to profane them to resort to them for the gratifications of sense. In fact, a Câkta of the left hand is almost always a hypocrite and a superstitious debauchee; but there can be no doubt that among the authors of these contemptible catechetical books there were more than one who sincerely believed he was performing a work of sanctity. Statistical science has naturally little or nothing to say in regard to such observances No Hindu with any self-respect will confess that he has any connection with the Vāmâcārins.—*A. Barth, "Religions of India," pp. 205-6.*

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15. VAISHNAVISM.

Vishnu, in himself and his two incarnations, Rama and Krishna, has been for some two millenniums the supreme and sole God of a majority of the Indian people, especially the middle classes, who have preferredit to Shaivism because of its humaner aspects—inherited from Buddhism. The sects of the present day are nearly all divisions of Vaishnavism; the only incarnations widely worshiped of those of *Vishnu;* while the modern prophets and the best modern literature are also Vishnuite. Vaishnavism is characteristically Indian in being many-sided and absorptive.

While, in the fusion of Brahmanism with the aboriginal cults, *Rudra-Shiva* attracted to himself the bloody and licentious elements, *Vishnu* as distinctly drew the humaner elements of care and beneficence. (1) The very diverse cases, enumerated in his ten *avataras*, "descents" or incarnations, all bear this character, and indeed are nothing else than the Vedic, heroic, aboriginal, and Buddhist elements appropriated for *Vishnu* by the device of incarnation. Vaishnavism indeed stands ready to accept Jesus Christ as another *avatara* of the all-pervasive and eternal *Vishnu.* As *Vishnu*, in this respect also unlike *Shiva*, is worshiped chiefly through his incarnations, these must be now surveyed. The fish avatara, through which *Vishnu* saved Manu from the flood, the tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, and Parashurama *avataras* may be dismissed with a bare mention. The seventh *avatara* was into the great Rama, the model son, brother and husband, son of a king of Oudh, and banished by him into the southern forests, where his model wife Sita (an *avatara* of *Vishnu's* wife, *Lakshmi*) was abducted by Ravana, king of Ceylon, but afterwards recovered by Rama assisted by *Hanuman*, chief of an aboriginal tribe compared, by the Aryans to monkeys. This heroic story forms the topic of the Ramayana epic, and is a household word throughout India. All sects revere Rama; and no name is oftener given to children, or oftener invoked at death-beds and funerals. (2) No Hindu ever feels shame for Rama, as he must sometimes for the next *avatara*, Krishna.

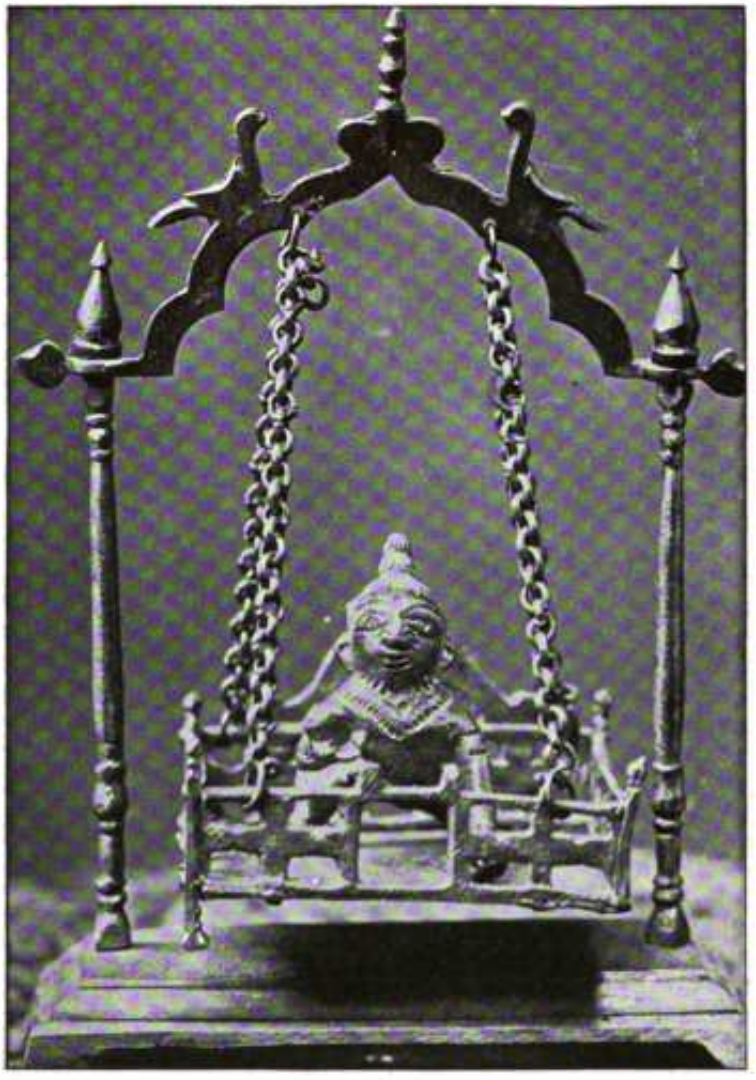


Krishna and Devaki.

Krishna, "Dark," was originally tribal hero and sun-god of the Pandavas, an aboriginal tribe whose attack on the Aryan Kauravas is narrated in the Mahabharata. The tribe coalesced with the Aryans, and their god was construed into an *avatara* of Vishnu. Krishna's legend runs as follows: He was born of Devaki, and his life soon sought by the tyrant Kansa. His father fled with him, and consigned him to the care of a herdsman, with whom Krishna grew up, joining in the merry sports of the country. A favorite idol of Krishna represents him at this age playing

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with a ball. While still a boy, Krishna miraculously destroyed the serpent Kaliya, and lifted Mount Govardhana to shelter the herdsmen from the wrath of Indra. His youth was spent in sensual dalliance with the Gopis or milkmaids, and finally he was slain in mistake by an arrow which pierced his foot. Thus Krishna's character falls far below the noble Rama's, but is even more popular with the pleasure-seeking masses, who have made Krishna their exemplar in many vulgar and licentious practices. The better minds, however, have construed these legends into an allegory of the soul with its sin and sorrow.



The Boy, Krishna, with his ball and swing.

In the ninth *avatara Vishnu*, it was claimed, appeared as the great Buddha, in order, out of his compassion for animals, to put an end to the Vedic sacrifices. Thus did Hinduism appropriate the noble work of its rival, Buddhism. The tenth *avatara* lies still in the future, and will be *Kalki* armed with a sword for the deliverance of the now oppressed followers of *Vishnu*, the inauguration of a new age.

The philosophical and theological views of Vaishnavism find expression in the famous Bhagavadgita, "Song of the Blessed One," regarded by Vaishnavas as a kind of New Testament. It was originally a Upanishad of the usual pantheistic type, but was later modified to suit the personal pantheism directed to *Vishnu*, and yet later expanded to suit his incarnation in Krishna. But it seeks also to make *Vishnu* center of the Sankhya and Yoga systems. The result of such eclecticism is much repetition and inconsistency; though two points are made plain. Krishna is the Universal Spirit (*Brahman* or *Atman*, but now personal), and especially the best in everything. (3) Man should not act from ordinary motives, which will result in merit or guilt, and thus in metempsychosis, but from devotion to Krishna, which will result in union with him. (4) These notions are differenced from the Vedanta and Yoga philosophical systems only

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by the element of personality, but the change is only nominal, for all desire must be quelled, just as in the older systems. The conception of salvation is still purely negative.

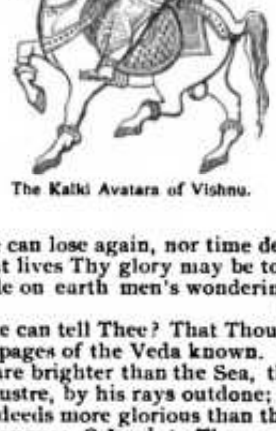
Weber and Lorinser, two German scholars, have attempted to demonstrate a derivation of the episodes in the infant life of Krishna, as related in the Puranas, and of many ideas in the Bhagavadgita from the New Testament. Early Christian missions eastward rendered such borrowing possible, but most scholars consider the correspondences accidental, and the ideas naturally developed from the preceding systems. Professor Hopkins thinks the episodes were borrowed, but that the ideas were native. (5). Reference to note 3 will show how kin to the undoubted native part the supposed Christian ideas are.

15. VAISHNAVISM.

(1) **Vishnu the Supreme.**—The great sage Bhrigu, one of the ten Maharshis or primeval patriarchs created by the first Manu, was asked which God was greatest. He said he would endeavor to ascertain, and first went to Brahma; on approaching whom, he purposely omitted an obeisance. Upon this, the god reprehended him very severely, but was pacified by seasonable apologies. Next he entered the abode of Siva in Kailāsa, and omitted to return the god's salutation. The vindictive deity was enraged, and would have destroyed the sage, but was conciliated by his wife Pārvatī. Lastly, he repaired to Vaikuntha, the heaven of Vishnu, whom he found asleep with his head on Lakshmī's lap. To make a trial of his forbearance, he boldly gave the god a kick on his breast, which awoke him. Instead of showing anger, however, the god arose, and, on seeing Bhrigu, inquired tenderly whether his foot was hurt, and then proceeded to rub it gently. "This," said Bhrigu, "is the mightiest god; he overpowers by the most potent of weapons—sympathy and generosity"—*Bhagavata Purana, in "Indian Wisdom," pp. 334-5.*

The Address to Vishnu.

Glory to thee in triple form adored,
Creator, Saviour, and destroying Lord!
Each of these forms, unchanging God! is thine,
E'en as the mystic Triad may assign;
So to the rain-drop, coming pure from Heaven,
Where'er it falls, a different taste is given.
Boundless! the world before Thee bounded lies;
No wish hast Thou, but bidst the wish arise.
Victor, unvanquished! Never seen! from Thee
Spring all the creatures that the eye can see.
Though far away, Thou dwellest in each heart;
With no desire, in Penance bearest part.
Full of compassion, Thou canst feel no woe;
Ancient of Days, but age canst never know.
Omniscient Lord, but known to none art Thou;
Subject to none, to Thee all creatures bow.
Maker of all things, Self-existent still;
One, yet the wearer of all forms at will.
Praised in the seven great hymns, for Thee are spread
The seven vast Oceans for Thy wondrous bed.
Thy mouth the seven-fold flame that blazes high;
All the seven worlds to Thee for refuge fly.
All from Thy four-fold mouth, O God, proceed:
The holy lore that seeks the four-fold meed;
Time, with its Ages four, from Thee began;
From Thee, with four-fold caste, the race of Man
O light, that dwellest in the humble breast,
Sought by pure hermits for eternal rest!
None e'er may know Thee, God without a birth,
Yet born in many a mortal form on earth.
God without passions, slayer of Thy foes,
Awake for ever, sunk in deep repose!
Thou hast a pleasure in the joys of Sense,
E'en in the midst of sternest Abstinence;
Thou canst look on unmoved, yet come to aid,
And save from woe, the people Thou hast made.
What though in Scripture many a way we see
That leads to Bliss, they all unite in Thee:
Thus holy *Ganga's* branching stream is poured,
By many a channel, to her Ocean lord.
To those that fix on Thee their heart and mind,
And trust in Thee, with every wish resigned,
Thou art the way that leads to endless joy.



The Kalki Avatara of Vishnu.

Which none can lose again, nor time destroy.
By none that lives Thy glory may be told,
Whose shade on earth men's wondering eyes behold.
What tongue can tell Thee? That Thou art, alone,
Is from the pages of the Veda known.
The pearls are brighter than the Sea, the Sun
Is, in pure lustre, by his rays outdone;
So are Thy deeds more glorious than the praise
Our feeble tongues, O Lord, to Thee can raise.
What must their gain, who serve Thee truly be,
When souls are cleansed by the mere thought of Thee!
For the World's good Thy mighty deeds were wrought;
All things are Thine, and Thou canst wish for nought:
Now if no more in praise of Thee we speak,
Thy glories fail not, but our tongues are weak.
—*Kalidasa*, about the third century A.D., and India's greatest poet. *Translated by R. T. H. Griffith, in "Idylls from the Sanscrit," 97-9.*

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(2) Rama as Avatara of Vishnu.

They ceased: and Ráma thus began:
"I deem myself a mortal man.
Of old Ikshváku's line, I spring
From Daśaratha Kosal's king."
He ceased: and Brahmá's self replied:
"O cast the idle thought aside.
Thou art the Lord Náráyan, thou
The God to whom all creatures bow.
Thou art the Saviour God who wore
Of old the semblance of a boar;
Thou he whose discus overthrows
All present, past and future foes;
Thou Brahmá, That whose days extend
Without beginning, growth or end:
The God who bears the bow of horn,
Whom four majestic arms adorn;
Thou art the God who rules the sense
And sways with gentle influence;
Thou all-pervading Vishnu, Lord
Who wears the ever-conquering sword;
Thou art the Guide who leads aright,
Thou Krishna of unequaled might.
Thy hand, O Lord, the hills and plains,
And earth with all her life sustains;
Thou wilt appear in serpent form

When sinks the earth in fire and storm.
Queen Sítá of the lovely brows
Is Lakshmí thy celestial spouse.
To free the worlds from Rávan thou
Wouldst take the form thou wearest now.
Rejoice: the mighty task is done:
Rejoice, thou great and glorious one.
The tyrant slain, thy labors end:
Triumphant now to heaven ascend.
High bliss awaits the devotee
Who clings in loving faith to thee,
Who celebrates with solemn praise
The Lord of ne'er beginning days.
On earth below, in heaven above
Great joy shall crown his faith and love.
And he who loves the tale divine
Which tells each glorious deed of thine
Through life's fair course shall never know
The fierce assault of pain and woe."
—"*The Ramayana*," *translated by R. T. H. Griffith*, V., *pp. 278-9.*

(3) Krishna (Vishnu) the Omnipresent.—Well, then, O best of Kauravas! I will state to you my own divine emanations; but (only) the chief (ones), for there is no end to the extent of my (emanations). I am the self, O Gudâkesa! seated in the hearts of all beings. I am the beginning and the middle and the end also of all beings. I am Vishnu among the Âdityas, the beaming sun among the shining (bodies); I am Marîci among the Maruts, and the moon among the lunar mansions. Among the Vedas, I am the Sâma-veda. I am Indra among the gods. And I am mind among the senses.

Of created things I am the beginning and the end and the middle also, O Arguna! Among sciences, I am the science of the Adhyâtma, and I am the argument of controversialists. Among letters I am the letter A, and among the group of compounds the copulative compound. I myself am time inexhaustible, and I the creator whose faces are in all directions. I am death who seizes all, and the source of what is to be. And among females, fame, fortune, speech, memory, intellect, courage, forgiveness. Likewise among Sâman hymns, I am the Bṛihat-sâman, and I the Gâyatri among the metres. I am Mârgaśirsha among the months, the spring among the seasons; of cheats I am the game of dice; I am the glory of the glorious; I am victory, I am industry, I am the goodness of the good. I am Vâsudeva among the descendants of Vṛishṇi, and Arguna among the Pâṇḍavas. Among sages also I am Vyâsa; and among the discerning ones, I am the discerning Uśanas. I am the rod of those that restrain, and the policy of those that desire victory. I am silence respecting secrets, I am the knowledge of those that have knowledge. And, O Arguna! I am also that which is the seed of all things. There is nothing movable or immovable which can exist without me. O terror of your foes! there is no end to my divine emanations. Here I have declared the extent of (those) emanations only in part. Whatever thing (there is) of power, or glorious, or splendid, know all that to be produced from portions of my energy. Or rather, O Arguna! what have you to do, knowing all this at large? I stand supporting all this by (but) a single portion (of myself).—"*Bhagavad-gita*," *etc., pp. 88, 90-1, in Sacred Books of the East.*

(4) Salvation By Krishna (Vishnu).—The state of mind consisting in firm understanding regarding steady contemplation does not belong to those, O Son of Pṛithâ! who are strongly attached to (worldly) pleasures and power, and whose minds are drawn away by that flowery talk which is full of (ordinances of) specific acts for the attainment of (those) pleasures and (that) power, and which promises birth as the fruit of acts (that flowery talk) which those unwise ones utter, who are enamoured of Vedic words, who say there is nothing else, who are full of desires, and whose goal is heaven. The Vedas (merely) relate to the effects of the three qualities; do you, O Arguna! rise above those effects of the three qualities, and be free from the pairs of opposites, always preserve courage, be free from anxiety for new acquisitions or protection of old acquisitions, and be self-controlled. To the instructed Brâhmaṇa, there is in all the Vedas as much utility as in a reservoir of water into which water flows from all sides. Your business is with action alone; not by any means with fruit. Let not the fruit of action be your motive (to action). Let not your attachment be (fixed) on inaction. Having recourse to devotion, O Dhanañgaya! perform actions, casting off (all) attachment and being equable in success or ill-success; (such) equability is called devotion. Action, O Dhanañgaya! is far inferior to the devotion of the mind. In that devotion seek shelter. Wretched are those whose motive (to action is) the fruit (of action). He who has obtained devotion in this world casts off both merit and sin. Therefore apply yourself to devotion; devotion in (all) actions is wisdom. The wise who have obtained devotion cast off the fruit of action: and released from the shackles of (repeated) births, repair to that seat where there is no unhappiness. When your mind shall have crossed beyond the taint of delusion, then will you become indifferent to all that you have heard or will hear. When your mind, confounded by what you have heard, will stand firm and steady in contemplation, then will you acquire devotion.—*Ibid., pp. 47-9.*

(5) Vaishnavism and Christianity.—The possible connection is discussed in Muir's "Metrical Translations from Sanskrit Writers," pp. xiii-xiv, in Williams' "Indian Wisdom," and in Hopkins' "Religions of India."

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16. THE VAISHNAVA SECTS.

Vaishnavism boasts a line of reformers stretching from the eighth century A. D. to the present day, each of whom founded some one of the sects that now constitute it. In spite of the great Shankara's defence of pure pantheism in the ninth century A. D., all these reformers have advocated the theistic conception of *Vishnu*. Of the four chief Vaishnava sects, the Ramanujas and Madhvas take *Rama* as their *ishta-devata*, "chosen deity," while the Vallabhas and Chaitanyas take *Krishna*, and the choice is symptomatic of the intellectual and moral elevation respectively possessed.

In the twelfth century A D., Ramanuja taught in Southern India that God, human soul, and nature possess a real and not illusory difference from each other. *Purushottama* "Best of Spirits" made the world, and manifests himself in various ways (*avataras*, etc.) for the testing of men. He is exempt from sin; and, when his votary has, by temple-worship, weaned his heart from the world, he will bestow upon that votary likeness to himself in his own eternal sphere, exempt from further rebirth. (1) In the thirteenth century, this sect split into two parties on the problem of man's dependence on *Vishnu*. The Vada-galais approximate Arminianism in declaring that the human spirit lays hold of the Supreme Being by its own will, effort and act, just as a young monkey clings to its mother. This is the *markata-nyaya*, "monkey theory." The opposing Ten-galais approximate Calvanism in their claim that the human spirit remains passive until acted on by the Supreme, just as a kitten is transported by its mother-cat. This is the *marjara-nyaya*, "cat-hold theory." No western sectarians ever fought more rancorously than have these Vada-galais and Ten-galais over their transcendent problem. While no Indian likes to be seen eating, and the kitchen is only less sacred than the household chapel, the Ramanujas go to the extreme of locking their kitchen doors, for the glance of even a high-caste Brahman would defile everything, and require its rejection. The lineal descendant of Ramanuja, who stands at the head of the sect, makes periodical visitation of his diocese, when youths and maidens have branded on breast, arms, etc., with a golden instrument, the discus and shell symbols of *Vishnu*.



Temple Orchestra and Dancers (Devadasis).

In the thirteenth century Madhva taught a dualism of Vishnu and human souls, while nature was an outcome from the former. This dualism was especially directed against the Vedantic monism, and some interesting and quite valid reasoning was used. (2) The theism of Madhva, as of Ramanuja, differs from Christian theism chiefly in making the Supreme the substantial as well as the efficient cause of the world. Its great glory is that it escaped the abstract and barren monism of Vedantism equally with the negations of Buddhism. Where the former posited mere *being*, and the latter mere *becoming*, Ramanuja posited a real *cause*.

We now reach the Krishnaites. In the sixteenth century Chaitanya stirred all Bengal by his eloquence in behalf of devotion to *Krishna*, and the abolition of

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caste. (3) Devotion admits five progressive grades: 1. Calm contemplation of the Supreme; 2. Active service; 3. Personal friendship; 4. Filial attachment; 5. Tender affection, like that of a girl for her lover. Ecstatic union with *Krishna* should be induced by incessant repetition of his name, singing and dancing. Chaitanya himself was able to frequently swoon away in paroxysms of emotion, which at last affected his reason, but secured his deification after death as an incarnation of *Krishna* (= *Vishnu*). Such efficacy attends *Krishna's* name that even accidental or malicious repetitions of it will save the speaker.

Vallabha taught in Central India about 1520 A.D. that, since the human soul was a spark from the Supreme, the body that contained it should be reverenced and even fostered, rather than abused by asceticism. His followers have conformed to the invariable Indian trait of extravagance, and have become the Epicureans of India. Their religious chiefs are called Maharaja, "Great King." They dress in the costliest raiment, feed on the daintiest viands, and abandon themselves to every kind of luxury and even sensuality. Their *ishta-devata* is *Krishna*, while a boy, sporting with the milkmaids. While the better Vaishnavas interpret this as an allegory of love between the Supreme and man, (4) the Vallabhas have taken it in a gross and material sense, and have degenerated into the most corrupt practices. They consider their Maharajas representatives of *Krishna*, and worship them in the temples, while the latter worship the *Krishna* idol. His saliva, fragments left from his meals, the dust on which he has trodden, and the water in which his feet have been washed, *charanamrita*, "feet-nectar," are all eagerly devoured by his votaries; and, indeed, women yield to his caresses in the belief that they will thus secure heavenly bliss to themselves and their families! There are some seventy Maharajas throughout India, and a celebrated law-suit in Bombay has proved their profligacy. The Vallabhas mark the culmination of a spiritual decline in Vaishnavism which had set in with the death of Chaitanya, though not elsewhere so marked as among the wealthy bankers and merchants that naturally constitute the bulk of these votaries of a religion of pleasure.

In the early part of this century Svami Narayani led a movement counter to the corrupt Maharajas, and his disciples now number a quarter of a million, including a thousand celibate clergy, who itinerate in pairs under many hardships. Two articles of their creed guard against the sensual tendency in Krishnaism. (5).

16. THE VAISHNAVA SECTS.

(1) **Ramanuja Sect.**—The tenets of Rámánuja are as follows:—Three categories are established, as soul, not-soul, and Lord; or as subject, object, and supreme disposer. Thus it has been said—

Of this world the efficient and substantial cause is the Deity, known under the names Purushottama (best of spirits), Vásudeva (a patronymic of Krishna), and the like.

"Vásudeva is the supreme absolute spirit, endowed with auspicious attributes.

"The substantial cause, the efficient of the worlds, the animator of spirits."

This same Vásudeva, infinitely compassionate, tender to those devoted to him, the Supreme Spirit, with the purpose of bestowing various rewards apportioned to the deserts of his votaries in consequence of pastime, exists under five modes, distinguished as "adoration" (*archâ*), "emanation" (*vibhava*), "manifestation" (*vyúha*), "the subtile" (*súkshma*), and the "internal controller." (1) "Adoration" is images and so forth. (2.) "Emanation" is his incarnation, as Ráma, and so forth. (3.) His "manifestation" is fourfold, as Vásudeva, Sankarshana, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha. (4.) "The subtile" is the entire Supreme Spirit, with six attributes, called Vásudeva. His attributes are exemption from sin, and the rest. That he is exempt from sin is attested in the Vedic text: Passionless, deathless, without sorrow, without hunger, desiring truth, true in purpose. (5.) The "internal controller," the actuator of all spirits, according to the text: Who abiding in the soul, rules the soul within. When by worshiping each former embodiment a mass of sins inimical to the end of the soul (*i.e.*, emancipation) have been destroyed, the votary becomes entitled to practice the worship of each latter embodiment.

Devotion is meditation on the Deity. When the vision of the visible world has been brought to a close by knowledge accumulated by the merit of such worship, the infinitely compassionate Supreme Spirit, tender to his votaries, bestows upon the votary devoted to his lord and absorbed in his lord, his own sphere infinite and endless, marked by consciousness of being like him, from which there is no future return (to the sorrows of transmigratory existence).—"*Sarva-Darsana-Sangraha*," *translated by Cowell and Gough, pp 66, 78, 79 and 80*

(2) **Madhva Sect.**—Difference (duality) is also ascertained by inference. Thus the Supreme Lord differs from the individual soul as the object of its

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obedience; and he who is to be obeyed by any person differs from that person; a king, for instance, from his attendant.

Nor should suggestion be made that individual spirit is God in virtue of the text: He that knows the absolute becomes the absolute; for this text is hyperbolically eulogistic, like the text, Worshiping a Bráhman devoutly a Súdra becomes a Bráhman, *i.e.*, becomes exalted.

Illusion is defined to be the will of the Lord, in virtue of the testimony of many such passages as:—

"The great illusion, ignorance, necessity, the bewilderment,

"The originant, ideation,—thus is thy will called, O Infinite.

"The originant, because it originates greatly; ideation, because it produces ideas."

And it is declared that the grace of Vishnu is won only through the knowledge of his excellence, not through the knowledge of non-duality. Nor is there in this doctrine any confliction with texts declaratory of the identity (of personal and impersonal spirit) such as, That art thou (for this pretended identity) is mere babbling from ignorance of the real purport.

"The word That, when undetermined, designates the eternally unknown,

"The word Thou designates a knowable entity; how can these be one?"

And this text (That art thou) indicates similarity (not identity) like the text, The sun is the sacrificial post. Thus the grand revelation:—

"The ultimate unity of the individual soul is either similarity of cognition,

"Or entrance into the same place, or in relation to the place of the individual;

"Not essential unity, for even when it is emancipated it is different,

"The difference being independence and completeness (in the Supreme Spirit), and smallness and dependence (in the individual spirit)."

—*Ibid, pp. 90-1, 93-4, 96*

(3) Chitanya Sect.—What ever is accomplished by works, by penance, by divine knowledge, by suppression of the passions, by abstract meditation, by charity, by virtue, by other excellences, all this is effected by devotion to me; Paradise, Heaven, beatitude, union with the Supreme Spirit, every wish of the heart is obtainable by devotion to me. —"*Bhagavata Purana*" *XI.*

(4) Krishna and the Gopis as a Spiritual Allegory.

Beautiful Radha, jasmine-bosomed Radha,
All in the Spring-time waited by the wood
For Krishna fair, Krishna the all-forgetful,—
Krishna with earthly love's false fire consuming—
And some one of her maidens sang this song:—

I know where Krishna tarries in these early days of Spring,
When every wind from warm Malay brings fragrance on its wing;
Brings fragrance stolen far away from thickets of the clove,
In jungles where the bees hum and the Koïl flutes her love;
He dances with the dancers, of a merry morrice one,
All in the budding Spring-time, for 'tis sad to be alone.

Mark this song of Jayadev!
Deep as pearl in ocean-wave
Lurketh in its lines a wonder
Which the wise alone will ponder:
Though it seemeth of the earth,
Heavenly is the music's birth;
Telling darkly of delights
In the wood, of wasted nights,
Of witless days, and fruitless love,
And false pleasures of the grove,
And rash passions of the prime,
And those dances of Spring-time;
Time, which seems so subtle-sweet,
Time, which pipes to dancing-feet,
Ah! so softly—ah! so sweetly—
That among those wood-maids featly
Krishna cannot choose but dance,
Letting pass life's greater chance.

Yet the winds that sigh so
As they stir the rose
Wake a sigh from Krishna
Wistfuller than those;
All their faint breaths swinging
The creepers to and fro
Pass like rustling arrows
Shot from Kama's bow:
Thus among the dancers
What those zephyrs bring
Strikes to Krishna's spirit
Like a darted sting.

And all as if—far wandered—
The traveler should hear
The bird of home, the Koïl,
With nest-notes rich and clear;
And there should come one moment
A blessèd fleeting dream
Of the bees among the mangoes
Beside his native stream;
So flash those sudden yearnings,
That sense of a dearer thing,
The love and lack of Radha
Upon his soul in Spring.

But may He guide us all to glory high
Who laughed when Radha glided, hidden, by,
And all among those damsels free and bold
Touched Krishna with a soft mouth, kind and cold;
And like the others, leaning on his breast,
Unlike the others, left there Love's unrest;
And like the others, joining in his song,
Unlike the others, made him silent long.

What skill may be in singing,
What worship sound in song,
What lore be taught in loving,
What right divined from wrong·
Such things hath Jayadeva—
In this his Hymn of Love,
Which lauds Govinda ever,—
Displayed; may all approve!

—"*The Indian Song of Songs*" (*Gita Govinda*), *translated in "Indian Poetry" by Edwin Arnold, pp. 9, 14, 21, 97.*

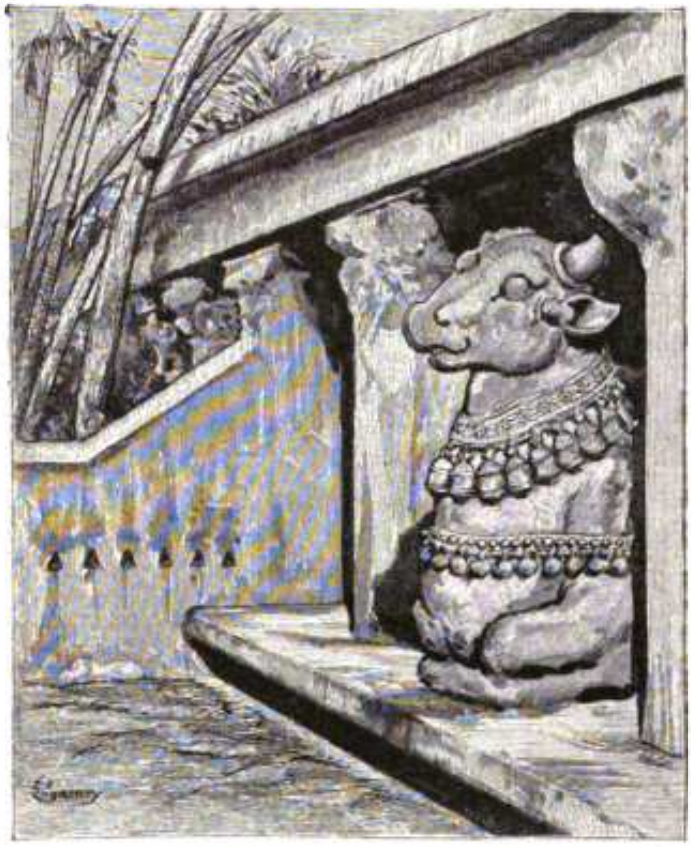
(5) The Narayana Sect.—If by the great men of former days anything unbecoming has been done, their faults must not be imitated, but only their good deeds.

All males and females who go to Krishna's temple should keep separate and not touch each other.

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17. HINDUISM UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAMISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

The fifth in the apostolic succession from Ramanuja was Ramananda, who itinerated in Northern India, during the early part of the fourteenth century, preaching the one God as *Vishnu*. Ramanuja had addressed chiefly the twice-born castes and written the learned Sanskrit; but Ramananda appealed to the masses, and the literature of his sect was the chief contribution to the new Hindi vernacular. One of Ramananda's twelve disciples, named Kabir, originally a believer in Mohammedanism, which had now become widely extended in Northern India, surpassed all other Vaishnava reformers, and demonstrated afresh the remarkable elasticity of Hinduism, by denouncing the cherished idol-worship, rejecting the Shastras (Manu and other law-books) and Puranas, and with them every distinction of caste, religion, and sect, and by demanding above all moral conduct in every sphere of life. Conscience should limit even the authority of the *guru*, "teacher," which otherwise is absolute over the disciple. His *ishta-devata* was *Rama*, as was natural; but he freely admitted that Mohammedans worshiped the same god under another name. (1)



Shivas Bull. A Monolith in the Temple of Tanjaur.

Kabir's most famous follower was Nanak, who in the sixteenth century founded the Sikh religion, which, though meant to reconcile Hindus and Mohammedans, is really more pantheistic than monotheistic. The sect was of small account until its tenth chief, Govind, abolished caste, and converted the sect into a nation of warriors against the persecuting Mohammedans. The baptismal water was stirred with a two-edged sword, and every Sikh carried a sword by his side. Govind rejected all scriptures and ceremonies of both Hindus and Mohammedans, and led the Sikhs to a propagation of their faith by means of the sword, which indeed they were also to worship. Govind appointed, instead of a successor, the Sikh scripture, now called "Lord Granth," to serve as center of authority after his decease. This work, which abounds equally in noble ideas and religious twaddle, is treated by dressing, fanning and worshiping, precisely as other Hindus do their idols. The Sikhs worship *Vishnu* under his great *avataras* as the Supreme, though, as usual with Hindus, in a pantheistic sense. They are gradually resuming the Hindu ceremonies which Nanak rejected, and will probably soon re-enter the tolerant Vaishnava pale.

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The monotheistic movement, which began in India some two millenniums ago, and was much strengthened by the presence of Mohammedanism, has received a new impulse from the British occupation, and during the present century expressed itself in the Brahma-Samaj and its like. Rammohun Roy (1774-1833) was the accomplished and devoted founder of the modern theistic movement in India, and probably the first earnest investigator of comparative religion that the world has seen. He was trained in Vaishnavism, but, repelled by the fables of the Puranas, and averse to the Koran, he turned to the Upanishads, and subsequently to the Buddhist Tripitaka and the Old and New Testaments—all of which he read in their original languages—with the sole desire of learning the truth. He strenuously denounced idolatry, and began the agitation against widow burning, which ended in its abolition by the British in 1829. In 1830 he founded in Calcutta the *Brahmiya-Samaj*, "Society of Believers in God." The trust deed of the building requires its use for the worship of the One Eternal, Unsearchable, and Immutable Being, the Author and Preserver of the Universe, to the promotion of piety, morality, and charity, and the strengthening of the bonds of union between men of all religious classes and creeds. No image, print, picture, portrait, or likeness was to be admitted, or sacrifice offered there, nor anything revered by others spoken of contemptuously. Yet Rammohun Roy had no purpose of founding a new sect, system, or church, but simply a new worship of the one God. His use of congregational worship was a complete innovation to Hinduism, and of inestimable benefit. In 1830 he sailed for England on a political mission, being thus the first native of rank and influence to cross "the black water," and died there in 1833.

His not unworthy successor was Debendra-nath Tagore, who, in 1844, organized Indian Theists into the Adi Brahma-Samaj, which, in 1847, numbered seven hundred and sixty-seven adults. Its mission was declared to be the purification and fulfillment, but not the destruction, of the old religion. Others judged this an unworthy compromise, and, under the leadership of Keshab Chandar Sen, founded in 1866 the Brahma-Samaj, which gloried in having severed every link which connected it with the old religion. The sacred thread, the worship of ancestors, seclusion of women, child-marriage, and widow-celibacy were now all abandoned. The new creed was based simply upon the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Mr. Sen visited England in 1870, and preached in Baptist, Congregational, and Unitarian churches, besides lecturing much. By 1877 the number of Samajes in India had increased to one hundred and seven. In 1879 four teachers were ordained by Mr. Sen, among whom was Mr. Mozoomdar, who still labors in India. In 1881 and 1883 Mr. Sen published manifestoes, and changed the name of his society to Church of the New Dispensation. (2) He died in 1884.

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17. HINDUISM UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAMISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

(1) **The Sakhis of Kabir.**—My word is from the first; meditate on it every moment; you will flourish in the end like the *joár* plant, which shews externally but beards and leaves.

Without hearing the word, it is utter darkness; say, whither shall any one go? without finding the gate-way of the word, man will ever be astray.

With the five elements is the abode of a great mystery; when the body is decomposed, has any one found it? the word of the teacher is the guide.

The dwelling of *Kabir* is on the peak of a mountain, and a narrow path leads to it; an ant cannot put its foot upon it, but the pious man may drive up an ox.

If you are a true dealer, open the market of veracity; keep clean your inward man, and repel oppression to a distance.

Many there are that talk, but few that take care to be found: let him pass on without regard, who practices not what he professes.

No act of devotion can equal truth; no crime is so heinous as falsehood; in the heart where truth abides, there is my abode.

All have exclaimed, Master, master, but to me this doubt arises: how can they sit down with the master, whom they do not know?—*H. H. Wilson, "Select Works," pp. 83-90.*

(2) **The Rite of Initiation.**—Unto both boys and girls suitable education shall be given embracing all branches of general knowledge.

2. And when they are fit special instruction shall be given in the essential and elementary principles of the New Dispensation by the family priest or some other competent teacher nominated by him.

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3. When the boy has attained the age of sixteen or about that time, previous to marriage, he shall be formally admitted into the Church of the New Dispensation, on being declared qualified.

4. The rite of initiation shall take place in the local tabernacle on the usual day appointed for service or on special days, or in the family sanctuary, or at some other place suited to the occasion.

5. On the day appointed the candidate shall solemnly enter the bath-room, and there wash and cleanse himself by holy ablution.

6. After he has been anointed water shall be poured over his head and body, and he shall say in his mind, Glory to Sachchidananda.

7. Then out of a new and bright metallic vessel, bearing the inscription of the flag of the New Dispensation, water shall be poured over his head by the officiating priest, and the candidate shall say within himself, As the Lord of water purifies the body, so may He purify my heart and make it clean; and as this santijal [water of peace] comforteth my body, so may the water of grace bring peace to my soul!

8. At the conclusion of the ceremony of water-baptism the candidate, the priest and all around shall say unitedly, Peace, Peace, Peace.

9. Dressed in a new suit of pure white linen with a yellow gairic cloth hanging around the neck, the candidate shall be conducted into the tabernacle in due time, and he shall occupy the seat in front of the vedi reserved for candidates for initiation.

10. After the introductory service the minister shall say: Let the diksharthi, or candidate, who desireth admission in the holy Church of God, be brought before me.

11. The spiritual instructor or the father or an intimate friend of the candidate shall stand forward with him before the vedi as his sponsor, and say, Revered minister, unto thee I commend this candidate named Sri . . . for admission into the Church of the New Dispensation, and I declare him qualified to the best of my knowledge.

12. On the presentation of the candidate the minister shall thus interrogate him: Hast thou, O diksharthi, made up thy mind to join the holy Church of the New Dispensation?

The candidate shall say, Yes.

Minister: Dost thou know and believe in the essential principles of the New Dispensation?

Candidate: Yes.

Minister: Art thou called by the Lord to join His Church?

Candidate: Yes.

Minister: Art thou resolved to submit to the discipline of the Church and to bear witness unto the truth in thy daily life?

Candidate: Yes; so help me God.

Minister: Dost thou believe that God is one, that He is infinite and perfect, almighty, all-wise, all-merciful, all-holy, all-blissful, eternal and omnipresent, our Creator, Father, Mother, Friend, Guide, Judge and Savior?

Candidate: Yes.

Minister: Dost thou believe that the soul is immortal and eternally progressive?

Candidate: Yes.

Minister: Dost thou believe in God's moral law as revealed through the commandments of conscience, enjoining perfect righteousness in all things? Dost thou believe that thou art accountable to God for the faithful discharge of thy manifold duties, and that thou shalt be judged and rewarded and punished for thy virtues and vices here and hereafter?

Candidate: Yes.

Minister: Dost thou believe in the Church Universal, which is the deposit of all ancient wisdom and the receptacle of all modern science, which recognizes in all prophets and saints a harmony, in all scriptures a unity and through all dispensations a continuity, which abjures all that separates and divides and always magnifies unity and peace, which harmonizes reason and faith, yoga and bhakti, asceticism and social duty in their highest forms, and which shall make of all nations and sects one kingdom and one family in the fullness of time?

Candidate: Yes.

Minister: Dost thou believe in natural inspiration, general and special? Dost thou believe in providence, general and special?

Candidate: Yes.

Minister: Dost thou accept and revere the scriptures?

Candidate: Yes, so far as they are records of the wisdom and devotion and piety of inspired geniuses and of the dealings of God's special providence in the salvation of nations, of which records only the spirit is God's, but the letter man's.

Minister: Dost thou accept and revere the world's prophets and saints?

Candidate: Yes, so far as they embody and reflect the different elements of Divine character, and set forth the higher ideals of life for the instruction and sanctification of the world. I ought to revere and love and follow all that is divine in them, and try to assimilate it to my soul, making what is theirs and God's mine.

Minister: What is thy creed?

Candidate: The science of God, which enlighteneth all.

Minister: What is thy gospel?

Candidate: The love of God which saveth all.

Minister: What is thy heaven?

Candidate: Life in God, which is accessible to all.

Minister: What is thy Church?

Candidate: The invisible Kingdom of God, in which is all truth, all love, all holiness.

Minister: Then avow thy faith in the presence of God Almighty.

Candidate: This day the of 188 , I, . . . do in the presence of the Holy God solemnly avow my full faith in the essential principles of Pure Theism and enter the Church of the New Dispensation. So help me God.

Minister: In the name of God I charge thee to eschew all manner of untruth and sin and sectarianism, and lead a life of faith and purity, love and devotion, unto the glory of God and of His holy church.

Candidate: Most Merciful God, grant unto me Thy redeeming grace that I may magnify Thy truth and prove worthy of Thy Church.

Minister: May the Lord bless thee and be with thee for ever!

The minister shall then present unto the candidate the Flag of the New Dispensation, and two of the members of the congregation shall stand forward and present unto him on behalf of the Church, a copy of Spiritual Texts, a copy of the New Samhita and a carpet for daily devotion, and embrace him with brotherly love.

The candidate shall then bow reverently before the Lord, and the whole congregation shall say,

Peace, Peace, Peace.

—"*The New Samhita*," *pp. 43-46.*

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18. THE CULT OF HINDUISM.

Small and portable idols are recorded as early as the fourth century B.C. Soon after houses were built at cross-roads to shelter them, and thus the temple instituted, which has retained its essential features and even size to this present, though gigantic extensions in courts, gateways, and tanks have been made to it. Its front chamber receives the worshipers; its small and dark rear one, the idol with lights and attendant priest. It stands in a square court surrounded with a veranda in which pilgrims may reside for a day or two. Worship is not congregational, but individual. The worshiper walks round the temple a set number of times, always with his right side next it; then enters the front chamber, rings a bell to call the attention of the deity, presents his offering, either makes a prostration or raises his hands to his forehead, mutters his inaudible and brief prayer, gets a glimpse of the idol, and leaves. Worshipers come and go in quick succession, particularly at festivals.

The temple ministrant is usually a Brahman, except in Shaivite temples in South India. He knows nothing but his liturgy and rites, while learning and authority reside in other priestly orders who live near in a *matha* or college. The rites consist of service rendered the idol, precisely as if it were alive. Every day it is waked from sleep, bathed, anointed and perfumed, robed in gorgeous garments and decorated with jewels, daintily fed, put to sleep for the afternoon nap, again fed, and finally disrobed and put to bed! Sometimes the idol changes his residence for a season, which requires a procession to accompany his car. Often his spouse is brought to him, or their wedding is re-celebrated. In short, these Hindu masses, not yet risen above the barbarian culture-level, treat their idol precisely as the child everywhere does its doll or toy-soldier — personifies it. The primary function of the *devadasis*, "god-slaves," was to assist at these functions by their posturing and singing, but they have commonly been corrupted into the slaves of sensual men. It should be noticed that sacrifice, which was the central rite in Vedic and Brahmanic times, has yielded precedence under Hinduism to idol worship, though itself persists as a part — the meal — of that worship. After the priests have partaken of this food, it is distributed to the worshipers, who eat it as a sacrament. That eaten in common by votaries of the famous temple of Jagganath binds them for a fixed time closer than ever blood relation. Vishnuite sacrifices are bloodless, Shivaite are bloody, but the animals are not slain in the temples, as they are in those of *Kali*, which stream with the blood especially of goats. This change of centre from sacrifice to idol-worship results from that completer personification of the deities, especially through their association with human heroes, which marks Hinduism.



Sacrificing a Kid in the Temple of Kali at Calcutta.

The more famous temples are goals of pilgrimages which are the special occupation of ascetics, and made an occasional duty by all who wish to accumulate merit.

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Of all these places the most sacred is Benares, where are some two thousand temples and half million idols under the control of an arrogant priestcraft. Here is the Gyan Kup, "Knowledge Well," and the Manikaranika Tank, bathing in which cleanses from all sin. Gaya is resorted to chiefly for the performance of ancestral rites. While most Benares temples are devoted to *Shiva*, that at Puri, its nearest rival, belongs to *Vishnu*, adored here as *Jagannatha*, "The World-Lord," whose fame as Juggernaut has reached even Western lands. The temple belonged originally to Buddhism, but was seized by Brahmans, and its symbols converted into the shapeless idols of *Jagganatha*. Some hundred thousand pilgrims, most of them women, gather at his great car festival. As at Mecca, the destruction to life is like that at a great battle, not from religious grounds, but from the privations involved. The income of this temple is $350,000 a year. But all the large temples are situated in the south, where the Moslems' iconoclastic zeal could not reach them. Such are those at Madura, Tanjore and Trichinopoly, all places of immense fame.

Festivals are observed at the year's seasons, and in honor of the chief deities. Such are the New Year's Festival; the Holi, a carnival for Krishna; the Durga-puja, when goats, sheep and buffaloes are sacrificed, and the Charak-puja, when ascetics pierce their tongues with knives, and swing from hooks, both in propitiation of the awful *Kali*, spouse of *Shiva*. All these festivals conform to one type. An idol is set up in a household court or temporary building, before which worship is presented by a priest, and thereafter amusements by professional singers, dancers and actors. These last are dressed and painted to represent the deities, and enact their lives—the exploits and amours of Krishna, the quarrels of *Shiva* and *Parvati*, the noble deeds of Rama and Sita—throughout the livelong night. Songs, dances and plays alike often pander to the sensual tastes of the masses that witness them, and unusual license of word and act is permitted on the streets. Processional cars and temples are sometimes covered with representations of the sensual joys of Heaven. Saner persons in every sect refrain from the profanity and obscenity of these rude festivals. Besides attending the festivals, every religious Hindu fasts once or twice a month, and on certain annual occasions.

Every household still keeps a room or corner devoted to its preferred gods, which are represented there either by small idols or symbolic stones. The household cult varies widely according to caste, sect, locality, and choice.

Most of the minor nature worship has been preserved intact in remote localities, or elsewhere associated with the major deities. Thus the bull is sacred to *Shiva*, the monkey to *Vishnu*. Serpents and several kinds of trees are sacred. As *linga* and *yoni* represent *Shiva* and *Parvati*, so do *shalgram* (a pebble) and *tulasi* (a plant) *Vishnu* and *Parvati*. The latter usually grows in household courts, and women circumambulate it every day. "No village is so small, no spot so lonely, that sacred symbols will not be found there. On the tops of hills, in woods, indeed under almost every rock and noteworthy tree may be seen tiny shrines, or rude idols, or merely plain stone or wood heaps, all which are distinguished by streaks of red color, as the abode of some deity or other."

The observance of these festivals and of the household cult, with the belief in metempsychosis, are the religious bonds of the people to Hinduism. A fourth bond, that of caste, is social, and enforces the others when they fail. There are at present not fewer than 3,000 castes which have separate names, and regard themselves as distinct classes. Each caste restricts marriage within its own limits, and serves both as a trade-guild and mutual assurance society, so that no poor-law is needed in India. The severest social penalty that can be inflicted upon a Hindu is to be out-casted.

What Hinduism will do in presence of western science and law and the Christian religion constitutes the problem of India's future. Science is shattering its

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polytheism and metempsychosis, and law its caste; while Christiansty includes its best aspirations without its foibles.

THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **HINDUISM.**—Brahmans, Kshattriyas, Low-castes, Invasions, Buddhism, Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Vedic gods, Trimurti, Hari-Hara, Bhakti-marga, Mahabharata, Ramayana, Puranas, Tantras, Ethical maxims.
14. **SHAIVISM AND SHAKTISM.**—Shiva, Rudra, Agni, Mahadeva, Ishvara, Parvati, Durga, Kali, Shakti, Linga, Low Classes, Survivals, Shaktas, Right hand, Left hand.
15. **VAISHNAVISM.**—Sects, Avataras, Rama, Krishna, Buddha, Kulki, Bhagavad-gita, Krishna and the New Testament.
16. **VAISHNAVA SECTS.**—Ramanuja, Tengalai, Vadagalai, Madhva, Chaitanya, Hindi, Stages of Bhakti, Vallhabha, Maharaja.
17. **HINDUISM UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF MOHAMMEDANISM AND CHRISTIANITY.**—Kabir, Nanak, Granth, Govind, Militarism, Rammohun Roy, Keshab Chundar Sen, Samajes.
18. **THE CULT OF HINDUISM.**—Idols, Temples, Worship, Pilgrimage, Great Temples, Festivals, Lower nature-worship.



Ganesha.

QUESTIONS.

13. *To what classes was Hinduism specially suited? What was the occasion of the Brahman's compromise? Name the chief divisions of Hinduism. What is Vaishnavism? What is Shaivism? What has become of the Vedic deities? Discuss the trimurti. What did Hari-Hara represent? What is bhakti? Describe the Mahabharata Describe the Ramayana. Describe the Puranas. State the chief ethical maxims found in the Epics.*

14. *Trace the history of Shiva from Vedic times. State his three types. What do Mahadeva and Ishvara mean? Compare his following with that of Vishnu. State some names of Shiva's spouse. By what is Shiva represented? How many such symbols are found in India? Why is Shiva sometimes represented as androgyne? What two classes follow Shiva? Account for the vicious elements in Shaivism. Who are Shaktas? Who are Thugs?*

15. *What is the religion of a majority of the Hindus? Characterize Vaishnavism. What is an avatara? Name the last four avataras. Sketch the Rama avatara How does Krishna differ from Rama? What will Kalki do? Describe the Bhagavad-gita. Discuss the relations of Krishna with the New Testament.*

16. *What was Ramanuja's doctrine? Give details from the notes. Distinguish Tengalai from Vadagalai. Characterize the Madhvas. What classes did Chaitanya reach? State the several stages of bhakti. On what principle did Vallhabha rest? How did his followers misconstrue his theory? With what result?*

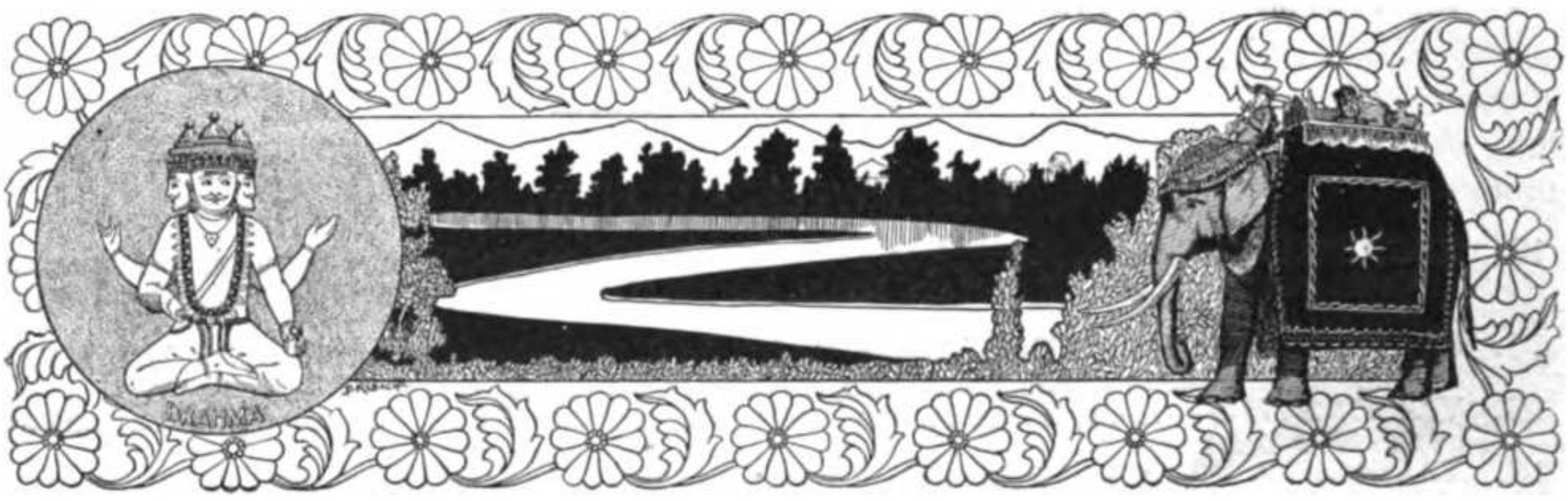
17. *What was the aim of Kabir? What religion did Nanak found? What did Govind do with it? How is the Granth treated? Sketch the life of Rammohun Roy. Who founded the Brahma-Samaj? What great reform did Mr. Sen originate? In what other respects did he abandon Hinduism? What progress have the Samajas made?*

18. *When were idols first used? Describe a temple. How has it been modified since? Where are the largest temples? Why? Describe the worship. To what culture-stage does it belong? Who go on pilgrimages? Describe Benares. State some facts about the festival at Puri. State the type common to festivals Who are devidasis? How much do Hindus fast?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Find parallels for the ethical maxims of the Epics from the Bible and modern poetry.*
2. *How does modern theism conceive the destructive and mischievous forces in nature?*
3. *The insufficiency of pantheism to the spiritual needs of man.*
4. *Compare bhakti with Christian mysticism in the Middle Ages.*
5. *Compare the New Dispensation creed, cited in Note 2, with the revised and new creeds of Christian denominations.*
6. *The Indian mind is certain to form its own conception and creed concerning Christianity. In what respects are these likely to diverge from the European ones?*

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VAISHNAVISM.

BY

PANDIT VISHWANATH OF AHMEDNAGAR, revised by Professor A. B. Kathavate,
Deccan College, Poona.

19. VAISHNAVISM IN ITS CREED.

The creed of Vaishnavism is contained in various *Puranas*, especially the *Bhagavata P.* and the *Vishnu P.* A *Purana* properly deals with five topics, namely, (*a*) creation, (*b*) secondary creation, (*c*) races of mankind, (*d*) ages of the world, (*e*) history and biography. We will treat briefly and in turn of these five topics.

(*a*) There is a distinction between the Supreme soul (*paramātmā*) and the individual soul (*ātmā*).

(*b*) There are different accounts of the origin of the universe. The following is an abridged account from the Vishnu-Purāna:

Purusha (spirit) is the first form of the Supreme. *Pradhāna* or *prakriti* is the first principle of Nature. Intellect is first produced, and it becomes three-fold, manifesting three elementary essences, *satwa* (goodness), *rajas* (passion), and *tamas* (darkness). There are also five elementary substances. These combined with intellect and the three qualities formed an egg, which rested on the waters. It was the abode of *Vishnu* [which means one pervading all things] in the form of *Brahma.* The egg broke and brought forth continents, seas, planets, gods, demons and mankind. *Vishnu*, as the personification of *rajas* or passion, is *Brahma*, the creator of the universe. As the personification of *satwa* or goodness he is the preserver. As the personification of *tamas* or darkness he is the destroyer, *Mahesh* or *Shiva.* At the close of the four ages (*yugas*), which together make up a *kalpa* or period, everything is destroyed. This destruction of the universe is called *pralāya.* After such a destruction, *Vishnu* in the form of *Narayan* [one whose seat is in the waters] raises the earth from beneath the waters, which then floats upon the surface. See Vishnu-Purana, Book I., Chaps. I.-IV.

The following account of creation is found in some texts of the Bhāgavata Purāna: *Vishnu* was lying on the leaf of a banyan tree (ficus sacra). He said "*Bhuh*," and the earth came into being. Then he said "*Bhuvah*," and a world above the earth was created. Then he said "*svar*," and the heavens came into being. Then he said "*mahar*" and a world above the heavens was created. Then he said

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"*janah*," "*tapas*," and lastly "*satyam*" and after each word a new world arose. Then *Vishnu* went and lived in the highest world, *satyaloka*, where by his own will he became pregnant, and from his navel sprang a lotus flower, in which was born *Brahma*, the creator. He had four mouths, from which he immediately uttered the four Vedas; by the power of these he created all *chārāchāra*, *i.e.*, the organic and inorganic world. Several mythological accounts of this kind are given even in the same Purāna (Bhāgavata), going into the details of the universe, identifying as it were rivers, mountains, and other things with the various parts of the body of God. Thus in Bhāgavata Skanda, Part II., Chap. V., 25 to 33. "They say the sole of his foot became *pātāl* [the lowest world], the heels and the toes became *pasātala* [the next lowest world], the excellent ankles of that creator of the world became *mahātala*, . . . the two eyes became the heavens, and the eye-balls became the sun; the hair of his eye-lids became the divine and the mortal day; his veins became rivers, and the hair on his person became trees." However, the sacred books called the Upanishads, which are more philosophical compositions, in some cases do not go into such details and are more dignified, *e.g.*, he thought, "May I produce these worlds?" and he produced them.

(*c*) There are conflicting accounts of the origin of men and castes. *Vishnu* Purāna (I. Book, Chap. V.) says that *asura* (demons) were born from the thigh of *Brahma* when darkness pervaded his body; that *sura* (gods) were born from his mouth when pleasure pervaded his body; that *pitris* (progenitors of men) were born from his side when he thought of himself as the father of the world; and that men in whom foulness predominated were produced from him when he assumed the quality of passion. In the sixth chapter the same Purāna says that the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Shudras were born from the mouth, breast, thighs and feet of Brahmā. A slightly different account of the production of the four castes is found in the Rigveda, Ashtak VIII., Chap. IV.: "The Brāhman was his mouth; his arms were made the royal caste (Kshatriya); Vaisya (the trading class) was his thighs, and Shudra (the serving caste) was born from his feet."

(*d*) The origin and suppression of evil.—In Chapter Sixth of the First Book the Vishnu Purāna gives the following account of the origin of evil: At first created beings were perfect. Hari [one of the names of *Vishnu*] dwelt in their sanctified minds. After a while that portion of Hari which was identical with *kāla* (time) created sin, which was at first feeble. By and by it gained strength, and men began to feel pain from heat, cold, etc. Then manual labor was begun. Sacrifices were offered, but the more sinful men opposed sacrifices and reviled gods and good men.

In more argumentative books the sufferings of creatures and the differences which exist between their powers of knowledge and of action, being found to be unjustifiable in any other way, are referred to their own good and bad actions performed in time without beginning, and to the unlimited power of *Vishnu* to see and reward and punish the same. The immortality of gods and the destruction of demons is also described as resulting from the favor or anger of *Vishnu*, due to their meritorious acts or sins.

The following verses of the Bhagavadgita state when and why *Vishnu* assumes incarnations from time to time for the destruction of evil: "Whenever, O Arjuna, religion fails and irreligion prevails, I create myself." "In order to protect the good and to destroy the sinful and to establish religion, I incarnate myself in every age." According to Hindu belief, there have been innumerable ages (*kalpas*), in each of which there have been ten principal incarnations (*avatāras*) of *Vishnu* and numerous partial incarnations (*aunshāvātāras*). In the present age (*kalpa*) there have been already nine incarnations and the tenth or Kalki *avatāra* is yet to appear at the end of it. The nine which have already appeared were the fish, tortoise, boar, man-lion, dwarf, Parashurām (a Brahman carrying the battle-axe as his weapon), Rāma (a Kshatriya of that name), Krishna, and Buddha.

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(*e*) The principal means by which the Vaishnava expects to secure *mukti* or final liberation from the binding of this world are four, as follows:

I. *Bhaktimārga* (Devotion). There are nine modes of it:

Listening to, and singing the greatness of *Vishnu*; remembering him; serving the feet, *i.e.*, rendering menial service to him or to his image; worship; salutation; perfect obedience; love; perfect consecration of self. This last is explained by some Vaishnava authorities as perfect knowledge of self.

II. *Yogāmārga* (application of the whole mind to *Vishnu*). This to a certain extent is identical with the ninth or last means of *bhakti*. In this the devotee concentrates all his attention on *Vishnu*. In the Bhāgawata Purāna a simile founded on popular belief is used to illustrate the attainment of liberation by the devotee through this means. There is a worm which is slowly and constantly preyed on by a certain insect. In constant fear the worm unceasingly thinks of the insect until at last it loses consciousness of everything, even of self, and changes into the insect. So the devotee by means of *yoga* or application forgets everything else and attains nearness and likeness to *Vishnu*. But according to Vaishnavism the distinction between the servant and the served remains forever. For the practice of this *yoga* the aid of saints who are proficient in bodily and mental exercises is absolutely necessary. It is available only to few, according to their special merit.



Brahma the secondary Creator springing from Vishnu who reclines on the Serpent—Eternity, while Lakshmi chafes his feet. Hanuman and Garuda.

III. *Kārmāmārgā* (religious acts). This has been partly described already in the first part. Further it consists of several more complicated and difficult sacrifices which require the recitation of Vedic *mantras*, and the different processes which are justified and explained in the *Brahmanas*. Men of Brāhman caste alone can perform sacrifices (*yajnas*) on behalf of themselves or men of Kshatriya caste. Vaishnavas never kill animals in sacrifices.

IV. *Jñanāmārga* (knowledge). This is the final means of absolution. "Absolution can be through knowledge only." This knowledge may be acquired either by the practice of one or all of the three means mentioned above, or even at once by the favor of saints, in which case, too, its dependence on the three ways is maintained by orthodox thinkers, by referring to efforts made in previous states of life.

It will be seen from the above that liberation is really attainable by good deeds, and true knowledge, and love of the supreme being (*Parameshwar*); but as the whole of mankind is not fit to comprehend the supreme being with his high qualities, various smaller deities are mentioned in the Puranas and other sacred texts, and several religious works are laid down for several classes of men, and for the ignorant men of the highest class who are expected to improve their understanding by these means so as to be able to grasp higher truths. It is for this that a very high position is assigned to the Brahman preceptors and other gurus who possess the highest knowledge, and they are mentioned as objects of respect to lower classes, and even God in his incarnations is mentioned as regarding the Brahman as his God.

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20. VAISHNAVISM IN ITS CULT.

The main distinction between Vaishnavism and Shaivism philosophically is that the Vaishnava believes in the *dwaita*, *i.e.*, in a distinction between the Supreme Soul (*Paramātmā*) and the individual soul (*Atmā*); the Shaiva and all other Hindu sects believe in the *Adwaita*, *i.e.*, in the identity of the Supreme soul and Individual soul. To the average man the difference between the two sects is that the Vaishnava regards *Vishnu;* the Shaiva regards *Shiva* as the deity to be chiefly worshiped. The Shākta are a numerous sect worshiping the goddess *Kali*, representing *Shakti*, "Energy." In Western India there is a large body called Smārta, whose beliefs and practices are a mixture of the others.



Krishna with Radha. At the bottom right is Garuda.

The Vaishnava gains the *summum bonum* by devotion to the Supreme Soul. The great authority, Vyāsa, says, *Achāra prathamo dharma*, *i.e.*, "In religion practice is the first duty." Hence ceremonies (*vidhi*) are most important. If a Brāhman lives the usual *course of life*, sixteen *sanskāra* (purificatory rites) have to be performed upon him.

The principal *daily* ceremonies are *sandhya* (ablutions), *pujā* (worship), *tarpan* (pouring water in the name of gods, sages, and all ancestors), *japa* (repetition of incantations taught by the Guru), *pāth* (reading some sacred book), *Vaishwadeva* (making an offering of cooked rice to the gods, and other spirits, including the dogs of *Yama* and crows).

The principal *monthly* ceremonies and observances are *ekādashi* (fasting on the eleventh day of both the light and dark halves of every month), and *darshya shrāddha* (a ceremony on the last day of every month in honor of deceased parents).

The principal *annual* ceremonies and observances (*vrata*) are *shrāvani* (revision of past studies in the Vedas on the fifteenth of the month *Shrāvan*), *shrāddha* (ceremonies on the anniversaries of the dead parents), *mahalaya* (ceremonies in the month of *Bhādrapad* in honor of deceased ancestors). *mahāekadashi* (fasting on the eleventh of the light half of the month *Ashādh* and of the month *Kartik*), *anantachaturdashi* (feasting on the fourteenth of the light half of *Bhadrapad* in honor of the divine serpent, *Shesh*), *Vaikuntha-chaturdashi* (visiting a temple of Vishnu or his incarnations at midnight of the fourteenth of the light half of *Kartik*), *jayanti* (festivals on the birthdays of incarnations of *Vishnu* and his devotees, such as are believed to be themselves incarnations of other gods), *gurupuja* (a special day of honor to one's *guru*).

We will now describe the chief ceremony in each of these four classes except the third. The chief purificatory rite (*Sanskara*, *maunji-bandhan* (thread-ceremony) is investing a boy with a sacred thread when he is eight years old or eight years from his conception. By birth even a Brāhman is a Shudra. This ceremony makes him a twice-born (*Dvij*). The study of the Vedas makes him a scholar (Vipra). When he truly knows *Brahma* he becomes a Brahman. The steps of this ceremony are: (a) Worship of the sun by the boy; (b) teaching him the *Gayatri-*

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formula "Let us meditate on the excellent light of the divine creator [the sun] who may inspire our minds"; (c) making over the boy to the *guru*. The object of this ceremony is that the boy may learn how to live properly. The chief thing is to place him in charge of a *guru* for twelve years, during which period of time he is to learn the Vedas and how to live correctly.

Puja or worship.—The daily *puja* of a *guru* (priest).

Puja or worship is always carried on with an idol. Vaishnavas also always have a peculiar black stone called *shalagram* found in the river Gandaki. An idol is required in order to concentrate the worshiper's mind on the deity. First, the worshiper must bathe and put on silk cloth, or cotton cloth, if it has not been touched by any one since it was washed. Repairing to the small room or recess where the idols are kept, he sits on a board, with the utensils for worship near by. Then he brings to mind the form of the god and, in order to invite his presence, says: "I salute *Vishnu*, whose appearance is peaceful, who sleeps on the serpent, from whose navel springs the lotus, who is the god of gods, who is the support of the universe, whose beautiful cloud-colored body resembles the sky, who is the husband of *Lakshmi* [the goddess of wealth], whose eyes are like the lotus flower, who is conceivable only to *yogis* [*i.e.*, those well versed in concentrating their minds by *yog*-practice], who saves from the fear of wordly ties, who is the only master of all worlds." Then he repeats a *sankalpa*, *i.e.*, words expressing purpose, such as "As specified before [at ablutious] today, on this particular day of this particular month, at this *prahar* (a period of three hours) of the day, at this *ghati* (a period of 24 minutes), in this first part of *kaliyuga* (the present degenerate age of the world), during this particular *manvantura* (the sum of the four yugas), during this particular *kalpa* (1,000 *yugas*), and in this *ayana* (half year, or time from one solstice to another), in this particular *aranya* (forest), to the north or south of the Nerbudda river, I, named so and so, and belonging to this particular *gotra* (family), in order to gain some objects (here specify them), shall perform *puja*."

Then pronouncing three names of *Vishnu*, viz., "*Keshav*, *Narayan*, and *Madhav*," he thrice sips water from the right hand. Then he pronounces twenty-one names of *Vishnu*. Then reciting the *gayatri*, he makes the *pranayam*, *i.e.*, breathes through the nostrils with certain closings and openings. These preliminaries ended, he considers that now his mind is wholly concentrated on the good and he is prepared to worship.

First, he worships the vessel holding water, with the formula: "In the mouth of the vessel is seated *Vishnu*; in the neck is seated *Rudra* (=*Shiva*); at the bottom *Brahma*; and in the rest of it are all the female deities." Then he applies to the vessel a little sandal-wood paste, some grains of rice and flowers. Next he worships the conch-shell and the bell. Then with a *tulasi* leaf he sprinkles water on everything, saying: "One pure or impure, whatever condition he may be in, is purified inwardly and outwardly if he thinks of the lotus-eyed god Vishnu." Then over the head, or at least over the feet of the god, he pours a steady stream of water, all the time reciting the *Vishnu-sukta*, verses from the Rigveda: "Vishnu crossed the universe; he placed his foot in three places," &c.

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21. VAISHNAVISM IN ITS CULT (CONTINUED).

Then, again, the god, while under water, is worshiped. This is followed by the *panchamrita snān*, *i.e.*, bathing the god with five substances, viz.: milk, curds, ghi, sugar and honey. Next *abhyanga snān*, *i.e.*, bathing the god with scented oil and warm water. Next, *shuddhodak snān*, *i.e.*, bathing him with pure cold water. Then the idol is carefully wiped. Then *tulasi* leaves are placed under the idol or

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at his feet, implying that they are to form his seat. Then, according to theory, clothing and jewels are offered to the god, but in practice only tulasi leaves are offered. Then sandal-wood paste is applied to the god; then to one's own forehead, arms and breast, so as to make a three-pronged mark. Next sweet-scented substances and flowers are offered.

Then he offers one thousand tulasi leaves, and, as he places each on the head of the god, he pronounces, in succession one of the thousand names of *Vishnu* as given in the book *Vishnu Sahasranām.*

Then he waves burning incense and a lamp, at the same time ringing a bell. Then he presents some offering, such as sugar, or milk; then fruits, of which the cocoanut and the plantain are the chief; then betel-nut, etc.



Vaishnava Brahman.

Last comes *mantra-pushpānjali*, in which holding flowers, tulasi leaves, etc., in the hollow of the two joined hands, he repeats some Vedic verses and throws all on the head of the god.

The objects of performing *puja* are doing one's duty and the gratification of the deity—"*Shriparameshwar-prītaye.*" The advantages which may be expected to follow from ordinary *puja* are "the attaining of all wishes, such as life, health, strength, success, wisdom," etc.

Special *puja*, with some change from the above, is offered for special objects, such as wealth and progeny.

The *shrāddha* ceremony is performed in honor of deceased parents, occasionally for other relatives when they have no one else to perform it. On the eleventh day after the death of a parent an elaborate ceremony must be performed; so also on the twelfth and thirteenth. By theory this should be repeated every month for the first year. But since it is hard to do this, on the thirteenth day thirteen *shrāddhas* are compressed into one. Thereafter the ceremony is performed once a year. The following is a statement of the principal points in the simpler annual *shrāddha:*

It must begin after midday. Five Brahmans are usually called. If the deceased were a female, who died before her husband, then a married woman, not a widow, must be called, with the five Brahmans. She is termed *suvasini*, *i.e.*, a woman whose presence is auspicious. A place in the room facing the north is supposed to be the place of the *pitris* (ancestors). Here sit three of the Brahmans (all of whom must be married and not widowers) representing respectively the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. A place facing the East is supposed to be the place of the gods. Here sit the other two Brahmans. If there is a *suvasini*, she sits in another room. The *yajman*, *i.e.*, the man who performs the *shrāddha*, sits in the middle and makes a *sankalpa*, *i.e.*, a verse expressing his purpose (as described above in the *puja* ceremony). Then he offers welcome to the five Brahmans, "Welcome gods, welcome ancestors." Then as a substitute for a seat for them, he places tulasi leaves under the right thighs of the Brahmans that represent the gods, and *til* (sesamum) and *kusha*-grass under the thighs of the representatives of the ancestors. Then he places sandal-wood paste in the palms of their

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right hands. Throughout the ceremony, whenever he offers anything to the ancestors, he repeats the names of his father, grandfather and great-grand-father. In the case of a female, he takes the names of his mother, her mother-in-law, and the mother-in-law of that mother-in-law.

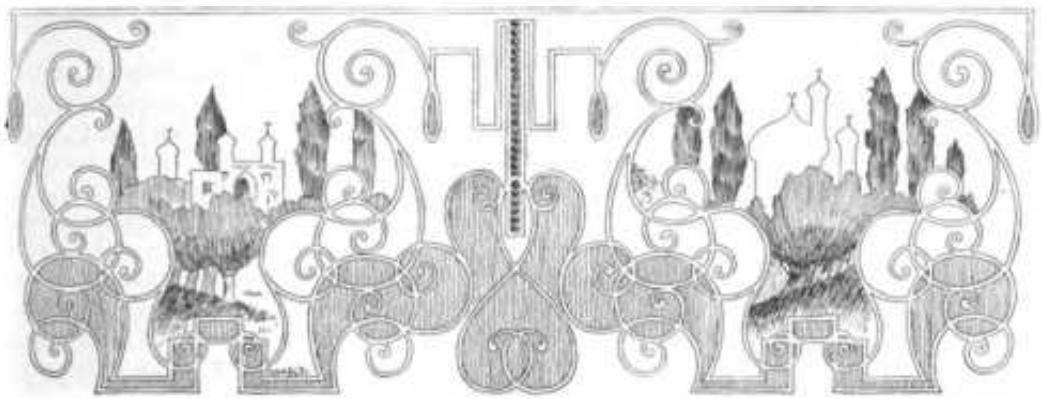
Next he offers *arghya* water, sandal-wood paste, rice and *tulasi* leaves for the gods, and sesamum and *kusha*-grass for the ancestors. Then he goes through the ordinary *puja*, excepting the ablutions (*snān*). Then food is given to the Brahmans (and to the *suvasini*, if there is one). The *yajman* himself does not then eat. He has to perform for the Brahmans the things which they usually do for themselves, preliminary to taking a meal, excepting offering of rice to *Chitra* and *Chitragupta*, two agents of *Yama*, the god of the nether world. Thus, the *yajman* sprinkles water before them from left to right of the dish. Then he pours water for *aposhanam* (sipping) into their right hands, which they sip. Then he offers rice to the five internal breaths (*pancha pranāhuti*), and to *Brahma*, which the Brahmans eat. They are then requested to eat at their pleasure. After the Brahmans have eaten to the full, he offers them *tumbul* (*betel* leaves) and *dakshina* (a present, usually in the form of money, to Brahmans at the completion of a religious rite)—Without *dakshina* no performance by Brahmans is complete. Then follows the *pinda pradan; i.e.*, three balls of cooked rice, representing the three generations of ancestors, are placed on *kusha* grass, and are worshiped with the full *puja* ceremony, excepting the ablutions. The *pindas* are then thrown into some sacred water or given to cows.

The advantages which follow from performing *shraddha* are: (*a*) Doing a son's duty; (*b*) preservation of the family—if not performed the family will become extinct; (*c*) a man having no male issue goes to the hell called *Pun*, but by the virtue of the *shraddha* ceremony, the son saves his parents from that hell. "As the son saves his parents from that hell called *Pun*, so *Brahma* himself gave him the name of *putra* (*Pun* = the hell of the same name + *tra* = one who saves from);" (*d*) one who performs the *shraddha* gains long life, health, prosperity and progeny; (*e*) if performed at certain sacred places, the *shraddha* expiates all sins.



The Hill and Entrance: Caves of Ellora, where are many Hindu sculptures.

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SHAIVISM.

BY

MR. P. SUBRAMANYA AIYER, of Manamadura, India.

22. SHAIVISM IN ITS CREED.

This system of thought is the most ancient of all the Indian philosophies; and even after the advent of advaitism (non-duality), visishtādvaitism (qualified non-duality, and dvaitism (duality) originated respectively by Sankaracharya, Ramanuja and Madhva, the followers of Shaivism, remain as an independent class of thinkers, while a majority of the Advaitists also follow some of the cardinal precepts of Shaivism in their daily religious observances.

The word "Shaivism" means the religion and philosophy of *Shiva*. The word "*Shiva*" is a Sanskrit word probably derived from the root *shi*, meaning to lie over. Hence *Shiva* is the omnipresent substance lying over or pervading the whole universe.

The study of this system may be conducted in two ways, doctrinally and ceremonially, or in its relation to conduct. The doctrinal being the more important of the two will be pursued first.

According to this system of philosophy *Shiva* in the First Lord, the Cause of all causes, and the One from whom everything came into existence, as is described in the Brahma Sutra, second aphorism, "That which is the cause of the origin, existence and extinction of the universe." That this aphorism relates to *Shiva* is established by the thirty-fourth couplet, chapter ii, of Sivamahatmaga khandam in the Suta Samhitā. The couplet is an address made by *Shiva* to all the celestials, including *Narayana* and *Brahma*, and reads as follows: "Oh, ye gods! I am the highest principle. The universe sprang from me. It exists in me. It merges in me. Nothing is equal or superior to me." He is the eternal Lord, and all living beings, from *Brahma* down, are the toys of his amusement. See the twenty-sixth verse of the eighty-ninth chapter of the Upadesakanda in the Sivarahasyakhandam in Sancara Samhitā. This verse means "Sambhu" plays always with omniscience and other powers; all living beings, beginning from Brahma, form his toys. Umapatisivācārya, one of the illustrious Shaivite saints, has, in his glorious work "Tiruvarutpayan," given a beautiful and accurate description of the Lord in the following Tamil verse: "Like the letter 'A' the incomparable Lord is all intelligence and pervades everything without change." His eternal power is called *maya* or *prakriti* (illusion, or illusory creative force, the latter feminine). This is nonsentient and waiting upon the Lord. It remains, with splendor in his ethereal region. See verse 11, chapter xxxviii of Upadesakanda in Sivarahasyakhandam: "Maya is called *prakriti* or the power of Ishvara (the Supreme Lord). It is material and nonsentient, and waiting upon Shiva, remains in splendor in his heavenly realm."

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An epitome of this philosophy is given in the above-mentioned chapter xxxviii. of Upadesakanda in Sivarahasyakhandam, and is in substance as follows: The *pasu* or *purusha* is sentient and is environed by *maya* (illusion) or *prakriti* (nature). There are thus three principles, namely, Lord, Self and Illusion. All these are without beginning, but the Lord transcends both. The Self or *pasu* (lit. beast), under the influence of Illusion's environing, enjoys the fruits of his actions. The actions are good and bad, and their fruits are twofold—pleasure and pain. The destruction of the environment results in the cessation of all actions and the enjoyment of their fruits. Body is the means of such enjoyment; and Self, identifying himself with the body, receives the fruits of his actions, namely, pleasure and pain, through the channels of his interior and exterior senses.



Shiva.

Self and Illusion derive no benefit from each other. The former is a ceaseless traveler, meeting in his journeys of life temporary connections, such as wives, children, etc., just as the moon's orb is covered now and then by the clouds moving across its face. The bodies of Self are numerous in succession, and his assumption of them is as continuous as men's rejecting old clothes and putting on new ones. Until he is liberated from the thraldom of Illusion he goes through endless births and deaths, just as fish in an enclosure move from side to side without discerning the outlet. He is detained by the affinities (entanglements) created by his actions, in this world, in *Svarga* (heaven), or in Pātāla (lower region), and is tossed from one to the other.

The Illusion or Nature, being subtle or intangible in *Pralaya* (the period of passivity between the destruction of the universe and its recreation), is known as *avyakta* in that condition, and, being used as the material cause for the formation of the universe with its multitude of changing forms and names, is called *upadana-karana* or *Pradhana*. The environments created by the Illusion for the Self are three-fold—(1) body, or the means of enjoyment; (2) the world, or the place of enjoyment, and (3) the things or objects of enjoyment. It is Illusion that creates the twenty-four principles or ingredients making up the body, *i.e.*, five *tanmatras*, five elements, five organs of feeling, five organs of action, *manas* (mind), *buddhi* (intellect or intelligent perception) *shamkara* (self-consciousness, or personality) and *cittam* (will).

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The Self, under the influence of Illusion's thraldom, forgets his own nature, identifies himself with the body and, according to the qualities of such body, calls himself a blind man, a deaf man, a poet, a *shudra* (low caste man) or *chandala* (outcast), while his own nature, really unaffected by the excellences or blemishes of the body, precludes all possibility of caste, color, size or any other qualification which distinguishes him in his enslaved condition of existence.

The three-fold environment of Maya cannot see the Self and Lord, but Self sees the environment alone, whereas Lord sees Self and environment alike. When Self sees Lord with his eyes of wisdom he gets out of the clutches of Maya, and its penalties of duality of actions and their results, and attains *Sayujya*, or salvation.

Ceremonial.—What is the method of attaining this salvation?

Shaivism opens four courses for the Ego, whereby he can reach the blessing of complete liberation: (1) *Charya*, (2) *Kriya*, (3) *Sivayoga* and (4) *Sivagnana*. The first three are elaborately described in chapter lxxxvii., Upathesakandam in Sivarahasyakhandam. *Charya* comprises the following observances: rising early in the morning, cleansing the body, sipping water with *mantras* (mystic formulæ), rubbing on the sacred ashes, wearing the necklaces of rudraksha beads, propitiating the gods, sages (*rishis*) and the souls of the departed ancestor (*pitris*), bringing pure water, flowers, sandalwood powder and other sweet-scented articles, decorating the place of worship with lights, and doing other things preparatory to the performance of worship.

Kriya comprises making thorough ablutions (washing the legs and hands and sipping water with spells), adoring the lord *Shiva* in the mind, then worshiping him and making sacrifice by fire.

Sivayoga has eight parts. Of these (*a*) *yama* is the practice of the negative virtues; such as not telling lies, not harming others, not coveting others' possessions, not yielding to lust, etc.

(*b*) *Niyama* is the practice of the positive virtues, such as patience, contentment, purity, submission, devotion, kindness, and the like.

(*c*) *Asana* is seating one's self on the skin of a stag or tiger in any convenient posture and preparing to practice concentration of thought.

(*d*) *Pranayama* is inhaling by one nostril for sixteen *matras* of time; retaining for sixteen *matras* and exhaling through the other nostril for thirty-two *matras*. This rite of *prānāyāma* is of two sorts, called respectively *sakalpa* and *akalpa*. When pranayama is observed as preliminary to any *japa* or devotional utterance, it is called *sakalpa*. When it is performed alone, with no reference to other *japa*, it is called *akalpa*. *Prānāyāma* is recommended for only the three higher castes, Brāhmans, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas.

(*e*) *Pratyahara* is the control of the tastes, inclinations and senses.

(*f*) *Dharana* is bearing the feet of the lord in mind.

(*g*) *Dhyana* is an intensified form of *dharana*, *i.e.*, persistently bearing the feet of the lord in mind.

(*h*) *Samadhi* is forgetting every other object, seeing the Lord within one's self and enjoying the unique pleasure of the realization.

Sivagnana, the fourth course, is the spiritual wisdom whereby the three principles of Lord, Self and Illusion are distinguished from each other. Illusion stands between Lord and Self, and it not only conceals the former from the perceptions of the latter, but it works in such a way that its influence is not known to Self. He, in consequence, becomes blind to the splendor of the Lord that shines within and without him. Nay, he identifies himself with the three environments created by Illusion so much that unless he is raised from this miserable condition by *Shiva's* divine grace he would ever groan under the despotic rule of Illusion, resulting in endless rotations of births and deaths and the heaps of troubles and miseries into which he is plunged in each of his transmigrations.

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23. SHAIVISM IN ITS CREED (CONTINUED).

Shaivism teaches that the Lord is one, Illusion is one, but Selves are innumerable. The selves are of three sorts, *Kevala*, *Sakala and Sudha*. *Kevala* is one not subject to the thraldom of illusion, such as *Brahma*, *Vishnu*, *Narada* and others.

Sakala is the reincarnating monad ever under the dominion of Illusion. *Sudha* is one who, though placed under the dominion of Illusion, has extricated himself from it by any or all of the four methods of attaining liberation. The effect of Illusion's thraldom is ignorance (*agnana*), and when this ignorance is dispelled the attainment of *sivagnana* (Shiva-knowledge) results.

The followers of Shaivism differ from the Advaitists in many points, but the following are their essential ones:

SHAIVITES.	ADVAITISTS.
(1) The universe is real.	(1) The universe is false.
(2) There is no complete unification of Self and Lord in salvation.	(2) A complete unification is the real deliverance.
(3) *Brahma* and *Vishnu* are Selves.	(3) They form two of the three aspects of one transcendental Lord.
(4) *Shiva* is the highest Lord.	(4) There is no real difference whatever between *Shiva* and the other two Lords of the Hindu trinity, who represent the three different aspects of the universal *Parabrahman*.
(5) The Vedas, Sutras, Ten Puranas dedicated to Siva and (28) Agamas are authoritative.	(5) The Vedas, Sutras and *all* the Puranas are authoritative.

Shaivism, like the other systems of Indian philosophy, predicates four conditions of higher existence in gradations; these are, *Salokya*, *Samipya*, *Sarupya*, and *Sayujya*. Salokya is dwelling in the same sphere of bliss and happiness with the Lord and is attained by the first method of worship, *charya*. *Samipya* is dwelling in close proximity to the Lord, and is attained by the second method, *Kriya*. *Sarupya* is assimilation into the likeness of the Lord, and is acquired by means of *Sivayoga;* all these are intermediate and necessary to the attainment of the highest state of bliss, *Sayujya*. This is *moksha* or emancipation of the Self and is attained by *sivagnana* alone. There is no condition higher than this, and Self after once attaining this condition never returns to this world.

Shaivism has the following conceptions of the Lord. He is said to vary, in five conditions—(a) *Sivam*, or all-pervading deity. (b) *Amurti*, or having no form. (c) *Murti*, or with form. (d) *Karta* or actor and (e) *Karya* or action. His *murtis*, forms, are said to be five, with five offices or functions, namely: creation, preservation, destruction, disappearance, and showing grace. His powers are six-fold, as follows: Ommiscience, eternal satisfaction, beginningless wisdom, independence of all, omnipresence, and endlessness.

He, alone, is called *Parabrahma;* while every other living being is call Self. He is also said to have twenty-five forms for appearing before his devotees and favoring them. *Shiva*, it is said created *Brahma* and *Vishnu* with his Illusion and having endowed them with requsite powers as signed to them respectively the functions of creating and preserving the universe.

His consort is *Uma*, and is said to have two sons, *Vignesha* ("Lord of Obstacles," commonly *Ganesha* or *Gana pati*) and *Skanda* (commonly *Subramanya*). The former is the deity to be worshiped at the beginning of every ceremony, and the

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latter, possessing six faces, is said to represent the six powers owned by the Lord. He is known as the giver of all earthly blessings as well as of wisdom.

Shaivites consider the sacred ashes the most holy of all objects in the world, and every worshiper of *Shiva* is peremptorily enjoined to purify his body by smearing it with the sacred ashes. In every Shaivite temple the presentation of this substance is viewed as the holiest of gifts by every visitor, and wearing the sacred ashes is believed to be the most powerful charm against demoniacal possession, incurable disease or irresistible magic. In Chapter IX. of Upadesakanda in Sivarahasiakandam it is stated: "Oh, Brahmans! truth, wisdom, grace, devotion, fire, wind, water, earth, ether, all these are ashes." In another portion of the same chapter it is affirmed: "The dwellers in the infernal regions, wicked souls, evil spirits, demons and vicious men run to a distance, terrified at the very sight of the sacred ashes." Chapters IX. to XII. of the same book deal with the unique importance, wonderful power and great sanctity of the sacred ashes. Chapters XIII.-XVII. are devoted to describing the magnificence of the rudraksha beads worn by all Saivites (priests and holy men) in the form of necklaces. Saivites consider these two objects, the sacred ashes and rudraksha seeds, as the holiest of all things and capable of conferring upon those who wear them supernatural talent and power.



Shiva and Parvati, Caves of Ellora.

It is one of the chief beliefs of Saivism that there is no word so sacred or powerful as the five letters contained in the divine *Panchakshara*. These five letters are *na*, *ma*, *si*, *va*, *ya*. These together form two Sanskrit words meaning "Hail to *Shiva*." The utterance of these words is the holiest of acts.

Gnanasambanda, one of the most distinguished of the founders of Shaivism, established his philosophy by means of the miracles performed by him with the aid of these two sacred words.

In Chapter LXXI. of Halasya Mahatmayam in the Ahastia Samhita of the Skanda Purana there is a very interesting account of a conflict between Buddhism and Shaivism. It is there stated that among the numerous trials made by the reigning monarch of the Pandian kingdom, at Madura, about the relative merits of the two systems of religion, two were most important and decisive. One was the testing the miraculous potency of the Buddhist magic and that of the Panchakshara by setting fire to two palmyra leaves inscribed with each. The second made similar trial by placing similar leaves upon the running waters of the river, with the understanding that the religion whose leaf should swim up the stream should prevail. In both the trials the Panchakshara is said to have succeeded.

Such is the glory and importance of these five letters in the estimation of the Shaivites. And in their opinion instruction by a competent teacher to pronounce them correctly is the most important ceremony to be observed by one seeking to obtain spiritual growth and blessing.

Besides the utterance of the Panchakshara and worshiping *Shiva* in the form of a *linga*, i.e., a perpendicular stone planted in another horizontal one, the Shaivite authorities provide many ceremonies whose observance is believed to have a powerful effect in purifying the worshiper's mind. Among these are eight, which involve devotional fasting and worship; these are considered most efficacious, as they are

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intended to invoke the grace and aid of the highest lord, *Shiva* himself. A devout observance of any of these ceremonies is, in the estimation of the Shaivite, an unfailing proof of religious greatness. Among all the rules of conduct laid down for a true Shaivite, one of the purest and holiest is Sanniaram, a system of mental habit whereby *Isvara's* presence is realized everywhere in the universe; and the world, its instruments and pleasures is spurned and loathed as that which is most repulsive.

In conceiving the Lord with *murti* or form, to conceive him as Datchinamurti and Betchandavar is the highest mode prescribed for one who is earnestly longing for spiritual salvation. For the former was the divine teacher of philosophical mysteries, and the latter was a godly teacher, setting before humanity the most precious example of self-abnegation and aceticism.

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24. SHAIVISM IN ITS CULT.

What is very pleasing to *Sri-Maha Deva*, "Holy Great God" is the performance of the following eight *Viratas* (fasts or penances) pertaining to holy god *Shiva*:

1. Rules for *Somavara Virata*:

On Mondays of the month of Karthigai (November) one must get up very early in the morning; after meditating on the holy great God, he must wash himself in holy water, and after performing the service duly and making *puja* to Sri-Maha Deva, who is the author of happiness and felicity, and to the worshipers of *Shiva* and chaste women as if they are *Shiva* and *Parvati* and serving them food, he must eat only once.

Effect of this *Virata*: In ancient times, while a princess called "Seemanthin" was performing this holy *Somavara Virata*, two bachelors stealthily entered in disguise in the form of husband and wife. She, believing in their disguise, did her *puja*, and when it was over the disguised persons were really connected as husband and wife.

2. *Thiruvathirai Virata*.

When the sun moves towards the zodiac, "Sagittarius," *i.e.*, in the month of Margali (Dec.-Jan.), you must wake early in the morning, meditate in your heart on the holy Natta king, who disperses the tears of mortals, wash yourself outside of your house in pure crystal water, perform daily rites and go quickly to the best temple of holy *Paramasulara*, anoint the god according to rules, make great flame of fire with *ghee* before god's presence, and with great joy prostrate yourself before the *linga* of the holy great god. After this, you must anoint, make oblations, etc., to holy *Nattaraj*, lighting the lamp in the temple with *ghee*, and after seeing the deity you must return home and keep holy fasting all that day; then get up very early next morning, wash yonrself, and meditate on the holy three-eyed god, and after performing daily rites, feeding the self-restrained *Shiva* worshipers, you must eat according to *Shiva's* injunctions.

That great soul in this Thiruvathirai Asterism who worships the great holy *Iswara* and performs this *Virata* that is highly pleasing to god *Shiva*, will obtain heaven for himself. There is no question about this.

Effect of this Virata:

One great Rishi (sage) named "Munchakesa" had the honor not only of seeing the holy play of Natta Raj, but having had his sins absolved, and he was taken to heaven without tasting death, because he performed this *Virata*.

3. *Umamakeswara Virata* is to be performed on the full moon day, when the sun's course is towards the Scorpio sign of zodiac (*i.e.*, part of November and

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December). On this day the performer, rising early to clean himself and bathe in holy water and observing the personal religious duties, he must (with no love of money) make an image of holy God of gods, either into silver or gold, and then make *puja* with rich materials to *Shiva*, coupled with holy *Parvatni*, in great devotion and godly fear, offering oblations according as he can afford. After praising God in great adoration, he must go to the temple and there with great sagacity, after anointing the holy God, making oblation and obeisance, he must praise *him* in adoration, and having obtained good mind and heart, he must return home and offer gifts according to his ability to Shaivite Brahmans. After this he must present this puppet, which has listened to the story of this *Virata*, to a Shaivite *yogi*. Whoever observes this *Virata* according to rules laid down will have his rare acquisitions prospered in this world and also obtain heaven in the next world.



Kali, the Spouse of Shiva.

Effect of this Virata: Thirimabind, a great blind sage, by observing this *Virata*, got his eyes restored as beautiful as blown red lotus flower.

4. *Sivarathiri Virata.*—To wake early on the fourteenth day of the moonless nights in February, and after contemplating the great holy God in the heart, to clean himself and bathe in holy water, observing daily religious duties, and not sleeping that night, but making *pujas* according to rules on all four watches of the night, to great holy God, who is conspicuous in the center of *linga*. Whoever observes either one, two, three or four of these according to their abilities, even millions of years will not be sufficient to describe the merits of this *Virata*. Examples:

(*a*) By true performance of this *Virata*, holy *Vishnu* has come to this present state by the solace of holy Mahaswaran.

(*b*) *Brahma*, in virtue of this *Virata*, has attained to creatorship. So *Indra* and so many, many other gods. Many *rishis* by effect of this *Virata* obtained heaven without being born again.

In ancient times, before the creation of the world, when there was no day nor night, what exists was not and what does not exist was not, only the holy god *Shiva* was conspicuous in the darkness, goddess *Parvati* alone in attestation to it was making *puja* to holy *Mahaswaran*. After that, at the time of creation, the goddess making obeisance to the great holy God, the fund and reservoir of grace, addressed *Parasmeswara* and obtained the following boon, *i.e.*, "Inasmuch as I made *puja* to thee, O God, at nights in my heart, whoever shall adore thee, O great guru of the

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world and Bahava on all four watches of the night, then must thou grant all felicity and make his or her life a success in this world and at last bestow upon them heaven in the next world. This observance is called *Sivaratni*."

Those who hear and study this chapter will possess godly children, enjoy unutterable worldly bliss and at last enter into *Kailasa* and obtain heaven.

5. *Kethara Virata.*—September–October, presents no special traits.

6. *Kaliyana Virata.*—March–April, also presents no special traits, except that its effect is to procure a worthy spouse.

7. *Sula Virata.*—When the sun's coarse is in the direction of Capricornus, *i.e.*, in the month of Thai (about Jan. 15–Feb. 15) and on the new moon day, one must get up early and meditate in his heart on the god of the world (*Jagahteswara*), and having bathed in the auspicious water, meditating on god *Shiva*, and after finishing off the personal daily religious duties conscientiously, he must make, either in gold or in silver, the idol of *Shiva*, together with *Parvati*, and bathe it ceremoniously according to rules, offering food, various puddings, etc., and after making oblations in great reverence, he must give away gifts according to his abilities to the Brahman Saivites. Then he must go to the temple of *Shiva*, pass round it, observing the rules, make offering to holy *Parameswara*, bowing in deep adoration and eat only once with Shaivite Brahmans, and fast that night. Then rising early next morning, he must do his daily religious duties and present the idol to his *guru*.



Ganesha, Son of Shiva, under a Sacred Tree.

Whatever mortal man observes this *Virata* thus, will conquer his enemies, diseases, besides live a long life, have many children, and acquire any amount of wealth, enjoy all felicities, and at last enter into absorption of the god-head, *i.e.*, obtain "*Sayutchia* of *Shiva*."

Effect: By the virtue of this *Virata*, *Vishnu* got his headache cured.

8. *Viradapa Virata.*—When the sun's course is towards the zodiac Taurus in the month of Vaikasi (about May 15–June 15) on the eighth day of the moon, either waxing or waning, the worshiper of *Shiva* must get up early, cleaning himself, meditate upon holy god as seated in the throne of Taurus with *Parvati* in spiritual nature, then bathe in good water, perform the daily morning ceremonies, then make an idol either of gold or silver of holy *Mahaswara*, together with *Parvati*, etc., etc. He must hear the Siva-purana read to him for one watch at night, and then sleep soundly on the naked floor. The next morning, he must wake up, do his personal religious duties, and then present the idols very reverentially to a good Shaivite and learned Brahman. Whoever performs this *Virata* thus, is it strange that age, wealth, learning, and health will be bestowed on him in full measure?

Whoever reads or hears or causes others to hear this chapter, it is sure that they will obtain the highest heaven at last.

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FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **VAISHNAVISM IN ITS CREED.**—Purana, Origin of the world, Cosmic egg, Creation by speaking, Upanishads, Evil, Avataras, Bhakti, Yoga, Karma, Jnana.
20. **VAISHNAVISM IN ITS CULT.**—Vaishnavism and Shaivism, Daily, monthly and annual ceremonies, Thread ceremony, Idol worship.
21. **VAISHNAVISM IN ITS CULT (CONTINUED).**—Objects of puja, Advantages, Shraddha, Advantages.
22. **SHAIVISM IN ITS CREED.**—Shaivism, Shiva's attributes, Maya or Prakriti, Three principles, Mutual relations, Charya, Kriya, Yoga, Jnana.
23. **SHAIVISM IN ITS CREED (CONTINUED).**—Shaivites and Advaitists, Shiva's functions, Shiva's relatives, Ashes. Miracles, Sanniaram.
24. **SHAIVISM IN ITS CULT.**—Viratas and their effects.

QUESTIONS.

19. *With what topics does a Purana deal? How many principles are assumed to account for the world? What issued from the cosmic egg? How did Brahma and Shiva spring from Vishnu? Describe how Vishnu made the world by speaking. How do the Upanishads differ from these puerile theories? How did evil arise? Why do the avataras occur? Describe the four ways of salvation.*

20. *Distinguish Vaishnavism from Shaivism. Name the chief daily ceremonies. Name the monthly and annual ones. Describe investiture with the sacred thread. Describe the puja of a priest.*

21. *What are the objects sought in puja? What advantages follow? Describe the shraddha. What advantages follow the shraddha? What does it do for sin?*

22. *Define Shaivism. State the dignity of Shiva. How is Maya or Prakriti related to him? Name the three principles. State their relations to each other. When does rebirth cease? State the four ways to liberation. (Number 1 is probably meant for karma-marga, and 2 for bhakti-marga, while Numbers 3 and 4 correspond exactly to 3 and 4 in Lesson 19.)*

23. *How do Shaivites differ from Advaitists? Name Shiva's five functions. Name the spouse and sons of Shiva. What is done with ashes? Describe the conflict between Buddhism and Shaivism. What is Sanniaram?*

24. *Characterize the viratas as a class. Specify the cases of obvious priestcraft.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Run through the lesson, and expose the fallacies. Yet, no doubt, these accounts satisfied when they were made; nay, still satisfy the uncultured, who are dazed by an array of words.*
2. *Contrast the maximum of worship (as distinguished from preaching) found in this puja with the minimum found in modern Protestant churches. What is the implication of the change?*
3. *Contrast the purpose and results of puja with those of Christian worship.*
4. *The theory of Illusion is a mere cutting of the Gordian knot presented by the problem of life. Did illusion really cover us, would any one know it? Has any mortal ever really escaped it?*
5. *Beside the two columns for Shaivites and Advaitists, write one for Christian Theism.*
6. *Recall any American equivalents in religious or other spheres to the cases of credulity here specified in religion.*

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GAZETTEER AND GLOSSARY.

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION.

a as in fat.	i as in pin.	û as in tube.
ā as in fate.	ī as in pine.	ü Place the lips for oo, but say ee.
ä as in father.	o as in not.	oi as in joint.
a when obscure.	ō as in note.	ou as in proud.
e as in met.	ö as in move.	g as in get.
ē as in mete.	u as in tub.	ñ French nasal n.

N. B.—Only the principal names are included in the following list. The others may be pronounced in analogy with these. The general rule is that Indian a=ä (as in the key above), e=ā, i=ē, o=ō, u=ö, ai=ī, au=ou. The consonants are sounded as in English.

Aditi (ä'dē-tē).—An ancient goddess.
Agni (äg'nē).—Fire-god.
Aryan (är'yan).—A historic race.
Ashvins (äsh'vins).—Twilight-gods.
Asura (ä'sö-ra).—God, later demon.
Atman (ät'man).—Soul or Self.
Atri (ä'trē).—A sage.
Avatara (ä'va-tär'ra).—Incarnation.
Bhakti-marga (bhäk'tē-mär'ga).—Liberation by devotion.
Bhikshu (bhēk'shö).—A religious wanderer.
Brahman (bräh'man).—Priest caste.
Brahmanas (bräh'man-as).—Liturgies, etc.
Chaitanya (chī-tän'ya).—Hindu reformer.
Charvaka (chär'vä-ka).—A system of philosophy
Dasyu (däs'yö).—An aborigine.
Deva (dā'va).—God.
Dharma (dhär'ma).—Law-god.
Dyaus-pitar (dyous'pē-tar).—Heaven-father.
Guru (gö'rö).—A religious teacher.
Hanuman (hä'nö-man).—Monkey-god.
Indra (ēn'dra).—Storm-god.
Ishvara (ēsh'vä-ra).—Lord.
Jnana-marga (jnä'na-mär'ga).—Liberation by knowledge.
Kabir (kä'bēr).—Hindu reformer.
Kali (kä'lē).—Spouse of Shiva.
Kalki (käl'kē).—The coming avatara.
Karma-marga (kär'ma-mär'ga).—Liberation by works.
Keshab Chundar Sen (kesh'ab chön'där sen).—Hindu theist.
Krishna (krēsh'na).—An Indian hero.
Kshattriya (kshat'rē-ya).—Warrior caste.
Linga (lēn'ga).—The male organ.
Madhva (mäd'hva).—Hindu reformer.
Mahabharata (mä'ha-bhär'ra-ta).—An Indian epic.
Mahadeva (mä'ha-dā'va).—Shiva.
Manu (mä'nö).—A law-giver.
Maya (mä'ya).—Illusion.
Mozoomdar (mo-zöm'dar).—Hindu theist.
Nanak (nä'nak).—Hindu reformer.
Nyaya (nyä'ya).—A system of philosophy.
Parvati (pär'va-tē).—Spouse of Shiva.
Prakriti (prä'krē-tē).—Nature.
Prajapati (prä'ja-pä'-tē)—A supreme god.
Prithivi (prēt'hē-vē).—Earth-goddess.
Puja (pö'ja).—Rite.
Purana (pö-rä'na).—A Hindu scripture.
Purusha (pö'rö-sha).—A supreme god.
Pushan (pö'shan).—Sun-god.
Radha (räd'ha).—Wife of Krishna.
Rama (rä'ma).—An Indian hero.
Ramananda (rä'ma-nän'da).—Hindu reformer.
Ramanuja (ra-män'ö ja).—Hindu reformer.
Ramayana (ra-mä'-ya-na).—An Indian epic.
Rammohun Roy (räm'mo-hun roi).—Hindu theist
Rudra (rö'dra).—Storm god.
Samaj (sä'maj).—Society.
Sankhya (sänk'hya).—A system of philosophy.
Sannyasi (sän nyä'-sē) —Renouncer.
Savitri (sä'vē-trē).—Sun-god.
Shaivism (shī'vism).—Religion of Shiva.
Shakti (shäk'tē).—Spouse of Shiva.
Shiva (shē'va).—The Auspicious One.
Shraddha (shräd'dha).—Ancestral rite.
Shruti (shrö'tē) —Revelation.
Shudra (shö'dra) —Servant caste.
Sita (sē'ta).—Wife of Rama.
Smriti (smrē'tē).—Tradition.
Soma (sō'ma).—Wine-god.
Tantra (tän'tra).—A Hindu Scripture.
Upanishads (ö-pan-ē'shads).—Philosophical treatises.
Ushas (ö'shas).—Dawn goddess.
Vaisheshika (vī'shā-shē'ka).—A system of philosophy.
Vaishnavism (vīsh'nä-vism).—Religion of Vishnu.
Vaishya (vīsh'yä).—Cultivator caste.
Vallabha (väl-häb'ha).—Hindu reformer.
Varuna (vä'rö-na).—Sky-god.
Vedanta (vā-dän'ta).—A system of philosophy.
Vidura (vē'dö-ra).—A sage.
Vishnu (vēsh'nö).—Sun-god.
Visvakarman (vēs'vä-kär'man).—A supreme god.
Vritra (vrē-tra).—The rain-dragon.
Yama (yä'ma).—God of the dead.
Yoga (yō'ga).—A system of philosophy.
Yoni (yō'nē).—The female organ.

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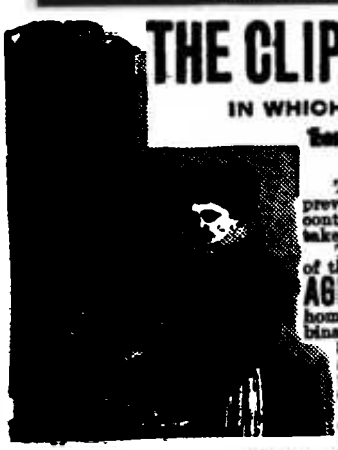
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BUDDHISM.

BY

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1. CONTEMPORARY RELIGION. JAINISM. GENERAL CHARACTER. LITERATURE.

THE religious condition of India when Prince Siddartha—afterwards the Buddha—was born there, about 560 B.C., may be understood by scanning Lessons 1 to 8 of Brahmanism (pp. 175-197); and in turn Buddhism formed the chief influence in the subsequent religions of India, so that, though no longer itself extant in India, it is represented there by Vaishnavism. Buddhism abased the Vedic gods, abolished their sacrifices, and further developed the Upanishadic religion, especially Vedantism. Religious study, teaching, sacrifice, and ascetic life was a monopoly of the Brahmans, with their four *asramas* (p. 202). But from the eighth century B.C. the Kshattriya caste entered the field, and soon founded two religions known as Jainism and Buddhism.

Jainism is so-called from Jina, "Conqueror," a title given to its founder, and subsequently to his followers. This founder was Parsva, who lived in the ninth century B.C.; but Vardharmana, a leader in the sixth century B.C., is better known and more famous. He was a contemporary of Buddha, and had a very similar experience. The Jainas believed in atoms and souls, but in no God. The soul can secure liberation from metempsychosis only by rigid asceticism, which some carried to the extent of discarding all clothing, and, as death approached, all food likewise, though the Svetambaras consider it possible to attain the highest goal while wearing clothes! Expansion of Jainism among the laity—from whom no asceticism was expected—led to a popular cult of the Jina with idols and temples, while the ascetics settled into monasteries, where they cultivated the sciences and arts. Jainas to the number of about half a million are still scattered through Western India, and are mostly wealthy merchants.

Buddhism, like Jainism, was primarily a religion for monks, which arose among the Kshattriya caste to meet the religious needs of cultivated non-Brahmans. It was properly a practical religion, seeking salvation from the misery of life, and only because of that did it ignore caste within its monastic Order, and, in later times, fashion a new philosophy. Gautama cared for no such *worldly* end as social reform, and ever sought "young men of good family" as his converts. His chief disciples were Brahmans and Kshattriyas. Similarly he warned against philosophy, which had failed to save him.

Buddhism enjoyed an inestimable advantage over Vedism and Brahmanism in

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that there stood at its head a heroic person, Gautama the Buddha, that could serve as an example for life, and an object for piety, such as nature-myths could never supply. The mere titles given the founder of Buddhism imply this.

Buddhism again possessed an *ethical* advantage in its ignoring caste, and in including morality as an integral part of salvation. Thus Gautama Buddha made Indian religion spiritual and ethical, instead of ceremonial and national, and hereby insured its spread beyond India as the first universal or missionary religion. Entrance to it was not by birth, but by conversion; its members constitute not a nation, but a society or community. Thus Buddhism could in part become for Asia what Christianity did for Europe. Even in Asia, however, the prevalence of Buddhism has been ever checked by certain Indian traits, notably, *e.g.*, by its monachism.

The literature of Buddhism is extraordinarily extensive and various, having been translated or composed among all the peoples that accepted it. It is distinguished by a notable difference of content into two classes, belonging respectively to the Southern Branch in Ceylon, Burmah, Siam and Pegu, and the Northern Branch in Nepal, Tibet, China and Japan. The canon of the Southern Branch is the older, and the more prized by western scholars. This canon is written in Pali, and called the Tripitaka or "Three Baskets," *viz.*, Vinaya, Sutra (or Sutta), and Abhidharma (or Abhidhamma). These books contain no statement as to authorship or date, and no doubt result from a gradual growth. The Vinaya or Rules of Discipline and the Suttas or Sermons were composed not later than the third, or perhaps the fourth, century B.C., and therefore, in the latter case, about 150 years after the time of Gautama. They were based on carefully preserved oral tradition, and often begin with, "Thus I have heard." The Abhidhamma or Metaphysics is of later origin and less important content. Two Church Histories and the famous commentary of Buddhaghosha were written in Ceylon in the fifth century A.D.

The northern canon is less fixed and compact by reason of numerous sects existing in North India, and is of later origin and less value for primitive Buddhism. In fact, it contains, besides some true reminiscences of Gautama, much mythopoea about him. Gautama Buddha was the *sun* of his day, and, like it, had enlightened many days before, and would other days again. (1) The Chinese canon, and with that the Japanese, which was never—with the exception of three sutras—translated from Chinese, since that is the language of culture for Japan, consists mostly of translations from these northern books, which were written in Sanskrit. Far more valuable among Chinese sources, therefore, are the records of the Chinese pilgrims to India, among whom the chief was Hiouen Thsang, 629-645 A.D.

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1. CONTEMPORARY RELIGION. JAINISM. GENERAL CHARACTER. LITERATURE.

(1) **Sun Myth.**—In the beginning when the Lord had not yet reached supreme, perfect enlightenment and had just occupied the summit of the terrace of enlightenment, he discomfited and defeated the whole host of Mâra, after which he thought: I am to reach perfect enlightenment. But those laws (of perfect enlightenment) had not yet dawned upon him. He stayed on the terrace of enlightenment at the foot of the tree of enlightenment during one intermediate kalpa.

He stayed there a second, a third intermediate kalpa, but did not yet attain supreme, perfect enlightenment.

He remained a fourth, a fifth, a sixth, a seventh, an eighth, a ninth, a tenth intermediate kalpa on the terrace of enlightenment at the foot of the tree of enlightenment, continuing sitting cross-legged without in the meanwhile rising. He stayed, the mind motionless, the body unstirring and untrembling, but those laws had not yet dawned upon him.

Dangers are for a long time on the increase, and the laws (or phenomena, things) are deprived of the (possession of a) celestial body; the word of the Gina is not being heard; the whole world is plunged in thick darkness.

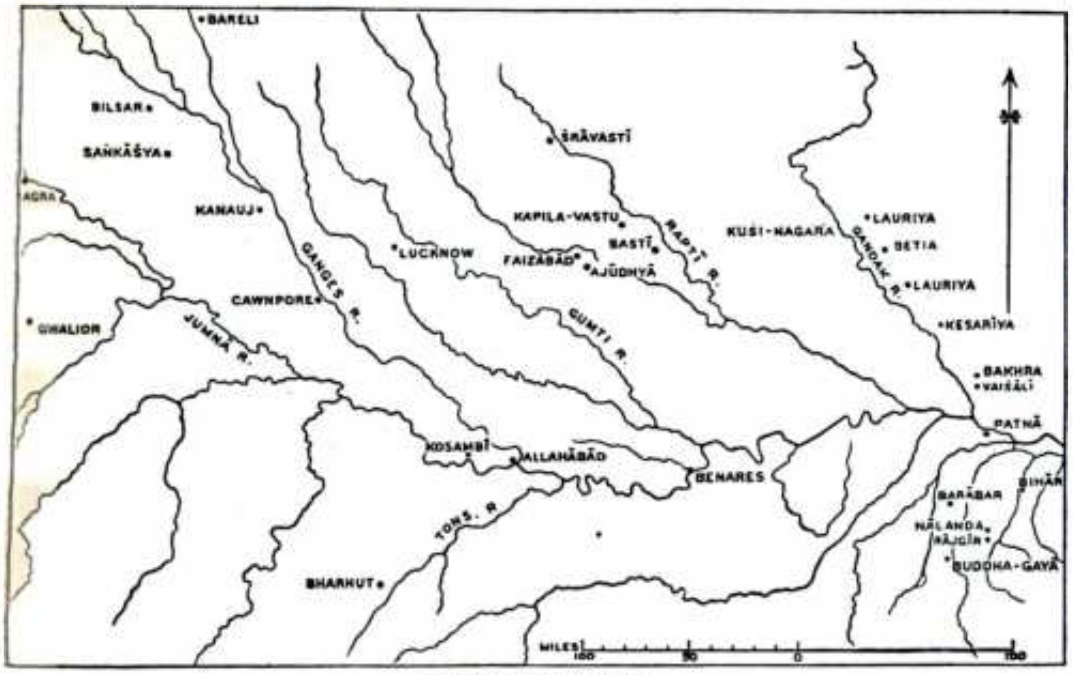
But today (or now) hast thou, Majesty of the world, reached this hallowed, high and faultless spot; we as well as the world are obliged to thee, and approach to seek our refuge with thee, O Protector!—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XXI., pp. 155-156, 159.*

Here terrace	= horizon,
Mara	= darkness,
enlightenment	= sunrise,
tree	= sky,
ten kalpas	= the night.

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2. THE LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

All western students of Buddhism agree that many elements beside the factual are present in the life of Buddha as recorded in the texts. H. Kern considers the story wholly mythical, E. Senart mythical to such a degree that the real facts cannot be recovered, while H. Oldenberg, T. W. Rhys Davids, A. Barth, M. Monier-Williams, and most others hold that both a real Gautama Buddha existed and that the outlines of his life may be extricated from the accretions of the two or three succeeding centuries, though to do it forms a delicate problem in hierology and psychology. Not all episodes that *resemble* myth *consist* of myth, for the lives of Napoleon and F. Max Müller have been aptly compared with the sun's course; and, on the other hand, many episodes in Gautama's life hardly or not at all resemble a sun or other myth. But in any case his traditional life must be given



The Holy Land of Buddhism.

here, because it both indicates the *direction* of the real one, and presents the *ideal* formed by his followers.

Only the salient events of the long and varied life can be given here. Maya, wife of King Suddhodana, dreamed that a white elephant entered her womb, which the court Brahmans interpreted to augur the birth of either a Universal Monarch or a Buddha. (1) The child was born from Maya's side without pain in the Lumbini Grove near Kapilavastu, and immediately took seven steps, exclaiming, "I am the foremost of the world." The ascetic Devala predicted that the child would become a Buddha, to prevent which his royal father surrounded him with sensuous delights, and secluded him from every untoward experience. He was named Siddhartha, married at sixteen years of age his cousin Yasodhara, and excelled all competitors in strength and skill. Thus he lived in sensuous content until the gods caused him to meet in succession an old man, a sick man, a corpse, and finally a monk. (2) These novel sights so agitated his mind as to suggest to him the idea of renouncing the world. Soon after Yasodhara bore him a son, Rahula, which the prince felt to be another bond to the world. When a young lady, Kisa Gotami, declared the

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mother, father, and wife of such a paragon happy, the Prince only meditated the more deeply upon the conditions of true happiness. When he awoke that night and saw how uncomely the court ladies appeared in sleep, (3) he rose, fled the palace on his horse Kanthaka, severed his long locks with his sword, and adapted the robes and bowl of a *shramana*. Thus he made the Great Renunciation. (4)

2. THE LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

(1) **The Conception.**—A king, by name Suddhodana, of the kindred of the sun, anointed to stand at the head of earth's monarchs—ruling over the city, adorned it, as a bee-inmate a full-blown lotus.

The very best of kings, with his train ever near him—intent on liberality, yet devoid of pride; a sovereign, yet with an ever-equal eye thrown on all—of gentle nature and yet with wide-reaching majesty.

To him there was a queen, named Mâyâ, as if free from all deceit (mâyâ)—an effulgence proceeding from his effulgence, like the splendor of the sun when it is free from all the influence of darkness—a chief queen in the united assembly of all queens.

Like a mother to her subjects, intent on their welfare—devoted to all worthy of reverence, like devotion itself—shining on her lord's family like the goddess of prosperity—she was the most eminent of goddesses to the whole world.

Then falling from the host of beings in the Tushita heaven, and illumining the three worlds, the most excellent of Bodhisattvas suddenly entered at a thought into her womb, like the Nâga-king entering the cave of Nandâ.

Assuming the form of a huge elephant, white like Himâlaya, armed with six tusks, with his face perfumed with flowing ichor, he entered the womb of the queen of king Suddhodana to destroy the evils of the world.—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XLIX., pp. 2, 3, 4.*

(2) **The Vision of Death.**—But as the king's son was thus going on his way, the very same deities created a dead man, and only the charioteer and the prince, and none else, beheld him as he was carried dead along the road.

Then spoke the prince to the charioteer, "Who is this borne by four men, followed by mournful companions, who is bewailed, adorned, but no longer breathing?"

Then the driver—having his mind overpowered by the gods who possess pure minds and pure dwellings—himself knowing the truth, uttered to his lord this truth also which was not to be told:

"This is some poor man who, bereft of his intellect, senses, vital airs and qualities, lying asleep and unconscious, like mere wood or straw, is abandoned alike by friends and enemies after they have carefully swathed and guarded him."

Having heard these words of the charioteer he was somewhat startled and said to him, "Is this an accident peculiar to him alone, or is such the end of all living creatures?"

Then the charioteer replied to him, "This is the final end of all living creatures; be it a mean man, a man of middle state, or a noble, destruction is fixed to all in this world."

Then the king's son sedate though he was, as soon as he heard of death, immediately sank down overwhelmed, and pressing the end of the chariot-pole with his shoulder spoke with a loud voice:

"Is this end appointed to all creatures, and yet the world throws off all fear and is infatuated? Hard indeed, I think, must the hearts of men be who can be self-composed in such a road.

"Therefore, O charioteer, turn back our chariot; this is no time or place for a pleasure-excursion; how can a rational being, who knows what destruction is, stay heedless here, in the hour of calamity?"—*Ibid, pp. 34-5.*

(3) **Disgust With Women.**—Others, helpless and lost to shame, though naturally self-possessed and endued with all graces of person, breathed violently as they lay and yawned with their arms distorted and tossed about.

Others, with their ornaments and garlands thrown off—unconscious, with their garments spread out unfastened—their bright eyes wide open and motionless—lay without any beauty as if they were dead.

Another, with fully-developed limbs, her mouth wide open, her saliva dropping, and her person exposed, lay as though sprawling in intoxication—she spoke not, but bore every limb distorted.

Thus that company of women, lying in different attitudes, according to their disposition and family, bore the aspect of a lake whose lotuses were bent down and broken by the wind.

Then, having seen these young women thus lying distorted and with uncontrolled gestures—however excellent their forms and graceful their appearance—the king's son felt moved with scorn.

Such is the nature of women, impure and monstrous in the world of living beings; but, deceived by dress and ornaments, a man becomes infatuated by a woman's attractions.—*Ibid, pp. 57-8.*

(4) **The Great Renunciation.**—Firm in his resolve and leaving behind without hesitation his father who turned ever towards him, and his young son, his affectionate people and his unparalleled magnificence, he then went forth out of his father's city.

Then he, with his eyes long and like a full-blown lotus, looking back on the city, uttered a sound like a lion, "Till I have seen the further shore of birth and death I will never again enter the city called after Kapila."—*Ibid, p. 61.*

Again the Bodisat thought, "This my raiment of Benares muslin is not suitable for a mendicant." Now the archangel Ghatikâra, who had formerly been his friend in the time of Kassapa Buddha, was led by his friendship, which had not grown old in that long interval, to think, "To-day my friend is accomplishing the Great Renunciation; I will go and provide him with the requisites of a mendicant."

> The three robes, and the alms bowl,
> Razor, needle, and girdle,
> And a water strainer—these eight
> Are the wealth of the monk devout.

Taking these eight requisites of a mendicant, he gave them to him. The Bodisat dressed himself in the outward signs of an Arahat, and adopted the sacred garb of Renunciation; and he enjoined upon Channa to go and, in his name, assure his parents of his safety.—"*Buddhist Birth Stories*," *Vol. I., pp. 86-7.*

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3. LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA (CONTINUED).

Gautama turned first to two famous teachers, but gained no satisfaction from their ecstatic meditation, and therefore turned to independent effort in profound meditation and strictest penance. After six years' trial in vain, he resumed normal diet, and took his seat beneath the sacred Pipal tree, at Buddha-Gaya, determined not to move until he had attained perfect enlightenment. Then *Mara*, the Evil One, led his hosts in attack on the Great Being with whirlwind, rain, ashes, and weapons; but all fail to touch him, protected by the ten moral perfections, though his attendant angels, *Sakka* and *Brahma* (the Vedic *Indra* and *Brahma*), had fled in terror. (1) At sunset Mara's army fled, and left Gautama to spend the night in transcendent insight. (2). This is the holy night of Buddhism, and thus Gautama became the Buddha or Enlightened One. Weeks were spent under various trees, in "the bliss of emancipation." Under one he is shielded from storm by the Serpent King; under another *Mara's* daughters tempt him in vain. He hesitates to preach the doctrine, won at such a cost and fitted only for the wise; but, at the instance of *Brahma* decides to do so, and delivers to Five Shramanas in the Deerpark at Benares his first famous discourse upon the Four Noble Truths. All were converted, and soon thereafter fifty-five others. These sixty the Buddha sent forth with the words, "Go forth, O Monks, wandering and preaching." (3) Buddha continued to win over many, among others Sariputta and Moggallana, who became his two chief disciples. Soon his son Rahula and cousin Ananda took the vows, and his foster-mother Gautami was allowed to become the first nun, though only on the entreaties of Ananda, for the Master well knew the danger involved, and predicted the decline of Buddhism the earlier on that account. (4) Besides confounding the chiefs of many heretical sects, the Lord visited the Tusita Heaven, there to preach the law to his deceased mother. For his descent thence the god *Sakka* ordered a triple ladder to be constructed. For a period of twenty-three years hence there remain no records of the Master's life. It is supposable that, as at all known periods, he traversed the countries of Magadha (the modern Behar) and Kasala (the modern Oudh), ever teaching and inciting his monks, and discoursing to the people. Brahmans and Shramanas in multitudes took the monastic vows, and fine parks and buildings were donated by believing laity for their residence.



Gautama Buddha guarded by the Serpent Muchilinda.

In his eightieth year, while sojourning near Kusinara, the Blessed One perceived his end approaching, and after some last charges to his sorrowing disciples passed through various stages of meditation (*dhyana*), and finally passed away amid earthquake and thunder. (5) Neighboring chieftains cremated his remains, and distributed the relics to various applicants, who preserved them in eight shrines (*stupas*, afterwards *dagoba* corrupted into pagoda.)

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3. LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA (CONTINUED).

(1) **The Temptation.**—Then thought the Tempter to himself: "Now, from this time forth, whenever a thought of lust or anger or malice shall arise within you, I will get to know of it." And he followed him, ever watching for some slip, as closely as a shadow which never leaves its object.

The Bodisat, turning his back upon the trunk of

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the Bo-tree, and with his face towards the East, made the firm resolve, "My skin, indeed, and nerves, and bones may become arid, and the very blood in my body may dry up; but till I attain to complete insight, this seat I will not leave!" And he sat himself down in a cross-legged position, firm and immovable, as if welded with a hundred thunderbolts.

At that time the angel Māra, thinking, "Siddhattha the prince wants to free himself from my dominion. I will not let him get free yet!" went to the hosts of his angels, and told the news. And sounding the drum, called "Satan's War-cry," he led forth the army of Satan.

But as the army approached and surrounded the seat under the Bo-tree, not one of the angels was able to stay, and they fled each one from the spot where the army met them. The Black One, the king of the Nāgas, dived into the earth, and went to Manjerika, the palace of the Nāgas, five hundred leagues in length, and lay down, covering his face with his hands. Sakka, taking the Vijayuttara trumpet on his back, stopped on the rocky verge of the world. Mahā Brahma, putting the white canopy of state on to the summit of the rocks at the end of the earth, went to the world of Brahma. Not a single deity was able to keep his place. The Great Being sat there alone.

But Māra said to his host, "Friends! there is no other man like Siddhattha, the son of Suddhodana. We cannot give him battle face to face. Let us attack him from behind!" The Great Being looked round on three sides, and saw that all the gods had fled, and their place was empty. Then, beholding the hosts of Māra coming thick upon him from the North, he thought, "Against me alone this mighty host is putting forth all its energy and strength. No father is here, nor mother, nor brother, nor any other relative to help me. But those ten cardinal virtues have long been to me as retainers fed from my store. So, making the virtues my shield, I must strike this host with the sword of virtue, and thus overwhelm it!" And so he sat meditating on the Ten Perfections.

But the heavenly hosts, when they saw that the army of Māra had fled, cried out, "The Tempter is overcome! Siddhaitha the Prince has prevailed! Come, let us honor the Victor!" And the Nāgas, and the Winged Creatures, and the Angels, and the Archangels, each urging his comrades on, went up to the Great Being at the Bo-tree's foot, and as they came.—"*Buddhist Birth Stories*," *Vol. I., pp. 84, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101.*

(2) **The Enlightenment.**—It was while the sun was still above the horizon that the Great Being thus put to flight the army of the Evil One. Then, whilst the Bo-tree paid him homage, as it were, by its shoots like sprigs of red coral falling over his robe, he acquired in the first watch of the night the Knowledge of the Past, in the middle watch the Knowledge of the Present, and in the third watch the Knowledge of the Chain of Causation which leads to the Origin of Evil.

It was thus in surpassing glory and honor, and with many wonders happening around, that he attained Omniscience, and gave vent to his emotion in the Hymn of Triumph, sung by all the Buddhas:

Long have I wandered! long!
Bound by the chain of life,
Through many births:
Seeking thus long, in vain,
"Whence comes this life in man, his consciousness, his pain!"
And hard to bear is birth,
When pain and death but lead to birth again.
Found! It is found!
O cause of individuality!
No longer shalt thou make a house for me,
Broken are all thy beams,
Thy ridge-pole shattered!
Into Nirvana now my mind has passed:
The end of cravings has been reached at last!
—*Ibid, pp. 102-3.*

(3) **The Commission to Preach.**—And the Blessed One said to the Bhikkhus: "I am delivered, O Bhikkhus, from all fetters, human and divine. You, O Bhikkhus, are also delivered from all fetters, human and divine. Go ye now, O Bhikkhus, and wander, for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, and for the welfare of gods and men. Let not two of you go the same way. Preach, O Bhikkhus, the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious at the end, in the spirit and in the letter; proclaim a consummate, perfect, and pure life of holiness. There are beings whose mental eyes are covered by scarcely any dust; but if the doctrine is not preached to them, they cannot attain salvation. They will understand the doctrine. And I will go also, O Bhikkhus, to Uruvelâ, to Senânigama, in order to preach the doctrine."—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XIII., pp. 112-13.*

(4) **Danger from Women.**—"How are we to conduct ourselves, Lord, with regard to womankind?"

"Don't see them, Ânanda."

"But if we should see them, what are we do?"

"Abstain from speech. Ânanda."

"But if they should speak to us, Lord, what are we to do?"

"Keep wide awake, Ânanda."—*Ibid, Vol. XI., p. 91.*

(5) **Last Words and Decease.**—Now the Blessed One addressed the venerable Ânanda, and said: "It may be, Ânanda, that in some of you the thought may arise, 'The word of the Master is ended, we have no teacher more!' But it is not thus, Ânanda, that you should regard it. The truths and the rules of the order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be the Teacher to you."

Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: "It may be, brethren, that there may be doubt or misgiving in the mind of some brother as to the Buddha, or the truth, or the path, or the way. Enquire, brethren, freely. Do not have to reproach yourselves afterwards with the thought, 'Our teacher was face to face with us, and we could not bring ourselves to enquire of the Blessed One when we were face to face with him.'"

And when he had thus spoken the brethren were silent.

Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren, and said: "Behold now, brethren, I exhort you, saying, 'Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!'"

This was the last word of the Tathâgata!

When the Blessed One died there arose, at the moment of his passing out of existence, a mighty earthquake, terrible, and awe-inspiring; and the thunders of heaven burst forth.

But those of the brethren who were free from the passions (the Arahats) bore their grief collected and composed at the thought: "Impermanent are all component things! How is it possible that (they should not be dissolved)?"—*Ibid, pp. 112-14-16-19.*

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4. THE PERSON OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

Prince Siddartha sprang from the Kshattriya or warrior clan, and was trained as usual with such. Not until he reached the age of twenty-nine did he make his final estimate of life and begin his search for truth and salvation. Unlike other ascetics of his day, the Shakya-shramana, "Ascetic of the Shakya (tribe)," as he was at first called, was young. He was moreover handsome and majestic to perfection, (1) with keen, intellectual features, (2) heroic look, (3) and commanding presence. (4)

His mental traits were equally remarkable. Besides what is implied in his life and doctrine the texts record various characteristics. Gautama Buddha claimed for himself intellectual and moral supremacy over both men and gods, and, having such superiority, founded a kingdom of truth. (5) He declared that he gained his knowledge unaided, (6) and that by insight as a seer. (7) He vanquished Mara also by his self-control, (8) and died relying on himself. (9) He claimed the offerings made to gods for himself. (10) He was religious, inasmuch as he recognized gods and demons; but he rose superior to them, and taught them, while he submitted himself to the moral law of the universe conceived as *karma* (*cf.* Lesson 6). (11) He "clasped firmly his resolution as a kinsman," and brooked no delay. (12) Yet he was gentle in controversy, (13) and won men by his pervasive love. (14)

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4. THE PERSON OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.

(1) **Handsome and Majestic.**—Thou hast a perfect body, thou art resplendent, well-born, of beautiful aspect, thou has a golden color, O Bhagavat, thou hast very white teeth, thou art strong.

All the signs that are for a well-born man, they are on thy body, the signs of a great man.

Thou hast a bright eye, a handsome countenance, thou art great, straight, majestic, thou shinest like a sun in the midst of the assembly of the Samaṇas.

I am a king, O Sela—so said Bhagavat—an incomparable, religious king (dhammarâgan); with justice (dhammena) I turn the wheel, a wheel that is irresistible.—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. X., Part 2, p. 102.*

(2) **Intellectual Features.**—With the nose of a well-fed horse, large, long eyes, a red lower lip, white, sharp teeth, and a thin, red tongue—this face of thine will drink up the entire ocean of what is to be known.

That unfathomed depth which characterizes thee, that majesty and all those signs of thine—they shall win a teacher's chair in the earth which was never won by sages even in a former age.—*Ibid, Vol. XLIX., pp. 77, 78.*

(3) **Heroic Look.**—Beautiful, soft, black, and all in great waves, growing each from its own special root—those hairs of his are tossed on the ground, worthy to be encircled by a royal diadem.

With his long arms and lion-gait, his bull-like eye, and his beauty bright like gold, his broad chest, and his voice deep as a drum or a cloud—should such a hero as this dwell in a hermitage?—*Ibid, p. 86.*

(4) **Commanding Presence.**—On seeing him, he who was going elsewhere stood still, and he who was standing there followed him in the way; he who was walking gently and gravely ran quickly, and he who was sitting at once sprang up.

Some people reverenced him with their hands, others in worship saluted him with their heads, some addressed him with affectionate words—not one went on without paying him homage.

Those who were wearing gay-colored dresses were ashamed when they saw him; those who were talking on random subjects fell to silence on the road; no one indulged in an improper thought, as at the presence of Religion herself embodied.—*Ibid, pp. 104-5.*

(5) **Supremacy.**—When Upaka the Agîvaka had spoken thus, the Blessed One addressed him in the following stanzas: "I have overcome all foes; I am all-wise; I am free from stains in every way; I have left everything, and have obtained emancipation by the destruction of desire. Having myself gained knowledge, whom should I call my master? I have no teacher; no one is equal to me; in the world of men and of gods no being is like me. I am the holy One in this world, I am the highest teacher, I alone am the absolute Sambuddha; I have gained coolness (by the extinction of all passion) and have obtained Nirvâṇa. To found the Kingdom of Truth I go to the city of the Kâsis (Benares); I will beat the drum of the Immortal in the darkness of the world."—*Ibid, Vol. XIII., p. 91.*

(6) **Self-taught.**—That this was the noble truth concerning sorrow, was not, O Bhikkhus, among the doctrines handed down, but there arose within me the eye (to perceive it); there arose the knowledge (of its nature), there arose the understanding (of its cause) there arose the wisdom (to guide in the path of tranquility), there arose the light (to dispel darkness from it).—*Ibid, Vol. XI., p. 150.*

(7) **A Seer.**—For he a conqueror unconquered saw the Dhamma visibly, without any traditional instruction; therefore let him learn, heedful in his, Bhagavat's, commandments, and always worshiping.—*Ibid, Vol. X., Part 2, p. 177.*

(8) **Self-control.**—And Mâra the wicked One went to the place where the Blessed One was; having approached him, he addressed the Blessed One in the following stanza: "Thou art bound by all fetters, human and divine. Thou art bound by strong fetters. Thou wilt not be delivered from me, O Samaṇa."

Buddha replied: "I am delivered from all fetters, human and divine. I am delivered from the strong fetters. Thou art struck down, O Death."

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(Mâra said): "The fetter which pervades the sky, with which mind is bound, with that fetter I will bind thee. Thou wilt not be delivered from me, O Samaṇa."

(Buddha replied): Whatever forms, sounds, odors, flavors, or contacts there are which please the senses, in me desire for them has ceased. Thou art struck down, O Death."

Then Mâra the wicked One understood: "The Blessed One knows me, the perfect One knows me," and, sad and afflicted, he vanished away.—*Ibid, Vol. XIII., p. 113-14.*

(9) **Self-reliant in Death.**—And the Blessed One exhorted the brethren, and said:

"Behold now, O brethren, I exhort you saying, 'All component things must grow old. Work out your salvation with diligence. The final extinction of the Tathâgata will take place before long. At the end of three months from this time the Tathâgata will die!'



Gautama Buddha in the Tusita Heaven, with the ladder on his right. *Cf.*, p. 251.

"My age is now full ripe, my life draws to its close;
I leave you, I depart, relying on myself alone!
Be earnest then, O brethren! holy, full of thought!
Be steadfast in resolve! Keep watch o'er your own hearts!
Who wearies not, but holds fast to this truth and law,
Shall cross this sea of life, shall make an end of grief." —*Ibid, Vol. XI., pp. 61, 62.*

(10) **Diverts Offerings to Himself.**—Bhagavat: "Whosoever has no quarrels, whose mind is untroubled, and who has freed himself from lusts, whose sloth is driven away;

Whosoever conquers his sins, knows birth and death, the Muni who is endowed with wisdom, such a one who has resorted to offering;

Him you should worship and honor with food and drink; so the gifts will prosper.—*Ibid, Vol. X., Part 2, p. 79.*

(11) **Was Religious.**—And so he is Bhagavat, the venerable, the perfectly enlightened, endowed with science, and works (*vijjâcaraṇa*), the happy, knowing the world, the incomparable, the charioteer of men that are to be subdued, the master, the enlightened of gods and men, the glorious; he teaches this world and the world of gods, of Mâras, of Brahmans, and beings comprising Samaṇas and Brâhmaṇas, gods and men, having himself known and seen them face to face; he teaches the Dhamma (which is) good in the beginning, in the middle, and in the end, is full of meaning and rich in words, quite complete; he teaches a religious life, and good is the sight of such saints.—*Ibid, p. 96.*

(12) **Firmly Resolved.**—Either he will quickly come back, having destroyed old age and death, or else he will himself perish, having failed in his purpose and lost hold of every support.

Even the sun, therefore, may fall to the earth, even the mountain Himavat may lose its firmness; but never would I return to my home as a man of the world, with no knowledge of the truth and my senses only alert for external objects.

I would enter the blazing fire, but not my house with my purpose unfulfilled. Thus he proudly made his resolve, and rising up in accordance with it, full of disinterestedness, went his way.

One who rubs the two pieces of wood obtains the fire; one who digs the earth finds at last the water—and to him in his perseverance there is nothing unattainable; all things to him are reasonable and possible.—*Ibid, Vol. XLIX., pp. 67, 102, 145.*

No Delay.—There may may be an "ill time" in one's attaining a worldly object—time indeed is described as inseparably connected with all things; time drags the world into all its various times; but all time suits a bliss which is really worthy of praise.—*Ibid, p. 97.*

(13) **Gentle in Speech.**—The Bodhisattva—whose perfection was absolute—having heard the words of the family priest, reflected for a moment, knowing all the virtues of the virtuous, and then thus uttered his gentle reply.—*Ibid, p. 96.*

(14) **Pervasive Love.**—The five medicants, seeing already from afar the Buddha coming, said one to another, "Friend, here comes the mendicant Gotama. He has turned back to a free use of the necessaries of life, and has recovered roundness of form, acuteness of sense, and beauty of complexion. We ought to pay him no reverence; but as he is, after all, of a good family, he deserves the honor of a seat. So we will simply prepare a seat for him."

The Blessed One, casting about in his mind (by the power that he had of knowing what was going on in the thoughts of all beings) as to what they were thinking, knew their thoughts. Then, concentrating that feeling of his love which was able to pervade generally all beings in earth and heaven, he directed it specially towards them. And the sense of his love diffused itself through their hearts; and as he came nearer and nearer, unable any longer to adhere to their resolve, they rose from their seats, and bowed down before him, and welcomed him with every mark of reverence and respect. But, not knowing that he had become a Buddha, they addressed him, in everything they said, either by name, or as "Brother." Then the Blessed One announced to them his Buddhahood, saying, "O mendicants, address not a Buddha by his name, or as 'brother.' And I, O mendicants, am a Buddha, clear in insight, as those who have gone before."—"*Buddhist Birth Stories*," *Vol. I., pp. 112-13.*

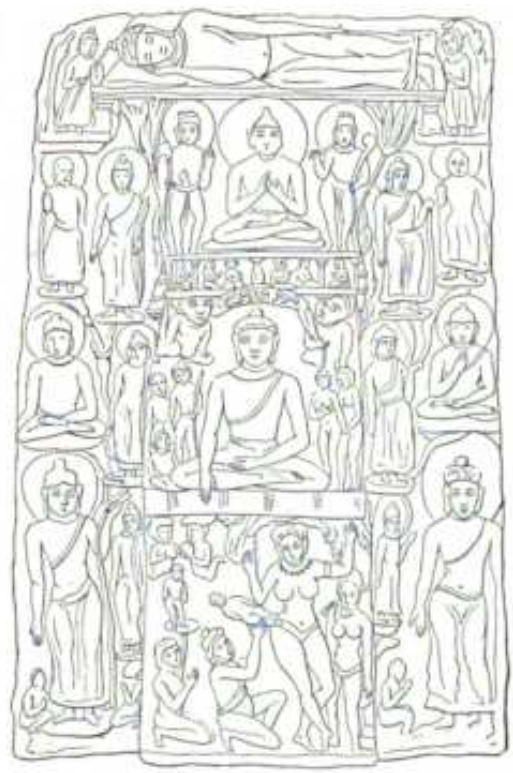
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5. THE WORK OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA. HIS PRE-HISTORY.

The pre-eminent work of Shakya-Muni was to teach others, as is everywhere related of him and declared by him. (1) Hence his place was taken after his death by the Law. (2) He had kept nothing back from his disciples; (3) and they were to teach others for their good. (4) Thus Buddha became the great physician, a guide, and a light. (5)

The Blessed One performed various miracles in emergencies, or to convince a doubter, and also stated to his disciples the conditions upon which magical powers could be exercised by them. (6)

The marvelous person and work of the Buddha were explained by his disciples in accordance with the *karma*-theory which Gautama had developed from metempsychosis. Thus Gautama Buddha was only one of innumerable Buddhas destined to appear in the course of various worlds and ages of this world, in order to preach the truth that can deliver mankind of that age from rebirth into Nirvana. A "Private Buddha" can save only himself; but a Sam-Buddha, "Perfect Buddha," can save others also. The latter dignity is attainable only by extraordinary exertions through numberless existences, until the character culminates in a *Bodhisattva*, "Knowledge-Essence," who appears in his next birth as a Buddha. The *Bodhisattva* must have exercised in his previous births the ten *paramitas*, "perfect virtues." In the Jatakas, more than 500 such previous existences are related of the present Buddha, Gautama, among which occur cases of incredible generosity and self-sacrifice. (7)



Sculpture found near Benares. It depicts the four chief events in Gautama Buddha's life: his birth, enlightenment, first sermon, and parinirvana.

Higher, however, than this moral *Bodhisattva* stands the meditative Buddha, who thus brings to a close the series of existences. In the present world-age four Buddhas have preceded Gautama, and one, *Maitreya*, is yet to appear.

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5. THE WORK OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA. HIS PRE-HISTORY.

(1) Compare Lesson 4, Note 5.

(2) Compare Lesson 3, Note 5. Again—

Therefore, O Ânanda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Betake yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth (dhamma) as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves. And how, Ânanda, is a brother to be a lamp unto himself, a refuge to himself, betaking himself to no external refuge, holding fast to the truth as a lamp, holding fast as a refuge to the truth, looking not for refuge to any one besides himself?—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XI., p. 38.*

(3) **Nothing Esoteric.**—What, then, Ânanda? Does the order expect that of me? I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine; for in respect of the truths, Ânanda, the Tathâgata has no such thing as the closed fist of a teacher, who keeps some things back.—*Ibid., p. 36.*

(4) **Disciples Must Teach.**—Therefore, O brethren—ye to whom the truths I have perceived have been made known by me—having thoroughly made yourselves masters of them, practice them, meditate upon them, and spread them abroad, in order that pure religion may last long and be perpetuated, in order that it may continue to be for the good and happiness of the great multitudes, out of pity for the world, to the good and the gain and the weal of gods and men!—*Ibid., p. 60.*

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(5) **The Physician.**—One who rubs the two pieces of wood obtains the fire; one who digs the earth finds at last the water—and to him in his perseverance there is nothing unattainable—all things to him are reasonable and possible.

Pitying the world lying distressed amidst diseases and passions, he, the great physician, ought not to be hindered, who undergoes all his labors for the sake of the remedy knowledge.

He who toilsomely pursues the one good path, when all the world is carried away in devious tracks, he, the guide, should not be disturbed, like a right informant when the caravan has lost its way.

He who is made a lamp of knowledge when all beings are lost in the great darkness—it is not for a right-minded soul to try to quench him—like a lamp kindled in the gloom of night.—*Ibid., Vol. XLIX., pp. 145-6.*

(6) **Magical Powers.**—If a Bhikkhu should desire, Brethren, to exercise one by one each of the different Iddhis, being one to become multiform, being multiform to become one; to become visible, or to become invisible; to go without being stopped to the further side of a wall, or a fence, or a mountain, as if through air; to penetrate up and down through solid ground, as if through water; to walk on the water without dividing it, as if on solid ground; to travel cross-legged through the sky, like the birds on wing; to touch and feel with the hand even the sun and the moon, mighty and powerful though they be; and to reach in the body even up to the heaven of Brahmâ, let him then fulfill all righteousness; let him be be devoted to that quietude of heart which springs from within, let him not drive back the ecstacy of contemplation, let him look through things, let him be much alone!—*Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 214-15.*

(7) **Some Previous Existences of Gautama Buddha.**—Then the hermit Sumedha (the pre-existent Gotama)—as the Buddha (Dipankara) with unblenching eyes approached along the road prepared for him, beholding that form endowed with the perfection of beauty, adorned with the thirty-two characteristics of a great man, and marked with the eighty minor beauties, attended by a halo of a fathom's depth, and sending forth in streams the six-hued Buddha-rays, linked in pairs of different colors, and wreathed like the varied lightnings that flash in the gem-studded vault of heaven—exclaimed, "This day it behooves me to make sacrifice of my life for the Buddha; let not the Blessed one walk in the mire—nay, let him advance with his four hundred thousand saints trampling on my body as if walking upon a bridge of jeweled planks; this deed will long be for my good and my happiness." So saying, he loosed his hair, and, spreading in the inky mire his hermit's skin mantle, roll of matted hair and garment of bark, he lay down in the mire like a bridge of jeweled planks.

While he was thus fulfilling the Perfections, there was no limit to the existences in which he fulfilled the Perfection of Almsgiving. As, for instance, in the times when he was the brahman Akitti, and the brahmin Sankha, and the king Dhanañjaya, and Mahâ-sudassana, and Maha-govinda, and the king Nimi, and the prince Canda, and the merchant Visayha, and the Sivi, and Vessantara. So, certainly, in the Birth as the Wise Hare, according to the words,

When I saw one coming for food, I offered my own self:
There is no one like me in giving, such is my Perfection of Almsgiving,

he, offering up his own life, acquired the Supreme Perfection called the Perfection of Almsgiving.

So in the Somahansa Birth, according to the words,

I lay me down in the cemetery, making a pillow of dead bones:
The village children mocked and praised: to all I was indifferent,

he was unshaken in equanimity, even when the villagers tried to vex or please him by spitting or by offering garlands and perfumes, and thus he acquired the Perfection of Equanimity.

—"*Buddhist Birth Stories,*" *pp. 11, 54, 57-8.*

By this time Wessantara had resolved upon giving his children to the brahman without any further delay; but when he called them they did not make their appearance. Upon this the old man began to reproach him, and said that he had not seen so great a liar in the whole country, as he must have sent them away purposely, though he had promised to give them in alms. To discover whither they had fled, the prince went to the forest, and when near the pond called out to Jáliya, and no sooner did the boy hear the voice of his father, than he said, "The brahman may take me; I am willing to become his servant; I cannot remain here and listen to my father's cries;" and tearing in two the leaf by which he was covered, he sprang up, and ran towards his father, weeping. Wessantara asked him where his sister was; and when Jáliya told him that they had fled away in fear and hid themselves, he called out to her; on which she came from under the lotus as her brother had done, and like him shedding tears, clung to the feet of her father. But as Wessantara reflected that if he did not give up his children he could not become a Buddha, and would be unable to release sentient beings from the miseries of repeated existence, he called them to the *pansal*, and pouring water on the hands of the brahman, delivered them to him, saying, "May I by this become the all-knowing!"

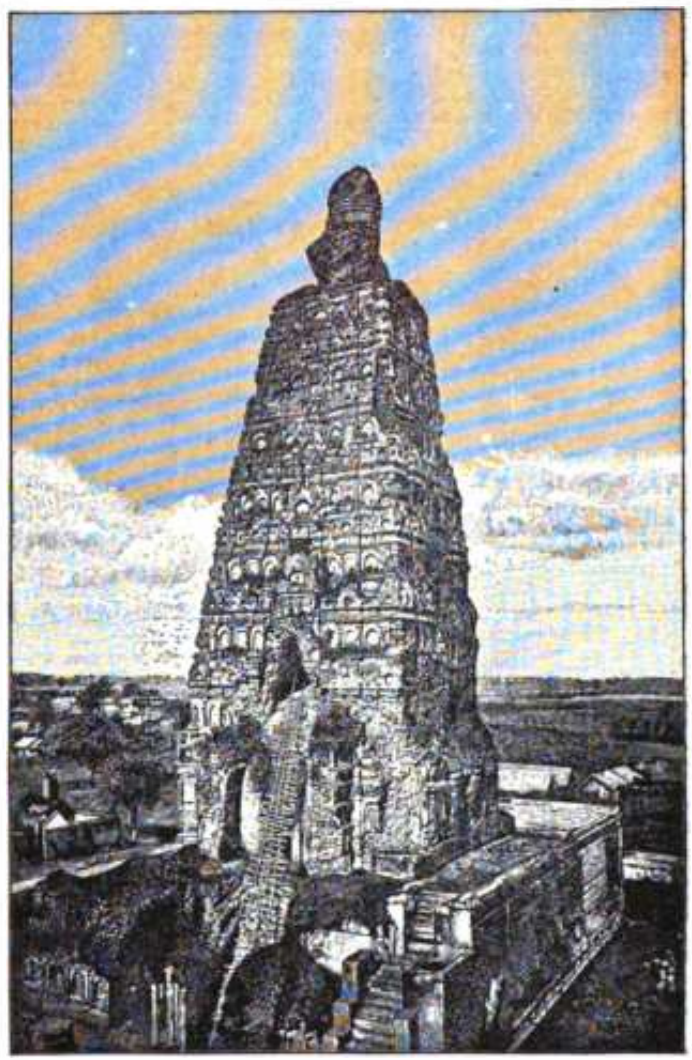
When Sekra perceived that Wessantara had given away his children, thinking it would not be right that anyone should take the princess in the same way, he assumed the appearance of an aged brahman, and went to the rock. Wessantara, on seeing him, asked him why he had come, and he replied, "I am now old and powerless; I have no one to assist me; I have therefore come to receive the princess as my slave." The prince looked in the face of Madrídéwí: and she, knowing his thoughts, expressed her willingness to comply with the wish that had been expressed; whereupon he delivered her to the supposed brahman, that the gift might assist in the reception of the Buddhaship. When the brahman received her, he said, "The princess now belongs to me; that which belongs to another, you have not the right to give away; therefore keep her for me until I shall return." Then assuming his own form, Sekra informed Wessantara that all the déwas and brahmas had rejoiced in the gifts he had offered; and assuring him that he would most certainly attain the Budhaship, he informed him that in seven days his relatives would come to him, together with his children, and that he would again receive the kingdom. The earth had trembled at the presenting of each gift, and Maha Méru and the other rocks expressed their approbation. —*R. Spence Hardy, "Manual of Buddhism," pp. 123-24-26.*

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6. THE LAW OR DOCTRINE (DHAMMA).

What was the content of that enlightenment that sufficed to constitute a Sambuddha? What was the secret of this Shakyamuni, "Sage of the Shakya-tribe," this Bhagavat or "Blessed One"? The answer is definitely made in the "Four Noble Truths," which are brief enough, but presuppose some principles which must first be noticed.

In respect to all transcendent facts, Buddha was *agnostic;* he disallowed any opinion whatsoever concerning a soul, a world, or a (supreme) god, on the ground that such knowledge did not conduce to salvation. (1) Life is incomprehensible, and much more, therefore, the future. (2) Deliverance is the one thing needful. (3) Thus in the realm of *ontology*, whereas Brahmanism declared this changing world illusory, and only *Brahman* real; Buddhism ignored that supposed real, and insisted on the changing phenomena. Brahmanism posits a being without becoming, Buddhism becoming without being. (4) Similary in *cosmology*, questions about the extent of the world in space and time are decried, and therefore no *Brahman* can be inferred as its source. The *Brahma*, *Sakra*, etc., mentioned in Buddhist texts are subject to change and decay; and so too are the heavens (26 of them) where they dwell, as also the numerous hells. (5)



Buddhist Temple at Buddha Gaya.—Built two centuries A.D. over the ruins of an older one.

Finally, in reference to *psychology*, Buddhism recognizes no *atman*, "spirit, self, or ego," in experience, and will not discuss it metaphysically. (6) What it finds in man is five *skandhas*, or "aggregates," viz., material qualities, sensations, ideas, tendencies, and powers. At death these "aggregates" fall apart, but a man's *karma* (merit or demerit) demands, and his *upadana* (grasping state of mind) causes, the formation of a new set of *skandhas* into another being, higher or lower in the scale of life as deserved. (7) Such palingenesis was the Buddhist substitute for metempsychosis, and was acknowledged to be a mystery patent only to a Buddha. (8) Only confusion of ideas can accrue from comparing *karma* with heredity. The former is a metaphysical theory, the latter a scientific fact.

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6. THE LAW OR DOCTRINE (DHAMMA).

(1) Agnosticim and its Ground.—Mālunkyāputta, any one who should say, I will not lead the religious life under The Blessed One until The Blessed One shall elucidate to me either that the world is eternal, or that the world is not eternal, . . . or that the saint neither exists nor does not exist after death; that person would die, Mālunkyāputta, before The Tathāgata had ever elucidated this to him.

It is as if, Mālunkyāputta, a man had been wounded by an arrow thickly smeared with poison, and his friends and companions, his relatives and kinsfolk, were to procure for him a physician or surgeon; and the sick man were to say, I will not have this arrow taken out until I have learnt whether the man who wounded me belonged to the warrior caste, or to the Brahman caste, or to the agricultural caste, or to the menial caste.

And why, Mālunkyāputta, have I not elucidated this? Because, Mālunkyāputta, this profits not, nor has to do with the fundamentals of religion, nor tends to aversion, absence of passion, cessation, quiescence, the supernatural faculties, supreme wisdom, and Nirvana; therefore have I not elucidated it.—"*Buddhism in Translations*," *pp. 119, 120, 122.*

Him I call indeed a Brahmana who has no interests, and when he has understood does not say How, how? and who has reached the depth of the Immortal.—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. X, Part 1, p. 93.*

(2) Life Unknown.—"Thus then, friend Yamaka, even here in this world the Perfect One is not to be apprehended by thee in truth. Hast thou therefore a right to speak, saying, I understand the doctrine taught by the Exalted One to be this, that a monk who is free from sin, when his body dissolves, is subject to annihilation, that he passes away, that he does not exist beyond death?"—*H. Oldenberg*, "*Buddha: etc.*," *p. 282.*

(3) Deliverance.—This is the only problem with which Buddhist thought is concerned: "As the vast ocean, O disciples, is impregnated with one taste, the taste of salt, so also, my disciples, this Law and Doctrine is impregnated with but one taste, with the taste of deliverance."—*Ibid, p 205.*

That things have being, O Kaccāna, constitutes one extreme of doctrine; that things have no being is the other extreme. These extremes, O Kaccāna, have been avoided by The Tathāgata, and it is a middle doctrine he teaches:

On ignorance depends karma, etc.—"*Buddhism in Translations*," *p. 166.*

(4) Everything in Change.—And when this exposition was propounded the venerable Kondañña obtained the pure and spotless Eye of the Truth (that is to say, the following knowledge): "Whatsoever is subject to the condition of origination, is subject also to the condition of cessation."—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XIII, p. 97.*

(5) No Cosmology.—A beginning of time from which the working of this law takes effect, and a limit of space, which encloses the world in which it operates, cannot be discovered. Is there in fact no such limit? "This has the Exalted One not revealed." "O disciples, think not such thoughts as the world thinks: The world is everlasting, or the world is not everlasting. The world is finite, or the world is not finite. . . . If ye think, O disciples, thus think ye: This is suffering; thus think ye: This is the origin of suffering; thus think ye: This is the extinction of suffering; thus think ye: This is the path to the extinction of suffering."—*H. Oldenberg*, "*Buddha: etc.*," *p. 252.*

(6) No Self discoverable in Experience.—But the venerable Ānanda, when the wandering monk Vacchagotta had gone to a distance, soon said to the Exalted One: "Wherefore, sire, has the Exalted One not given an answer to the questions put by the wandering monk Vacchagotta?"

"If I, Ananda, when the wandering monk Vacchagotta asked me: Is there the ego? had answered: The ego is, then that, Ānanda, would have confirmed the doctrine of the Samanas and Brahmanas, who believe in permanence. If I, Ānanda, when the wandering monk Vacchagotta asked me: Is there not the ego? had answered: The ego is not, then that, Ananda, would have confirmed the doctrine of the Samanas and Brahmanas, who believe in annihilation. If I, Ānanda, when the wandering monk Vacchagotta asked me: is there the ego? had answered: The ego is, would that have served my end, Ānanda, by producing in him the knowledge: all existences (*dhamma*) are non-ego?"

"That it would not, sire."

"But if I, Ānanda, when the wandering monk Vacchagotta asked me: Is there not the ego? had answered: The ego is not, then that, Ānanda, would only have caused the wandering monk Vacchagotta to be thrown from one bewilderment into another. My ego, did it not exist before? but now it exists no longer!"—*Ibid, pp. 272-3.*

Therefore say I that The Tathāgata has attained deliverance and is free from attachment, inasmuch as all imaginings, or agitations, or proud thoughts concerning an Ego or anything pertaining to an Ego, have perished, have faded away, have ceased, have been given up and relinquished.—"*Buddhism in Translations*," *pp. 125.*

Thoroughly well, your majesty, do you understand a chariot. In exactly the same way, your majesty, in respect of me, Nāgasena is but a way of counting, term, appellation, convenient designation, mere name for the hair of my head, hair of my body, . . . brain of the head, form, sensation, perception, the predispositions, and consciousness. But in the absolute sense there is no Ego here to be found. And the priestess Vajirā, your majesty, said as follows in the presence of The Blessed One:

> "Even as the word of 'chariot' means
> That members join to frame a whole;
> So when the Groups appear to view,
> We use the phrase, 'A living being.'"
> *Ibid, p. 133.*

(7) Karma.—Said the king: "Bhante Nāgasena, what is the reason that men are not all alike, but some long-lived and some short-lived, some healthy and some sickly, some handsome and some ugly, some powerful and some weak, some rich and some poor, some of high degree and some of low degree, some wise and some foolish?"

Said the elder: "Your majesty, why are not trees all alike, but some sour, some salt, some bitter, some pungent, some astringent, some sweet?"

"I suppose, bhante, because of a difference in the seed."

"In exactly the same way, your majesty, it is through a difference in their karma that men are not all alike, but some long-lived and some short-lived, some healthy and some sickly, some handsome and some ugly, some powerful and some

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weak, some rich and some poor, some of high degree and some of low degree, some wise and some foolish. Moreover, your majesty, The Blessed One has said as follows: 'All beings, O youth, have karma as their portion; they are heirs of their karma; they are sprung from their karma; their karma is their kinsman; their karma is their refuge; karma allots beings to meanness or greatness.'"

"You are an able man, bhante Nāgasena."—*Ibid, pp 214-15*

(8) **Palingenesis.**—"Bhante Nāgasena," said the king, "what is it that is born into the next existence?"

"Your majesty," said the elder, "it is name and form that is born into the next existence"

"Is it this same name and form that is born into the next existence?"

"Your majesty, it is not this same name and form that is born into the next existence; but with this name and form, your majesty, one does a deed—it may be good, or it may be wicked—and by reason of this deed another name and form is born into the next existence."

"Bhante, if it is not the same name and form that is born into the next existence, is one not freed from one's evil deeds?"

"If one were not born into another existence," said the elder, "one would be freed from one's evil deeds; but, your majesty, inasmuch as one is born into another existence, therefore is one not freed from one's evil deeds."

"Give an illustration."

"Your majesty, it is as if a man were to take away another man's mangoes, and the owner of the mangoes were to seize him, and show him to the king, and say, 'Sire, this man hath taken away my mangoes;' and the other were to say, 'Sire, I did not take away this man's mangoes. The mangoes which this man planted were different mangoes from those which I took away. I am not liable to punishment.' Pray, your majesty, would the man be liable to punishment?"

"Assuredly, bhante, would he be liable to punishment."

"For what reason?"

"Because, in spite of what he might say, he would be liable to punishment for the reason that the last mangoes derived from the first mangoes."

"In exactly the same way, your majesty, with this name and form one does a deed—it may be good, or it may be wicked—and by reason of this deed another name and form is born into the next existence. Therefore is one not freed from one's evil deeds."—*Ibid, pp. 234-5.*

FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **CONTEMPORARY RELIGION. JAINISM. GENERAL CHARACTER. LITERATURE.**—Vedism, Upanishads, Brahmans and Kshattriyas, Jainism, Vardharmana, Asceticism, Buddhism not social, but religious, personal, and ethical, Literature.
2. **THE LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.**—Kern, Senart, Oldenberg and others, Resemble and consist, Direction and ideal, Parentage, Birth, Name, Awakening, Renunciation.
3. **LIFE OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA (CONTINUED).**—Teachers, Buddha-Gaya, Mara, Enlightenment, Benares, Preaching, Holy Land, Success, Death.
4. **THE PERSON OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA.**—Kshattriya, Young, Handsome, Heroic, Supremacy, A seer, A conqueror, Self-reliant, Religious, Obedient, Resolute, Gentle, Loving.
5. **THE WORK OF GAUTAMA BUDDHA. HIS PRE-HISTORY.**—Teaching, Law, Physician, Guide, Miracles, or Magic, Many Buddhas, Bodhisattva, Jatakas, Maitreya.
6. **THE LAW OR DOCTRINE (DHAMMA).**—Four noble truths, Ontology, Cosmology, Psychology, Skandhas, Upadana, Karma.

QUESTIONS.

1. *Sketch the religious history of India prior to Gautama Buddha. Describe the founder of Jainism. Sketch its doctrine. What personal advantage had Buddhism? What ethical one? What disadvantage? Classify Buddhist countries into northern and southern. Name the three classes of scriptures.*
2. *State the three views taken as to the historicity of Gautama the Buddha Which is correct? Why? Why is the traditional record of Buddha's life worth knowing? Sketch that life up to the Great Renunciation.*
3. *Sketch the chief events of Gautama Buddha's life from his Renunciation to his death.*
4. *Describe the various physical and mental traits of Gautama Buddha, as recorded in the notes.*
5. *What was the special work of Buddha? What successor did he have? Name some epithets. How did his disciples account for him? How may one become a Buddha? What is a Jataka? Who is Maitreya?*
6. *What was the content of the Buddha's enlightenment? How did Buddism differ from Brahmanism in its ontology? How in its cosmology? How in its psychology? What is the nature of the skandhas? Define karma. What is palingenesis?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The points of contact between Brahmanism and Buddhism, as shown by M. Monier-Williams, or H. Kern.*
2. *Trace the points of contact between the life of Napoleon and a day's course of the sun.*
3. *Read the splendid idyl of Buddha's life, called the "Buddha Karita," in "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. XLIX.*
4. *Compare and contrast Gautama the Buddha with Jesus the Christ.*
5. *Compare and contrast their work and pre-history.*
6. *Show how widely heredity differs from karma.*

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7. THE LAW OR DOCTRINE (CONTINUED).

On such a background of impermanence, ignorance, and endless rebirth must be set the "Four Noble Truths." (1) These were just the fourfold method of Indian medical science applied to the spiritual healing of man. The cause of misery and its removal — these formed the essence of Buddhism. (2) Firstly, life, whether on the wax or wane, involves suffering. Man is ever without something he wishes, and with something he dislikes. In brief, the clinging to very existence in the fivefold *skandhas* involves incessant trouble. Life is strife. (3) Secondly, the chief cause of this misery is desire, but the ultimate cause is ignorance, viz., of the Four Noble Truths. (4) If men knew that life was really suffering, they would cease to desire it. Enlightenment would lead to aversion. The connection of ignorance with desire, etc., was stated in the twelve *nidanas*, which have been variously explained, and need not be studied here.



Remains of a colossal statue of Buddha, found in the ruins of the Buddha-Gaya Temple, the date (S. 64=A.D. 142) being inscribed on the pedestal.

Thirdly, it is plain that only the cessation of desire will lead to the cessation of pain; but this done, Nirvana is reached! Gautama obtained Nirvana at his enlightenment, and so does his follower. (5) This gives highest happiness. (6) As to Parinirvana, or the state of the sage after death, the Blessed One avoided any decisive statement, except that it freed from rebirth. (7) The logical conclusion from the *skandha* theory is annihilation, so to speak, after death for those who have overcome desire, but perfect consistency is rarely, if ever, attained in things human.

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7. THE LAW OR DOCTRINE (CONTINUED).

(1) **The Four Noble Truths.** — This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of Suffering: Birth is suffering; decay is suffering; illness is suffering, death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate, is suffering; separation from objects we love, is suffering; not to obtain what we desire, is suffering. Briefly, the fivefold clinging to existence is suffering.

This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering: Thirst, that leads to rebirth, accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its delight here and there. (This thirst is threefold), namely, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity

This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering: (it ceases with) the complete cessation of this thirst—a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion—with the abandoning of this thirst, with the doing away with it, with the deliverance from it, with the destruction of desire.

This, O Bhikkhus, is the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering: that holy eightfold Path, that is to say, Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavor, Right Memory, Right Meditation. — "*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XIII., pp. 95-6.*

(2) **The Essence of Buddhism.** — Then the paribbâgaka Sâriputta said to the venerable Assagi: "Well, friend, tell me much or little as you like, but be sure to tell me the spirit (of the doctrine); I want but the spirit; why do you make so much of the letter?"

Then the venerable Assagi pronounced to the paribbâgaka Sâriputta the following text of the Dhamma: "Of all objects that proceed from a cause, the Tathâgata has explained the cause, and He has explained their cessation also; this is the doctrine of the great Samana."—*Ibid, p. 146*

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(3) **Life is Suffering.**—There is no fire like passion; there is no losing throw like hatred; there is no pain like this body; there is no happiness higher than rest.

Hunger is the worst of diseases, the body the greatest of pains; if one knows this truly, that is Nirvâna, the highest happiness. — "*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. X., Part I., p. 54.*

Some undergo misery for the sake of this world, others meet toil for the sake of heaven; all living beings, wretched through hope and always missing their aim, fall certainly for the sake of happiness into misery.

It is not the effort itself which I blame — which flinging aside the base pursues a high path of its own; but the wise, by all this common toil, ought to attain that state in which nothing needs ever to be done again.

The victims of pleasure attain not to happiness even in the heaven of the gods, still less in the world of mortals; he who is athirst is never satisfied with pleasures as the fire, the friend of the wind, with fuel.—*Ibid, Vol. XLIX., pp. 73, 112.*

(4) **Ignorance the Cause.**—So long, O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge and insight were not quite clear, regarding each of these four noble truths in this triple order, in this twelvefold manner—so long was I uncertain whether I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of Samanas and Brâhmans, or of gods or men.

But as soon, O Bhikkhus, as my knowledge and insight were quite clear regarding each of these four noble truths, in this triple order, in this twelvefold manner—then did I become certain that I had attained to the full insight of that wisdom which is unsurpassed in the heavens or on earth, among the whole race of Samanas and Brâhmans, or of gods or men.

And now this knowledge and this insight has arisen within me. Immovable is the emancipation of my heart. This is my last existence. There will now be no rebirth for me! — *Ibid, Vol. XI., pp. 152-3.*

(5) **Nirvana Obtained During Life.** — He knows the four sacred truths, and "while he thus knows and apprehends, his soul is freed from the calamity of desire, freed from the calamity of becoming, freed from the calamity of error, freed from the calamity of ignorance. In the delivered there arises the knowledge of his deliverance; ended its rebirth, fulfilled the law, duty done, there is no more any returning to this world; this he knows."—*H. Oldenberg, "Buddha: etc.," p. 263.*

DHANIYA-SUTTA.

I have boiled (my) rice, I have milked (my cows)—so said the herdsman Dhaniya—I am living together with my fellows near the banks of the Mahî (river), (my) house is covered, the fire is kindled: therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!

I am free from anger, free from stubbornness—so said Bhagavat—I am abiding for one night near the banks of the Mahî (river), my house is uncovered, the fire (of passions) is extinguished: therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!

Gad-flies are not to be found (with me)—so said the herdsman Dhaniya — in meadows abounding with grass the cows are roaming, and they can endure rain when it comes: therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!

(By me) is made a well-constructed raft—so said Bhagavat—I have passed over (to Nibbâna), I have reached the further bank, having overcome the torrent (of passion); there is no (further) use for a raft: therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!

My wife is obedient, not wanton—so said the herdsman Dhaniya—for a long time she has been living together (with me), she is winning, and I hear nothing wicked of her: therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!

My mind is obedient, delivered (from all worldliness)—so said Bhagavat—it has for a long time been highly cultivated and well-subdued, there is no longer anything wicked in me: therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!

I support myself by my own earnings—so said the herdsman Dhaniya—and my children are (all) about me, healthy; I hear nothing wicked of them: therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!

I am no one's servant—so said Bhagavat—with what I have gained I wander about in all the world, there is no need (for me) to serve; therefore, if thou like, rain, O sky!

Then at once a shower poured down, filling both sea and land. Hearing the sky raining, Dhaniya spoke thus:

No small gain indeed (has accrued) to us since we have seen Bhagavat: we take refuge in thee, O (thou who art) endowed with the eye (of wisdom); be thou our master, O great Muni! — "*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. X., Part II., pp. 3-5.*

(6) **Nirvana Affords the Highest Happiness.** —And the Blessed One, perceiving that, on this occasion, pronounced this solemn utterance: "Happy is the solitude of him who is full of joy, who has learnt the Truth, who sees (the Truth). Happy is freedom from malice in this world, (self-) restraint towards all beings that have life. Happy is freedom from lust in this werld, getting beyond all desires; the putting away of that pride which comes from the thought, 'I am!' This truly is the highest happiness." — "*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XIII., p. 81.*

Health is the greatest of gifts, contentedness the best riches; trust is the best of relationships, Nirvâna the highest happiness. — *Ibid, Vol. X., Part I., p. 55.*

(7) **Parinirvana.**—King Pasenadi of Kosala, we are told, on one occasion on a journey between his two chief towns, Sâketa and Sâvatthi, fell in with the nun Khemâ, a female disciple of Buddha, renowned for her wisdom. The king paid his respects to her, and inquired of her concerning the sacred doctrine.

"Venerable lady," asked the king, "does the Perfect One (Tathâgata) exist after death?"

"The great ocean is deep, immeasurable, unfathomable. So also, O great king, if the existence of the Perfect One be measured by the predicates of corporeal form: these predicates of the corporeal form are abolished in the Perfect One, their root is severed, they are hewn away like a palm-tree, and laid aside, so that they cannot germinate again in the future. Released, O great king, is the Perfect One from this, that his being should be gauged by the measure of the corporeal world: he is deep, immeasurable, unfathomable as the great ocean. 'The Perfect One exists after death,' this is not apposite; 'the Perfect One does not exist after death,' this also is not apposite; 'the Perfect One at once exists and does not exist after death,' this also is not apposite; 'the Perfect One neither does nor does not exist after death,' this also is not apposite."—*H. Oldenberg, "Buddha: etc.," pp. 278, 279-280.*

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8. LAW OR DOCTRINE (CONTINUED).

The fourth noble truth of Buddhism commended the Eightfold Path as that "which leads to the cessation of suffering." It was chosen as a "middle path" between the extremes of pleasure seeking and mortification, both which were "ignoble and profitless." The first fold enjoins belief, of course, in the Four Noble Truths. The second, third and fourth prohibit vices classed under thoughts, words, and deeds. The fifth is specially addressed to the laity, and the remaining three to the monks. (1) The latter include: (*a*) higher morality, (*b*) imperturbability, and (*c*) ecstatic trance (*dhyana*) in four progressive grades. The exercise of these *dhyanas* bestowed magical power of various kinds, and qualified to become an *arhat*, "one who has gained (*Nirvana*)," who is without faults or vices, and free from desire. This arhatship forms the proper ideal of Buddhism, below which stands morality as a necessary because preparatory stage. The type of the former is the Buddha, of the latter the *Bodhisattva*. In pure and majestic tones did Shakyamuni declare virtue necessary to union with Brahma, which an interlocutor —Vasettha—considered the highest goal. (2)

Buddhist ethics is further expressed in the *dasasila*, "ten commandments." The first five alone are binding on laymen, and prohibit destruction of life, theft, adultery, lying, and the use of intoxicants. The additional five prohibit for monks and nuns eating at forbidden hours; dancing, singing, music, and worldly spectacles; garlands, scents, unguents, or ornaments; use of a high or broad bed, and receipt of gold or silver, while the third commandment becomes for them, Be continent. The "Dhammapada" is a treasury of moral maxims, among which we meet again the diamond rule, (3) while the "Jataka" is a treasury of moral stories. Both "Dhammapada" and "Jataka" were mostly of earlier origin, and simply adopted by Buddhism. In general, Buddhist morality conforms to the Indian type in emphasizing the passive virtues: heroic endurance, rather than heroic endeavor.

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8. LAW OR DOCTRINE (CONTINUED).

(1) **The Eightfold Path.**—And what, O priests, is the noble truth of the path leading to the cessation of misery?

It is this noble eightfold path, to-wit, right belief, right resolve, right speech, right behavior, right occupation, right effort, right contemplation, right concentration.

And what, O priests, is right belief?

The knowledge of misery, O priests, the knowledge of the origin of misery, the knowledge of the cessation of misery, and the knowledge of the path leading to the cessation of misery, this, O priests, is called "right belief."

And what, O priests, is right resolve?

The resolve to renounce sensual pleasures, to resolve to have malice towards none, and the resolve to harm no living creature, this, O priests, is called "right resolve."

And what, O priests, is right speech?

To abstain from falsehood, to abstain from backbiting, to abstain from harsh language, and to abstain from frivolous talk, this, O priests, is called "right speech."

And what, O priests, is right behavior?

To abstain from destroying life, to abstain from taking that which is not given one, and to abstain from immorality, this, O priests, is called "right behavior."

And what, O priests, is right occupation?

Whenever, O priests, a noble disciple, quitting a wrong occupation, gets his livelihood by a right occupation, this, O priests, is called "right occupation."

And what, O priests, is right effort?

Whenever, O priests, a priest purposes, makes an effort, heroically endeavors, applies his mind, and exerts himself that evil and demeritorious qualities not yet arisen may not arise; purposes, makes an effort, heroically endeavors, applies his mind, and exerts himself that evil and demeritorious qualities already arisen may be abandoned; purposes, makes an effort, heroically endeavors, applies his mind, and exerts himself that meritorious qualities not yet arisen may rise; purposes, makes an effort, heroically endeavors, applies his mind, and exerts himself for the preservation, retention, growth, increase, development, and perfection of meritorious qualities already arisen, this, O priests, is called "right effort."

And what, O priests, is right contemplation?

Whenever, O priests, a priest lives, as respects the body, observant of the body, strenuous, conscious, contemplative, and has rid himself of lust and grief; as respects sensations, observant of sensations, strenuous, conscious, contemplative, and has rid himself of lust and grief; as respects the the mind, observant of the mind, strenuous, conscious, contemplative, and has rid himself of lust and grief; as respects the elements of being, observant of the elements of being, strenuous, conscious, contemplative, and has rid himself of lust and grief, this, O priests, is called "right contemplation."

And what, O priests, is right concentration?

Whenever, O priests, a priest, having isolated himself from sensual pleasures, having isolated himself from demeritorious traits, and still exer-

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cising reasoning, still exercising reflection, enters upon the first trance which is produced by isolation and characterized by joy and happiness; when, through the subsidence of reasoning and reflection, and still retaining joy and happiness, he enters upon the second trance, which is an interior tranquilization and intentness of the thoughts, and is produced by concentration; when, through the paling of joy, indifferent, contemplative, conscious, and in the experience of bodily happiness—that state which eminent men describe when they say, "Indifferent, contemplative, and living happily"—he enters upon the third trance; when, through the abandonment of happiness, through abandonment of misery, through the disappearance of all antecedent gladness and grief, he enters upon the fourth trance, which has neither misery nor happiness, but is contemplation as refined by indifference, this, O priests, is called "right concentration."

This, O priests, is called the noble truth of the path leading to the cessation of misery.—"*Buddhism in Translations*," *pp. 372-74*.

(2) **Virtue the Condition to Union with Brahma.**—"Again, Vāsettha, if this great river Rapti were full of water, even to the brim, and overflowing, and a man with business for the other side, bound for the other side, should come up and want to cross over, and he, standing on this bank, were to invoke the further bank, and say, 'Come hither, further bank! come over to this side!' Now what think you, Vāsettha? Would the further bank of the Rapti, by means of that man's invoking, and praying, and hoping, and praising, come over to this side?"

"Certainly not, Gotama!"

"In just the same way, Vāsettha, do the Brahmans, versed in the three Vedas—but omitting the practice of those qualities which really make a man a Brāhman, and adhering to those things which really make men not Brāhmans—say thus: 'Indra we call upon: Soma we call upon: Varuna we call upon: Isāna we call upon: Pajāpati we call upon: Brahmā we call upon: Mahiddhi we call upon: Yama we call upon!' Verily, Vāsettha, that these Brāhmans—so long as they omit the practice of virtue, and follow after evil—that they, by reason of their invoking, and praying, and hoping, and praising, should, after death, and when the body is dissolved, become united with Brahmā—verily, such a condition of things has no existence!"

Then, by other similes and other questions, each as elaborately worked out, Gotama shows how yielding to one's senses and one's lusts, how malice, sloth, pride, self-righteousness and doubt, must in fact be bonds and hindrances and entanglements, which, from Vāsettha's own point of view, will prevent any real union with God. And he concludes his last point, and with it the negative side of his argument, thus:

"Then you say, Vāsettha, that the Brāhmans are in possession of wives and wealth, and that Brahmā is not. Can there then be agreement and likeness between the Brāhmans, with their wives and property, and Brahmā, who has none of these things?"

"Certainly not, Gotama!"

"And you say too, Vāsettha, that the Brāhmans bear anger and malice in their hearts, and are sinful and uncontrolled, whilst Brahmā is free from anger and malice, and is sinless, and has self-mastery. Now can there then be concord and likeness between the Brāhmans and Brahmā?"

"Certainly not, Gotama!"

"Very well, then, Vāsettha! That these Brāhmans, versed though they be in their three Vedas, and yet bearing anger and malice in their hearts, sinful and uncontrolled, should, after death and when the body is dissolved, become united to Brahmā, who is just the opposite of all this—such a condition of things has no existence!"

"So that thus, then, Vāsettha, the Brāhmans, while they sit down in confidence in their knowledge of the Vedas, are really sinking down in mire. And so sinking, they are arriving only at despair, thinking the while that they are crossing over into some happier land! Therefore is it that the three-fold wisdom of the Brāhmans, wise in the Vedas, is called a waterless desert, their three-fold wisdom is called a pathless jungle, their three-fold wisdom is called destruction!"

Vāsettha, deeply moved, asks the Master whether he can show the way to union with Brahmā, and, when he hears that he can, humbly beseeches him to do so, closing his appeal with the words, "Let the venerable Gotama save the Brāhman race."—*T. W. Rhys Davids*, "*Indian Buddhism*," *being the Hibbert Lectures, 1881, pp. 60, 61, 63*.

"And he lets his mind pervade one-quarter of the world with thoughts of Love; and so the second, and so the third, and so the fourth. And thus the whole wide world, above, below, around, and everywhere, does he continue to pervade with heart of Love, far-reaching, grown great and beyond measure!"

This paragraph is then repeated, substituting for Love, in the first paragraph Pity, in the second Sympathy, in the third Evenness of Mind. And to each of these there is a simile and a conclusion, thus:

"Just, Vāsettha, as a mighty trumpeter makes himself heard—and that without difficulty—in all the four directions, even so of all things that have shape or life, there is not one that he passes by or leaves aside, but regards them all with mind set free and deep-felt love!

"Verily, this, Vāsettha is the way to a state of union with Brahmā!"—*Ibid, p. 68*.

(3) **Moral Maxims.**—One's own self conquered is better than all other people; not even a god, a Gandharva, not Māra with Brahma could change into defeat the victory of a man who has vanquished himself, and always lives under restraint.—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. X, Part 1, pp. 31, 32*.

Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome evil by good; let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth!—*Ibid, p. 58*.

One's own self conquered is better than all other people; not even a god, a Gandharva, not Māra with Brahman could change into defeat the victory of a man who has vanquished himself, and always lives under restraint.—*Ibid, p. 31*.

If a man would hasten towards the good, he should keep his thought away from evil; if a man does what is good slothfully, his mind delights in evil.—*Ibid, p. 34*.

Let no man think lightly of evil, saying in his heart: It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the fool becomes full of evil, even if he gather it little by little.—*Ibid, p. 34*.

Let no man think lightly of good, saying in his heart. It will not come nigh unto me. Even by the falling of water-drops a water-pot is filled; the wise man becomes full of good, even if he gather it little by little.—*Ibid, 34*.

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9. THE ORDER OF MONKS (SAMGHA).

The proper community of Buddhism is an order or fraternity of mendicant monks (not priests). Their usual name was *Bhikku*, "Beggar," and they differed from other religious mendicants of their day in that they—and not only their Master—could confer ordination, and that they survived his death without a visible successor, having only the *dhamma* or law to guide them, in following which the monks save themselves. The Order was organized no further than into local assemblies, where precedence was given seniors and *arahats*.

Children of seven or eight were admitted as scholars, and could be ordained at twenty. Slaves, debtors, soldiers, and those who could not obtain their parents' consent were not admitted. Ordination was very simple and included the "three-fold refuge formula": "I take refuge in the *Buddha*. I take refuge in the *Dhamma*. I take refuge in the *Samgha*." A monk or nun was free at any time to retire from the Order, and become a layman, in case doubt or desire impelled him. The bareness of the monastic life is evident from the second group in the *dasasila* quoted in the preceding lesson. (1) At every new and full moon the monks of a district or monastery met to observe the *pratimoksha*, a form of examination whether the members of the Order have broken any of its laws. Laymen, novices, and nuns were excluded. Special rules for nuns insisted upon yielding precedence in everything to the monks.

The *Samgha* was of course dependent for support upon believing laymen, who were called *Upasaka*, "Reverers." Practically anyone that so contributed was counted an *upasaka*, though the three refuge formula might be used in initiation. (2)

The Buddhist doctrine left no place for a proper cult; but a restday was observed four times in a month, when monks preached to the laity, and the three Indian seasons were honored with festivals, as in other Indian religions. Also the chief events in the Master's life were kept in annual remembrance. In later times pilgrimages were instituted to the sacred places where the Buddha was born, attained enlightenment, first preached, and entered *Nirvana*. Relics of the Buddha and other saints were treasured up in *stupas*, and finally idols made, before which, as before the relics, offerings, but only of incense and flowers, might be made.

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9. THE ORDER OF MONKS (SAMGHA).

(1) **Daily Life of a Bhikku.**—The daily life of the novice should, according to a manual called "Dina Chariyâwa," be about as follows: He shall rise before daylight and wash; then sweep the wihâra or "residence,"—as the clean little hut where the mendicant lives is called—then sweep round the Bo-tree, fetch the drinking water for the day, filter it, and place it ready for use; retiring to a solitary place, he shall then meditate on the regulations. Then he shall offer flowers before the sacred dâgaba—the solid, dome-shaped shrine in which relics of the Buddha are buried—or before the Bo-tree; thinking of the great virtues of the Teacher and of his own faults. Soon after, taking the begging-bowl, he is to follow his superior in his daily round for food, and on their return is to bring water for his feet and place the alms-bowl before him. After the meal is over, he is to wash the alms-bowl; then again to worship Buddha, and meditate on kindness and affection. About an hour afterwards he is to begin his studies from the books, or copy one of them, asking his superior about passages he does not understand. At sunset he is again to sweep the sacred places, and, lighting a lamp, to listen to the teaching of his superior, and repeat such passages from the canon as he has learnt. If he finds he has committed any fault he is to tell his superior; he is to be content with such things as he has; and keeping under his senses, to grow in grace without haughtiness of body, speech, or mind.

The superiors, relieved by the novices from any manual labor, were expected to devote themselves all the more earnestly to intellectual culture and meditation.—*T. W. Rhys Davids, "Buddhism," pp. 169-170.*

(2) **Upasaka.**—He who is accomplished, and delights in meditation, thoughtful, possessed of thorough enlightenment, a refuge for many, on such a one in due time people should bestow oblations; let the Brâhmana who has good (works) in view, offer.

Mâgha: "Who prospers? who is liberated and who is bound? In which way can one by himself go to Brahmaloka? Tell this to me who does not know, O Muni, when asked. Bhagavat is indeed my witness that Brahman is seen by me to-day, for thou art to us equal to Brahman, this is the truth; how can one attain Brahmaloka, O thou glorious one?"

"He who offers the three-fold blessing of oblation, O Mâgha"—so said Bhagavat—"such a one will prosper with those worthy of offerings; so, having offered properly, he who is suitable to beg of attains Brahmaloka, so I say."—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. X., Part 2, pp. 84-85.*

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10. HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA. BODHISM.

The Buddhist tradition of a church council soon after Buddha's death is traceable to a nature-myth, and that of a second one, one hundred years later at Vesali to an explanatory myth. Firmer ground is reached at the time of the great King Ashoka, three centuries B.C., who professed and favored Buddhism much as the Roman Emperor Constantine did Christianity six centuries later. He sent his own son and daughter as missionaries to Ceylon, and depleted his treasury in the erection of shrines and monasteries. In the second and first centuries B.C. other missions reached Afghanistan, Bactria, and China. The Scythian ruler of Northwestern India, named Kanishka, called a council about one hundred A.D., at which various sects of the Northern Buddhists agreed upon a canon, and thus practically separated from the Southern Branch. But all other northern sects were absorbed by the sixth century A.D. into the Mahayana sect, which added further to the canon.

Mahayana Buddhism is characterized by a preference for the *Bodhisattva* ideal rather than the Buddha one. Where the latter was passionless or impassionate, the former was compassionate; and this admirably active trait secured its prevalence over the rival Hinayana branch, which has spread only where preceded either by Hinduism or Mahayana Buddhism. Professor F. Max Müller proposes Bodhism as a convenient term for this cult of the *Bodhisattvas.* It stands in the same relation to Buddhism that the *bhakti-marga* did to the *jnana-marga* in Hinduism (p. 212). Gautama Buddha having become extinct in *parinirvana*, men turned in their hour of need to *Maitreya*, believed to be the *Bodhisattva* of the coming Buddha. He was simply a personification of love, while another *Bodhisattva* named *Avalokiteshvara* represented mercy. Still later, Bodhism supposed a *Dhyani-Buddha*, "Contemplation-Buddha," as the eternal counterpart or type of the historic Buddha. His heaven was named Sukhavati, and two canonical books (the "Larger" and the "Smaller," "Sukhavati-vyuha") describe its glories, which, like those of *Vishnu* and *Shiva*, are eternal, and thus end metempsychosis. (1) According to the "Larger S.-V.," faith in this *Amitabha*, or *Amitayus Buddha* and his heaven, Sukhavati, will lead to (*a*) accumulation of a "stock of merit," (*b*) prayer or desire "to be born in Sukhavati," and (*c*) "thinking the Tathagatha," or the like, which combine to cause his birth in Sukhavati. (2) But in the "Smaller S.-V.," "keeping in mind" is made the sole condition of entry to Sukhavati. Here deity-contemplation—like *bhakti*—leading to Heaven, displaces Shakyamuni's method of thought-abstraction—like *jnana*—leading to Nirvana. Heaven is not a reward, but an effect or conquest, as was Nirvana. In neither case does the notion of a gift or boon come in. (3)

In a third Sutra of the same family, the "Amitayus-Dhyana-Sutra," Sukhavati is conditioned on combined morality, monachism, and meditation. (4) There are also made here some provisions for special cases of ignorance, sickness, etc., one of which offers expiation on condition of hearing the bare names of the Bodhist scriptures, or of repeating the name of *Amida-Buddha.* (5) The mythical element in these Bodhist scriptures is unmistakable and quite large, *Amida-Buddha* forming the coalescence of the historic Shakyamuni with sun-cult. The doctrines in the notes below are attributed to Gautama only by a conventional fiction. While Bodhism thus rivaled the contemporary Hinduism with its gods and heavens, it outdid by its nihilism the idealism of the Vedanta philosophy. Vedantism considered the objective world false, (cf. p. 199) but Bodhism construed all as false. (6)

The foundation of Bodhism is attributed to Nagarjuna, born about 100 A.D., and the most distinguished of all Buddhist teachers. When the Chinese Ta-hien visited India 400 A.D., Bodhism rivaled Buddhism, and when Hiouen Thsang reached there, 629 A.D., excelled it in numbers. The latter delights in descriptions of the great monasteries, meditative monks, the great festivals, costly idols, and

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wonder-working relics. He further reports the harmony between Bodhism and the Brahmans, but the emnity between Bodhism and Buddhism. Both the latter began their decline in India in the eighth century A.D., and were finally absorbed by Hinduism, with which they had come to have much in common, particularly the magic for securing wealth, life-elixirs, invisibility, spiritual deliverance, etc., such as characterized Shaktism, for which the Buddhist term is Prajna. This phase is sometimes called Tantric Buddhism. The great Hindu philosophers, Kumarila and Shankara, attacked Buddhism on its theoretical side; and after 1700 A.D. Mohammedan persecution killed or scattered its remaining followers. By the sixteenth century it had disappeared from India, except in Nepal, where it still persists in its Bodhism form, together with Hinduism.

10. HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA. BODHISM.

(1) **The Dhyani-Buddha Amitabha and his Heaven.**—After this, the blessed Ânanda thus spoke to the Bhagavat: "O Bhagavat, has that Bhikshu Dharmâkara, the noble-minded Bodhisattva, after having obtained the highest perfect knowledge, passed away, having entered Nirvâ*n*a, or has he not yet been enlightened, or is he now living and enlightened, and does he dwell now, remain, support himself, and teach the Law?"

The Bhagavat said: "Not indeed, O Ânanda, has that Tathâgata passed away, nor has he not yet come, but the Tathâgata, the holy, after having obtained the highest perfect knowledge, dwells now, remains, supports himself, and teaches the Law, in the western quarter, in the Buddha country, distant from this world by a hundred thousand niyutas of ko*ti*s of Buddha countries, in the world which is called Sukhâvatî, being called Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened. He is surrounded by innumerable Bodhisattvas, and worshiped by endless Srâvakas, and in possession of the endless perfection of his Buddha country.

There is not, O Ânanda, any case of likeness, by which the extent of the light of that Tathâgata Amitâbha could be understood. Hence, O Ânanda, for that reason that Tathâgata is called Amitâbha (possessed of infinite light), and he is called Amitaprabha (possessed of infinite splendor), Amitaprabhâsa (possessed of infinite brilliancy), Asamâptaprabha (whose light is never finished), Asa*ṅ*gataprabha (whose light is not conditioned), Prabha*s*ikhots*ri*sh*t*aprabha (whose light proceeds from flames of light), Sadivyama*n*iprabha (whose light is that of heavenly jewels), Apratihatara*s*mirâgaprabha (whose light has the color of unimpeded rays), Râganîyaprabha (possessed of beautiful light), Prema*n*îyaprabha (possessed of lovely light), Pramodanîyaprabha (possessed of delightful light), Sangamanîyaprabha (possessed of attractive light), Uposha*n*îyaprabha (possessed of pleasant light), Anibandhanîyaprabha (possessed of light that cannot be stopped), Ativîryaprabha (possessed of extremely powerful light), Atulyaprabha (possessed of incomparable light), Abhibhûyanarendrâbhûtrayendraprabha (possessed of light greater than that of the lords of men, nay, the lords of the three worlds), *S*rântasa*ñ**k*ayendusûryagihmîkara*n*aprabha (possessed of light which bends the full moon and the sun), Abhibhûyalokapâla*s*akrabrahma*s*uddhâvâsamahe*s*varasarvadevagihmîkara*n*aprabha (possessed of light which bends all the conquered gods, Mahe*s*vara, the *S*uddhâvâsas, Brahman, *S*akra, and the Lokapâlas).

Therefore, O Ânanda, the limit of the measure of the life of that Bhagavat is immeasurable indeed. Therefore that Tathâgata is called Amitâyus.

And, O Ânanda, there is nowhere in that Sukhâvatî world any sound of sin, obstacle, misfortune, distress, and destruction; there is nowhere any sound of pain; even the sound of perceiving what is neither pain nor pleasure is not there, O Ânanda, how much less the sound of pain. For that reason, O Ânanda, that world is called Sukhâvatî, shortly, but not in full. For, O Ânanda, the whole kalpa would come to an end, while the different causes of the pleasure of the world Sukhâvatî are being praised, and even then the end of those causes of happiness could not be reached.

And again, O Ânanda, the beings who have been and will be born in that world Sukhâvatî will be endowed with such color, strength, vigor, height and breadth, dominion, accumulation of virtue; with such enjoyments of dress, ornaments, gardens, palaces, and pavilions; and such enjoyments of touch, taste, smell, and sound; in fact, with all enjoyments and pleasures, exactly like the Paranirmitava*s*avartin gods.—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XLIX., part 2, pp. 27-8, 29-30, 32 and 40.*

(2) **Conditions of Birth in Heaven.**—And before the eyes of those beings, O Ananda, who again and again think of the Tathâgata reverently, and who make the great and unmeasured stock of good works grow, turning their thought towards Bodhi (knowledge), and who pray to be born in that world, Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, when the time of their death has approached, will appear, surrounded by many companies of Bhikshus and honored by them. And then these beings, having seen the Bhagavat, their thoughts filled with joy, will, when they have died, be born in that world of Sukhâvatî.

The Bhagavat said: Those Bodhisattvas, O Agita, who, living in other Buddha countries, entertain doubt about being born in the world Sukhâvatî, and with that thought amass a stock of merit, for them there is the dwelling within the calyx. Those, on the contrary, who are filled with faith, and being free from doubt, amass a stock of merit in order to be born in the world Sukhâvatî, and conceive, believe, and trust in the perfect knowledge of the blessed Buddhas, they, being born miraculously, appear sitting cross-legged in the flowers of the lotus. And those noble-minded Bodhisattvas, O Agita, who, living in other Buddha countries, raise their thought in order to see Amitâbha, the Tathâgata, holy and fully enlightened, who never entertain a doubt, believe in the perfect knowledge of Buddha and in their own stock of merit, for them, being born miraculously, and appearing cross-legged, there is,

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in one minute, such a body as that of other beings who have been born there long before.—*Ibid, pp. 45, 62-3.*

(3) **Heaven won by Contemplation.**—Then again all beings, O Śâriputra, ought to make fervent prayer for that Buddha country. And why? Because they come together there with such excellent men. Beings are not born in that Buddha country of the Tathâgata Amitâyus as a reward and result of good works performed in this present life. No, whatever son or daughter of a family shall hear the name of the blessed Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, and having heard it, shall keep it in mind and with thoughts undisturbed shall keep it in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six or seven nights, when that son or daughter of a family comes to die, then that Amitâyus, the Tathâgata, surrounded by an assembly of disciples and followed by a host of Bodhisattvas, will stand before them at their hour of death, and they will depart this life with tranquil minds. After their death they will be born in the world Sukhâvatî, in the Buddha country of the same Amitâyus, the Tathâgata. Therefore, then, O Śâriputra, having perceived this cause and effect, I with reverence say thus: Every son and every daughter of a family ought with their whole mind to make fervent prayer for that Buddha country.—*Ibid, pp. 98-9.*

(4) **Heaven Won by Morality, Monachism, and Meditation.**—Those who wish to be born in that country of Buddha have to cultivate a threefold goodness. Firstly, they should act filially towards their parents and support them; serve and respect their teachers and elders; be of compassionate mind, abstain from doing any injury, and cultivate the ten virtuous actions. Secondly, they should take and observe the vow of seeking refuge with the Three Jewels, fulfill all moral precepts, and not lower their dignity or neglect any ceremonial observance. Thirdly, they should give their whole mind to the attainment of the Bodhi (perfect wisdom), deeply believe in (the principle of) cause and effect, study and recite (the Sûtras of) the Mahâyâna doctrine, and persuade and encourage others who pursue the same course as themselves.—*Ibid, pp. 167-8.*

(5) **Heaven Won by Adoration.**—Next are the beings who will be born in the highest form of the lowest grade. If there be anyone who commits many evil deeds, provided that he does not speak evil of the Mahâvaipulya Sûtras, he, though himself a very stupid man, and neither ashamed nor sorry for all the evil actions that he has done, yet, while dying, may meet a good and learned teacher who will recite and laud the headings and titles of the twelve divisions of the Mahâyâna scriptures. Having thus heard the names of all the Sûtras, he will be freed from the greatest sins which would involve him in births and deaths during a thousand kalpas.

A wise man also will teach him to stretch forth his folded hands and to say, "Adoration to Buddha Amitâyus" (Namo-mitâbhâya Buddhâya, or, Namo-mitâyushe Buddhâya). Having uttered the name of the Buddha, he will be freed from the sins which would otherwise involve him in births and deaths for fifty millions of kalpas. Thereupon the Buddha will send a created Buddha, and the created Bodhisattvas Avalokiteshvara and Mahâsthana, to approach that person with words of praise, saying: "O son of a noble family, as thou hast uttered the name of that Buddha, all thy sins have been destroyed and expiated, and therefore we now come to meet thee." After this speech the devotee will observe the rays of that created Buddha flooding his chamber with light, and while rejoicing at the sight he will depart this life. Seated on a lotus-flower he will follow that created Buddha and go to be born in the jewel-lake.

After the lapse of seven weeks, the lotus-flower will unfold, when the great compassionate Bodhisattvas Avalokiteshvara and Mahâsthana will stand before him, flashing forth magnificent rays, and will preach to him the deepest meaning of the twelve divisions of the scriptures. Having heard this, he will understand and believe it, and cherish the thought of attaining the highest Bodhi. In a period of ten lesser kalpas he will gain entrance to the knowledge of the hundred (divisions of) nature, and be able to enter upon the first (joyful) stage (of Bodhisattva). Those who have had an opportunity of hearing the name of Buddha, the name of the Law, and the name of the Church—the names of the Three Jewels—can also be born (in that country).—*Ibid, pp. 195-6.*

(6) **Nihilism.**—And again, O Subhûti, a gift should not be given by a Bodhisattva, while he believes in objects; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in anything; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in form; a gift should not be given by him, while he believes in the special qualities of sound, smell, taste, and touch. For thus, O Subhûti, should a gift be given by a noble-minded Bodhisattva, that he should not believe even in the idea of cause. And why? Because that Bodhisattva, O Subhûti, who gives a gift, without believing in anything, the measure of his stock of merit is not easy to learn. What do you think, O Subhûti, is it easy to learn the measure of space in the eastern quarter? Subhûti said: Not indeed, O Bhagavat. Bhagavat said: In like manner, is it easy to learn the measure of space in the southern, western, northern quarters, below and above (nadir and zenith), in quarters and subquarters, in the ten quarters all round? Subhûti said: Not indeed, O Bhagavat. Bhagavat said: In the same manner, O Subhûti, the measure of the stock of merit of a Bodhisattva, who gives a gift without believing in anything, is not easy to learn. And thus indeed, O Subhûti, should one who has entered on the path of Bodhisattvas give a gift, that he should not believe even in the idea of cause. . . . And why? Because, O Subhûti, there does not exist in these noble-minded Bodhisattvas the idea of self, there does not exist the idea of a being, the idea of a living being, the idea of a person. Nor does there exist, O Subhûti, for these noble-minded Bodhisattvas the idea of quality (dharma), nor of no-quality. Neither does there exist, O Subhûti, any idea (saṃgñâ) or no-idea. And why? Because, O Subhûti, if there existed for these noble-minded Bodhisattvas the idea of quality, then they would believe in a self, they would believe in a being, they would believe in a living being, they would believe in a person. And if there existed for them the idea of no-quality, even then they would believe in a self, they would believe in a being, they would believe in a living being, they would believe in a person. And why? Because, O Subhûti, neither quality nor no-quality is to be accepted by a noble-minded Bodhisattva. Therefore this hidden saying has been preached by the Tathâgata: "By those who know the teaching of the Law, as like unto a raft, all qualities indeed must be abandoned; much more no-qualities."—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XLIX., pp. 114-15, 117-18.*

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11. BUDDHISM IN TIBET AND CHINA.



Temple in Canton.

Bodhism was introduced into Tibet 640 A.D., but made little progress against the Mongolian shamanism prevalent there until 747 A.D., when Padma-Sambhava was summoned by the king. Padma is now deified, and as celebrated in Tibet as is Shakya-Muni himself; but Bodhism to this day only veneers the native and imported Shaivite magic and demonolatry. In the fifteenth century Tson-Ka-pa, also now deified, established a highly ritualistic service, probably in imitation of Roman missionaries then active near his home in West China. Among other crudities is the prayer-wheel, which is a water-wheel, devised to continually turn a scroll bearing the invocation *Om, mani padme, Om*, "Om, the jewel in the lotus, Om," and the belief that the two Grand Llamas are always incarnations of *Amitabha* and *Avalokiteshvara*.

Buddhism, but much more Bodhism, has labored in China since the first century A.D., but never became the dominant faith, as in Tibet. In the fourth century Chinese monks were ordained. Since then Bodhism has experienced a varied lot in alternate favor and persecution. As a rule the *literati* do not profess it, and its monachism is opposed equally to the industry and filial piety of the Chinese.



Tibetan Prayer-wheel.

The various sects are founded on various Sutras, all of Indian origin. *Mito* (for *Amitabha*) and *Kwan-yin* (for *Avalokiteshvara*, now become *Shakti* and therefore female) are far more important deities than is *Fo* (for Buddha). The pious look for exemption from rebirth in *Mito's* Paradise in the West. Bodhist cult consists in the elaborate and unrestricted worship of idols contained in temples, and of relics in pagodas. In exorcism and other magical practices, it competes with the native Taoism; and these two, with Confucianism, combine to supply the religious needs of the Chinese. (Consult further page 149.)

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12. BODHISM IN JAPAN.

From China Bodhism was carried to Korea, and thence in the sixth century to Japan, then a barbarian land with some million inhabitants. In the eighth century the court was won, and in the ninth the famous Kobo Daishi, by identifying the native Shinto deities as *avataras* of Buddhas, won over much people to his Ryobu, "Two-faced," doctrine. Other sects flourished, and from the ninth to the sixteenth century Buddhism reigned supreme in Japan as it never did in China. It found the Japanese barbarians and made them civilized, not only in religion, but in art, education, and morality. Particularly during the frequent civil wars, did the monasteries preserve culture for the Japanese. In the seventeenth century a revival of Chinese learning — always at the same time historic and anti-Buddhistic — incited the scholars (*cf.* p. 170) of Japan to a study of the native history and antiquities, among which Shinto was in time resuscitated, and, at the revolution of 1868, declared the State religion. Buddhism has slowly rallied since this blow, while Shinto is again shrinking. Besides nine sects introduced from China, five of which are now extinct, three, and those by far the most popular, are of Japanese origin, though based on Sanskrit sutras brought from India. Thus both the Jodo Shu (founded in the twelfth century) and the Shin Shu (in the thirteenth) are based on those sutras described in Lesson 11 as concerning *Amitabha* and Sukhavati. Both also expressly aimed at making Bodhism more practicable for the careless masses. Thus the Jodo Shu turned the special provision in the Amitayus-Dhyana-Sutra into its general method of salvation, viz., repetition of the name of *Amida* (=Sanskrit, *Amitabha.*) (1) The Shin Shu teaches further to abandon even this slight claim to merit, and to rely wholly on the power of *Amida's* prayer, made while as yet a monk, that those who repeated his name ten times might be born in Sukhavati. This sect, sometimes called "Reformed Buddhism," has abandoned celibacy for its clergy, decries magic, penance, pilgrimages, etc., and seems in general open to progress. (2) The antinomianism has its usually demoralizing effect here, for the adherents of Shin Shu are accounted the least moral of any Buddhists in Japan. Finally, the Nichiren Shu was founded in the thirteenth century on the basis of another Bodhist Sutra,



Bodhist Priest in Japan.

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the Saddharma Pundarika or "Lotus of the True Law." It is exceedingly polytheistic, magical, noisy, and in general degraded, though at the same time the most intolerant of all the sects. Second only to *Amida* in popularity stands *Kwannon Bosatsu* (= Sanskrit, *Avalokiteshvara Bodhisattva*), whose gilded images, with many arms, are conspicuous everywhere, while that of *Shaka San* (= Sanskrit, Shakyamuni), is comparatively quite rare.

Buddhism must be reckoned the dominant religious influence for the Japanese, as the proportion of Buddhist priests and temples still shows, though the influence of Shintoism and Confucianism should never be forgotten.

Japanese art has fashioned for this polytheistic Bodhism temples, idols, cultus-implements, and robes of exceeding dignity and beauty, certainly unexcelled in the wide world, and greatly ministering to the religious spirit. Among a myriad others stand pre-eminent the superb bronze image of *Amida Buddha* at Kamakura, and the great bronze bell at Kyoto, each the largest and among the finest in the world. The cult performed in these temples has reverted, along with the polytheistic creed, to the ancient forms of food and other offerings. From far and near stream the pilgrims to the more notable of these temples, especially in the springtime, and hither the ashes of the blessed dead (*hotoke*) were carried by their friends to rest beside the remains of some great saint or other. Even Shinto priests were once buried according to Bodhist rites, and, along with the funerals, the whole ancestor cult fell into the hands of Bodhism.

Preaching is done at irregular times. Laymen keep in their houses a *Butsudan* or wooden shrine, elaborately and beautifully equipped as a miniature temple. Some member of the family must every morning place in it a small portion of rice, and repeat several times a brief invocation, such as "*Namu Amida*," "Glory to *Amida*." Bodhism in Japan, as in China, stands in deep decay. Ruined temples are numerous, while their idols and pictures have been exported by hundreds to Europe and America.

12. BODHISM IN JAPAN.

(1) **The Jodo Shu or "Pure Land Sect."**—In 424 A.D., Kâlayasas (Kyō-ryō-ya-sha) arrived in China from India and translated the Amitâyus-dhyâna-sûtra (Kwan-mu-ryō-ju-kyō) in one volume. This is the second longest of the three sacred books. An outline of this sûtra is as follows: Vaidehi, consort of King Bimbisâra of Magadha, seeing the wicked actions of her son Agâtasatru, began to feel weary of this world, Sahâ (Sha-ba, or "enduring"). Sâkyamuni then taught her how to be born in the Pure Land, Sukhâvatî, instructing her in the method of being born in that world, enumerating three kinds of good actions. The first is worldly goodness, which includes good actions in general, such as filial piety, respect for elders, loyalty, faithfulness, etc. The second is the goodness of Sîla or morality, in which there are differences between the priesthood and the laity. In short, however, all that do not oppose the general rule of reproving wickedness and exhorting to the practice of virtue are included in this goodness. The third is the goodness of practice, which includes that of the four Satyas or truths and the six Pâramitâs or perfections. Besides these all other pure and good actions, such as the reading and recital of the Mahâyâna-sûtras, persuading others to hear the Law, and thirteen kinds of goodness to be practiced by fixed thought, are comprised in this. Towards the end of the Sûtra Buddha says: "Let not one's voice cease, but ten times complete the thought, and repeat Namo'mitâbhâya Buddhâya (Na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu), or Adoration to Amitâbha Buddha." This practice is the most excellent of all.

Now, as the present time belongs to the Latter Day of the Law (Mappō), people become insincere, their covetousness and anger daily increase, and their contentions yearly arise. The three trainings already alluded to are the correct cause of deliverance; but if people think them as useless as last year's almanac, when can they complete their deliverance? Gen-ku, therefore, deeply thinking of this, shut up the gate of the Holy Path and opened that of the Pure Land. For in the former the effect of deliverance is expected in this world by the three trainings of morality, thought and learning; and in the latter the great fruit of going to be born in the Pure Land after death is expected through the sole practice of repeating Buddha's name. Moreover, it is not easy to accomplish the cause and effect of the Holy Path. But those of the doctrine of the Pure Land are both very easy to be completed. This difference is compared with going by land and water in Ryūju's work. Both the gates of the Holy Path and Pure Land, being the doctrine of Mahâyâna, have the same object to attain to the state of Buddhahood. As the time and people for the two gates are not the same, the doctrines are necessarily different, just as one uses a carriage on the land, while another employs a ship upon the water.—*B. Nanjio*, "*Twelve Japanese Buddhist Sects*," *pp. 105-6, 110-11.*

(2) **The Shin Shu or "True Sect."**—The full name of the sect is Jō-do-shin-shū, or "True Sect of the Pure Land." The Pure Land is the term antithetical to that of the Shō-dō or Holy Path.

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The object of the followers of this sect is to be born in the Pure Land Sukhâvatî of Amitâbha. The third word Shin or "True" is used to show the antithesis to the Gon-ke-hō-ben, or "Temporary expedients." Among those who follow the doctrine of the Pure Land, there are several different systems of teaching, which are as follows: Some say that we should practice various good works, bring our stock of merits to maturity, and be born in the Pure Land. Others say that we should repeat only the name of Amitâbha Buddha, in order to be born in his Pure Land, by the merit produced from such repetition. These doctrines are all considered as yet the temporary expedients. To rely upon the power of the Original Prayer of Amitâbha Buddha with the whole heart and give up all idea of Ji-riki or "self-power" is called the truth. This truth is the doctrine of this sect. Therefore it is called the Shin-shū, or True sect.

As has already been stated, the foundation of the doctrine of this sect is the Original Prayer of Amitâbha Buddha. Therefore its faith and practice have for their only object to follow the "Other Power of the Original Prayer" (Hon-gwan-ta-riki), and to go to be born in the Pure Land of the Buddha. The Original Prayer is the eighteenth of his forty-eight prayers, which is as follows: "If any of living beings of the ten regions, who have believed in me with true thoughts and desire to be born in my country, and have even to ten times repeated the thought (of my name), should not be born there, then may I not obtain the perfect knowledge."

This Original Prayer sprang from his great compassionate desire, which longed to deliver living beings from suffering. With this Original Prayer, he practiced good actions during many kalpas, intending to bring his stock of merits to maturity for the sake of other living beings. All his actions, speeches and thoughts were always pure and true, so that he accomplished his great compassionate desire. It is also called the great and wide wisdom of Buddha. This Prayer and Practice excelled those of all other Buddhas. The state of Buddha, which is the fruit of such a cause, is called Amida, or Amitâbha and Amitâyus, that is, "Immeasurable Light" and "Immeasurable Life." It also means the perfection and unlimitedness of wisdom and compassion. Therefore he can take hold of the faithful beings within his own light and let them go to be born in his Pure Land. This is called the "Other Power of the Original Prayer."

For this reason, this is called the faith in the "Other Power" (Tariki).

If we dwell in such a faith, our practice follows spontaneously, as we feel thankful for the favor of Buddha, remember his mercy, and repeat his name. This is the "repetition of the thought (of Buddha's name) only ten times," as spoken in the Original Prayer. It does, of course, not limit to the number ten, so that the words Nai-shi, or "even to," are added. There will be some who may repeat the name of Buddha for the whole life, while walking, dwelling, sitting or lying down. Some may, however, do the Nem-butsu, or "remembrance of Buddha," only once before they die. Whether often or not, our practice of repeating Buddha's name certainly follows our faith. This is explained as we can constantly practice Buddha's compassion, because we share the great merciful heart of Buddha. Again, this Nem-butsu does not only mean to invocate Buddha's name, but the body and thought are also in correspondence with it, and not separated from the Buddha's mercy. This is not the action of the "self-power" of ignorant people. It is therefore called the practice of the "Other Power" (Ta-riki-no-ki-gyō).

This faith and practice are easy of attainment by any one. Accordingly, the general Buddhistic rules of "becoming homeless, and free from worldly desires, in order to attain to Buddhahood," are not considered as essential in this sect. Consequently, even the priests of the sect are allowed to marry and eat flesh and fish, while those of all other Buddhist sects are strictly prohibited from doing so.

Those who belong to this sect are recommended to keep to their occupation properly, and to discharge their duty, so as to be able to live in harmony. They should also cultivate their persons and regulate their families. They should keep order and obey the laws of the government, and do the best for the sake of the country. Buddha says in the Great Sûtra (*i.e.*, the larger Sukhâvatîvyûha): "You should separate yourselves from all evil, and select and practice what is good, thinking and considering well." The followers of this sect are already in correspondence with the Original Prayer of Amitâbha Buddha, so that they are also in harmony with the instruction of Śâkyamuni, and the general teaching on morality. This is the Sa*mvri*ti-satya (Zoku-tai), or truth by general consent, a part of the doctrine of this sect, which has reference to the distinction of good and evil in conduct in this world.



Great Bronze Image of Amida, at Kamakura, Japan.

Now, as to the Paramârtha-satya (Shindai), or "true truth," which refers to the distinction of belief and doubt in the mind, what benefits do the believers derive by their putting faith in Buddha? In the present life, they become the members of the Samyaktva-râśi (Shō-jō-ju), or "mass of absolute truth." In the next life they attain to Nirvâ*n*a (Metsu-do).

In the first place, the mass of absolute truth means the class of beings who will certainly be born in the Pure Land of Amitâbha Buddha, and attain to Nirvâ*n*a there in the next life. They are taken hold of within the light of Amitâbha Buddha,

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joyful in heart, practicing always the great compassion of Buddha, and suffer transmigration no more. Therefore they are called Avaivartikas (Fu-tai-ten), or "those who never return again." They derive this benefit at the moment of their putting faith in Buddha.

In the second place, to attain to Nirvâna means to enter the state of enlightenment of Amitâbha Buddha, as soon as they are born in this Pure Land. The cause of their going there is to receive the great mercy and wisdom of Buddha; so that they can most assuredly attain to the state of Buddha (or Nirvâna), in which both the mercy and wisdom are full and perfect. The cause and effect are quite natural indeed. Those who belong to several schools of the Holy Path have to practice the three trainings of the higher morality, thought and learning, with their own power, and destroy all human passions, in order to attain to Nirvâna. Those of the other schools of the doctrine of the Pure Land are said to attain to Buddhahood, having practiced good works for a long time in the Pure Land, where they are born from here. But in the True sect, the difference is explained by the term O-jō-soku-jō-butsu, or "going to be born (in the Pure Land) is becoming Buddha." That is to say, when the believers abandon the impure body of the present life (*i.e.*, die) and are born in that Pure Land, they at once attain the highest and most excellent fruit of Nirvâna. This is because they simply rely upon the Other Power of the Original Prayer.

In this sect, neither spells nor supplications to Buddhas or other objects worshiped are employed for avoiding misfortunes, because misfortunes are originated either in the far causes of previous existences, or in those of the present life. The latter kind of causes should be carefully avoided; so that the believers in this doctrine, following Buddha's instruction, may become free from the present causes of misfortunes. But the far causes, having been originated in previous existences, cannot be stopped. As to the past, reproof is useless; but the future may be provided against. This is the reason why anything like a spell is not at all used in this sect. Moreover, the principle of Buddhism is to obtain release from the state of transmigration and enter that of Nirvâna. Then, no happiness or misfortune of this world can disturb the thoughts of the believers. But when they turn their thoughts towards the good of others, the peace of the world should of course be desired by them. If so, they should do nothing but follow the instruction of Buddha Śâkyamuni. Then there will follow ultimately such benefits as the world being harmonious, the country prosperous, and the people peaceful.—*Ibid., pp. 122, 125-126, 126, 130-131.*

SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **THE LAW OR DOCTRINE (CONTINUED).**—Four Noble Truths, Medicine, First Truth, Second, Third, Parinirvana.
8. **LAW OR DOCTRINE (CONTINUED).**—Fourth Noble Truths, Middle path, First fold, Second to fourth folds, Fifth fold, Sixth to eighth fold, Arbatship, Dasasila, Dhammapada, Jataka.
9. **THE ORDER OF MONKS (SAMGHA).**—Bhikku, Traits, Novices, Ordination, Refuge-formula, Pratimoksha, Upasaka, Festivals, Relics, Offerings.
10. **HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA. BODHISM.**—Two councils, Ashoka, Kanishka, Mahayana, Bodhism, Bhakti and jnana, Dhyani, Amitabha, Sukhavati, Hiouen Thsang, Decline, Death.
11. **BODHISM IN TIBET AND CHINA.**—Padma Sambhava, Tson-ka-pa, Grand Llamas, Mito, Kwanyin.
12. **BODHISM IN JAPAN.**—Kobo Daishi, Ryobu, Sects, Jodo, Shin, Nichiren.

QUESTIONS.

7. *Repeat the Four Noble Truths. Explain the first, the second, the third. When is Nirvana reached? What is Parinirvana?*
8. *What was the fourth noble truth? Between what was it a middle course? State the several paths in turn. Repeat the dasasila. Characterize Buddhist morality.*
9. *Describe the Buddhist fraternity. How did it differ from others? How was entrance secured? How dismissal? Describe the pratimoksha. Describe the cult of Buddhism.*
10. *Explain the first two councils. What did Ashoka do? What Kanishka? Define Bodhism. Distinguish from Buddhism. Define Dhyani. Who was Amitabha? When did Bodhism decline?*
11. *When was Bodhism introduced in Tibet? Sketch its history there. What is its real character? Who are the favorite Bodhist deities worshiped in China?*
12. *What method did Kobo Daishi adopt? What is an avatara? How many Bodhist sects are of Japanese origin? Characterize the Jodo, the Shin, the Nichiren.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Is Buddhism right or wrong in its First Noble Truth, and why?*
2. *Compare and contrast the dasasila with the decalogue.*
3. *Discuss the propriety of a monastic order.*
4. *Did Constantine and Ashoka do more harm or good to their respective religions?*
5. *What would fit a religion for world-wide adoption?*
6. *Consider how monasticism in clergy leads to latitudinarianism in laity.*

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OUTLINES OF THE MAHÂYÂNA

AS TAUGHT BY BUDDHA.

BY S. KURODA, Superintendent of Education of the Jôdo-Sect.

Carefully Examined by the Scholars of the Tendai, Shingon, Rinzai, Sôtô and Shin Sects, and Translated by M. Waku, Chief Instructor, and Y. Kano and M. Naraito, Teachers of English at the Jôdôshugaku-Honkô.

Edited by BUKKO GAKKUWAI, Asakusa, Tokio, Japan, 26th Year of Meiji, 1893.

13. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, AND CHAPTER I.

TWO thousand nine hundred and twenty years ago (B.C. 1027), our Great Sage, the world-honored Siddhârtha, was born in the palace of his father, Râja Suddhodana, in the city of Kapilvastu, Magadha. Lamenting that men are inevitably subject to the sufferings of sickness, old age and death, he, in his nineteenth year, forsook his heirship to the kingdom and all his precious possessions, and secretly stole out of the palace into the mountains to seek the path by which he should be able to escape from these sufferings and to attain to the perfect emancipation. Six years he spent in meditation and asceticism; but finding that asceticism was not the path he was seeking, he abandoned it, and retired to the shade of the Bodhi tree to meditate upon the truth of nature. At last, having clearly perceived the true nature of mind, he attained to the perfect enlightenment, and henceforward he was Śâkya-Muni. This was in his thirtieth year. After that, for fifty years, he exerted himself teaching and enlightening sentient beings till, at the age of seventy-nine, he left this world.

The precepts and doctrines of Buddha are very extensive and numerous, but they are all included in the "Mahâyâna" and "Hînayâna." The doctrine of "Hînayâna" teaches us how to arrive at Nirvâṇa by renouncing the miseries of birth and death, and is, therefore, called the "doctrine of attaining to enlightenment through the perception of misery." In the Mahâyâna, birth and death, as well as Nirvâṇa itself, are taken to be one and the same; and to reap the grand fruit of Buddhahood by cultivating the great wisdom is its aim. Hence it is called the "doctrine of attaining to enlightenment by perceiving the non-existence of all things." Though these two doctrines are not without differences, they were both taught by one Buddha, and are one and the same in their aim of removing the delusions of men and of leading them to the true enlightenment. They are nothing but different aspects of the same principle, adapted to the capacities of converts; and thus the Mahâyâna doctrine comprehends the whole of the Hînayâna.

One thousand and sixteen years after Buddha's departure from this world (A.D. 67), Buddhism was introduced into China; and four hundred and eighty-five years later (A.D. 552), it came over to Japan. The doctrines thus propagated were those of the Mahâyâna and Hînayâna, of course. But in Japan all sects that arose were founded upon the former doctrine, while the latter was and is being studied by the Buddhist scholars only as a secondary branch of religious knowledge. In Southern India, Ceylon, Birmah, Siam, etc., only the Hînayâna is taught. In Nepal (Northern India), Thibet, China and Corea, the Mahâyâna doctrine prevails more or less. After the lapse of three thousand years, during which Buddhism has been extensively spread over the East, the two doctrines of Mahâyâna and Hînayâna are found still well defined and flourishing in our country.

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The sound of a large bell reaches far and wide, but the bell must be rung; the doctrines of a great sage are by no means restricted to a small district, but opportunities for their propagation must be utilized. That Buddhism has been propagated over the East only and never spread to the West, is to be regretted indeed, but cannot now be helped. The advancement of science, however, seems to induce the Christian people of the West to inquire into Buddhism. When it was first made known to them, even the Hînayâna doctrine of Southern India was highly admired by them. How much more, then, must they not glorify the wonderful doctrine of Mahâyâna! Since the Restoration of Meiji, the followers of Buddhism in our country had always had in their mind the propagation of Buddhism to the Western countries, and are only waiting for an opportunity. . . . The "Bukkyô-Gakkuwai," a society whose sole aim is the propagation of Buddhism, resolved to take advantage of this opportunity to impart to those Christians who are willing to receive truth the light of Buddhism, and thus to discharge their duty towards them as Buddhists and fellow-men. For this purpose they entrusted the author with the preparation of a short treatise on Buddhism. Strong sympathy induced the author to undertake the task. First invoking the help of Buddha, and then consulting the writings of ancient sages, he has written, without prejudice to any of the different sects, this epitome upon the Mahâyâna, in which some attention is also given to the Hînayâna doctrine.

The doctrine of Mahâyâna is both wide and deep, and can hardly be treated of exhaustively. But should the readers carefully study the few chapters of this treatise, they will be able to form clear ideas of the doctrine itself. A few words upon the arrangements and connections of the chapters in this treatise may not, the author thinks, be altogether useless to the readers.

The purpose of Buddha's preaching was to bring into light the permanent truth, to reveal the root of all sufferings, and thus to lead all sentient beings into the path of the perfect emancipation from all passions. Harmony with this path, therefore, brings out every beauty of virtue; admits every true science; enlightens every class of men, monarchs and subjects, noble and humble, rich and poor, strong and weak, and makes every country prosperous. Those who are not acquainted with the purpose of Buddha, however, are apt, in professing Buddhism, to stick to one corner only in neglect of the other three, and to hold perverted and heretical views contrary to the true aspect of the perfect emancipation. This must be first borne in mind by those who study Buddhism. The author, therefore, sets forth the Principiles of Buddha's Teaching in the first chapter.

The benefits which Buddhism bestows are very numerous. In their substance and ultimate end, they may be summed up as leading men to the perfect emancipation by breaking through their delusions, and as enabling them to benefit gods and men through their achievements of great wisdom and felicity. A religion however excellent, virtue however praiseworthy, learning however profound, wisdom however great, are not in concord with the path of emancipation if they are colored by the least prejudice. Thus the good sayings and the good conduct of those who have not true views are compared by the Bodhisattva Nâgârjuna to words accidentally formed on boards by the wood-worm, for such sayings and such conduct are not inspired by the light of wisdom. The aim of Buddhism is to rouse men to the true view by breaking up delusions, and to lead them to the path of perfect emancipation and Nirvâna. So the author has treated of Emancipation and Nirvâna in the second chapter.

To attain the perfect emancipation, the ultimate aim of Buddhism, one must understand, and believe in, the law of cause and effect. All occurrences in the world, the phenomena of birth and death, the states visible and invisible, all are rigidly governed by the law of cause and effect. It is only after the full understanding of this principle that the truth of non-individuality can be comprehended, that

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the perfect emancipation can be attained ; by this alone, all good conduct and all virtues, such as pity, benevolence, etc., are called forth, and all bases of virtue, such as forbearance, energy, etc., are perfected. The causal connection between actions and effects, therefore, is the topic of the third chapter.

Having understood the law of causation, one must know that the states in which Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and gods are, and the results which appear in the three worlds and six states, are all sprung up through the force of this law, and that they are limitless. The causal aspect of things pure and impure is, therefore, treated of in the fourth chapter.

But though the law of causation extends to all things and is limitless in its dominion, all these things are yet but waves raised on the sea of man's mysterious mind. There are no natural Buddhas nor natural gods. Let us, therefore, believe in the mysterious nature of mind and try to unveil its true essence by practicing all virtue forever and everywhere in infinite time and space ; for in this way Sâkya-muni and all other Buddhas of the past ages have arrived at the perfect enlighten-ment. Let us, therefore, follow the holy track of Buddhas and achieve the perfect enlightenment, for the wonderful essence of our mind is not different from that of Buddhas. The fifth chapter is, therefore, allotted to a discussion of the principle that all things are nothing but mind.

The doctrines of Buddha are numbered at over eighty thousand, but they were only doctrines applicable to special circumstances. Though the gates are thus very numerous, yet they all lead to the palace of the perfect emancipation, the goal of Buddhism. The separation of the adherents of the Mahâyâna into various sects after Buddha's departure from this world is also due adaptation to special circum-stances. And though different sects are not without their differences, they have yet but one and the same aim. The author thus concludes this treatise with a chapter on Sects in Buddhism.

The doctrine of Mahâyâna, however, is both wide and deep. It can hardly be communicated by words nor understood by thinking, and it is certainly impossible to give it the full significance it deserves in a treatise so short as this. This is, therefore, only a very rough sketch of the Mahâyâna. Moreover, the author does not make any claim to literary ability, and there may be many passages that are not sufficiently clear. But should the readers read and re-read this treatise and ponder over its contents, the help of Buddhas shall come from without, the wonder-ful nature of their mind shall reveal itself from within, and the doctrine of the Mahâyâna shall be clearly understood.

PRINCIPLES OF BUDDHA'S TEACHING.—TRUE NATURE OF BUDDHISM.

All sentient beings, enwrapped by absurd covetousness, are suffering from innumer-able pains, without being able to enjoy the highest and everlasting happiness. Bhagavat Sâkya, taking pity on their miserable condition, came to this world, and breaking off their attachment to this covetousness, showed them the path to the true "Moksha" (perfect emancipation from all passions).

There is nothing in things themselves that enables us to distinguish in them either good or evil, right or wrong. It is but man's fancy that weighs their merits and causes him to choose one and to reject the other. Buddha's insight into things, his words, and actions were in perfect accord with truth itself ; and in the teachings of his whole life, he never set forth unchanging doctrine by establishing fixed dogmas. Although "Anâtman" (non-individuality) is the general principle of Buddhism, yet his teaching this principle was meant not so much to show the true meaning of "Anâtman" as to destroy man's erroneous attachment to ego. Thus Kâtyâna, a disciple of Buddha, was justly reproved by him for insisting on the doctrine of "Anâtman." When he said, "Things exist," he did not mean to show their real existence ; nor to teach their non-existence when he said, "Things do not exist."

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He only meant to discard the prejudiced attachment to either of the doctrines, and to make men follow the absolute truth of nature. As Confucius, though he taught filial duty differently on different occasions, never missed its essential principle; or as the means for governing states, however various they may be, have the sole object of promoting the welfare and securing the happiness of the people, so it is also with everything that Buddha has said or done. Though from the words and sentences of his teaching different and diverse imports might be collected, yet his sole end was to lead men to the path of the true Moksha.

The doctrines of Buddhism are estimated to be eighty-four thousand in number, yet they have no fixed forms; so that in the teachings of Buddha through his whole life neither invariable doctrines nor biased adherence to any of them can be found. In the "Sûtra" (discourses of Buddha) it is written that Buddha never uttered even one word since his attainment to the perfect enlightenment; in the "Abhidharma" (discourses of Bodhisattva), the biased observance of disciplines and precepts are blamed.

He who tries to find out the essence of Buddhism from the mere words of the Sûtras, though he read through thousands of volumes, shall never be able to comprehend it fully; and what little he thinks he has comprehended, may not be free from erroneous conceptions. Thus Mahâdeva (who lived about one hundred years after Buddha) perused the whole Tripiṭaka, but gained nothing; while Suddhipamhaka, a disciple of Buddha, read only a short piece from the Sûtra, and amid his menial duties of sweeping in a monastery he realized the essence of Buddhism. The true meaning of Buddhism, therefore, can not be sought in the mere words and sentences of the Sûtras. Those who study Buddhism, without comprehending the true reason of Buddha's teaching, and see fixity in its doctrines, are not different from heretics. They may be compared to blind men standing on the brink of a precipice. As the pure water that passes through the throat of a poisonous reptile becomes itself poisonous, so in the ordinary mind that seeks Buddhism in the words and sentences of the Sûtras every word and every sentence becomes impregnated with prejudices, and the true path to Moksha can not be found.

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14. CHAPTERS II., III. AND IV.

"MOKSHA" AND "NIRVÂNA."—OBJECT OF BUDDHISM.

Sentient beings, roving within the two spheres of pain and pleasure, are trying to seek the latter and to shun the former. This desire is the manifestation in them of the natural attributes of things; but being compelled, in consequence of their "Karma" (actions) to enjoy pleasure or to suffer pain, and restrained by favorable or unfavorable circumstances, they have no freedom. In ancient times there were in India ninety-five schools of heretics, whose views, though different in particulars, agreed in the belief that the "Palace of Heaven" was the place of emancipation. This false view came from their not understanding the principle that effects depend upon causes, and from their thinking the world of man the region of pains and crimes, and the "Palace of Heaven" the place of peaceful enjoyment and emancipation.

Being ignorant of the causes of pain and pleasure, and incapable of knowing the true nature of Moksha, the ordinary minds, on account of their own false discriminations and blind attachments, roam about within the world of man, Heaven, and the worlds of unmixed miseries. Of these, the worst are the three worlds of miseries (of beasts, hungry ghost, and hell), the best is Heaven, and the world of man is a place where good and evil are mingled. Those who are in the world of man are exempted from the worst evils; and those who are in Heaven are freed

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from the evils found in the world of man. But to be partly free from evil is not perfect emancipation; nor is enjoying a part of excellent fruit perfect happiness. There is no restraint in things nor discrimination in mind. When one is freed from these restraints and discriminations, mind becomes pure, and the true Moksha is attained, no matter whether it be in Heaven or in the world of man.

There is no distinction between right and wrong in things; it is man's own conjecture that makes the distinction. In any doctrine there is nothing either agreeable or disagreeable; it is man's inclination that makes it the one or the other. Men are given to joy and sorrow; their dispositions are capricious; and blinded by worldliness, they see not the true path. There are some who think their learning the most profound, and disparage that of others. There are others who, addicted to the belief they were well taught, show increasing respect for their own belief, and at the same time increasing disgust for that of others. All this originates from prejudice and over-confidence. Not knowing that they are masters of their own mind, such men take their mind to be their masters; hence abundance of trivial controversies. The delusion of attachments, of distinctions between one's own self and that of others, interior and exterior, subject and object, rough and fine, shallow and deep, thick and thin, etc., is clearly explained in the "Abhidharmapi*ṭ*aka."

Rising above love and hatred, not seeing friend or enemy, right or wrong, and abiding in the truth even among worldly relations, passing the time peacefully, and thus attaining to perfect freedom from all restraints; this is the state of the true Moksha. To be free from all pains of restraint and to reach the state of the perfect and everlasting happiness—this is the highest Nirvâ*ṇ*a; for then all mental phenomena, such as blind desires, etc., are annihilated. And as such mental phenomena are annihilated, there appears true nature of mind with all its innumerable functions and miraculous actions. Nirvâ*ṇ*a, therefore, is by no means a state of mere extinction. Nor is Moksha necessarily very far off. It is said in the Sûtras that a Bodhisattva sees Moksha in the unenlightened mind of living beings; again it is stated in the "Abhidharma" that Moksha is open to all, to clergy and laity, to high and low, to great and humble. In the Hînayâna, mind and body are considered as the sources of pain, and consequently Moksha is equivalent to the leaving of the six states of life (deva, man, asura, beast, hungry ghost, and hell), giving up mind and body, and Nirvâ*ṇ*a is to attain to the eternal extinction of them. This view comes from the doctrine called "seeking extinction," and is only a partial exposition of Buddhism. The true nature of Moksha and Nirvâ*ṇ*a, therefore, cannot be understood from the point of view of the Hînayâna alone.

ACTIONS AND RESULTS. CAUSES AND EFFECTS.—THE LAW OF GENERATION AND EXTINCTION OF ALL THINGS.

The truth is one and the same in all times and is universal. When the clouds gather and rain falls, plants grow. The law of causation extends to all things of the universe, and manifests itself unmistakably wherever causes are accompanied by favorable conditions. Where there is a cause, there is an effect, as the echo follows the sound. Without sowing the farmer will wait for a harvest in vain; the monarch who oppresses his subjects cannot expect peace; for the expectations of these two are against the law of causation. A cause is invariably accompanied with its corresponding effect, and an effect has, of necessity, a corresponding cause that produced it. To produce an effect, however, a cause requires adventitious aid from without. These prerequisites are called conditions. Seed, for example, is a cause, the plant is its effect, and rain, dew, water, soil, light, heat, etc., are favorable conditions. There is no reason why a cause accompanied with favorable conditions would not produce its effect. Sa*ṃ*sâra (ever-recurring births and deaths among the six worlds), distinction between the pure and impure, and the generation of all things, are rigidly subject to the law of cause and condition.

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Even Buddhas of the three ages (past, present, and future) have not been and shall not be able to alter this great law.

Among heretics, some forms of the theory of causation are also maintained; but they do not acknowledge that birth and death are caused by the co-operation of causes and conditions. There is a school of heretics that holds that the nature of all things is permanent. Before things take their forms, they are contained in "One"; when they take forms, they appear as mountains, rivers, men, etc.; and when they disappear, they are again absorbed in the "One." This "One" is called "Prakriti" (hidden element), and those which take forms are called the twenty-three "Tattvas" (realities), the former being the root of the latter. There is another school of heretics that maintains that the four great principles, earth, water, fire, and air, are the elements from which all things were and are being produced. From the combinations of these principles mind and body are formed; so are the heavens and the earth, the mountains and the rivers. Again, there is another body of heretics who hold that the universe and all things therein were created by a creator. The forgoing opinions have originated from the erroneous views called the Nâstika-dṛishṭi and the Astika-dṛishṭi. These heretics consider the nature of all things which are produced by causes and conditions as permanent or as created by an agent. This is the fallacious view called Astika-dṛishṭi, which invests the productions of fancy with reality, and may be likened to the effort of binding the moon upon the water with the hair of tortoises. Again, being unable to see the true origin of misery, they deny that all things owe their origin to causes and conditions, and, being ignorant of the principle of ever-recurring births and deaths, they acknowledge only the composition and decomposition of things. This is the Nâstika-dṛishṭi, which diminishes the nature of things through their fancies, and may be likened to the attempt of making a ship sail on a plain. The conceited and proud cherish these prejudices called "Nâstika-dṛishṭi" and "Astika-dṛishṭi," and ignore the law of causes and conditions. But were these heretics to comprehend this great law rightly, their theories of "Prakriti" or of the existence of a creator might be reconciled with Buddhism.

Wanderings in the six states of life depend upon the law of causation only. There are neither creators nor created, nor are men real beings. It is actions and causes that, under favorable conditions, give birth to them. For men are nothing more than the temporary combinations of five "Skandhas," or constituents (matter, perception, conception, will, knowledge). The beginning of this combination is their birth; its decomposition, their death. During the continuation of this combined state, good and bad actions are done, seeds of future happiness and pain are sown, and thus the alternation of birth and death goes on without end. Men are no real beings that wander about between birth and death by themselves, nor is there any ruler that makes them do this, but it is their own actions that bring about these results. The aggregate actions of all sentient beings give birth to the varieties of mountains, rivers, countries, etc. They are caused by aggregate actions, and so they are called "Adhipati-phala" (aggregate fruits). As those who are virtuous in their hearts are never wicked in their countenance, and as in the countries where good customs prevail good omens appear, and where people are wicked calamities arise, so men's aggregate actions bring forth their appropriate fruits. By the particular actions of individuals, each man receives mind and body corresponding to the causes at work, internal causes of actions being favored by external conditions. And as these good and bad actions, yield fruits, not when they are done, but at some future time, so they are called "Vipâka-phala" (fruits that ripen at some future time). The period from birth to death in which the body continues is the life of man; and that from formation to destruction, in which they assume similar forms, is the duration of countries, mountains, rivers, etc. The death of sentient beings, as well as the formation and destruction of countries, mountains, rivers, etc., are

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endless in their operation. As the circle which has no end, they also have neither beginning nor end. Though there exist neither real men nor real things, yet effects appear and disappear where actions are accompanied with conditions, just as the echo follows the sound; and all things, rough or fine, large or small, come and go every moment, without any fixed forms. Men and things, therefore, are mere names for durations in which similar forms continue.

Our present life is the reflection of past actions. Men consider these reflections as their real selves. Their eyes, noses, ears, tongues, and bodies, as well as their gardens, woods, farms, residences, servants, and maids, men imagine to be their own possessions; but, in fact, they are but results endlessly produced by innumerable actions. In tracing everything back to the ultimate limits of the past, we cannot find a beginning; hence it is said that birth and death have no beginning. Again, when seeking the ultimate limit of the future, we can not find the end. These facts caused Bodhisattvas to make the strong and steady resolution to attain Nirvâ*n*a and to save all beings. Those who, through this resolution, forsake all vices and practice all virtues, and thus attain to the highest Moksha, are called Buddhas.

PURE AND IMPURE CAUSES AND CONDITIONS.—REASON WHY THERE ARE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CONFUSION AND ENLIGHTENMENT.

The attributes possessed by the "*S*râvakas" and "Pratyeka-buddhas" (these are two kinds of sages, who strive after Nirvâ*n*a as taught in the Hînayâna,) "Bodhisattvas" (those who strive after Nirvâ*n*a as taught in the Mahâyâna), and "Buddhas," the actions done by them, and the countries they live in, are called "pure things." The attributes, actions, and countries of those who are in the worlds of gods, hells, hungry ghosts, brutes, and men are called "impure things." Pure things come from pure actions, and impure things from impure actions. What are called pure actions are those good actions done, after the desire for Moksha has once been awakened through the clear comprehension and the sincere and strong belief in the causality of the generation and extinction of all things. Those good actions that are done without men being aware of their doing good, without expectation of reward, and without perceiving the magnitudes of good, are also pure. Of pure actions there are two kinds, secular and ecclesiastical. All worldly virtues, such as loyalty, benevolence, etc., are secular good actions; while the practices which lead to Moksha and which are observed by those of the "Triyânâ," or three vehicles of "*S*râvaka," "Pratyeka-buddha," and "Bodhisattva," who cultivate the three learnings of precepts, meditation, and wisdom, are called ecclesiastical good actions. On the other hand, impure actions are those which cause the wanderings in the six worlds. In these there are also two kinds of good and evil. Impure good actions are loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, charity, observance of precepts, meditation, etc. In this case these actions originated in the promptings of mind; and as the actions done by those who do not strive for Moksha can yield excellent fruits only in the worlds of gods and men, they can not save them from the sufferings incidental to birth and death. These actions are hence called impure. Killing, stealing, hypocrisy, cheating, etc., are called bad actions. Those who do bad actions wander from darkness to darkness, while those who practice good actions pass from light to light. Pure actions bring forth the Pure Lands of all the quarters of the universe (lands produced by the pure mind) and the stages of "Triyâna"; while impure deeds produce the Impure Lands everywhere (lands produced by impure mind) and good or bad results. Where there are actions there are corresponding results; and as the varieties of actions are innumerable, so are the fruits infinite.

After the heaven and the earth began to exist (through the actions of pre-existing sentient beings), there appeared human beings; and after the appearance of human beings, there sprang up the distinctions between high and low, noble and humble, and all the relations between monarch and subjects, father and son, hus-

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band and wife, elder and younger brothers, senior and junior, etc. When the monarch is benevolent and the subject loyal, when the father is affectionate and the son obedient, everyone doing his duty, they are said to have attained to the perfect path. Men, gods, and Buddhas have paths of their own. Though the true essence of mind has no distinctions, the distinctions between purity and impurity caused by actions are innumerable. All virtues appear in accordance with this essence of mind; all vices originate against it; for the true essence of mind is originally pure and has no distinctions between good and evil, which conceptions are only phenomena produced in consequence of actions. Virtues are pure things, so they are in harmony with the essence of mind; vices are confused things, so they are opposed to it. The law of causation is as infallible and certain as the flame ascends to the sky and as water flows to the sea. So actions in harmony with the essence of mind become the causes for indistinction, and at last produce corresponding fruits similar to those acquired by Buddhas; while actions opposed to the essence of mind become the causes for distinction and finally bring forth the fruit of the distinctions that are found in the worlds of men, gods, and the three states of misery Even the least virtues must, therefore, be praised, and the least vice must be blamed. Bodhisattvas teach the path for men in the world of men, and practice the path of gods in that of gods, to protect sentient beings and to lead them to purity. But this purity is unattainable to sceptics, unbelievers, and the proud. Those who scorn the sages and scandalize the pure state without attaining themselves to it are not to be considered noble minded.

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15. CHAPTERS V. AND VI.

ALL THINGS ARE NOTHING BUT MIND.—THE TRUE NATURE OF ALL EXISTENCE.

The distinctions between pure and impure is made by the mind; so are also all the changes in all things around us. All things that are produced by causes and conditions are inevitably destined to extinction. There is nothing that has any reality; when conditions come, things begin to appear; when conditions cease, these things likewise cease to exist. Like the foam of the water, like the lightning flash, and like the floating, swiftly vanishing clouds, they are only of momentary duration. As all things have no constant nature of their own, so there is no actuality in pure and impure, rough and fine, large and small, far and near, knowable and unknowable, etc. On this account it is sometimes said that all things are nothing. The apparent phenomena around us are, however, produced by mental operations within us, and thus distinctions are established.

These distinctions produced by mental operations are, however, caused by fallacious reasoning nurtured by the habits of making distinctions between ego and non-ego, good and bad, and by ignorance of the fact that things have no constant nature of their own and are without distinctions. (When things thought of have no corresponding reality, such thinking is called fallacious. It may be compared to the action of the ignorant monkey that tries to catch the image of the moon upon water.) Owing to this fallacious reasoning, a variety of phenomena constantly appear and disappear, good and bad actions are done, and the wanderings through the six ways or states of life are thus caused and maintained.

All things are included under subject and object. The subject is an entity in which mental operations are awakened whenever there are objects, while the object consists of all things, visible and invisible, knowable and unknowable, etc. The subject is not something that occupies some space in the body alone, nor does the object exist outside of the subject. The innumerable phenomena of subject and object, of ego and non-ego, are originated by the influence of fallacious thinking, and consequently various principles, sciences, and theories are produced.

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To set forth the principle of "Vidyâmâtra" (all things are nothing but phenomena in mind), phenomena of mind are divided into two kinds: "Gosshiki" and "Fumbetsujishiki." They are also divided into eight kinds: 1. *K*akshur-vijñâna (mental operations depending on the eye); 2. *S*rotra-vijñâna (those depending on the ear); 3. Ghrâ*n*a-vijñâna (those depending on the olfactory organs); 4. *G*ihvâ-vijñâna (those depending on the taste); 5. Kâya-vijñâna (those depending on the organs of touch); 6. Mano-vijñâna (thinking operations); 7. Klish*t*a-mano-vijñâna (subtile and ceaseless operations); 8. Alaya-vijñâna (all things come from and are contained in this operation; hence its name, meaning receptacle). According to the former division, the various phenomena which appear as subjects and objects are divided into two kinds, the perceptible and knowable, the imperceptible and unknowable. The imperceptible and unknowable phenomena are called "Gosshiki," while the perceptible and knowable phenomena are called Fumbetsujishiki. Now, what are the imperceptible and unknowable phenomena? Through the influence of habitual delusions, boundless worlds, innummerable varieties of things spring up in the mind. This boundless universe and these subtile ideas are not perceptible and knowable; only Bodhisattvas believe, understand, and become perfectly convinced of these through the contemplation of "Vidyâmâtrâ"; hence they are called imperceptible and unknowable. What are the knowable and perceptible phenomena? Not knowing that these imperceptible and unknowable phenomena are the productions of their own minds, men from their habitual delusions invest them with an existence outside of mind, as perceptible mental phenomena, as things visible, audible, etc. These phenomena are called perceptible and knowable. Though there are thus two kinds, perceptible and imperceptible phenomena, they occur upon the same things, and are inseparably bound together even in the smallest particle. Their difference in appearance is caused only by differences both in mental phenomena and in the depth of conviction. Those who know only the perceptible things without knowing the imperceptible are called the unenlightened by Buddha. Of the eight mental operations, the eighth, Alaya-vijñâna, has reference to the imperceptible, while the first six refer to the perceptible phenomena. All these, however, are delusive mental phenomena.

In contradistinction to the fallacious phenomena, there is the true essence of *mind*. Underlying the phenomena of mind, there is an unchanging principle which we call the essence of mind: the fire caused by fagots dies when the fagots are gone, *but* the essence of fire is never destroyed. The essence of mind is the entity without ideas and without phenomena, and is always the same. It pervades all things, and is pure and unchanging. It is not untrue or changeable, so it is called "Bhûtatathata" (permanent reality).

The essence and the phenomena of mind are inseparable; and as the former is all-pervading and ever-existing, so the phenomena occur everywhere and continually, wherever suitable conditions accompany it. Thus the perceptible and imperceptible phenomena are manifestations of the essence of mind that, according to the number and nature of conditions, develop without restraint. All things in the universe, therefore, are mind itself. By this we do not mean that all things combine into a mental unity called mind, nor that all things are emanations from it, but that, without changing their places or appearance, they are mind itself everywhere. Buddha saw this truth and said that the whole universe was his own. Hence it is clear that, where the essence of mind is found and the necessary conditions accompany it, the phenomena of mind never fail to appear. So the essence of mind is compared to water, and its phenomena to waves. The water is the essence, the waves are the phenomena; for water produces waves when a wind of sufficient strength blows over its surface. The waves, then, are the phenomena, the water is the essence; but both are one and the same in reality. Though there is a distinction between the essence and the phenomena of mind, yet they are nothing but one and the same

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substance, that is, mind. So we say that there exists nothing but mind. Though both the world of the pure and the impure, and the generation of all things, are very wide and deep, yet they owe their existence to our mind. Men, however, do not know what their own minds are; they do not clearly see the true essence, and, adhering to their prejudices, they wander about between birth and death. They are like those who, possessing invaluable jewels, are, nevertheless, suffering from poverty. Heaven and hell are but waves in the great sea of the universe; Buddhas and demons are not different in their essence. Let us, therefore, abide in the true view and reach the true comprehension of the causality of all things. Thus far we have briefly explained the principles of pure and impure actions and results and Vidyâmâtra from the standpoint of causation. The methods and doctrines through which vice may be abandoned and all excellent virtues cultivated are fully detailed in the Sûtras and Abhidharmas of the Mahâyâna.

SECTS IN BUDDHISM.

When Buddha came to this world, the time was ripe for his teachings, and so those who heard him attained Moksha instantly. Those who are born after Buddha are forever excluded from this benefit. After Buddha's departure from this world the higher class of his disciples, Arya Mahâkâsyapa and others who had heard and seen him and were enlightened, assembled at the Saptaparna Cave of Magadha, in Central India, to the number of one thousand, and in ninety days, collected the Tripitaka, which they wrote upon the leaves of the Tâla tree, to hand it down to their posterity and to lead sentient beings to the true enlightenment. After this the Mahâyâna and Hînayâna doctrines were differently propagated. The adherents of the latter doctrine divided into various sects, owing to differences in the interpretations of the Hînayâna Sûtras preached by Buddha; while among the believers in the former doctrine, the same diversity occurred, each sect taking as its standard a particular body of teaching as inculcated by Buddha at a certain place and time, and explaining with it the whole of the remaining Scriptures.

In India, two sects, those who adopted the Three Sâstrâs and those who made the Vidyâmâtra their standards, arose about 1100 years after Buddha, or about 151 A.D. In China Kumârajîva first translated and introduced the Three Sâstrâs, 1350 after Buddha, or 401 A.D. After him Dharma (or Bodhidharma) founded the Dhyâna sect and taught the doctrine of the mental communication of thought without words, 1469 after Buddha, or 520 A.D. Chiki established the Tendai sect, with its doctrines based on the Saddharma-pundarîka-Sûtra, 1524 after Buddha, or 575 A.D. Dôsen formed the Vinaya sect, with its teachings derived from the Dharmagupta-Vinaya, about 1564 after Buddha, or about 615 A.D. Zendô founded the Jôdo sect based on the Amitâyus-dhyâna and other Sûtras, 1590 after Buddha, or 641 A.D. Genjô and Jion originated the Hossô sect that adheres to the Vidyâmâtra Sâstra, etc., 1594 after Buddha, or 645 A.D. Genju instituted the Kegon sect, with its teachings resting on the Avatamsake-Sûtra, about 1625 after Buddha, or about 676 A.D. After all these had been established, Amoghavajra and Keikwa organized the Mantra sect, the doctrines of which are derived from the mysteries of the Mahâvairochanabhisambodhi-Sûtra, about 1669 after Buddha, or about 720 A.D. Besides these, there are many other sects which need not be mentioned here. In Japan, Yekwan was the introducer of the Three Sâstras sect, 1574 after Buddha, or 625 A.D.; Dôshô, of the Hossô sect, about 1602 after Buddha, or about 653 A.D.; Dôshun, of the Kegon sect, 1685 after Buddha, or 736 A.D.; Ganjin, of the Ritsu sect, 1703 after Buddha, or 754 A.D.; Saichô, of the Tendai sect, 1754 after Buddha, or 805 A.D.; Kûkai, of the Shingon sect, 1755 after Buddha, or 806 A.D.; Genkû, of the Jôdo sect, 2124 after Buddha, or 1175 A.D.; and Yeisai, of the Rinzai sect, 2140 after Buddha, or 1191 A.D. Shinran founded the Shin sect, 2173

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after Buddha, or 1224 A.D.; Dôgen introduced the Sôtô sect 2176 after Buddha, or 1227 A.D.; and Nichiren established the Hokke sect, 2201 after Buddha, or 1252 A.D. Though these various sects are not without differences in their views, yet they are all founded upon the teachings of Buddha and are alike in taking the true Moksha for their ultimate end; for the principles of causation and of Anâtman are held both in the Mahâyâna and the Hînayâna; and the non-existence of both self (Atman) and of things outside it (Dharma), as well as the doctrine that all things are nothing but mind, are the fundamental principles of all the sects adhering to the Mahâyâna. Such being the fact, one may enter into Buddhism through any of the above sects. How these various sects interpret the doctrines of Buddha, we will illustrate with an example from the Jôdo sect.

In this sect, the doctrines of Buddha are divided into two divisions, the "Shôdô-Mon" and the "Jôdo-Mon." To understand what the former is, it is necessary first to know the meaning of Shôdô. The Shôdô, or true wisdom, is that by which one is enabled to be enlightened and to attain Moksha. There are four kinds of wisdom: 1. Inherent wisdom; 2. wisdom acquired from learning; 3. wisdom acquired from meditation; 4. perfected wisdom. The first kind of wisdom includes those natural capacities by which men are enabled to comprehend science, literature, etc., and to read and understand the Tripiṭaka, though not so perfectly as to wish for Moksha. The second kind is that by which men, by hearing worthy priests or learning sacred books, are awakened to a deep belief and enter Buddhism, and by which virtuous actions are prompted in a mind yet disturbed and roaming. The third kind is the wisdom in which the truth acquired through meditation accords with that of the Sûtras. The fourth is that in which the meditative wisdom having been developed and become clearer, permanent truth is seen by mental inspection and direct cognition without learning or meditation. The true wisdom which perfectly understands the principles of the non-existence of self (Atman) and of things (Dharma), as well as the fact that all things are nothing but mind, through the influence of the last three kinds of wisdom, is called Shôdô, or true wisdom. That true wisdom in which a part of these principles, that is, the non-existence of the ego (Atman), is perceived is called Hînayâna. That wisdom in which the above-mentioned principles are all realized as a whole is called Mahâyâna. And that division of Buddhism which teaches the way to acquire the true wisdom and to attain Moksha through men's own actions done in this world, whether it be Hînayâna or Mahâyâna, is called the Shôdô-mon. The sects of Tendai, Kegon, Sanron, Hossô, etc., belong to this division.

The Jôdo-mon is that division in which those who are unable to attain Moksha in this world are taught how to be first born in the Pure Land through the merit of believing in Buddhas and to acquire the great fruit of Buddhahood by cultivating the deeds and vows of Bodhisattva. The Jôdo sect of the present day belongs to this division. This sect takes the Amitâyus-dhyâna-sûtra and the larger and smaller Sukhâvatiogûha-sûtras, etc., as its standards, and the chief aim of its adherents is to be born in the Western Pure Land of Amitâbha.

Though there are the two different passages of the Shôdô-mon and the Jôdo-mon, Moksha is attained equally through both. Nor is there any difference in cultivating and practicing the deeds and vows of Bodhisattvas: both aim at Buddhahood and can attain true Moksha. Those who follow the former division, though they attain Moksha in this world, must still accomplish the excellent deeds and vows of Bodhisattvas in the Pure Land; while the followers of the latter, though they are born in the Pure Land, must likewise cultivate and practice them, being reborn into the impure lands. Thus from equal causes equal effects are produced, and on this point there is no difference. The only difference lies in the passages to Moksha and in the special aims taken at the time when the first awakening occurs. We have no space fully to dwell upon the various manners in which the other sects analyze the principles of Buddhism, but they may be inferred from the foregoing.

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RELIGION OF ANCIENT PERSIA.

BY

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16. ZOROASTER.

THE religion of ancient Persia, in the broadest sense of the word, is the religion that was founded by Zoroaster, and it is therefore best called Zoroastrianism. The faith has been designated under various other names, as Mazdaism, Magism, Fire-worship, Dualism or Parsism, according to certain of its prominent features. Its sacred book is the Avesta, the oldest portions of which, the Gāthas, are attributed to Zoroaster himself. It is supplemented by the Pahlavi Texts and by Parsi tradition. As the Avesta has been made the subject of an article in a preceding number of PROGRESS (Vol. II., No. 1), we shall not attempt to describe it here, but shall proceed to give a sketch of the doctrines and teachings of Zoroastrianism.

It is now no longer doubted by scholars that Zoroaster was a real historical personage. The sources of information concerning his life are either Iranian or non-Iranian. Foremost among the Iranian is the Avesta, especially its oldest metrical portions, the Gāthas. Of great importance also is the information given by the Pahlavi writings and by Parsi tradition (See PROGRESS, Vol. II., No. 1, p. 44). Various ancient classical writers also allude to the prophet; mention may be made especially of Theopompus, Aristotle, Pliny, and Plutarch, while lastly, occasional references are found in Arabic, Syriac and Armenian writers.

The name Zoroaster was taken from the Greek form Ζωροάστρης; in the Avesta the form is always Zarathushtra; the Pahlavi texts write Zartusht; the modern Persian, Zardusht. The meaning of the name Zarath-ushtra is very doubtful and many etymologies have been suggested. The second part of the name—*ushtra*—certainly means "camel." The first part has been translated in various ways as "lively, teasing, old, golden," etc.

The era when the prophet flourished has been a subject of much dispute. Persian tradition is probably nearly right when it claims as his era the latter half of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century B.C. (or more exactly B.C. 660-583). The Greek and Latin classical writers claim for him an extravagant antiquity, anywhere from B.C. 6000 to 1000. For a full discussion of this question we refer to the article by Jackson in J. A. O. S., Vol. XVII., and to West's Introduction to "Marvels of Zoroastrianism," Sacred Books of the East, Vol. XLVII.

The question of the birth-place of Zoroaster is also open to debate; but Western Iran, probably Atropatene, is commonly believed to be the region in which he arose.

* This article is based on a course of lectures on Zoroaster and his Teaching, delivered at Columbia University in the year 1896-97 by Professor A. V. Williams Jackson.

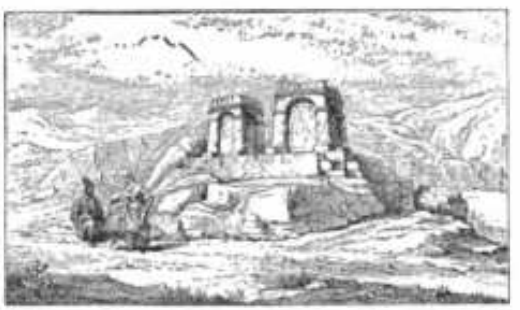
Special thanks are due to Professor Jackson for the kind assistance which he has so liberally given to me in the preparation of this article. A. F. J. R.

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Thence he seems to have gone to the Median Ragha, where, however, he did not meet with the wished-for success, and from Ragha he turned eastward to Bactria. There he found a generous patron in King Vîshtâspa, whose strong arm helped to establish the new religion. From Bactria the religion, now on a firm footing, presumably came back to Media, whence it was carried into Persia and became in all probability the religion of the great Achaemenian Kings. (See J. A. O. S., Vol. XV.)

The facts that we have of Zoroaster's life often rest on doubtful or legendary authority. The outline, however, is clear. At the age of thirty he is said to have begun his ministry, and at the age of forty-two he converted King Vishtaspa, the Constantine of the Iranian faith. According to a tradition he was slain at the age of seventy-seven. There seem to be grounds for believing with Firdausi that this happened when Balkh was stormed by the fierce Turanians. The Pahlavi texts always mention one Bratar-i Vakhsh as the slayer of the prophet. (1)

The religion which Zoroaster founded was carried to triumphant ascendancy by the victorious arms of the great Persian kings, and became one of the chief religious systems of the ancient Orient. But it also shared the reverses of its adherents, when Alexander, the youthful hero of Macedon, overthrew the power and glory of the great Persian monarchy. Under the Seleucid government, and still more during the five centuries of Parthian rule, it fell into neglect. With the overthrow of the Parthian dynasty and the accession of the Sassanian empire (A.D. 226) came the Zoroastrian renaissance. The old texts were again collected, codified, translated into Pahlavi, and explained. The religion now flourished even more than during the Achaemenian period and continued to do so until it succumbed to the fanatic assaults of all-conquering Islam. The battle of Nehavend (A.D. 641) sealed the fate of Persia and of its religion. Most of its followers accepted the faith of the victor; of those who refused to forsake their ancient belief, some remained scattered throughout their native country, oppressed and despised by the proud conqueror, but most of them sought refuge in India, where they established flourishing communities, and where their descendants, the Parsees, are found even at the present day. The most numerous of these communities is at Bombay, containing upwards of ninety-thousand souls. About ten thousand are scattered throughout Persia, so that the entire number of modern Zoroastrians is not more than one hundred thousand.



Fire-Altars in Persia.

During its golden age under the Sassanian Empire, Zoroastrianism was not free from sects, or from heretical movements. The heresy of Mazdak shook for a moment the union of church and state; the powerful movement of Manichaeism is familiar to every student of philosophy.

When we now come to examine the teachings of the Avesta, we are struck by their exalted character. If we except our own Bible, it would not be easy to find other sacred writings containing a more clear idea of right and wrong, a more strenuous insistence on purity of body and soul, a nobler conception of a resurrection and a life hereafter, and a firmer faith in the coming of a Saviour. For these reasons the Zoroastrian writings merit the attention, not only of the biblical or philological student, but also of everyone interested in the history of ethics and of religion.

In the development of the old Iranian faith, three stages are discernible. First, there was the pre-Zoroastrian stage, when nature and ancestor worship prevailed. The worship of the sun-god *Mithra*, the moon-god *Mâh*, the star-god *Tishtrya*, of

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the sacred Haoma-plant, and probably also the worship of the *Fravashis*, or souls of the departed, goes back to this stage. Then came the second or Zoroastrian stage, when these elements were thrown into the background, and the faith became more spiritual, especially through the ideal conception of Dualism. (2) The third or post-Zoroastrian stage exhibited a tendency to restore some of those primitive elements to their old position without degrading the new ones brought in by the great reformer. The Avesta shows these stages clearly, the faith in its purity being best represented by the Gāthas, of which Zoroaster himself was the author.

16. ZOROASTER.

(1) **Zarathushtra, the Prophet.**—We worship the piety and the Fravashi of the holy Zarathustra;

Who first thought what is good, who first spoke what is good, who first did what is good; who was the first Priest, the first Warrior, the first Plougher of the ground; who first knew and first taught; who first possessed and first took possession of the Bull, of Holiness, of the Word, the obedience to the Word, and dominion, and all the good things made by Mazda, that are the offspring of the good Principle.

Who was the first Priest, the first Warrior, the first Plougher of the ground; who first took the turning of the wheel from the hands of the Daêva and of the cold-hearted man; who first in the material world pronounced the praise of Asha, thus bringing the Daêvas to naught, and confessed himself a worshiper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra, one who hates the Daêvas, and obeys the laws of Ahura.

Who first in the material world said the word that destroys the Daêvas, the law of Ahura; who first in the material world proclaimed the word that destroys the Daêvas, the law of Ahura; who first in the material world declared all the creation of the Daêvas unworthy of sacrifice and prayer; who was strong, giving all the good things of life, the first bearer of the Law amongst nations.

In whom was heard the whole Māthra, the word of holiness; who was the lord and master of the world, the praiser of the most great, most good and most fair Asha; who had a revelation of the Law, that most excellent of all beings.

For whom the Amesha-Spentas longed, in one accord with the sun, in the fullness of faith of a devoted heart; they longed for him, as the lord and master of the world, as the praiser of the most great, most good, and most fair Asha, as having a revelation of the Law, that most excellent of all beings.

In whose birth and growth the waters and the plants rejoiced; in whose birth and growth the waters and the plants grew; in whose birth and growth all the creatures of the good creations cried out, Hail!

"Hail to us! for he is born, the Âthravan, Spitama Zarathustra. Zarathustra will offer us sacrifices with libations and bundles of baresma; and there will the good Law of the worshipers of Mazda come and spread through all the seven Karshvares of the earth.

"There will Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, increase all the excellences of our countries, and allay their troubles; there will the powerful Apām-Napāt increase all the excellences of our countries, and allay their troubles."

We worship the piety and Fravashi of Maidhyô-maungha, the son of Arāsti, who first listened unto the word and teaching of Zarasthustra.—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XXIII., pp. 201-3.*

(2) **Dualism.**—Hear ye then with your ears: see ye the bright flames with the (eyes of the) Better Mind. It is for a decision as to religions, man and man, each individually for himself. Before the great effort of the cause, awake ye (all) to our teaching!

Thus are the primeval spirits who as a pair (combining their opposite strivings), and (yet each) independent in his action, have been famed (of old). (They are) a better thing, they two, and a worse, as to thought, as to word, and as to deed. And between these two let the wisely acting choose aright. (Choose ye) not (as) the evil-doers!

(Yea) when the two spirits came together at the first to make life, and life's absence, and to determine how the world at the last shall be (ordered), for the wicked (Hell) the worst life, for the holy (Heaven) the Best Mental State.

(Then when they had finished each his part in the deeds of creation, they chose distinctly each his separate realm.) He who was the evil of them both (chose the evil), thereby working the worst of possible results, but the more bounteous spirit chose the (Divine) Righteousness; (yea, He so chose) who clothes upon Himself the firm stones of heaven (as His robe). And He chose likewise them who content Ahura with actions, which (are performed) really in accordance with the faith.

And (when the great struggle shall have been fought out which began when the Daêvas first seized the Demon of Wrath as their ally), and when the (just) vengeance shall have come upon these wretches, then, O Mazda! the Kingdom shall have been gained for Thee by (Thy) Good Mind (within Thy folk). For to those, O living Lord! does (that Good Mind) utter his command, who will deliver the Demon of the Lie into the two hands of the Righteous Order (as a captive to a destroyer).

And may we be such as those who bring on this great renovation, and make this world progressive (till its perfection shall have been reached). (As) the Ahuras of Mazda (even) may we be; (yea, like Thyself), in helpful readiness to meet (Thy people), presenting (benefits) in union with the Righteous Order. For there will our thoughts be (tending) where true wisdom shall abide in her home.

(And when perfection shall have been attained) then shall the blow of destruction fall upon the Demon of Falsehood (and her adherents shall perish with her), but swiftest in the happy abode of the Good Mind and of Ahura the righteous saints shall gather, they who proceed in their walk (on earth) in good repute and honor.

Wherefore, O ye men! ye are learning (thus) these religious incitations which Ahura gave in (our) happiness and (our) sorrow. (And ye are also learning) what is the long wounding for the wicked, and the blessings which are in store for the righteous.—*Ibid, Vol. XXXI., pp. 29, 31, 33, 35.*

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17. DUALISM. ANGELS AND DEMONS.

From the beginning of time two principles, good and evil, have existed. *Ormazd* represents the good, *Ahriman* the evil. Unceasing warfare goes on between these two principles. *Ormazd* makes, *Ahriman* mars; the one dwells in endless light, the other in eternal darkness. But although the teaching of Zoroaster is dualistic in this respect, it is monotheistic in so far as it postulates the ultimate triumph of the good, and the disappearance of evil from the regenerated world. It also foretells the advent of the *Kshathra Vairya*, the "Wished-for Kingdom," and exhorts man, a free agent, to contribute to its coming by deliberately choosing the good in preference to the evil.

At the head of all the celestial host stands *Ahura Mazda*. The form of the name here given is that of the Avesta. In modern Persian it appears as *Ormazd*, in the ancient Persian inscriptions as *Auramazdā*, in Pahlavi as *Aŭharmazd*. *Ahura* probably means "lord," and *Mazda* (= Skt. Mēdhas, *cf.* Greek root μαθ), according to Pahlavi tradition, means "great wisdom."

Herodotus tells us that the Persians had no images of the deity, and this is in keeping with the spiritual character of the religion. The solitary picture Auramazda which is found on the rock-inscriptions of Behistan is really not Iranian, but is borrowed from Babylonian art. In the "Ardā-ī Vīrāf," the "Divina Commedia" of Iran, *Ormazd* is described as appearing in the majesty of flame, but no definite concrete description of him is ever attempted.



Image of Auramazda.

Ahura Mazda is invested with lofty titles and attributes. Wisdom and power are implied in his name; he is described also as promoting growth and progress, as beneficent and holy, as radiant, glorious and righteous, most great, most good and most fair. He is the keeper or guardian, watchful, infallible, all knowing. His most prominent title in the Avesta is *dātar*, "creator." All the good in the world has been created by him; it is he also who created the light, the earth and the plants. *Ormazd's* creation is pre-eminently an intelligent one, and his creative wisdom is personified as *Khratu*, "Wisdom." Nor is it in the Avesta alone that the creator-idea is emphasized. In the ancient Persian inscriptions the kings thankfully acknowledge *Auramazdā* as their Creator and Preserver. All through the Pahlavi writings we meet with the epithet *dātār*, and passages from the Greek authors may be adduced in confirmation of the creator-idea. (1)

In many respects *Ahura Mazda* offers striking parallels to the God of Judaism and Christianity. In one point, however, there is a great difference: *Jehovah* is omnipotent, but *Ormazd* is opposed and limited in his activity by *Ahriman*.

An elaborately developed system of angelology is one of the most striking features of the faith. The immediate ministers of *Ahura Mazda* are the *Amesha Spentas*, "Immortal Holy Ones" (the Persian *Amshashpands*), corresponding most nearly to our archangels. Of these there are six, and their names are personifications of abstract virtues. They are: 1. *Vohu Manah*, "Good Mind," *Ahura Mazda's* good spirit personified, and the mediator between him and man; 2. *Asha Vahishta*, "Best Righteousness," a personification of order in the world; 3. *Khshathra Vairya*, "the Wished-for Kingdom," represents the "Good Kingdom"; 4. *Spenta Armaiti*, "Holy Harmony," represents peace and concord among men; 5. *Haurvatāt*, "Wholeness," and 6. *Ameretāt*, "Immortality," are invariably mentioned together.

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In addition to these we must also mention *Sraosha*, "Obedience," although he is not reckoned among the *Amesha Spentas* proper. He is the special foe of the *daēvas* and *drujes*, a sort of Iranian *St. Michael.*

Besides the *Amesha Spentas* the Avesta mentions some minor divinities, ordinary angels, such as the *Yazatas*, "Worshipful Ones." The most important of these are *Mithra*, the Angel of Light, and *Rashnu*, the Angel of Justice. These two, together with Sraosha, judge the soul immediately after death. The other deities are merely abstractions, such as *Arshtāt*, "Truthfulness;" *Parendi*, "Riches;" *Ashi*, "Rectitude;" *Verethraghna*, "Victory;" *Hvar*, "Sun;" *Māh*, "Moon;" *Tishtrya*, "Star;" and *Ātar*, "Fire."

At the head of the demons stands *Angra Mainyu* or *Ahriman.* He is a distinctively Zoroastrian conception, but his name does not occur in the old Persian inscriptions. The etymology of the name is somewhat obscure, *mainyu* means "spirit;" *angra* probably means "hostile." He is the inveterate opponent of *Ahura Mazda* and of his creation. His most frequent epithets are such as *pouru-mahrka*, "full of death," and *duzhdāo*, "evil-knowing, malign." He is the seed of darkness, and he dwells in infinite night. In contrast to the omniscience of *Ormazd* we have the ignorance of *Ahriman.* He knows what was and what is, but he does not know what will be. He is coeval with *Ormazd*, but not coeternal; with the advent of the "Good Kingdom," he will be banished from the world.

To carry out consistently the dualistic idea each *Amashspand* has for an opponent some Arch-Fiend. So we find also seven of these fiends. 1. *Aka Manah*, "Evil Mind," is the antagonist of *Vohu Manah;* 2. *Andra*, probably not identical with the Vedic *Indra*, has no special attributes; 3. *Saurva*, rather indistinct, is explained as the demon of misrule and of headache; 4. *Taro-maiti*, "Presumption," is opposed to *Aramaiti;* 5. and 6. *Tauru* and *Zairica* are opposed to *Haurvatāt* and *Ameretāt.* They are the demons respectively of fever and thirst, and of drought. Lastly, there is *Aēshma*, "Wrath," the biblical *Asmodeus*, who is the special foe of *Sraosha.*

Below these Arch-Fiends stand the *Daēvas*, of whom we mention *Būiti*, the tempter; *Kunda*, drunkenness; *Astōvidhotu*, bone-divider=death; *Driwi*, poverty; *Zemaka*, winter; and *Apaosha*, drought.

Next to the *daēvas* stand the *drujes*, for the most part subordinate female demons, such as *Nasu*, demon of corpses; *Jahi*, demon of lust; the long-handed yellow *Bushyansta*, who puts men to sleep; *Agha Dōithra*, evil eye, and others.

In addition to the *daēvas* and *drujes* there are also *pairikas*, fairies; *jainis* (jinns?); and *yātus*, sorcerers: and lastly, three evil monsters, *Azhi Dahāka*, a dragon; *Sruvara*, a dragon; and *Gandarewa*, an evil being of indefinite description.

17. DUALISM: ANGELS AND DEMONS.

(1) **Ahura Mazda.**—Yea, I will speak forth; hear ye; now listen, ye who from near and ye who from afar have come seeking (the knowledge). Now ponder ye clearly all (that concerns) him. Not for a second time shall the false teacher slay our life (of the mind, or the body). The wicked is hemmed in with his faith and his tongue.

Yea, I will declare the world's two first spirits, of whom the more bountiful thus spake to the harmful: Neither our thoughts, nor commands, nor our understandings, nor our beliefs, nor our deeds, nor our consciences, nor our souls, are at one.

Thus I will declare this world's first (teaching), that which the all-wise Mazda Ahura hath told me. And they among you who will not so fulfill and obey this Mathra, as I now shall conceive and declare it, to these shall the end of life (issue) in woe.

Thus I will declare forth this world's best (being). From (the insight of His) Righteousness Mazda, who hath appointed these (things), hath known (what He utters to be true; yea, I will declare) Him the father of the toiling Good Mind (within us). So is His daughter through good deeds (our) Piety. Not to be deceived is the all-viewing Lord.

Yea, thus I will declare that which the most bountiful One told me, that word which is the best to be heeded by mortals. They who therein grant me obedient attention, upon them cometh Weal to bless, and the Immortal being, and in the deeds of His Good Mind cometh the Lord.

Aye, thus I will declare forth Him who is of all the greatest, praising through my Righteousness, I who do aright, those who (dispose of all as well aright). Let Ahura Mazda hear with His bounteous spirit, in whose homage (what I asked) was asked with the Good Mind. Aye, let Him exhort me through His wisdom (which is ever) the best.

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(Yea, I will declare Him) whose blessings the offerers will seek for, those who are living now, as well as those who have lived (aforetime), as will they also who are coming (hereafter. Yea, even) the soul(s) of the righteous (will desire) them in the eternal Immortality. (Those things they will desire which are blessings to the righteous) but woes to the wicked. And these hath Ahura Mazda (established) through His kingdom, He the creator (of all).

Him in our hymns of homage and of praise would I faithfully serve, for now with (mine) eye, I see Him clearly, Lord of the good spirit, of word, and action, I knowing through my Righteousness Him who is Ahura Mazda. And to Him (not here alone, but) in His home of song, His praise we shall bear.

Yea, Him with our better Mind we seek to honor, who desiring (good), shall come to us (to bless) in weal and sorrow. May He, Ahura Mazda, make us vigorous through Khshathra's royal power, our flocks and men in thrift to further, from the good support and bearing of His Good Mind (itself born in us) by His Righteousness.

Him in the Yasnas of our Piety we seek to praise with homage, who in His persistent energy was famed to be (in truth) the Lord Ahura Mazda, for He hath appointed in His kingdom, through His holy Order and His Good Mind, both Weal and Immortality, to grant the eternal mighty pair to this our land (and the creation).

(Him would we magnify and praise) who hath despised the Daêva-gods and alien men, them who before held Him in their derision. Far different are (these) from him who gave Him honor. This latter one is through the Saoshyant's bounteous Faith, who likewise is the Lord of saving power, a friend, brother, or a father to us, Mazda Lord!—*"Sacred Books of the East," Vol. XXXI., pp. 125 130.*

(2) **A Comprehensive Prayer used three times each day.**—Hail unto thee, O Ahura Mazda, in the threefold way! (Hail unto thee) before all other creatures!

Hail unto you, O Amesha-Spentas, who are all of you of one accord with the Sun!

May this prayer come unto Ahura Mazda! May it come unto the Amesha-Spentas! May it come unto the Fravashis of the holy Ones! May it come unto the Sovereign Vayu of the long Period!

(Hail unto the Sun, the swift-horsed!)

May Ahura Mazda be rejoiced! May Angra Mainyu be destroyed! by those who do truly what is the foremost wish (of God).

I recite the "Praise of Holiness."

I praise well-thought, well-spoken, and well-done thoughts, words and deeds. I embrace all good thoughts, good words and good deeds; I reject all evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds.

I give sacrifice and prayer unto you, O Amesha-Spentas! even with the fullness of my thoughts, of my words, of my deeds and of my heart: I give unto you even my own life.

I recite the "Praise of Holiness:"

"Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. Well is it for it, well is it for that holiness which is perfection of holiness!"

Hail to Ahura Mazda!

Hail to the Amesha-Spentas!

Hail to Mithra, the lord of wide pastures!

Hail to the Sun, the swift-horsed!

Hail to the two eyes of Ahura Mazda!

Hail to the Bull!

Hail to Gaya!

Hail to the Fravashi of the holy Spitama Zarathustra!

Hail to the whole of the holy creation that was, is, or will be!

May I grow in health of body through Vohu-Manô, Khshathra, and Asha, and come to that luminous space, to that highest of all high things, when the world, O Spenta Mainyu! has come to an end!

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. . . .

We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand ears, well-shapen, with ten thousand eyes, high, with full knowledge, strong, sleepless, and ever awake.

We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries, whom Ahura Mazda made the most glorious of all the gods in the world unseen.

So may Mithra and Ahura, the two great gods, come to us for help!

We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift horsed Sun.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya, whose sight is sound.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya; we sacrifice unto the rains of Tistrya.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya, bright and glorious.

We sacrifice unto the star Vanant, made by Mazda.

We sacrifice unto Tistrya, the bright and glorious star.

We sacrifice unto the sovereign sky.

We sacrifice unto the boundless Time.

We sacrifice unto the sovereign Time of the long Period.

We sacrifice unto the beneficent, well-doing Wind.

We sacrifice unto the most upright Ka'ista, made by Mazda and holy.

We sacrifice unto the good Law of the worshippers of Mazda.

We sacrifice unto the way of content.

We sacrifice unto the golden instrument.

We sacrifice unto Mount Saokanta, made by Mazda.

We sacrifice unto all the holy gods of the world unseen.

We sacrifice unto all the holy gods of the material world.

We sacrifice unto our own soul.

We sacrifice unto our own Fravashi.

We sacrifice unto the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the holy Ones.

We sacrifice unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun.

I confess myself a worshiper of Mazda, a follower of Zarathustra. . . .

Unto the bright, undying, shining, swift-horsed Sun;

Be propitiation, with sacrifice, prayer, propitiation and glorification. . . .

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. . . .

(We sacrifice) unto the Ahurian waters, the waters of Ahura, with excellent libations, with finest libations, with libations piously strained.

Ashem Vohû: Holiness is the best of all good. . . .

(Give) unto that man brightness and glory, give him health of body, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones—*Ibid, Vol. XXIII., pp. 350-53.*

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18. ETHICS AND ESCHATOLOGY.

Unlike Buddhism, of which the highest ideal is quietism, Zoroastrianism is a religion of struggle and exertion. Its leading article of faith is the doctrine of free will and moral responsibility. Man is free to choose either the good or the evil, but he should choose the former. Every good action increases the power of Good, every evil action the power of Evil. At the final judgment, man must give an account of himself, and eternal happiness is the reward of the righteous, while eternal punishment awaits the wicked. Purity of body and soul is enjoined on all, as are also uprightness, charity, generosity and, with particular emphasis, truthfulness. The moral teachings of the prophet may be summed up in the oft-recurring triad, "*humata, hūkhta, hvarshta*," "good thoughts, good words, good deeds." Some physical duties are also imposed. Thus the youth are exhorted to take out-door exercise; chastity and soberness are insisted upon, although the existence of polygamy and concubinage, in antiquity, cannot be denied. (1) Asceticism, as it was practiced by the Brahmans of India, has no place in the Persian religion, which does not oppose a wholesome indulgence in the joys of life. Patriotism was cultivated, and respect for civil and religious authority was inculcated. In general, the ethical code of Zoroastrianism does not differ very much from our own. (2) (See article in International Journal of Ethics, October, 1896.)



Combat between King and Evil Spirit. Persepolis.

Great stress was laid on prescriptions designed to preserve the purity of the elements, earth, water, fire. Dead matter was not allowed to come into contact with these; hence arose those peculiar funeral rites that characterize Parsism even at the present day. Special structures, the "towers of silence," were erected, on which the dead bodies were placed to be devoured by vultures. (See pp. 290-292.)

Lastly, agriculture was strongly supported, the Avesta giving special praise to those that practiced the good deeds of husbandry.

But in order to arrive at a correct estimate of the ethical side of the faith, we must also mention some of its evil features. Of these the most repulsive to us is the *hvaētvadatha* or next-of-kin marriage, the occurence of which among the ancient Iranians is undeniable. Unpleasant customs, originating in stupid superstitions, were likewise prevalent, while the ancient Persian inscriptions tell of horrible punishments inflicted on rebels and traitors. (3)

It is in its doctrine of a resurrection, and in its views of a life hereafter, that Zoroastrianism appears in its best light. Only an outline of the remarkable doctrines bearing on this subject can here be presented.*

Immediately after death the soul is brought for individual judgment before the

* For a more detailed account, the reader is referred to the article "The Ancient Persian Doctrine of a Future Life," Biblical World, August, 1896.

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angels *Mithra*, *Sraosha* and *Rashnu*. Its good and evil deeds are weighed in the balance, and the turn of the impartial scales irrevocably decides its fate. Then this soul must cross the Chinvat Bridge, which becomes broad for the good spirit, but narrow for the evil one. Onward the good spirit passes through the regions of the stars (paradise of good thoughts), of the moon (paradise of good words), and of the sun (paradise of good deeds), and at last enters *Garōnmāna*, "House of Song," the place of "Eternal Light." On the other hand, the wicked spirit descends through the grades of evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds, down to a hell of darkness. A third place, *Hamīstakān*, "Ever Stationary," an Iranian purgatory, is also recognized. Thither go the souls of those whose good and evil deeds counterbalance. They suffer no distress except the changes of heat and cold, and there they abide until the day of doom.

In the Avesta and the Pahlavi Texts the doctrine of a resurrection of the dead, a regeneration of the world, and of the coming of a Saviour is distinctly recognized. According to tradition the world is to last 12,000 years, and in the last 3,000 years of this aeon *Aushetar* and *Aushetar-māh*, born from the seed of Zoroaster, will appear as the forerunners of the great *Saoshyant* or Saviour, who is to preside at the general resurrection. (4) This Saviour will be conceived in a supernatural manner by a virgin bathing in Lake Kansavaya. Coincident with his advent is the resurrection of the dead, when each soul assumes again its body and recognizes relatives and friends. All the dead are assembled and the righteous are separated from the unrighteous. Then follows the ordeal of molten metal, which cleanses and purifies all men and prepares them for the everlasting joys of heaven.

The last great conflict is at hand. The powers of evil gather into a mighty host and assail the good kingdom, and after a terrible battle the Good triumphs and Evil is banished from the world. (5) The dragon *Azhi* perishes in the molten metal, hell is brought back by *Ormazd* to enlarge the world, which is now made immortal, and all men with one voice sing the praise of *Ormazd*, through whom the wicked are rescued from hell and the creation is restored to purity.

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18. ETHICS AND ESCHATOLOGY.

(1) **Murder and Lust.**—Let not a murderer take of those offerings, nor a whore, nor a . . . . who does not sing the Gâthâs, who spreads death in the world and withstands the law of Mazda, the law of Zarathustra.

If a murderer take of those offerings, or a whore, or a . . . , who does not sing the Gâthâs, then Verethraghna, made by Ahura, takes back his healing virtues. . . .

Converse ye with the Amesha-Spentas, said Zarathustra unto the young king Vistâspa, and with the devout Sraosha, and Nairyô-sangha, the tall-formed, and Âtar, the son of Ahura Mazda, and the well-desired kingly Glory.

Men with lustful deeds address the body; but thou, all the night long, address the heavenly Wisdom; but thou, all night long, call for the Wisdom that will keep thee awake.—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol XXIII., pp. 244, 339*.

(2) **The Divine Order.**—Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda. O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent Spirit, Maker of the material world, thou Holy One!

What is the only word in which is contained the glorification of all good things, of all the things that are the offspring of the good principle?

Ahura Mazda answered: It is the praise of Holiness (Asha, the Divine Order), O Spitama Zarathustra!

He who recites the praise of Holiness, in the fulness of faith and with a devoted heart, praises me, Ahura Mazda; he praises the waters, he praises the earth, he praises the cattle, he praises the plants, he praises all good things made by Mazda, all the things that are the offspring of the good principle.

For the reciting of that word of truth, O Zarathustra! the pronouncing of that formula, the Ahuna Vairya, increases strength and victory in one's soul and piety. . . .

What is the one recital of the praise of Holiness that is worth all that is between the earth and the heavens, and this earth, and that luminous space, and all the good things made by Mazda, that are the offspring of the good principle in greatness, goodness and fairness?

Ahura Mazda answered: It is that one, O holy Zarathustra! that a man delivers to renounce evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds.—*Ibid, pp. 311-313*.

(3) **Magic Mixed with Morality.**—O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Can the way, whereon the carcasses of dogs or corpses of men have been carried, be passed through again by flocks and herds, by men and women, by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, by the consecrated bundles of baresma, and by the faithful?

Ahura Mazda answered: It cannot be passed through again by flocks and herds, nor by men and women, nor by Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, nor by the consecrated bundles of baresma, nor by the faithful.

You shall therefore cause the yellow dog with

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four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go three times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go six times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, is brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

If the dog goes unwillingly, they shall cause the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, to go nine times through that way. When either the yellow dog with four eyes, or the white dog with yellow ears, has been brought there, then the Drug Nasu flies away to the regions of the north, in the shape of a raging fly, with knees and tail sticking out, all stained with stains, and like unto the foulest Khrafstras.

An Athravan shall first go along the way and shall say aloud these fiend-smiting words: Yathâ ahû vairyô—the will of the Lord is the law of holiness; the riches of Vohu-manô shall be given to him who works in this world for Mazda, and wields according to the will of Ahura the power he gave to him to relieve the poor.

Kem nâ mazdâ:—whom hast thou placed to protect me, O Mazda! while the hate of the fiend is grasping me? Whom but thy Atar and Vohu-manô, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law!

Ke verethrem *gâ*:—who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that Sraosha may come with Vohu-manô and help whomsoever thou pleasest.

Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Armaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug? Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy spirit!

Then the worshipers of Mazda may at their will bring by those ways sheep and oxen, men and women, and Fire, the son of Ahura Mazda, the consecrated bundles of baresma, and the faithful.

The worshipers of Mazda may afterwards prepare meals with meat and wine in that house; it shall be clean, and there will be no sin, as before. —"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. IV., pp. 97-99.*

(4) Saoshyant, the Saviour.

"We worship the mighty Kingly Glory which shall attend upon
"The Victorious One of the Saoshyants,
And attend his other comrades,
When He makes the world perfected,
Ever ageless and undying,
Undecaying, ne'er corrupting,
Ever living, e'er increasing, ruling at will,
When the dead again shall rise up,
When the quick become immortal,
And, as wished, the world made perfect.

"Then all beings become undying,
Happy creatures, they the Righteous;
And away the Druj (Fiend) vanishes
Thither whence she came destroying
The righteous man, both seed and life.
She the Deadly Fiend shall perish
And the Deadly Lord (Ahriman) shall vanish.

"When arise shall Astvat-ereta
From the waters of Kausavya,
Ally of Ahura Mazda,
Offspring of Vispa-taurvairi,
Scion sprung from seed victorious. . . .

"He shall look with eye of Wisdom,
Beaming look upon all creatures,
Those of evil brood excepted.
He on all the world incarnate
Beaming looks with eye of Plenty,
And his glance shall make immortal
Each incarnate living creature.

"Then, behold, advance the comrades
Of Victorious Astvat-ereta,
Thinking good and but good speaking,
Doing good, of good Religion,
Nor, indeed, have tongues like theirs
Ever uttered word of falsehood.

"From them flees the Demon Aeshma,
Bloody-speared and of foul Glory.
Righteousness smites evil Falsehood,
Fiend of sinful race and darkness;

"Evil Thought verily smiteth,
But Good Thought in turn shall smite this;
Though the Word False-Spoken smiteth,
Yet the Word of Truth shall smite it.
Saving-Health and Life Immortal
Hunger and Thirst shall smite completely;
Saving-health and Life Immortal
Smite down sinful Thirst and Hunger.
Forth shall flee that evil-worker,
Anra Mainyu, reft of power."
—"*Biblical World*" *for August, 1896, pp. 158-160.*

(5) **Evil Banished.**—They run about to and fro, their minds waver to and fro, Angra Mainyu the deadly, the Daêva of the Daêvas; Indra the Daêva, Sâuru the Daêva, Naunghaithya the Daêva, Taurvi and Zairi, Aêshma of the wounding spear, Akatasha the Daêva, Zaurva, baneful to the fathers, Bûiti the Daêva, Driwi the Daêva, Daiwi the Daêva, Kasvi the Daêva, Paitisha, the most Daêva-like amongst the Daêvas.

And he said, the guileful, the evil-doing Daêva, Angra Mainyu the deadly: "What! let the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas gather together at the head of Arezûra."

They run, they rush away, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away with shouts, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas; they run away casting the evil eye, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas: "Let us gather together at the head of Arezûra!

"For he is just born, the holy Zarathustra, in the house of Pourushaspa. How can we procure his death? He is the stroke that fells the fiends; he is a counter-fiend to the fiends; he is a Drug to the Drug. Down are the Daêva-worshipers, the Nasu made by the Daêva, the false-speaking Lie!"

They run away, they rush away, the wicked, evil-doing Daêvas, into the depths of the dark, horrid world of hell.

Ashem vohu: Holiness is the best of all good —"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. IV., pp. 217-19.*

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THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **INTRODUCTORY REMARKS AND CHAPTER I.**—Hinayana and Mahayana, Buddhism in the West, Benefits, Cause and effect, Mind, Incommunicability.—Chapter I.: Buddha's insight, Attachment to doctrine.
14. **CHAPTERS II., III., AND IV.**—Karma and Freedom, Heaven, Moksha, Nirvana. Chapter III.: Samsara, Karma, Skandhas, Beginning and end, Moksha.—Chapter IV.: Pure and impure, Pure lands, Virtue and vice.
15. **CHAPTERS V. AND VI.**—Reality, Momentary duration, Habits of thought, Subject and object, Phenomena and essence of mind, Water and waves.—Chapter VI.: Sects, Shōdō-Mon, Jōdo-Mon. Moksha.
16. **ZOROASTER.**—Persian form, Era, Home, Legends, Vicissitudes of Zoroastrianism, General character, Nature and ancestor cult, Dualism, Revival.
17. **DUALISM, ANGELS, AND DEMONS.**—Ormazd, Ahriman, Dualism and theism, Ahura Mazda, Amesha Spentas, Arch-fiends, Daevas, Drujes.
18. **ETHICS AND ESCHATOLOGY.**—Ethics, Future life, Elements, Judgment, Resurrection, Saviour.

QUESTIONS.

13. *How does Mahayana differ from Hinayana? Which is primary in Japan? In which direction did Buddhism spread? What are the benefits of Buddhism? On what great law does Buddhism depend? To what, however, do all things reduce? Upon what conditions can Mahayana be understood? What is Moksha? What did Buddha substitute for the teaching of dogma?*

14. *What precludes freedom? Does the "Palace of Heaven" afford emancipation? Define Moksha (used in this account for Nirvana). Define Nirvana (used in this account for Pari-nirvana). Is it extinction? How does the Hinayana differ from this view?—Chapter III.: What are the skandhas? What produces human life with all its vicissitudes? Can we trace its beginning or end? How are such facts related to seeking Moksha?—Chapter IV.: What are "pure things"? How do they end? How is morality related to them?*

15. *How are the apparent events around us produced? How are such mental operations caused? What is the "subject" in thinking, or the "true essence of mind"? With what may this essence and its phenomena be compared?—Chapter VI.: What does each sect take as its standard? Explain Shōdō-Mon and Jōdo-Mon. How is Moksha attained in each?*

16. *What was the era of Zoroaster? Sketch his life. What fortunes did Zoroastrianism share? What was its golden age? Characterize Zoroastrianism. State the three stages of its course.*

17. *Who were Ormazd and Ahriman? In what sense is this doctrine theistic? State some traits of Ahura Mazda. Who are the Amesha Spentas? Who are opposed to them? Who was Asmodeus?*

18. *What are the ethical principles of Zoroastrianism? What is its doctrine about the future? Repeat its familiar triad. What place has asceticism? How were the elements regarded? What evil traits were present? Relate the course of the soul after death. Describe the doctrine of a coming Saviour.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

N. B.—The student should understand that Lessons 13, 14 and 15 are not scientific studies, but apologetic statements of Buddhism (or better, Bodhism), written by an ardent advocate, anxious, above all things, to establish Bodhism as the authentic teaching of Gautama Buddha, which, however, is a thesis that no western scholar would allow.

1. *Chapter I. states quite truly that Buddha felt no concern about dogmas (either philosophical or theological), but only about the salvation of men. Cf. Lesson 6. Moksha means Nirvana. Cf. Lesson 7. The paragraph beginning at the bottom of page 274, and the one following it, are undeniably true as they stand, but extremely doubtful when understood to concern* Karma, *as they really do.* Karma, *which is here ostentatiously paraded as "the law of cause and effect," is really only a* suppositious *case of cause and effect.*

2. *Is Heaven fairly treated in Chapter II.? Does Nirvana, as defined in Chapter II., differ from a fair conception of Heaven? Notice how, at the close of Chapter II., the wide breach between Hinayana and Mahayana, in regard to Nirvana, is narrowed as much as possible. Chapter III.: Notice how the writer, having denied that men are "real beings," proceeds to attribute them to* Karma, *which must therefore be "real." Is this hypostasis of a moral relation any better evidenced than the human spirit or self, which Bodhism here rejects?*

3. *Compare this Bodhist idealistic monism with the Vedantic pantheism. "Essence of mind" is the Bodhist equivalent to Brahmā. The rise of the sects is correctly explained. Compare a similar result in the development to Christianity. The reconciliation of Shōdō-Mon (Hinayana) and Jōdo-Mon (Mahayana or Bodhism) attempted in the last paragraph would not be accepted by the Hinayanists (of Ceylon and Burma), for with them Moksha (extinction of passion) would lead at death to extinction of life, and not to Bodhisattvaship in the Pure Land. Notice in general the obscurity and ambiguity of the whole account. Japanese scholarship, like all that in Asia, needs the perspicacity secured to us by our training in the Greek mathematics and logic. We are eternal debtors to Euclid and Aristotle.*

4. *Compare the three stages of Zoroastrianism with those in Taoism and Buddhism.*
5. *Compare the Persian and Hebrew angelologies.*
6. *Compare the Saoshyant with the Buddhist Maitreya.*

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SOME CEREMONIES OF THE PARSEES

BY

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THE Parsees, or Zoroastrians, of India and Persia are divided into two sects, the Shâhanshâhies and the Kadimies. The latter, small in number, consist of all Parsees of Persia and very few of India. The religious ceremonies, with a few exceptions, of both the sects are same. We propose to notice a few of them according as they are observed in the larger sect of the Shâhanshâhies. The prayers recited in these ceremonies are generally in the ancient language of the Avesta, sometimes also coupled with some prayers in the later Pazend language of Persia. Priests have the privilege of performing and undergoing all ceremonies either on their own behalf or on behalf of their coreligionists, whereas laymen can perform or undergo only a few of them. We have selected for this account some ceremonies of the latter sort only.

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19. THE KUSTI CEREMONY.

Every Parsee—male or female, priest or layman—must be invested between the ages of seven and fifteen (1) with two articles of dress, called *sudra* and *kusti*, the first of which he or she should put on next to the skin. Both the *sudra* and *kusti* must be worn by every Parsee till the end of life, nay, even till the dead body is consigned to the Tower of Silence. The *sudra* is a shirt of white cloth with a peculiar bag-shaped small breast-piece, called *garebân*, attached to the collar down in the middle on the front. The *kusti* is a peculiar girdle made of seventy-two woolen threads and is girded round the waist on the *sudra* three times with four knots, two in the front and two behind. The ceremony of untying and retying the *kusti*, called *pâdyâb-kusti*, performed several times in the day, consists of three parts: 1, first, the face, the hands, and the feet, as far as they remain uncovered, are washed with pure water; this ablution is called *pâdyâb*; 2, then the purified parts are wiped off and the *kēmnâ-mazdâ*, (2) a certain prayer in the Avestic language, is recited, after which the *kusti* is untied from the waist, the *sudra* alone remaining on the body; 3, then facing the *kibla*, *i.e.*, any luminous substance, such as the sun during the day-time, and the fire, a lamp, the moon, or the stars during the night, a Pazend prayer, called *Hormazd Khôdâ*, (3) is recited, and while uttering the words *khshnaothra*, etc., in the recitation, the *kusti* is retied.

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Ceremony of Investiture with the Sudra and Kusti.

Then the Avestic confession of faith, beginning with *Jasame Avanghe Mazda*, (4) concludes the ceremony.

Every Parsee must perform this ceremony several times in the day, *e.g.*, in the morning, after rising from sleep, before prayers, before meals, after answering calls of nature, etc.

Creed.—The *Sudra-and-Kusti* is considered as a visible symbol or emblem of the Mâzdayasni or Zoroastrian religion, (5) serving to remind the wearer of several duties such as: 1, the service of God (6); 2, discrimination between good and bad (7); 3, fighting against and defending oneself from every kind of evil; 4, regarding our life here as a sojourn and, therefore, performing meritorious deeds to be rewarded in the next life; 5, certain rituals, etc.

The necessary white color of the *sudra* reminds the wearer of purity, both bodily and mental, which must be constantly observed, white being the symbol of *purity* in the Zoroastrian religion. The *garebân*, which is shaped like a bag, reminds the wearer that man in this world is like a traveler who has come to acquire the treasure of his own virtuous deeds, which only can secure him reward in the next world.

The material of the *kusti* is wool, for it grows on the body of lambs, admonishing the wearer to lead a life of meekness and innocence. The three rounds of the *kusti* reminds the wearer of the three cardinal virtues of the Zoroastrian religion, viz., *humata*, good thought; *hûkhta*, good word, and *huvarshta*, good deed. The four knots symbolize (8) the four aspects of the wearer's own distinctive character, viz.: *Mâzdayasnô*, the worshiper of the Only One Most Wise God; *Zarathustrish*, the follower of Zoroaster; *Vidaevô*, an opponent of every kind of evil; and *Ahuratkaeshô*, observer of divine laws.

Benefit Here and Hereafter.—The sanitary advantages of frequent washing of hands, face, etc., are so obvious that they need no comment. That "cleanliness is next to godliness" is literally true in the case of the *Zoroastrian* religion, which enjoins scrupulous washing of the body after contact with any impure and filthy matter. Zoroastrianism lays equal stress upon moral and bodily purification. (9) Again, the short prayers uttered during this ceremony every now and then (as will appear from the translations in the notes) reminds the reciter to guard himself from every kind of evil, and to trust in the powerful Divine protection. It also reminds

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him to shun vice and sin and to repent for past delinquencies. Girding the waist with the sacred girdle reminds the wearer to be always ready and resolute in the service of God, and in the performance of virtuous deeds, "to gird the loins" being among the Oriental nations a sign of readiness and resoluteness. The concluding portion of the prayer is the Confession of Mâzdayasni Faith, of which three chief duties—good thoughts, good words, and good deeds—are specially mentioned in it. It is needless to say that he who regulates his conduct according to the principles suggested by the symbols and injunctions contained in this ceremony, is sure to pass his life in active benevolence and to be rewarded according to his merits in the life to come.

19. THE KUSTI CEREMONY.

(1) **Age of Initiation.**—This one is (the sinner), either man or woman, who, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle and the sacred shirt.—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. IV., p. 199.*

(2) **Kemna-mazda.**—Whom hast thou placed to protect me, O *Mazda!* while the hate of fiend is grasping me? Whom but thy *atar* and *Vohu-mano*, by whose work the holy world goes on? Reveal to me the rules of thy law!

Ke-Verethrem-ja.—Who is he who will smite the fiend in order to maintain thy ordinances? Teach me clearly thy rules for this world and for the next, that *Sraosha* may come with *Vohu-mano* and help whomsoever thou pleasest.

Keep us from our hater, O Mazda and Armaiti Spenta! Perish, O fiendish Drug! Perish, O brood of the fiend! Perish, O world of the fiend! Perish away, O Drug! Rush away, O Drug! Perish away, O Drug! Perish away to the regions of the north, never more to give unto death the living world of the holy Spirit!—*Ibid, Vol. IV., p. 99.*

(3) **Hormazd Khoda.**—Let Ormazd be king, and let Ahriman, the wicked holder-aloof, be smitten and broken.

May Ahriman, the Devas, the Drujas, the Sorcerers, the evil kikas and the karapas, the opressors, the evil-doers, the Asmogs, the wicked, the enemies, the Paris, etc., be smitten and broken. May the enemies be far off. Ormazd, Lord! Of all sins I repent with Patet.

All the evil thoughts, evil words, evil deeds which I have thought, spoken, done, committed in the world, which are become my nature—all these sins, thoughts, words and deeds, bodily, spiritual, earthly, heavenly, O Lord, pardon; I repent of them with the three words.—*Spiegel-Bleeck*, "*Khordeh-avesta*," *p. 4.*

(4) **The Avestic Confession.**—Come to help me, O, Mazda! A Mazda-worshiper I am, of Zarathustra's order; (so) do I confess, as a praiser and confessor, and I therefore praise aloud the well-thought thought, the word well spoken, and the deed well done.

Yea, I praise at once the Faith of Mazda, the Faith which has no faltering utterance; the Faith that wields the felling halbert; the Faith of kindred marriage; the holy (creed), which is most imposing, best, and most beautiful of all religions which exist, and of all that shall in future come to knowledge, Ahura Faith, the Zarathustrian creed. Yea, to Ahura Mazda do I ascribe all good, and such shall be the worship of the Mâzdayasnian belief.—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XXXI. p. 250.*

(5) **The Girdle.**—Forth has Mazda borne to thee, the star bespangled girdle, the spirit-made, the ancient one, the Mâzdayasnian Faith.

So, with this, thou art begirt on the summits of the mountain, for the spreading of the precepts, and the headings of the Mathra. (and to help the Mathra's teachers.)—*Ibid, Vol. XXXI., p. 238.*

(6) **Symbolism of the Girdle.**—The all-good, most spiritual of spirits, and most ruling of rulers is the creator, and there is no need of troubles for men of the poor as to any wealth or anything, for all are his own And through his will as ruler, and all powerful, he demands this of men, to remain properly skirted (decently dressed) as a true servant not even bound—which is due to that service, and also the indication of a servant—as is seen and clearly declared in the ever-fixed religion and belief.

The sacred thread-girdle is as a sign of the service of the sacred beings, a token of sin ended, and a presage of beneficence; and one is to put it on and to gird it, in the neighborhood of the heart and in the middle of the body, with religious formula accompanying the glorious scripture.—*Ibid, Vol. XXIII., pp. 122 and 130.*

(7) **Symbolism of the Girdle.**—That is also betokened by its equally-dividing (hambur) position and determining fashion; for as a wise man becomes a discriminator between benefit and injury, between good and evil, so also the place of the sacred thread-girdle is between below and above.—*Ibid, p. 130.*

(8) **Symbolism of the Girdle-knots.**—And those four knots with which they tie it on are on this account, that it may give four attestations. The first knot is that which preserves (1) consistency (qurâr) and gives attestation as to the existence, unity, purity, and matchlessness of the sacred being, the good and propitious. The second knot is that which gives attestation that it is the good religion of the Mazda-worshipers, which is the word of the sacred being. The third knot is that which gives attestation as to the apostleship and mission (rasûh) of the just (hagy) Zaratust, the Spitomân. The fourth knot is that which adduces more pleasantly, gives assurance (iqrâr) and openly accepts that I think of good, speak of good, and do good. And from the whole I become established; and the pure, good religion is this, that I persist in those views.—*Ibid, p. 14.*

(9) **Purity.**—May the body be pure and the soul heavenly! May sin be dried up and virtue in green growth!—*Pulet Erani.*

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20. THE NAVZOT CEREMONY.

The right of wearing the Sudra and Kusti and of repeating the Kusti ceremony from time to time is not acquired by one unless the ceremony of *Navzot*, which somewhat corresponds to the Christian ceremony of confirmation, has been performed upon him or her by a Parsee priest. "Nav" means new or first, and "zot" means worshiper; thus, *Navzot* means the ceremony of confirming a new worshiper. This ceremony consists of two parts, 1. the *Nahân* or ceremonial ablution, and 2. the *Navzot* proper. The *Nahân* is a religious purification of one's whole body by a priest with consecrated urine of bulls and holy water, with the joint recitation of certain holy texts. This washing is performed either in a temple or on the ground-floor of the house, the person to be washed being made to sit on three or more stones. When the washing is done the candidate puts on a pair of trousers and wraps the upper part of the body with a clean, white cloth or a shawl, taking care not to keep the head and feet uncovered. He or she is then conducted into the room where the Navzot proper is to be performed. It is as follows:

The candidate is made to sit on a flat, low stand facing the east and opposite the chief priest, who is to perform the ceremony upon the candidate. In the beginning all the priests who take part in the ceremony, as well as the candidate, recite the Patet, which is an avesta, and Pâzend liturgy, purporting the renunciation of sins. A fire is kept there burning with sandal-wood, frank-incense and other pure fragrant substances. The Patet over, the candidate stands before the chief priest, who, removing the wrapped cloth, makes him recite the *Kalma-i-Din* (1) or the Confession of Faith in the Pâzend language. Then with the recitation of certain holy texts the priest makes the candidate wear the Sudra, taking care that its garebân is in the front. After this the priest, standing behind the candidate in such a way that their faces are turned towards the sun, both of them recite the *Nirang-i-kusti*, or the prayer commencing with *Hormazd Koda*, which is, as mentioned above, always recited at the time of retying the Kusti. All throughout this recitation the candidate holds the priest by both the sleeves of his outer robe near the palm, and the priest binds the Kusti round the waist of the candidate according to the usual way; that is, from the word *Khusnathra*, etc., three times round the waist with two knots in the front and two behind. Then they both resume their seats. After this the chief priest, standing, recites a Pâzend benediction called *Tandarusti*, (2) at the same time showering over the head of the candidate small pieces of dry fruits, such as cocoanuts, almonds, raisins, grains of pomegranate, rice, etc. This concludes the ceremony so far as the candidate is concerned. Then all the priests, including the chief priest, pronounce the same blessing upon the candidate and his or her parents. The priests are finally given presents, usually of money, but sometimes of cloths, shawls, etc., according as the means of the parents allow.

Creed.—One is not entitled fully to be called a Mazdayasnân Zoroastrian, though born of Zoroastrian parents, until this formal ceremony of *Navzot* has been performed upon him or her by a priest. Except during the time of bathing and under unavoidable difficulties, every Zoroastrian, after having undergone the *Navzot* ceremony, is enjoined to put on the Sudra and Kusti day and night. From the time of *Navzot*, he has to observe certain rules of cleanliness, *e.g.*, washing any part of the body that may have come in contact with unclean or filthy matter, and renewing the Kusti ceremony on certain occasions as mentioned above. Speaking, walking, or performing any function of life without wearing these two sacred articles of dress from the time of *Navzot* till the end of life is considered a sin, called "Running, uncovered with Sudra and Kusti." (3) The outer dress of a Zoroastrian may be any whatever, provided the injunction of keeping the Sudra and Kusti is not neglected. From the time of *Navzot* one is considered as a regenerated member

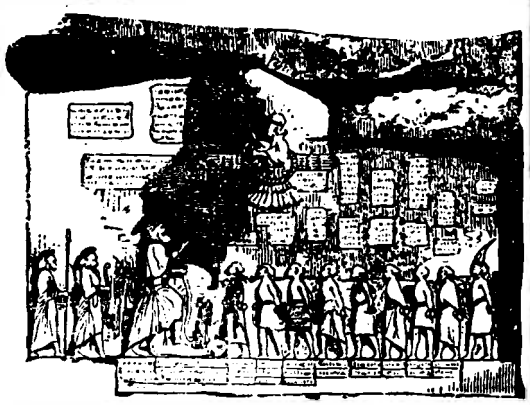
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of the community who has purified his body and soul and obtained the right of being present in all Zoroastrian religious ceremonies and assemblies. For in the Zoroastrian system there are several ceremonies of higher and lower grades in which the contact of a non-Zoroastrian is forbidden. In all but one or two of them the presence of a non-Zoroastrian is not allowed. But those who, having undergone this *Navzot* ceremony have been formally admitted into the religion, obtain the right of being present during the performance of all ceremonies.

Benefit Here and Hereafter.—Purity, both bodily and mental, is necessary for a man to be perfect in life. Every Zoroastrian, from the time of his *Navzot*, observes general rules regarding this twofold purity as being obligatory. By habitually observing these rules, cleanliness gradually becomes a part of his nature and conduces to the preservation of health. Moreover, the great advantage of the *Navzot* to a Zoroastrian is this, that he or she obtains the right of admission into the place where holy ceremonies are performed and which are inaccessible to non-Zoroastrians. Again, the Zoroastrian religion does not deny Heaven to the followers of other religious systems, but it promises purer and happier heavenly enjoyments only to that devout and pious Zoroastrian who performs, along with observing morality in conduct, the higher rituals and devotional acts which are ordained to be performed by or on behalf of Zoroastrians only. Now the "Navzot" is the ceremony which confers a two-fold advantage on the person who has undergone it; first, the right of taking part in religious ceremonies, and, secondly, the prospect of securing higher heavenly happiness.

20. THE NAVZOT CEREMONY.

(1) **Kaima-i-Din.**—The good, righteous, right religion which the Lord has sent to the creatures is that which Zartust has brought. The religion is the religion of Zartust, the religion of Ormazd, given to Zartust. —*Spiegel-Bleek*, "*Khordeh-avesta*," *p. 191.*



Rock Inscription of Behistan, Persia, being a procession of captives before King Darius, while Ahura Mazda appears above.

(2) **The Tandarusti.**—Health is needful throughout the whole length of time. May brightness endure, bound with purity. May the heavenly yazatas, the earthly yazatas, the seven Amshaspands, come hither, to the shining Mazda. May my prayer arrive. May my wish be fulfilled! May the Zarathustrian Law ever be well. So may it be.

O Creator, Ruler! keep the lords of the world, the whole community and N. N., together with descendants for a thousand years long, keep cheerful, keep in health. So keep them. Keep them on the tops of the worthy many years, throughout countless periods, pure and continuing. A thousand times a thousand benedictions! May the year be prosperous! May the day be good, may the month be blessed! Keep pure many years, days, months, many, many years long the Yaçna and Nyâyish, the good works, may good be present, may wellbeing be present. So be it. In this way may it be. May it be according to the wish of the yazats and amshaspands. —*Spiegel-Bleek*, "*Khordeh-avesta*," *pp. 189-190.*

(3) **Running Uncovered.**—Then the Druǥ demon, the guileful one, answered: "O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! This one is my fourth male who, either man or woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle and the sacred shirt.

"At the fourth step we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of the holy spirit, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas."

The holy Sraosha asked the Druǥ, with his club uplifted against her: "O thou wretched and wicked Druǥ, what is the thing that can counteract that?"

Then the Druǥ demon, the guileful one, answered: "O holy, tall-formed Sraosha! There is no means of counteracting it.

"When a man or a woman, being more than fifteen years of age, walks without wearing the sacred girdle or the sacred shirt.

"At the fourth step we Daêvas, at once, wither him even to the tongue and the marrow, and he goes thenceforth with power to destroy the world of the holy spirit, and he destroys it like the Yâtus and the Zandas." —"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. IV., pp. 199-200.*

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21 THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

Zoroastrianism prefers married life to celibacy. (1) Among modern Parsees, as among their ancient Irânian forefathers, the marriage ceremony is generally performed after the age of fifteen. (2) Formerly some Hindu customs and ceremonies were in vogue among them on the marriage occasion, but at present most of them are dispensed with as being foreign to the Zoroastrian system. The essentially religious part of this ceremony is that only which is performed by the priests, as described below.

In the afternoon of the day of marriage, the bride and the bridegroom wash their bodies, generally with the *Nahân* ceremony of the *Navzot* (in some families a part of *Navzot* also is performed) as described above. Then their priests, relations, friends, and acquaintances of both sexes, who may have been invited, gather together where the marriage ceremony is to be celebrated. In the evening immediately after the



The Marriage Ceremony.

lamps are lighted, the marrying couple and the two officiating priests perform the *Kusti* ceremony. Then the bride and the bridegroom take their seats facing each other on chairs placed on a carpet specially spread for the occasion. A piece of fine cloth is passed round them and the ends of it are tied together by a double knot. Then the senior officiating priest first winds round the pair a thread of raw cotton seven times, reciting the holy avesta words of *Yathâ-ahû-vairyô*. This being done, he joins the right hands of the couple and winds more thread round the grasped hands reciting the same holy words. All this while frankincense is burnt on a fire placed near.

The priest then orders the couple to rise and sit with hands disjoined and on the same chairs placed side by side. He then, taking a handful of rice in his right hand, begins to shower it grain by grain alternately upon the couple, reciting at the same time the *Pemân* or the solemn words of the promise to be taken from the couple and their parents or guardians in the presence of the whole assembly. While these words of solemn promise are being recited, two men sit, one by the side of each of the couple, as representing their parents or guardians and witnesses of the marriage. During the recital of the *Pemân* the consent of these two witnesses is also taken along with that of the couple in the Pâzend language, after which the junior priest

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joins with the senior in reciting some admonitions and blessings in the same Pâzend language. For this *Pemân ashîrvâd* consists of two parts: 1, the Pemân or solemn promises and consents of the several parties, taken by the senior officiating priest in the presence of the whole assembly; (3) and 2, thereafter some solemn admonitions to and blessings upon the marrying couple by both the priests. At the conclusion of these recitals the bride and the bridegroom, or, if they are minors, their fathers or guardians, and the two witnesses who represent the fathers or guardians and the two officiating priests, sign a marriage certificate, which is afterwards delivered over to the government registrar of Parsi marriages in British India. From that time the couple become man and wife till the end of their lives.

Creed.—The Zoroastrian religion teaches that *two principles* are at work in this world—*Spentomainyush*, the principle of increase, and *Angromainyush*, the principle of decrease. Every Zoroastrian is bidden to support the former and withstand the latter. According to this doctrine marriage is a sacred duty which must be performed by all, unless one cannot do so for very weighty reasons. Zoroaster himself has in his gâthâs (sacred songs) commanded his own daughter Pouruchisti and all his followers never to remain unmarried without reasonable cause. To help to bring about good marriages is, in Zoroastrian writings, considered meritorious.

Showering grains of rice upon the couple is meant to denote happiness and prosperity to them. The presence of fire during the marriage ceremony is a remnant of the old Aryan notion of reverence to the domestic fire, "hearth and house" being the visible signs of conjugal and domestic love.

Benefit Here and Hereafter.—As the foundation of social morality, domestic happiness, and civil peace and prosperity, marriage is a most essential institution. Hence it is no wonder that it is inculcated in all religions. But no religion encourages it so powerfully and forcibly as Zoroastrianism, and, in consequence, incontinence and adultery are seldom met with in the Zoroastrian community. The most significant result of the ordinance is that there has never been a public prostitute among the Zoroastrians. Domestic peace and content prevail in most families and youths acquire timely habits of leading honorable, virtuous lives. If God's commandment "Live and multiply," be properly interpreted, it means live peacefully, enjoying domestic happiness, and multiply children by holy matrimony. If this be the right construction put upon it, it is literally exemplified in the Zoroastrian marriage.

21. THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY.

(1) **Marriage Preferred.**—Verily I say it unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the man who has a wife is far above him who begets no sons; he who keeps a house is far above him who has none; he who has children is far above the childless man.—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. IV., p. 46.*

Prizes for Children.—In Persia, there are prizes given by the king to those who have most children.—"*Herodotus*" *I., 36.*

(2) **The Marriageable Age.**—He shall godly and piously give to a godly man a virgin maid, whom no man has known. . . .

O Maker of the material world,
Thou holy one! What maid?

Ahura Mazda answered: "A sister or a daughter of his, at the age of puberty, with ear-rings in her ears, and past her fifteenth year.—"*Sacred Books of the East.*" *Vol. IV., p. 171.*

(3) **The Marriage Ceremony.**—In the name of God. Yatha-Ahû Vairyo. (1)—May the Creator Ormuzd give you many descendants, with men as grandchildren, unstinted livelihood, friends heart-ravishing, body and countenance enduring through a long life, to the duration of a hundred and fifty years.

(To the person representing the father of the bridegroom):—"On the day of N.N , in the month of N.N., in the year N N., since the king of kings, the ruler yeztgird of the stock of Sâsân, a congregation is come together in the circle of the fortunate town N-N-, according to the law and customs of the good Mazdayasnân law. Do you take this bride in marriage for this bridegroom on a promise of paying her two thousand 'derms' of pure white silver and two 'dênârs' of red gold (of the coinage) of the city of Nishâpore?"

Answer:—"Yes, we consent."

(To the person representing the father of the bride):—"Have you promised to give forever this girl of your family in marriage to (naming the husband) with honest thoughts, good words, and for the increase of goodness?"

Answer:—"Yes, we have promised."

(To the marrying couple):—"Have you both consented to act according to your promise with honest heart till the end of your lives?"

Answer:—"Yes, we have." — *Spiegel-Bleek, "Khordeh-avesta," pp. 113-14. D. F. Karâkâ, "History of the Parsees," Vol. I., pp. 181, 182.*

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22. WORSHIP.

The Zoroastrians recite Avesta and Pazend texts in their worship. These are divided into: 1, Avestâ-i-Bûzorg; 2, Avestâ-i-Khurd or Khurdeh-Avestâ. In the former group are comprised the Yasnâ, the Visparad, the Vendidâd, the Bâjs, the Afrigâns, etc., which are accompanied with rituals and offerings and are recited exclusively by qualified priests, viz: the Ervads, the Mobeds and the Dustoors, either for their ownselves, or on behalf of others. In the latter group are comprised the Nyâeshes, the Yashts, the Nirangs, grace before and after meals, etc., which are not accompanied with rituals and are recited by all Zoroastrians. The descriptions of the texts and rituals of Avestâ-i-Buzorg being too long and complicated to be given here, we will content ourselves with brief notices of a few texts of the Khurdeh-Avestâ.

Every day of twenty four hours is divided into five unequal parts, called *gâhs*, for the purpose of prayers and ceremonials. They are are as follows: 1, *Ushahina* or *Ushahen*, from midnight to daybreak; 2, *Hâvani* or *Hâvan*, from daybreak to noon; 3, *Rapithvina* or *Rapithwan*, from noon to afternoon; 4, *Uzayêirina* or *Uziran*, from afternoon to sunset; 5, *Aivisrûthrema* or *Aivisrûthrem*, from sunset to midnight.

To each of these devotional times certain prayers are assigned. The *Khurshed Nyâêsh* and *Mihir Nyâêsh* to the three *gâhs*, from sunrise to sunset. Similarly *Âbân Nyâêsh*. To the fifth *gâh* is assigned the *Sraosh Yasht*, the *Mâhbakhtâr Nyâesh* to any time of the night. The *Âtash Nyâêsh* and all the *Yashts* can be recited at any time.

The Yashts are twenty-two in number. They are generally longer than the Nyâeshes. Each *Yasht* is dedicated to one invisible heavenly spirit under the sovereignty of God, the Almighty, and believed to preside over certain physical objects or moral, metaphysical and mental qualities.

The *Yashts* and the *Nyâeshes* are in their general character and matter more laudatory of God's works than edifying to the human soul. In each of these *Nyâeshes* and the *Yashts* the natural object or the moral idea, which is the subject of the *Nyâesh* or the *Yashts*, is shortly or lengthily described, and its Creator is openly or by implication praised and thanked for the bestowal of that natural or moral gift, *e.g.*, the sun, the moon, the stars, the earth, the mountains, light, the water, fire, the rain, truth, justice, victory, religion and so on. Those who are unacquainted with the spirit of the Zoroastrian religion, seeing fire consecrated and kept perpetually burning in their religious houses, erroneously apply the name of fire-worshipers to the Parsees. But this imputation is emphatically denied by them. Every Zoroastrian confesses himself a *Mazdayasnô*, *i.e.*, a worshiper of the most Wise God. (1)

Besides the *Nyâeshes* and *Yashts* there are five *Patets* mostly in the Pazend language. They contain a confession of and the repentance for sins committed. One or more *Patets* are also recited every day.

Creed.—Fetishism and idolatry are denounced in Zoroastrianism. It reverences no works of human hands, but only the grand natural creations, and even among the natural objects only those which are most beneficial and least harmful are to be revered. Everything injurious to mankind is hated and discarded. Good, virtuous, benevolent persons are honored, while bad, vicious and malevolent persons are dishonored. Useful animals, such as the cow, the horse, the dog, the sheep, the camel, the goat, etc., are to be protected and nourished, while noxious animals, such as the snake, the scorpion, the tiger, the wolf, etc., are to be killed and destroyed. Good thoughts, good words, and good deeds are ordered to be practiced, while evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds are strictly prohibited. Generosity, liberality, chastity, humanity and all other moral virtues are recommended, while their opposite vices are prohibited. This general principle of siding with the *Spentomainyush* or the

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principle of good, and opposing *Angromainyush*, the principle of evil, underlies the whole system of worship.

Benefit Here and Hereafter.—The chief benefit of Zoroastrian worship is that the worshiper ascends from works to the Maker, from wonders to the performer of wonders, from effects to the cause, from nature to nature's God. Praising Him, thanking Him, and trusting in His Omnipotence, his soul reposes on the bosom of that Divine Father, asks His help in difficulties, is afraid of incurring His displeasure, and strives to approach Him nearer and nearer. (2)

22. WORSHIP.

(1) **Mazda-worship.**—A Mazda-worshipper I am of Zarathustra's order. . . .

Religious festivals are observed on a variable day of each month, and furthermore at six seasonal occasions of which the chief is at the Vernal Equinox. The personal festivals are in memory of the birth and death of the prophet Zoroaster, and a third during the last ten days of the year in honor of the holy spirits of good creations, and of all holy men.

(2) **Worship of the Sun belongs to Ahura, etc.**—We sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed sun. . . . And when the sun rises up, then the earth made by Ahura becomes clean, the running waters become clean, the waters of the wells become clean, the waters of the sea become clean, the standing waters become clean; all the holy creatures, the creatures of the good spirit, become clean.

Should not the sun rise up, then the Daevas would destroy all the things that are in the seven kaishvares, nor would the heavenly yazats find any way of withstanding or repelling them in the material world.

He who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed sun to withstand darkness, to withstand the Daevas born of darkness, to withstand the robbers and bandits, to withstand yatus and Pairikas, to withstand death that creeps in unseen—offers it up to Ahura Mazda, offers it up to the Amesha-Spentas, offers it up to his own soul. He rejoices all the heavenly and worldly yazats, who offers up a sacrifice unto the undying, shining, swift-horsed sun. I will sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes.—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XXIII., pp. 85-7.*

"Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying, 'Verily when I created Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, O Spitama! as worthy of prayer as myself, Ahura Mazda.'

'The ruffian who lies unto Mithra brings death unto the whole country, injuring as much the faithful world as a hundred evil-doers could do. Break not the contract, O Spitama! neither the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the unfaithful, nor the one that thou hadst entered into with one of the faithful who is one of thy own faith, for Mithra stands for both the faithful and unfaithful. . . .

'On whatever side there is one who has lied unto Mithra, on that side Mithra stands forth, angry and offended, and his wrath is slow to relent. . . .

'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures. . . . Sleepless, and ever awake.

'The warrior of the white horse, of the sharp spear, the long spear, the quick arrows: forseeing and clever.

'Whom Ahura Mazda has established to maintain and look over all this moving world, and who maintains, and looks over all this moving world, who, never sleeping, wakefully guards the creation of Mazda; who, never sleeping, wakefully maintains the creation of Mazda.

'For brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice with being heard. . . .

'And thou, O Mithra! encompassing all this around, do thou reach it, all over with thy arms.

'The man without glory, led astray from the right way, grieves in his heart; the man without glory thinks thus in himself: "That careless Mithra does not see all the evil that is done, nor all the lies that are told."

'But I think thus in my heart:

"Should the evil thoughts of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good thoughts of the heavenly Mithra.

"Should the evil words of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the words of the heavenly Mithra.

"Should the evil deeds of the earthly man be a hundred times worse, they would not rise so high as the good deeds of the heavenly Mithra.

"Should the heavenly wisdom in the earthly man be a hundred times greater, it would not rise so high as the heavenly wisdom in the heavenly Mithra.

"And thus, should the ears of the earthly man hear a hundred times better, he would not hear so well as the heavenly Mithra, whose ear hears well, who has a thousand senses, and sees every man that tells a lie."

'Mithra stands up in his strength, he drives in the awfulness of royalty, and sends from his eyes beautiful looks that shine from afar, (saying). . . .

'For this brightness and glory, I will offer him a sacrifice worth being heard. . . .

'We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who is truth-speaking, a chief in assemblies, with a thousand eyes, high with full knowledge, strong, sleepless and ever awake.

'We sacrifice unto Mithra and Ahura, the two great, imperishable, holy gods, and unto the stars, and the moon, and the sun, with the trees that yield up baresma. We sacrifice unto Mithra, the lord of all countries.

'For this brightness and glory, I will offer unto him a sacrifice worth being heard, namely, unto Mithra, the lord of wide pastures.

'Yathâ Ahu Vairya: the will of the Lord is the law of holiness.

'I bless the sacrifice and prayer, and the strength and vigor of Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, who has a thousand ears, ten thousand eyes, a yazata invoked by his own name and that of Râma Hvastra.

'Ashem Vohu. Holiness is the best of all good. . . . '[give] unto that man' brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all happy, blissful abode of the holy ones!'—*Ibid, Vol. XXIII., pp. 119-158.*

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23. THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Some Parsees before, and others a short time after, the death of a person cleanse his or her body by first sprinkling a few drops of cow's urine on it, and then washing the whole with pure water. It is then covered with clean clothings. A *Patet* or an *Ahem-Vohû*, or at least an *Ashem-Vohû*, is recited close to the ears of the person. (1) Immediately afterwards, the dead body is brought down to the ground floor of the house, and then laid on a white, clean sheet of cotton cloth spread on the ground. From this time none is allowed to touch it except the professional disposers of the dead. These, as well as the priests who perform the recital called the *Gâhân*, and all those who take part in the funeral procession, keep themselves connected two and two by means of a cord, a handkerchief, or some other such article, which is called the *Paivand*. Along with the *Paivand* they must also have performed the *Kusti* and recited the *Sraosh Bâj* prayer up to the word *Ashahê* before performing their respective parts in the funeral. The ceremony is commenced by any two of the undertakers removing the clothes from the dead body, and redressing it with a pair of trousers, a *Sudra* and a *Kusti*, a skull-cap, an outer robe, all of them of white cotton (excepting the *Kusti*, which is always woolen), old, worn out, and previously washed with pure water and dried; (2) then tying the folded hands and feet of the corpse in six several joints with shreds of cotton cloth, and, lifting it up, they place it on clean slabs of stone, or layers of clod or sand, spread on the ground, dug a few inches deep, generally in a corner of the room. This place must be dry and free from water and damp. The hands and the feet of the dead are arranged crosswise. They then come out of the house and finish the remaining part of the *Sraosh Bâj* recital. This part of the ceremony is called *Sackkâr*, *i.e.*, placing apart of the dead body. In the beginning and at the end of the *Sackkâr*. a dog is made to gaze at the corpse. This ceremony is called *Sag-did* or dog-gaze. The *Sag-did* is repeated several times, *e.g.*, in the beginning of every "Gâh" (one of the five unequal parts into which the day is divided), in the middle and at the end of the *Gâhân* recitals, and near the door of the Tower of Silence. In absence of a dog, the flight of a crow, a vulture, a kite, or any other carnivorous bird over the dead body and gazing at it is allowed as a substitute for the *Sag-did*.

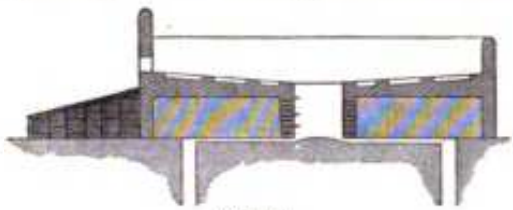
After the *Sackkâr* a fire is brought in the room and kept burning with fragrant materials, such as sandal-wood, frankincense, etc. In most families a priest sits near the fire and recites any part of the Khordeh-Avesta he chooses, especially the *Patet*.

The corpse is taken to the Tower of Silence only during the daytime, for it is essential that the body should be exposed to the sun, and the corpse-devouring birds be present at the Tower.

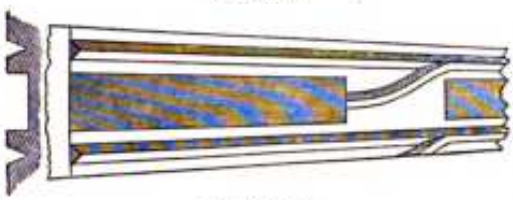
When a dead body is to be taken to the Tower of Silence, the corpse-bearers, washing themselves with cow's urine and pure water, put on white clothes and, performing the Kusti ceremony and taking the iron bier called *Gehân*, enter the room where the *Sackkâr* has been made. They completely cover their bodies, except their faces, their hands wearing a kind of bag of white cloth made fast with white tapes at the wrist. After this two priests, having performed the *Kusti* and taking a *Paivand*, begin the *Gâhân* recital. It consists of the seven chapters of the first or *Ahunuvaiti Gâthâ*, out of the five *Gâthâs* of the Prophet Zoroaster. Nearly at the middle of this recital, *viz.*, at the words *vênaêmâ drujem*, at the end of the fourth stanza of the fourth chapter, they pause, when, after repeating the *Sag-did*, the two corpse-bearers lift the body from its place and arrange it on the iron bier. This being done, the two priests resume the recital and finish it to the end. At this time the *Sag-did* is renewed. Then all those who are assembled there have a look of the deceased, and out of respect bow before the body. The corpse-bearers ultimately cover the body, including the open parts of the deceased, with a white shroud, and

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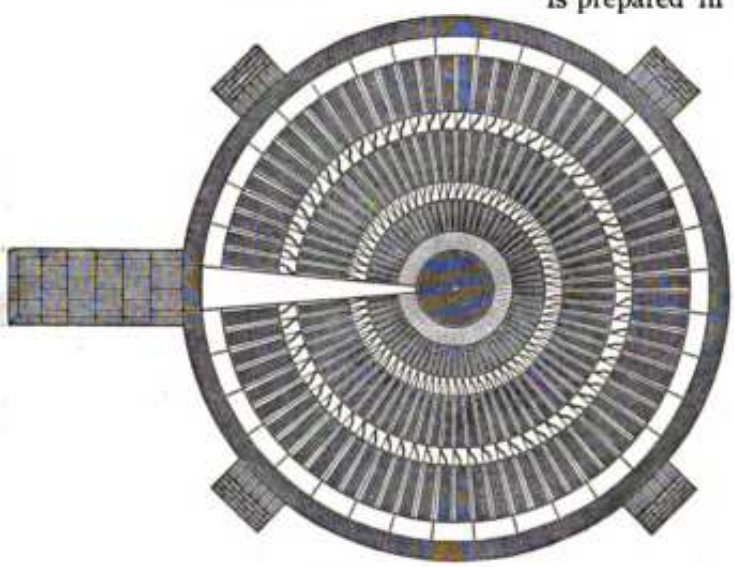
secure it to the bier with scraps of cloth. Then lifting up the bier carefully so as not to touch any person or thing of the house, they bring it out where other corpse-bearers join them. Four of them take the bier on their shoulders and walk towards the Tower of Silence. They are followed by the funeral procession, headed by priests. All the men in the procession walk two and two, joined with the *Paivand* and repeating the *Sraosh Bâj*, with solemn steps, till they arrive at the Tower. Immediately after the body is taken out of the house, the room, the slabs of stones, etc., on which the body was placed, and the passages of the house by which the body was carried out, are sprinkled with drops of cow's urine. The slabs are washed and removed and the women and children of the house bathe themselves. A fire or light is kept burning for three days in the room where the body was laid, and no one is allowed to walk on the demarcated spot of the corpse for a period of ten days in the cold season and thirty days in the warm season. For three days after a death the family abstains from every kind of flesh. No food is prepared in the house before the removal of the corpse, in some families even after its removal for three subsequent days; it being provided for them by relatives and friends.



A Section.



The "Pavi"



The Interior.

PLAN OF A TOWER OF SILENCE.

When the procession reaches the Tower, which is generally built on the top of a mountain or hill, (3) the bier is put on the ground, and the face of the dead body is uncovered. All those who are present there take a last look at the deceased, bowing and standing at a distance of three paces. Then the last *Sag-did* is performed, and the bier is carried by two *Nasâsâlas* into the Tower, who, removing the body from it, place it wholly uncovered (4) and exposed to the sun on one of the *Pâvis*, *i.e.*, portions set apart for different bodies, where carnivorous birds gradually devour its flesh, leaving its bones to get dry. The *Nasâsâlârs* then close the door of the Tower and throw the clothes removed from the body into a deep pit outside the Tower, which is purposely made to receive them. These clothes ought not to be made use of. They are, therefore, left there to decompose, by heat, air and rain. As soon as the *Nasâsâlârs* come out of the Tower they, as well as all persons of the procession who stand outside of it, finish the *Sraosh Bâj* and leave off the *Paivands*. The *Nasâsâlârs* coming out

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of the Tower are purified by wasning their bodies with cow's urine and water. All the others, washing their faces, hands and feet with cow's urine and water, perform the *Kusti*. The priests recite the *Patet* or the repentance prayer on behalf of the deceased person. Every one on reaching home takes a bath before engaging in the usual avocations.

The *Nasâsâlârs*, who go into the Tower of Silence to dispose of dead bodies, are always kept apart from the Zoroastrians. They are never allowed to enter Fire Temples or any other holy places, nor to take part in holy rituals, until they purify themselves by "*Navshabeh Barashnum*," *i. e.*, by several washes and segregation for nine days and nights.

The Tower of Silence is always circular, having a platform inside, which is divided into three rows of shallow, open receptacles for males, females and children respectively, and called the *Pâvis*, each one to receive one corpse. In the center is a common pit with four underground wells. The whole is paved with slabs of stone. The dry bones are collected in the pit, and thence get into the four wells, where they gradually crumble to dust. The rainwater also runs into these wells. Pieces of charcoal, sandstone, and thick layers of sand are laid there, which are renewed from time to time in order that the earth be kept uninfected. Large sums of money are expended in building these towers with the hardest and best materials that may last for centuries. During their construction three ceremonies are performed, (*a*), of digging the ground, (*b*), of laying the foundation, and (*c*) of consecration before laying it open for the use of the Community. All these ceremonies are performed exclusively by priests.

Creed.—The fundamental ideas and beliefs in the ceremonies observed here are the extreme care and solicitude enjoined in the Zoroastrian religion about preserving man and the four elements of nature, fire, water, air and earth, from being polluted with *Nasâ*, *i.e.*, any putrefying substances, animal or vegetable. The care and caution enjoined in the Zoroastrian religion is manifest from the above description. Again, no one is allowed to touch or come in direct contact with the decomposing body, that is, without the limbs being covered. And if one happen accidentally, or through some mistake, to touch a corpse with bare skin, he must purify himself by undergoing certain ceremonies appointed for the purpose. Fire (5) and water (6) especially must not be polluted. Hence the prohibition of cremation and burial (7) and the necessity of the early disposal of the corpse, and the care that it may not directly touch the mother earth; for the same reason even the ground in the Tower of Silence is paved with stones. Another idea underlying these observances is the caution against undue waste of clothing and other valuable articles. (8) Hence the prohibition of using new clothes and other valuable materials. The ceremony of *Sag-did*, or dog-gaze, is, according to some, a remnant of the old Aryan customs, and, according to others, an ancient mode of ascertaining whether the person was dead or not.

Benefit Here and Hereafter.—The strict prohibition of cremation, burial, and throwing into fresh water, as modes of disposing of dead bodies, is in accord with the rules of sanitary science; for these latter modes help to contaminate air, earth and water, while the exposure of the corpse to the sun for the purpose of being speedily denuded of its flesh by corpse-devouring animals, which are nature's scavengers, is the least harmful to the living.

The bier is made of iron and not of wood, because the latter is more porous than the former, and therefore more likely to harbor and spread the germs of disease. The recital of the holy Gâthâs is meant to give courage to and sustain the minds of the congregation assembled. The cow's urine employed in purefying men and things which may have come in contact with the dead body is supposed to aid in the suppression of contagion; it being considered by the ancient Iranians a cheap and everywhere available disinfectant.

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Domestic utensils are purified by washing them in various ways according to the specific gravity of their metals. (9) Corn, grain, fresh or dried fruits and vegetables, different sorts of fuel, as well as waters of rivers, tanks, wells, etc., which may have come in contact with dead, putrefying matter are ordered more or less to be rejected according to their power of absorbing and spreading germs of disease.

23. THE FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

(1) **Funeral Ritual.**—I order (to recite) the *Ashem-Vohû* at (my) decease, the *Patet* after (my) death; my sons shall after my decease make *Patet* for my sins.—*Spiegel-Bleek, "Khordeh-Avesta," pp. 158-59.*

(2) **Waste Not.**—Ahura Mazda, indeed, does not allow us to waste anything of value that we may have, not even so much as an asperena's weight of thread, not even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning. Whosoever throws any clothing on a dead body, even so much as a maid lets fall in spinning, is not a pious man whilst alive, nor shall he, when dead, have a place in the happy realm. —*"Sacred Books of the East," Vol. IV., p. 65.*

(3) **Place for the Dead.**—"O maker of the material world, thou holy one! whither shall we bring, where shall we lay the bodies of the dead, O Ahura Mazda?" Ahura Mazda answered: "On the highest summits where they know there are always corpse-eating dogs and corpse-eating birds, O holy Zarathustra!"—*Ibid., Vol. IV., pp. 72-3.*

(4) **The Uncovered Corpse.**—"O maker of the material world! thou holy one! If a man shall throw clothes either of skin or woven, upon a dead body, enough to cover the whole body, what is the penalty that he shall pay?" Ahura Mazda answered: "A thousand stripes with the aspaheastra, a thousand stripes with the Sraosho-karana." —*Ibid., Vol. IV., p. 100.*

(5) **Fire is Pure.**—"O maker of the material world, thou holy one! If worshipers of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse-burning fire whereupon a corpse is being cooked or roasted, what shall they do?" Ahura Mazda answered: "They shall kill him. They shall take off the cauldron; they shall take off the tripod. Then they shall kindle wood from that fire; either wood of those trees that have the seed of fire in them or bundles of the very wood that was prepared for that fire; and they shall separate and disperse it, that it may die out the sooner."—*Ibid, Vol. IV., pp. 110-11.*

(6) **Water is Pure.**—"O maker of the material world, thou holy one! If a worshiper of Mazda, walking, or running, or riding, or driving, come upon a corpse in a stream of running water what shall he do?" Ahura Mazda answered: "Taking off his shoes, putting off his clothes, boldly, O Zarathustra! he shall enter the river and take the dead out of the water; he shall go down into the water ankle-deep, knee-deep, waist-deep, or a man's full depth, till he can reach the dead body."

"O maker of the material world, thou holy one! If, however, the body be already falling to pieces and rotting, what shall the worshiper of Mazda do?" Ahura Mazda answered: "He shall draw out of the water as much of the corpse as he can grasp with both hands, and he shall lay it down on the dry ground; no sin attaches to him for any bone, hair, grease, flesh, dung, or blood that may drop back into the water."—*Ibid., Vol. IV., pp. 69-70.*

(7) **Burial Prohibited.**—The tenth of the good lands and countries which I, Ahura Mazda, created was the beatiful Harahvaiti.

Thereupon came Angra Mainyu, who is all death, and he counter-created by his witchcraft a sin for which there is no atonement, the burying of the dead.—*Ibid., Vol. IV., p. 7.*

(8) **Waste No Clothes.**—"O maker of the material world, thou holy one! can that garment be made clean, O holy Ahura Mazda! that has been touched by the carcass of a dog or the corpse of a man?"

Ahura Mazda answered: "It can, O holy Zarathustra."

"How so?"

"If, indeed, the garment has been defiled with seed, or sweat, or dirt, or vomit, the worshipers of Mazda shall rend it to pieces, and bury it under the ground. But if it has not been defiled with seed, or sweat, or dirt, or vomit, then the worshipers shall wash it with gômêz

"If it be leather, they shall wash it with gômêz three times; they shall rub it with earth three times; they shall wash it with water three times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for three months at the window of the house.

"If it be woven cloth, they shall wash it with gomez six times; they shall rub it with earth six times; they shall wash it with water six times, and afterwards they shall expose it to the air for six months at the window of the house.

"But if there be in a Mazdean house a woman who is in her sickness, or a man who has become unfit for work, and who must sit in the place of infirmity, those clothes shall serve for their covererings and for their sheets, until they can withdraw and move their hands."

(9) **Purification of Vessels.**—"O maker of the material world, thou holy one! Can the eating-vessels be made clean that have been touched by the carcass of a dog or by the corpse of a man?"

Ahura Mazda answered: "They can, O holy Zarathustra!"

"How so?"

"If they be of gold, you shall wash them once with gômêz, you shall rub them once with earth; you shall wash them once with water, and they shall be clean.

"If they be of silver, you shall wash them twice with gômêz; you shall rub them twice with earth; you shall wash them twice with water, and they shall be clean.

"If they be of brass, you shall wash them thrice with gômêz; you shall rub them thrice with earth; you shall wash them thrice with water, and they shall be clean.

"If they be of steel, you shall wash them four times with gômêz; you shall rub them four times with earth; you shall wash them four times with water, and they shall be clean.

"If they be of stone, you shall wash them six times with gômêz; you shall rub them six times with earth; you shall wash them six times with water, and they shall be clean. If they be of earth, of wood, or of clay, they are unclean for ever and ever."—*Ibid., Vol. IV., pp. 91-2.*

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24. CEREMONIES FOR THE SOUL AND SPIRIT OF THE DEAD.

The soul is called *Ruvan* (Avestâ *urvan*) and the spirit *Farôhar* (Avesta *fravashi*).

The ceremonies of the first three days relate exclusively to the *urvan*, and those performed on the fourth, tenth, thirtieth and thirty-first and three hundred and sixty-fifth and three hundred and sixty-sixth to the *fravashi*.

The first three days' ceremonies in connection with the soul of the dead, must be performed in honor of *Sraosha* and none else, *Sraosha* being a protector of the human soul in both the worlds. The priests having recited the customary Khurshed and Mihir Nyâeshes, one of the priests standing on a piece of white, clean cloth spread on a carpet and having before his face, turned generally to the south, a fire burning with sandal-wood and such other fragrant substances, two candlesticks with lighted candles, a sudra of new cotton cloth, trays of various flowers, long-necked sprinkling bottles of rose-water, and certain other fragrant oils, recites with loud voice the *Nirang-e-Bâe Dâdan*. This is a recital chiefly of the names of the departed worthies of the community, both of ancient and modern times. Then the chief priest makes the heir of the deceased or a substitute repeat a few Pazend words purporting the injunction of certain ceremonies and charities, after which all recite Tundurusti blessings and the ceremony is concluded. At the end of it money, and sometimes new sudras, are distributed among the priests, and sums of money are contributed for charitable objects in the memory of the dead person by his relatives and friends. A suit of new white clothes is consecrated, which is afterwards given in charity to deserving poor Zoroastrians, generally priests. The suit is called "*Jâma-e-nshôdâd*," *i. e.*, clothes to be given in charity to pious persons. At this time also the afternoon "Dhûp Nirang" is repeated in the house of the deceased and an Afrîgân, called that of "Dahmân" (pious persons) is recited.

From the fourth day the ceremonies in connection with the spirit (Fravashi) begin. They are performed on the fourth, tenth, thirtieth and thirty-first days, and on the three hundred and sixty-fifth and three hundred and sixty-sixth days. On each of these occasions, along with Yasnâ, Bâj, and Afrigân ceremonies, clothes with food are given to priests and other deserving poor coreligionists. Thenceforward the anniversary of the death of the deceased is celebrated for some years.

Creed.—Zoroastrianism teaches that the soul remains in this world for the first three days after death. (1) In order to protect and comfort it, the above mentioned ceremonies of Sraosh are performed. During these three days and nights, the soul remembers all good or bad deeds it may have performed during life, and hopes for bliss as a reward of good deeds and fears punishment for sins. Zoroastrianism does not teach the necessity of a Saviour or a mediator. The soul is saved if its merits are in excess of its defects. On the morning after the third night, the soul leaves this material world for good. Before its entrance into the immaterial world its good and bad deeds are compared and judged by *Mihir* the Dâvar or judge, and *Rashne*, the Rast or True. If good deeds preponderate over the bad, the soul enters *Bihist*, *i.e.*, Heaven or Paradise. If its sins outweigh its virtues, it falls into *Duzekh*, *i.e.*, Hell. (2) If good deeds are equal to bad deeds, the soul enters the place of *Hamestgân*, *i.e.*, where they remain stationary till the time of *Ristâkhez* or the resurrection of the dead at the end of this world.

After the midnight of the third day, reward or punishment is meted out to the *Urvan*, or the soul only; the *Fravashi*, *i.e.*, the spirit of the dead who was "the friend, philosopher and guide" of the soul during its mundane career, becomes free from the charge of taking care of the soul. The help and protection of that Fravashi is, therefore, available to virtuous persons whenever they ask for them. It is to secure blessings and invisible aid and protection to the family of the deceased that the ceremonies after the fourth day of the death of the deceased are performed. (3)

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Benefit Here and Hereafter.—The absence of belief in a Saviour or Mediator and of salvation depending solely upon one's own efforts to do meritorious acts and avoid sinful ones, makes the true Zoroastrian always careful to abstain from evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds, and always alert in harboring good thoughts, uttering good words, and executing good deeds. The names of the departed worthies recited in these ceremonies remind him of their deeds and spur him on to imitate or, if possible, to excel them. Again, a special benefit accrues to the world at large by the liberal charities made at these ceremonies and connected with the name of the dead person. The charities of modern Zoroastrians on the occasions of deaths in their families amount sometimes to large sums, which are devoted to the furtherance of human happiness. Charitable schools, hospitals, public libraries, religious temples, public wells and fountains, large asylums for the housing and maintenance of the poor, the blind and the destitute, and even dumb animals, and many other such institutions of great public utility owe their birth and life to these after-death charities of the Parsees.

24. CEREMONIES FOR THE SOUL AND SPIRIT OF THE DEAD.

(1) **Abode of the Soul.**—Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda: "O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit maker of the material world, thou holy one! When one of the faithful departs this life, where does his soul abide on that night?" Ahura Mazda answered: "It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gâthâ and proclaiming happiness: 'Happy is he, happy the man, who ever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!' On that night his soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste."

"On the second night where does his soul abide?"

Ahura Mazda adswered: "It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gatha and proclaiming happiness: 'Happy is he, happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!' On that night his soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste."

"On the third night where does his soul abide?"

Ahura Mazda answered: "It takes its seat near the head, singing the Ustavaiti Gatha and proclaiming happiness: 'Happy is he, happy the man, whoever he be, to whom Ahura Mazda gives the full accomplishment of his wishes!' On that night his soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste." Zarathustra asked Ahura Mazda, "O Ahura Mazda, most beneficent spirit, maker of the material world, thou Holy One! When one of the wicked perishes, where does his soul abide on that night?"

Ahura Mazda answered: "It rushes and sits near the skull, singing the Kima Gâthâ, O holy Zarathustra!"

"To what land shall I turn, O Ahura Mazda! To whom shall I go with praying?"

"On that night his soul tastes as much of suffering as the whole of the living world can taste." (Similarly of the second and third nights).—"*Sacred Books of the East*," *Vol. XXIII., pp. 314-19.*

(2) **Rewards and Punishments.**—"O Maker of the material world, thou Holy One! Where are the rewards given? Where does the rewarding take place? Where is the rewarding fulfilled? Whereto do men come to take the reward that, in their life in the material world, they have won for their souls?"

Ahura Mazda answered: "When the man is dead, when his time is over, then the hellish evil doing Daevas assail him; and when the third night is gone, when the dawn appears and brightens up, and makes Mithra, the god with beautiful weapons, reach the all happy mountains, and the sun is rising.

"Then the fiend, named Vizaresha, carries off in bonds the soul of the wicked Daeva-worshipers who live in sin. The soul enters the way made by time, and open both to the wicked and to the righteous. At the head of the Kinvad bridge, the holy bridge made by Mazda, they ask for their spirits and souls the reward for the worldly goods which they gave way here below.

"Then comes the well-shapen, strong and tall-formed maid, with the dogs at her sides, one who can distinguish, who is graceful, who does what she wants, and is of high understanding.

"She makes the soul of the righteous one go above the *Hara-berezaiti;* above the Kinvad bridge she places it in the presence of the heavenly gods themselves. Uprises Vohu-Mano from his golden seat; Vohu-Mano exclaims: 'How hast thou come to us, thou holy one, from that decaying world into this undecaying one?'

"Gladly pass the soul of the righteous to the golden seat of Ahura Mazda, to the golden seat of Amesha-Spenta, to the Garo-numanem, the abode of Ahura Mazda, the abode of the Amesha-Spentas, the abode of all the other holy beings.

"As to the godly man that has been cleansed, the wicked evil-doing daevas tremble at the perfume of his soul after death, as a sheep does on which a wolf is falling.

"The souls of the righteous are gathered together there; Nâiryo-Sangh is with them; a friend of Ahura Mazda is Nâiryo-Sangha." . . *Ibid, Vol. IV., pp. 212-14.*

(3) **Ceremony for the Spirits.**—And the fourth day the ordering and performing the ceremony of the righteous guardian spirit (Ardâi-Fravardo) are for the same soul and the remaining righteous guardian spirits of those who are, and were, and will be, from Gayomard the propitious to Soshans the triumphant.—*Ibid, Vol., XVIII., p. 60.*

We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who come and go through the borough at the time of the Hamaspathmaedha; they go along there for ten nights, asking thus: "Who will praise us? Who will offer us a sacrifice? Who will meditate upon us? Who will bless us?

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Who will receive us with meat and clothes in his hand and with a prayer worthy of bliss? Of which of us will the name be taken for invocation? To whom will this gift of ours be given, that he may have never-failing food for ever and ever?"

And the man who offers them upa sacrifice, with meat and clothes in his hand, with a prayer worthy of bliss, the awful Fravashis of the faithful, satisfied, unharmed, and unoffended, bless thus: May there be in this house flocks of animals and men! May there be a swift horse and a solid chariot! May there be a man who knows how to praise God and rule in assembly, who will offer us sacrifices with meat and clothes in his hand, and with a prayer worthy of bliss. — *Ibid, Vol. XXIII., pp. 192-3.*

FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **THE KUSTI CEREMONY.**—Investiture, Sudra, The Kusti girdle, Tying, Ablution, Prayer' Symbolism, Benefits, Confession of faith.
20. **THE NAVZOT CEREMONY.**—Purification, Navzot ceremonial, Rules of living, Sudra and Kusti, Cleanliness, Rights of Navzot.
21. **MARRIAGE CEREMONY.**—Age of marriage, Ceremonial, Rice throwing, Sacred duty of marriage, Symbolism, Benefits.
22. **WORSHIP.**—Avesta and Pazend texts, Daily prayers, Yashts, Nyâoshes, Patets, Morals, Good and evil.
23. **FUNERAL CEREMONIES.**—Preparing the body, Dog-gazing, Ceremonial, Exposure, Tower of Silence, Fundamental ideas, Purification.
24. **CEREMONIES FOR THE SOUL AND SPIRIT OF THE DEAD.**—Urvan and Fravashi, Sraosha, Recitals, Dates for ceremonials, Heaven and Hell, Spirit of the dead, Good deeds, Charities.

QUESTIONS.

19. *What is the "sudra" and what the "kusti"? In what does the ceremony of untying and tying consist? What does the kusti ceremony symbolize? What do the four knots symbolize? What value does Zoroastrianism assign to purification? How is the phrase "gird the loins" applicable in Zoroastrianism?*

20. *Has the Navzot ceremony analogy to any Christian ceremony? Which? Of how many parts does the ceremony consist? Describe its chief features. When must the sudra and kusti be even? What is the moral and religious effect of the Navzot? How is it supposed to benefit the Zoroastrian in the future life?*

21. *At what age does marriage take place among the Parsees? In what way is thread used in the marriage ceremony? What is the Pêmân? What use is made of rice and what does it symbolize? Who are Spentomainyush and Angromanyush? How is marriage regarded?*

22. *How is the day divided for prayer? How many Yashts are there? What is the general character of the Yasht? Are the Zoroastrians fire-worshipers? State the chief moral traits of their religion.*

23. *What are the first steps taken on a person's death? How is the dead body clothed? What part does the dog play? How is the body finally disposed of? Why? What are the days of mourning? Describe the Tower of Silence.*

24. *What relation has Sraosha to the human soul? Give a general idea of the funeral ceremonies What is the Fravashi? How long does the soul continue on earth after death? What is then its fate? What humanitarian ends are promoted at the funerals?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Compare the "kusti" girdle with the sacred thread of Brahmanism.*
2. *Compare the "navzot" with other initiation ceremonies known to you.*
3. *What was the central idea of marriage, and how far can we approve it?*
4. *Recall previous cases of fire-worship recorded in these lessons.*
5. *Discuss the peculiar advantages of the Parsi disposal of the dead.*
6. *Compare the funeral ceremonies thus far treated with reference to their moral value.*

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GAZETTEER AND GLOSSARY.

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION.

a as in fat.	i as in pin.	û as in tube.
ā as in fate.	ī as in pine.	ü Place the lips for oo, but say ee.
ä as in father.	o as in not.	oi as in joint.
a when obscure.	ō as in note.	ou as in proud.
e as in met.	ö as in move.	g as in get.
ē as in mete.	u as in tub.	ñ French nasal n.

Diacritical marks have been avoided in Lessons 1-12, since the pronunciation can be learned here.

Ahriman (ä'rē-m*a*n).—Angra Mainyu.

Ahura Mazda (ä-hö'r*a* mäz'd*a*). — The Wise Lord.

Aka Manah (ä'k*a* män'*a*).—An arch fiend.

Amesha Spentas (ä-mā'sh*a* spen't*a*s).—Seven holy spirits.

Amida (ä'mē-d*a*).—Japanese for Amitabha.

Amitabha (ä'mē-täb'h*a*).—A Buddhist deity.

Amitayus (ä'mē-tä'yös).—A Buddhist deity.

Ananda (ä-nän'd*a*). — A chief disciple of Buddha.

Angra Mainyu (än'grä min'yö).—The arch-fiend.

Arhat (är'hat).—A Buddhist saint.

Ashoka (äsh'ō-k*a*).—An Indian king.

Avalokiteshvara (ä'v*a*-lō'kē-tesh'vä-r*a*). — A Buddhist deity.

Bhikku (bhēk'kö).—Monk.

Bodhisattva (bōd'hē-sät'v*a*).—The being prior to a Buddha.

Bodhism (bōd'hēzm).—Mahayana Buddhism.

Buddha (böd'h*a*, not bud'h*a*).—The Enlightened One.

Buddha-Gaya (böd-h*a*-gä'y*a*).—City in India.

Chinvat (chin'vat).—A mythical bridge.

Daevas (dē'väz).—Evil Spirits.

Dasasila (dä's*a*-sē'l*a*).—Ten commandments.

Dhammapada (dhäm'ma-pä'd*a*).—A Buddhist scripture.

Dhaniya (dhä'nē-y*a*).—An Indian farmer.

Dhyana (dhyä'n*a*).—Meditation.

Druj (dröj).—Female demon.

Fravashi (frä-vä'shē).—A spirit.

Gautama (gou't*a*-m*a*).—The Sanskrit family name of the Buddha, while Gotama is the Paliform.

Hiouen Thsang (hē-wen' tsäng').—Chinese pilgrim to India.

Jainas (jīn'az).—Believers in the Jina.

Jataka (jä't*a*-k*a*).—A Buddhist scripture.

Jina (jē'n*a*).—The conqueror.

Ji-riki (jē'rē-kē).—Self-power.

Jodo Shu (jō'dō'-shö).—A Japanese sect.

Kanishka (kä-nēsh'k*a*).—An Indian king.

Kapilavastu (kä'pē-l*a* väs'tö).—Birthplace of Gautama.

Karma (kär'm*a*)—Merit or demerit; literally, "action."

Kasala (kä's*a*-l*a*).—A country in central India.

Kusti (kös'tē).—A girdle.

Kwanyin (kwän'yēn).—A Buddhist goddess.

Lumbini (löm'bē-nē).—Grove near Kapilavastu.

Magadha (mä-gäd'ha).—A country in central India.

Mahayana (mä'hä-yä'n*a*).—Great vehicle.

Maitreya (mī'trā-y*a*).—The coming Buddha.

Mara (mä'r*a*).—Personification of Evil.

Maya (mä'y*a*).—Mother of Gautama.

Mithra (mē'thr*a*).—Sun god.

Mito (mē'tō).—Chinese for Amitabha.

Moggaliana (mōg'gäl-lä'n*a*).—A chief disciple of Buddha.

Nirvana (nir-vä'n*a*).—Extinction of passion, or of life.

Navzot (näv'zōt).—A ceremony in Parsism.

Ormazd (ōr'mazd).—Ahura Mazda.

Paramitas (p*a*-rä'mē-t*a*z).—Virtues.

Parinirvana (pä'rē-nir-vä'n*a*). — State after death.

Parsva (pärs'v*a*).—Founder of Jainism.

Rahula (rä'hö-l*a*).—Son of Gautama.

Sakka (säk'k*a*).—Later name for Indra.

Sam-buddha (säm'böd'h*a*).—Chief Buddha.

Saoshyant (sä'ösh-yänt).—Saviour.

Shakya-muni (shä'ky*a*-mö'ne).—A title of Gautama.

Shakya-shramana (shä'ky*a*-shrä'mä-n*a*). — A title of Gautama.

Shariputta (shä'rē-pöt't*a*).—A chief disciple of Buddha.

Shin Shu (shēn'shö(.—A Japanese sect.

Shramana (shrä'mä-n*a*).—An ascetic.

Siddhartha (sid-härt'h*a*).—Given name of Gautama.

Skandhas (skänd'häs).—Components of man.

Sraosha (shrä'o-sh*a*).—Obedience.

Suddhodana (söd-hō'dä-n*a*).—Father of Gautama.

Sudra (sö'dr*a*).—A shirt.

Sukhavati (sök-hä'v*a*-tē).—Heaven.

Tariki (tä'rē-kē).—Other power.

Tushita (tö'shē-t*a*).—A heaven.

Upadana (ö'pä-dä'n*a*).—Clinging to life.

Upasaka (ö-pä's*a*-k*a*).—A lay disciple.

Yasodhara (yä-sōd'h*a*-r*a*).

Zarathushtra (zä-r*a*-thösh'tr*a*).—Zoroaster.

Zoroaster (zō-rō-äs'ter.)—The prophet of Persia.

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THE FIFTY-THIRD ANNUAL STATEMENT OF THE

NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

346 and 348 Broadway, New York City.

JOHN A. McCALL, PRESIDENT.

BALANCE SHEET, JANUARY 1, 1898.

ASSETS.

U. S. Bonds ($4,323,000) and State, City, County and other Bonds ($103,850,883), cost of both, $103,384,004, market value,	$108,173,883
Bonds and Mortgages (900 first liens)	41,082,422
Real Estate (74 pieces, including twelve office buildings)	16,991,000
Deposits in Trust Companies and Banks, at interest	10,243,984
Loans to Policy-Holders on their policies as security (legal reserve thereon, $13,747,833)	7,900,696
Stocks of Banks, Trust Companies, etc. (4,047,817 cost value), market value Dec. 31, 1897	5,065,948
Loans on Stocks and Bonds (market value, $5,620,655)	4,507,367
Premiums in transit, reserve charged in Liabilities	2,164,297
Quarterly and Semi-Annual Premiums not yet due, reserve charged in Liabilities	1,889,474
Interest and Rents due and accrued	1,480,648
Premium Notes on Policies in force (reserve charged in Liabilities (2,700,000).	1,189,401
TOTAL	$200,694,440

LIABILITIES.

Policy Reserve (per attached certificate of New York Insurance Department)	$164,956,079
All other Liabilities: Policy Claims, Annuities, Endowments, etc., awaiting presentment for payment	2,366,330
Surplus Reserved Fund voluntarily set aside by the Company	16,195,926
Net Surplus (per attached certificate Insurance Superintendent) Dec. 31, 1897	17,176,105
TOTAL	$200,694,440

CASH INCOME, 1897.

New Premiums	$ 6,659,815	
Renewal Premiums	26,321,145	
TOTAL PREMIUMS		$32,980,960
Interest, Rents, etc.		8,812,124
TOTAL		$41,793,084

EXPENDITURES, 1897.

Paid for Losses, Endowments and Annuities	$14,052,908
Paid for Dividends and Surrender Values,	3,356,541
Commissions ($1,239,964) on New Business of $135,555,704 Medical Examiners' Fees, and Inspection of Risks ($391,135)	3,631,099
Home and Branch Office Expenses, Taxes, Advertising, Equipment Account, Telegraph, Postage, Commissions on $741,465,131 of Old Business, and Miscellaneous Expenditures	4,770,391
Balance Excess of Income over Expenditures for year	13,982,145
TOTAL	$41,793,084

INSURANCE ACCOUNT.

ON THE BASIS OF PAID-FOR BUSINESS ONLY.

	No. of Policies.	Amount.
In Force December 31, 1896	256,785	$829,816,648
New Insurance Paid for, 1897	62,508	135,555,704
Old Insurances Revived and Increased, 1897	699	2,007,825
TOTALS	384,192	$964,380,267
DEDUCT TERMINATIONS: By Death, Maturity, Surrender, Expiry, etc.	31,234	$ 87,359,342
IN FORCE DEC. 31, 1897	332,958	$877,020,925
Gain in 1897	33,173	$ 50,204,277
New Applications Declined in '97	9,310	25,020,936

COMPARISON FOR SIX YEARS.

(1891-1897.)

	Dec. 31, '91.	Dec. 31, '97.	Gain 6 yrs
Assets	$125,947,290	$200,694,440	$ 74,747,150
Income	31,854,194	41,793,084	9,938,890
Dividends of Yr. to Policy Holders	1,260,340	2,434,981	1,174,641
Number of Policy Holders	182,803	332,958	150,155
Ins. in force (premiums paid)	$575,689,649	$877,020,925	$301,331,276

CERTIFICATE OF SUPERINTENDENT OF STATE OF NEW YORK INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

[ALBANY, January 6, 1898.]

I, LOUIS F. PAYN, Superintendent of Insurance of the State of New York, do hereby certify that the NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, of the City of New York, in the State of New York, is duly authorized to transact the business of Life Insurance in this State.

I FURTHER CERTIFY that, in accordance with the provisions of Section Eighty-four of the Insurance Law of the State of New York, I have caused the policy obligations of the said Company outstanding on the 31st day of December, 1897, to be valued as per the combined Experience Table of Mortality, at 4 per cent. interest, and I certify the same to be $164,956,079.

I FURTHER CERTIFY that the admitted assets are **$200,694,440.89**
The general liabilities, $2,366,330.49. The Net Policy Reserve, as calculated by this Dep't .. **164,956,079.00**
The Surplus Reserved Fund voluntarily set aside by the Company, which, added to the Department Policy Valuation, provides a liability equivalent to a three per cent. reserve on all policies **16,195,926.00**
The Net Surplus (excluding the Surplus Reserved Fund of $16,195,926) **17,176,105.40**

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused my official seal to be affixed at the City of Albany, the day and year first above written.

LOUIS F. PAYN, Supt. of Insurance.

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RECORD.

Date	Assets	Ins. in Force
Dec. 31, 1893	$23,290.27	$1,380,000.00
" 1894	39,941.45	3,433,000.00
" 1895	57,295.98	4,827,000.00
" 1896	73,329.59	6,044,500.00

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THE RELIGION OF GREECE.

BY

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1. THE GODS OF HOMER.

GREEK poets and Greek artists depict the birth of *Athena* as she sprang forth, a goddess in full armor, from the head of her father *Zeus*. So Greek civilization bursts on our view with a high degree of beauty and completeness in the epic. Of the beginnings of Greek religion some very crude idols from tombs remain as witnesses; some strange stories were still told of the gods in later days, and they were worshiped here and there with practices akin to the rites of barbaric races. Our earliest account of Greek religion, however, must be derived from the Homeric poems. (1) The epic was never the possession of a single local tribe, and its world of the gods included mainly those beings which were generally worshiped among the different Greek tribes, so that, although the epic probably received its form in the Ionian colonies of Asia Minor, its religious side is not purely Ionian. The epic was composed to be sung at the banquet and on festal occasions, so that its tone was not really serious; the less serious because the Ionians preferred to look on the gayer, lighter side of life. So in studying the epic to learn about Greek religion, we must not forget that it is poetry written to please a people fond of pleasure, and that it selects material to appeal to a wide audience.

The gods of Homer gather about *Zeus*, the "father of gods and men." *Zeus* is often a very human god. He is deceived by *Hera*, angry because *Poseidon* has the better of him for a time, very susceptible to the passion of love, laughing on Olympos as he sees the gods going down to battle with each other on the Trojan plain. (2) Still he is represented as apart from the world of men; he never goes down to the battle-field in person, but accomplishes his will through the other gods as his agents. His might exceeds the combined strength of all the other gods; all that he does has a certain grandeur; the presence of a higher justice makes his rule beneficent, and the weak are under his especial protection. The *Zeus* of the Iliad remained for the Greek mind the ideal of divine power and majesty.(3)—*Hera*, his queen, appears in two aspects. At one time she is the jealous wife, plotting against her lord and seeking to attain her own ends against his will; again, she is truly the queen, who fittingly presides over the court of the gods on Olympos by the side of *Zeus*.—*Athena* is closely associated with *Hera* in her interest in the Greeks before Troy. She is the goddess of war, arming herself with the very armor of *Zeus*, and eager to join battle against the Trojans, even against her father's will. At the same time she is the patron of the peaceful arts, of weaving, and of cunning work in wood and metal. In

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the Odyssey she is the special patron of Odysseus, and procures his safe return. —*Apollo* and *Artemis* are on the Trojan side.—*Apollo*, the archer-god, true son of *Zeus*, who works his father's will, his temple-home on the acropolis of Troy, is a real divinity in much of the poem; while *Artemis*, the huntress, is hardly more than a shadow of *Apollo*. (4) Other gods complete the council which gathers on "many-ridged Olympos": *Ares*, the impetuous god of war, and the tender *Aphrodite* with charms of love; *Hephaistos*, the lame smith; *Hermes*, the trusted messenger of *Zeus*, and *Hebe*, *Hera's* daughter. A mighty god rules the sea, *Poseidon*, the brother of *Zeus;* and beneath the earth is the dread realm of souls, the home of *Hades*, with *Persephone* as its queen. These greater gods constitute one family, which (at least in the later period of the poems) is traced back to *Kronos*. In the epic, however, more stress is laid on the fact that the gods constitute a council gathering in the palace of *Zeus*, just as a council of princes gathers in the palace of Menelaos at Sparta, or in that of Alkinoos among the Phaeacians. Sung at human courts, the epic finds in its audience the key to the relations of the gods. While each god has certain functions which are not forgotten—*Apollo* the archer, *Hephaistos* the smith, *Aphrodite* the goddess of love, etc.—these functions are not specially emphasized, and the gods are primarily princes of the Olympian court.



Ideal Bust of Homer.

1. THE GODS OF HOMER.

(1) **Hesiod and Homer.**—And they (Hesiod and Homer) created a theogomy for the Greek, and gave the gods epithets, and distinguished both their honors and their functions, and indicated their forms.—"*Herodotus*," *II., p. 53*.

(2) **Human Traits in Zeus.**—"Hearken to me, all gods and all ye goddesses, that I may tell you what my heart within my breast commandeth me. One thing let none essay, be it goddess or be it god, to-wit, to thwart my saying; approve ye it all together that with all speed I may accomplish these things. Whomsoever I shall perceive minded to go, apart from the gods, to succor Trojans or Danaans, chastened in no seemly wise shall he return to Olympus, or I will take and cast him into misty Tartaros, right far away, where is the deepest gulf beneath the earth; there are the gate of iron and threshold of bronze, as far beneath Hades as heaven is high above the earth: then shall he know how far I am mightiest of all gods. Go to now, ye gods, make trial that ye all may know. Fasten ye a rope of gold from heaven, and all ye gods lay hold thereof and all goddesses; yet could ye not drag from heaven to earth Zeus, counsellor supreme, not though ye toiled sore. But once I likewise were minded to draw with all my heart, then should I draw you up with very earth and sea withal. Thereafter would I bind the rope about a pinnacle of Olympus, and so should all those things be hung in air. By so much am I beyond gods and beyond men."—"*The Iliad of Homer*," *pp. 143-4*.

So when the rage of Xanthos was overcome, both ceased, for Hera stayed them, though in wrath. But among the other gods fell grievous bitter strife, and their hearts were carried diverse in their breasts. And they clashed together with a great noise, and the wide earth groaned, and the clarion of great Heaven rang around. Zeus heard as he sate upon Olympus, and his heart within him laughed pleasantly when he beheld that strife of gods.—*Ibid, p. 426*.

(3) **Ideal Traits in Zeus.**—Yet, behind the complex and ever-active theotechnic machinery of the poem, there is still the presence and operation of an august personage, who has regard to piety wherever it is found, and who works incessantly, effectively, and without noise for the permanent ends of justice among men, which were signally wrought out by the punishment and fall of guilty Troy. That figure is no other than Zeus in his higher capacity. He loved Troy for its abundant sacrifices; but his higher character forbade his acting to avert its doom. In the *Iliad* mainly, in the *Odyssey* entirely, his will is worked out by other divine agents, themselves exercising their personal freedom, but bringing about the purposes of a counsel higher and larger than their own. This counsel has its background and its ultimate root in pure deity, and for pure deity Zeus is often a synonym in Homer.—*Gladstone, W. E., "Homer," p. 67*.

(4) **Apollo.**—So spake he in prayer, and Phoebus Apollo heard him, and came down from the peaks of Olympus wroth at heart, bearing on his shoulders his bow and covered quiver. And the arrows clanged upon his shoulders in his wrath, as the god moved; and he descended like to night. Then he sate him aloof from the ships, and let an arrow fly; and there was heard a dread clanging of the silver bow. First did he assail the mules and fleet dogs, but afterward, aiming at the men his piercing dart, he smote; and the pyres of the dead burnt continually in multitude.—*Ibid, p. 2*.

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2. THE NATURE OF THE EPIC GODS.

It is of great importance to form a correct idea of the nature of the gods as they are pictured in the epic, not because this is necessarily a correct representation of popular belief at a given place and a given time, but because Homer was the universal text-book in the schools of later Greece. The Bible was no more familiar a book in the Puritan household than was Homer to every Greek boy. It was the *one* book used in every school. Consequently later ideas of religion and of the gods took form in the form of the epic.

We may define the gods of Homer as immortal beings, not visible to men, but worshiped by them as the source of blessing and of evil; their life was free from difficulty and full of pleasure; their home was on Olympos, and from there they descended to direct the course of events among men. It has been customary to interpret the Greek gods (solely) as personifications of natural phenomena. It is true that the rivers and the winds are personified as Divine beings; *Iris*, the rainbow, is fittingly the messenger between gods and men, *Demeter* is the "Mother Earth," who yields the grain, and once, in Homer, *Hephaistos* is used to mean "Fire." Probably *Zeus* was once the heavens themselves, but in Homer there is little except his epithets to remind the reader of this fact. *Apollo*, on the other hand, was apparently not associated with the sun till a comparatively late date, nor was *Athena* ever the storm-cloud. In most instances it is futile to seek for the origin of the Greek gods in the data now accessible to us. When we meet them in the Epic, everything about the gods is cast in human moulds; their passions and purposes, their modes of thought and feeling are human; consequently they are to be defined with reference to men.



Relief from Greek Altar (Aphrodite, Ares, Apollo, Hera, Zeus and Hermês.)

Physically, the gods live in homes built by the smith-god *Hephaistos;* they sleep and wake and eat and journey like men, only they are more perfect and more powerful; their speed is far beyond man's; their strife far more terrible than human battle; they accomplish their will far more easily than man. *Zeus* alone does not descend to mingle with men; but it is only in certain parts of the poems (*e.g.*, Iliad, XV.) that *Zeus* or *Athena* directly effect some purpose where they are not themselves present. *Mentally* the gods are far wiser than men and can perceive from a far greater distance; they can even have some knowledge of the future. But practically they are not omniscient, even though they are occasionally said to know all things. *Zeus* is deceived by Hera, and every god must pay careful attention to what is going on and study how to fulfil his purposes. *Morally* they show a righteous anger toward the wicked, and stand on the side of right and piety among men. They pity their favorites and care for them. But they are capricious even in granting prayers of men, still more capricious in their relations with each other. The boasts, taunts, and threats, the envy, the anger, the self-esteem, the passions and deceit and trickery of a human court, are all transferred to the gods and become the more marked as the gods are more powerful than men. (1) On the one hand the gods are persons with all human frailties and vices, but at the same time they are

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the righteous rulers of the world; the contradiction could hardly be so marked except in a poem.

On this world of the gods depends all that happens among men: "All things are from *Zeus*" (Iliad, XIII., 632). For the *poet* all that happens in the battle or on a journey is indifferently the act of a man or the act of a god. The man is carrying out his own plans, but the poet represents his acts as at the same time carrying out the plan of a god. So human excellencies are in reality "gifts," and one hero tells his companion that he should not boast of his cunning, his strength, his beauty, since these are only his because a god has given them to him. This dependence on the gods the epic hero only feels when he is made conscious of his own weakness, and commonly he acts as if he were absolutely independent. He prays for divine help only in time of special need or calamity; *i.e.*, he acts as if independent, but as if the gods were likely at any time to interfere in a way on which he cannot reckon. (2) Theoretically all things are directed by the gods; practically for the hero in the poems, what is beyond his own control is directed by the gods.

In order to understand the relation of the gods to *moira* (fate) it is necessary to consider the idea of fate in human life. What befalls man is his fate. Evil comes, and he shirks the responsibility for it; it is his *portion* (*moira*). What man ought to do is also assigned to him, his portion. The poetic-religious belief in "portions" or fate was, like so many other features of human life, transferred to the gods. (3) They, like men, were subject to a fate including things they could not avoid, and things they ought or ought not to do. This naive view of the gods as under a fate like that of men was most natural in its origin, but it was the starting-point of a problem in theology very difficult for later ages to solve.

In the later history of Greek religion the views of the gods gradually approached the conception set forth in the epic. The gods continued to be human beings, though elevated to the heavens, and a more spiritual conception was possible only by undermining the whole fabric of the old religion.

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2. THE NATURE OF THE EPIC GODS.

(1) **The Olympian Court.**—All the gods in company arose from their seats before their father's face; neither ventured any to await his coming, but they stood up all before him. So he sate him there upon his throne; but Hera saw, and was not ignorant how that the daughter of the Ancient of the sea, Thetis the silver-footed, had devised counsel with him. Anon with taunting words spake she to Zeus the son of Kronos: "Now who among the gods, thou crafty of mind, hath devised counsel with thee? It is ever thy good pleasure to hold aloof from me and in secret meditation to give thy judgments, nor of thine own good will hast thou ever brought thyself to declare unto me the thing thou purposest."

Then the father of gods and men made answer to her: "Hera, think not thou to know all my sayings; hard they are for thee, even though thou art my wife. But whichsoever it is seemly for thee to hear, none sooner than thou shall know, be he god or man. Only when I will to take thought aloof from the gods, then do not thou ask of every matter nor make question."—"*The Iliad of Homer*," *p. 18.*

(2) **Prayers of Penitence.**—Nay, even the very gods can bend, and theirs withal is loftier majesty and honor and might. Their hearts by incense and reverent vows and drink-offering and burnt-offering men turn with prayer, so oft as any transgresseth and doeth sin. Moreover Prayers of Penitence are daughters of great Zeus, halting and wrinkled and of eyes askance, that have their task withal to go in the steps of Sin. For Sin is strong and fleet of foot, wherefore she far outrunneth all Prayers, and goeth before them over all the earth making men fall, and Prayers follow behind to heal the harm. Now whosoever reverenceth Zeus' daughters when they draw near, him they greatly bless and hear his petitions; but when one denieth them and stiffly refuseth, then depart they and make prayer unto Zeus the son of Kronos that sin may come upon such an one, that he may fall and pay the price.—*Ibid., p. 176.*

(3) **Fate Recognized by the Gods.**—And beholding then the son of Kronos of the crooked counsels took pity on them, and he spake to Hera, his sister and wife: "Ah, woe is me for that it is fated that Sarpedon, the best-beloved of men to me, shall be subdued unto Patroklos son of Menoitios. And in two ways my heart within my breast is divided; as I ponder whether I shall catch him up alive out of the tearful war, and set him down in the rich land of Lykia, or whether I should now subdue him beneath the hands of the son of Menoitios."

Then the ox-eyed lady Hera made answer to him: "Most dread son of Kronos, what word is this thou hast spoken? A mortal man long doomed to fate dost thou desire to deliver again from death of evil name? Work thy will, but all we other gods will in no wise praise thee."—*Ibid., pp. 327-8.*

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3. ZEUS AND HERA.

The epic picture of the gods as divine heroes who mingled in human affairs, though on a higher plane than men, has little or no suggestion of religious aspiration; and they whose ideas of Greek religion are drawn from epic mythology can but wonder how a people should worship such divinities. An examination of Greek worship shows at once that the gods of Homer are merely poetic pictures which do not represent literally the gods of local cults. In each locality one particular phase of the god is worshiped: *Zeus Olympios* in Thessaly, at Athens, and at Olympia in Elis; *Zeus Phyxios* at Argos and in Thessaly, *Zeus Idaios* in Crete, *Zeus Hellenios* on Aegina, *Zeus Laphystios* in Phthiotis. Over two hundred such local names of *Zeus* are preserved, and each represents a different phase of the god with its own myths and its own rites.



Head of Zeus, from Otricoli.

For instance, at Dodona *Zeus* was worshiped by the Selloi, and in the rustling of the sacred oak these priests heard the will of *Zeus* revealed in response to men's enquiries. In other localities also oracles were sought from *Zeus*, signs drawn from birds or dreams were attributed to him, and even the oracles given by *Apollo* were regarded as interpretations of the will of *Zeus*. Again, on Mt. Lykaios in Arcadia there was a shrine of *Zeus Lykaios* with a grove which none might enter. The story was that here Lykaon offered up his own son to *Zeus*, and thereupon became a wolf. Human sacrifice was practiced here even in historic times, and the worshiper who chanced to taste the human flesh (instead of the flesh of the other victims) was said to become a wolf for nine years. On Mt. Lykaios, and on many other mountains of Greece, *Zeus* was worshiped as a weather-god, and in time of drought men prayed to him for rain. At Athens, as in many other localities, the worship of *Zeus* was closely associated with agriculture. (1) In early spring, *Zeus Meilichios* was worshiped with sacrifices and purifications; in the middle of the summer an ox was sacrificed to *Zeus* with special rites; at the beginning of the winter men worshiped *Zeus Maimaktes*, the wild god of storms, and *Zeus Georgos*, divine protector of agriculture. The olive tree and the fruits of the field were under the special protection of *Zeus* at Athens, and most of the sacrifices and processions at the feasts just mentioned had to do with the success of the crops. At Olympia the great games of Greece were celebrated in honor of *Zeus Olympios;* in solemn festival men sought the god's help for their contests, or honored him for their victories, and in the contests themselves the mass of the spectators saw an ancient practice by which the god might be worshiped. (2) All of Greece was united in these truly national games, and the god of Olympia became in fact the god of Greece. In addition to the functions already considered (*Zeus*, the god of oracles, of the weather, (3) of the crops, of athletic games), *Zeus* was worshiped in many places as the guardian of the city, *Z. Polieus* or *Z. Soter*. He was the protector of the family, and to him the stranger, the beggar, the suppliant appealed, for all social relations were under his special care. (4)

In these distinctly local cults we may find but little trace of the Homeric ideal, for ancient practice was very tenacious. But that ideal of the king, the father of gods and men, became more and more familiar to the Greek mind. Because

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Zeus was the chief Greek god, local divinities received his name, *e.g.*, *Trophonios* at Lebadea became *Zeus Trophonios.* It was the Homeric ideal which inspired Phidias in the creation of the wonderful statue of *Zeus* for the temple at Olympia. (5) And as the poetry of Sophocles or the philosophy of Xenophanes formed an ideal of *one* god, a god above the gods, it was in the person of *Zeus* that this ideal became dimly expressed. (6)

The wife of *Zeus* was worshiped much less commonly than *Zeus* himself. At Dodona and originally at Athens, *Dione* was his queen; *Demeter* and *Leto* were worshiped in particular localities, each as the wife of *Zeus;* but it was *Hera* who became his lawful wife in the mythology which followed the epic. On the Argive plain, in Corinth and her colonies, in Boeotia and Euboea, and in particular on the island of Samos, the worship of *Hera* was quite as important as that of *Zeus* himself. As the ideal of the divine mother became embodied in *Leto* and in *Demeter*, *Hera* became the type of the *wife* among the gods, and the good and evil of human marriage reappear in her relations with *Zeus.* The worship of *Hera* was mainly concerned with her function as the patron of marriage, though she does appear at times as the queen of heaven, or as the mistress of war and athletic games. The principal feast in her honor was a mimic celebration of early marriage rites, in which a simple wooden image of the goddess was hidden in the forest and then brought back in triumphal procession by the side of the image of *Zeus.* Thus *Hera* was the divine wife, and in various phases of her worship different experiences of the wife are reflected.

3. ZEUS AND HERA.

(1) Zeus Rules Agriculture.

And Zeus, may He, by his supreme decree,
Make the earth yield her fruits
Through all the seasons round,
And grant a plenteous brood
Of herds that roam the fields!
May Heaven all good gifts pour,
And may the voice of song
Ascend o'er altar shrines,
Unmarred by sounds of ill!
—"*The Tragedies of Aeschylos,*" *p. 162.*

(2) Zeus Rules Athletics.—O guardian Zeus that sittest above the clouds, that inhabitest the Kronian hill and honorest the broad river of Alpheos and Ida's holy cave, suppliant to thee I come, making my cry on Lydian flutes, to pray thee that thou wilt glorify this city with brave men's renown.—"*Odes of Pindar,*" *p. 17.*

(3) Zeus Rules the Weather.—Zeus rains, there is a great storm from the sky, and all the streams are frozen.—"*Alcaeus,*" *p. 16.*

(4) Zeus Guards Suppliants.

Chorus. Look thou on Him who looks on all from heaven,
Guardian of suffering men
Who, worn with toil, unto their neighbors come
As suppliants, and receive not justice due:
For these the wrath of Zeus,
Zeus, the true suppliant's God,
Abides, by wail of sufferer unappeased.

King. Hard is the judgment: choose not me as judge.
But, as I said before, I may not act
Without the people, sovereign though I be,
Lest the crowd say, should aught fall out amiss,
"In honoring strangers, thou the State did'st ruin."

Chorus. Zeus, the great God of kindred, in those things
Watches o'er both of us.
Holding an equal scale, and fitly giving
To the base evil, to the righteous blessing.
Why, when these things are set
In even balance, fear'st thou to do right?
—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos,*" *pp. 151-2.*

(5) Phidias and Homer.—The story is told of Phidias that when Panainos, the painter, asked him after what model he proposed to make the image of Zeus, he answered:—"After the model set forth in these verses of Homer: Kronion nodded with his dark eyebrows, and then the ambrosial locks streamed down from his immortal head, and great Olympos was shaken."—"*Strabo,*" *p. 354.*

(6) Zeus the Supreme God.

O Zeus—whate'er He be,
If that Name please Him well,
By that on Him I call:
Weighing all other names I fail to guess
Aught else but Zeus, if I would cast aside,
Clearly, in very deed,
From off my soul this idle weight of care.
—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos,*" *pp. 187-8.*

Thy power, O Zeus, what haughtiness of man,
Yea, what can hold in check?
Which neither sleep, that maketh all things old,
Nor the long months of Gods that never fail,
Can for a moment seize.
But still as Lord supreme,
Waxing not old with time,
Thou dwellest in Thy sheen of radiancy
On far Olympos' height.
Through future near or far as through the past,
One law holds ever good,
Nought comes to life of man unscathed throughout by woe.
—"*Tragedies of Sophocles,*" *pp. 150-1.*

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4. APOLLO AND ARTEMIS.

In the epic *Phoibos* (*Phoebus*) *Apollo* is closely associated with his father *Zeus*, and in Greek religion generally he is the god who (next to *Zeus*) expresses most perfectly the religious ideals of the Greeks. The legend of his birth was attached to the island of Delos. This rocky spot consented to receive his mother *Leto*, who was fleeing from the persecution of *Hera*—so the story ran—on the promise that the children to be born should honor the land by their presence. So *Apollo* and *Artemis* were born by the sacred Delian lake, and Delos was one great center of their worship. (1) Delphi, however, was the spot most sacred to *Apollo* on the mainland of Greece, and the myth goes on to describe the journey of the infant *Apollo* from Delos to Attica and thence along the sacred way to the cliffs of Delphi. Here he acquired the oracle, slaying a monster *Python* who guarded it, and hither came pilgrims and embassies from the whole Greek world to enquire of the god. The question of each was put to the Pythia when she was possessed of the god, and her wild cries were interpreted by the priests in hexameter verse. Thus individuals received divine guidance in their private interests, and the political relations of the Greek cities were widely affected by the responses of the Delphian god. (2) At Delphi also sacred festivals celebrated the coming of the god thither, and his victory over the dragon. These events were represented in musical drama with great pomp, and the feasts were made more glorious by the Pythian games: musical contests in honor of the leader of the Muses, *Apollo*, god of the lyre, and athletic contests in honor of *Apollo*, the ideal of manly youth. To Delphi finally the murderer might come for purification. As *Apollo* was purified after killing the *Python*, so others might be cleansed from the taint of blood.



Artemis.

At Athens and on the coast of Ionia *Apollo* was worshiped as the protector of the crops, and the first fruits were offered to him. Here also he was the god who purified men and cities from evil; and sacrifices, in some places human sacrifices, were offered to him to obtain protection from pestilence.

In the Peloponnese, as in some parts of northern Greece, *Apollo* was worshiped as the god of flocks. At Sparta he was called *Karneios* (κάρνος, ram); near Epidauros, as in Thessaly, he received the name *Maleates* (protector of sheep?); the name *Nomios* (νόμοι, flocks) was quite common; and the wolf-god at Argos, *Apollo Lykios* became in myth the god who protected the flocks. A widespread legend tells how *Apollo* kept the flocks of Admetos, and became enamored of the nymph *Kyrene* in the fields.

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Apollo was not the only god of flocks, for *Pan* in Arcadia, and *Hermes* in the region of Mt. Kyllene and elsewhere, were patron gods of the shepherds and their charge. Worshiped among ruder peoples, they partook of the nature of their worshipers, and *Pan* always remained distinctly the god of the fields and of the flocks.

No Greek god is so many-sided as *Artemis*, the sister of *Apollo*. In the universal mythology of Greece she is a chaste maiden, devoted to the hunt, in which nymphs of the wood are her companions. As *Apollo's* sister she shared not only many of his names, but also much of his worship. She was, however, most closely associated with the wild life of nature. The fawn was almost everywhere the symbol of her presence; in Attica and in Arcadia the bear was sacred to her, and she was even thought of as changing into the form of a bear; the dog was her common attendant. The transformation into a purely human god did not deprive *Artemis* of her nature-sympathy, for she still lived in the woods, and, like men who loved the woods, she was given to hunting. Because she was so closely connected with nature, local nature-goddesses were identified with her. *Kallisto*, the "fairest" in Arcadia; *Taygete*, the local goddess of Mt. Taygetos; *Diktynna* of Crete, came to be forms of *Artemis*. In Asia Minor particularly the local goddesses of wild nature were, for the Greek, forms of Artemis, even though—like *Artemis* (Diana) of the Ephesians—they had but little in common with the truly Greek *Artemis*. Again it was probably this connection with nature which made *Artemis* the patron of marriage and even the goddess of childbirth. In all these varied forms she remained the chaste maiden; as such she received the worship of girls up to marriage, and then they dedicated to her the dolls with which they had played, and often the girdle that distinguished an unmarried woman. As the patrons of youth, as the ideals of the strong young man and of the pure young woman, Apollo and Artemis called forth the religious aspirations of the Greeks.

It is important for the student of Greek religion to remember that in the case of *Apollo* and *Artemis* as in the case of *Zeus*, different localities worshiped each its own form of the god, and distinguished that form by the epithet added to the god's name. Many of these beings were originally different gods who became identified with one of the great gods of Greece as the community came under the influence of a general Greek culture.

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4. APOLLO AND ARTEMIS.

(1) Apollo Came from Delos.

First, with this prayer, of all the Gods I honor
The primal seeress Earth, and Themis next,
Who in due order filled her mother's place
(So runs the tale), and in the third lot named,
With her goodwill and doing wrong to none,
Another of the Titans' offspring sat.
Earth's daughter Phœbe, and as birthday gift
She gives it up to Phœbos, and he takes
His name from Phœbe. And he, leaving then
The pool and rocks of Delos, having steered
To the ship-traversed shores that Pallas owns,
Came to this land and to Parnassos' seat:
And with great reverence they escort him on,
Hephæstos' sons, road-makers, turning thus
The wilderness to land no longer wild;
And when he comes the peoples honor him,
And Delphos too, chief pilot of this land.
And him Zeus sets, his mind with skill inspired,
As the fourth seer upon these sacred seats.
—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos*," *pp. 297-8.*

(2) Oracles.—Croesus by crossing the Halys shall destroy a great kingdom.—*Aristotle's "Rhetoric," III., p. 5.*

Pallas is unable to propitiating Olympian Zeus, though beseeching him with many words and prudent counsel. But to thee I will utter again this word and make it like adamant. When all the rest is devastated which the border of Kekrops includes within it, and the hollow of sacred Kithairon, far-thundering Zeus shall grant to the Triton-born (i.e. Athena) that a wooden wall shall alone remain unsacked, which shall bless thee and thy children. Nor do thou wait at thine ease the cavalry and the foot coming in great numbers from Asia, but turn thy back and withdraw; for still sometime shalt thou be his opponent. O divine Salamis, indeed shalt thou destroy children of women, either when Demeter (the grain) is sown, or when it is gathered in.—"*Herodotos*," *VII., p. 141.*

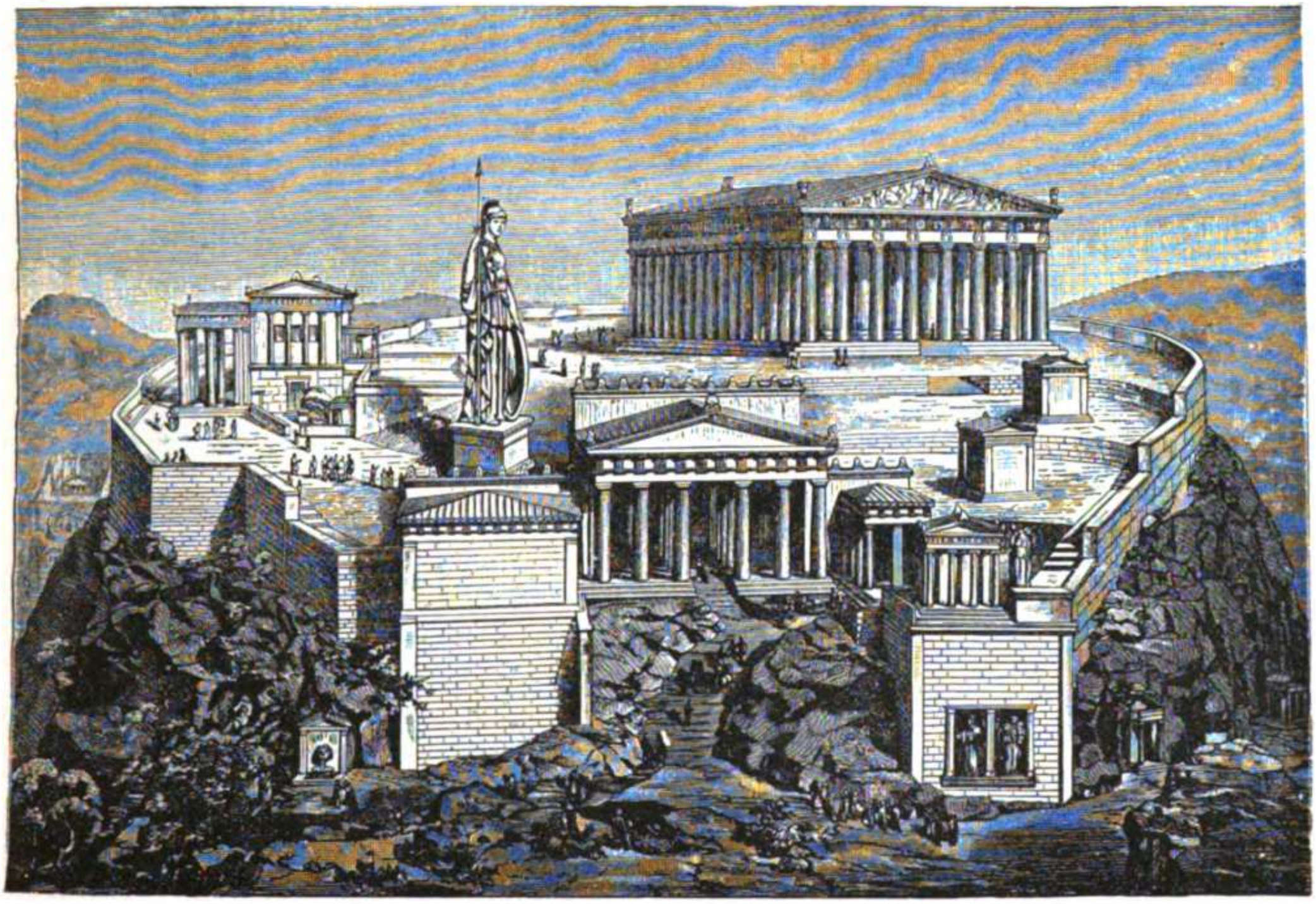
Prayer to Apollo.

But hear thou me; for thus I make my prayer;
The vision which I looked on in the night
Of doubtful dreams, grant me, Lykeian king,
If they are good, their quick accomplishment;
If adverse, send them on mine adversaries.
This, Lykeian king.
Apollo, hear all pitiful, and grant
To all of us, as we implore thee now;
All else, though I be silent, I will deem
Thou, being a God, dost know. One well may think
The sons of Zeus see all things.
—"*Tragedies of Sophocles*," *pp. 204-5.*

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5. ATHENA.

The poet called Athens the eye of Greece, and *Athena*, patron goddess of Athens, was the exponent of the city's glory. The story ran that *Poseidon* and *Athena* each claimed the land, and the question was to be settled by a friendly contest in showing favor to its people. Poseidon struck the rock of the acropolis, and a spring of his own salt water gushed forth; Athena stretched forth her spear, and there arose the sacred olive tree whose gnarled trunk was carefully tended in later days. The olive was the best gift, and the gray-eyed goddess, with the gray olive and the owl for her symbols, became the patron goddess of Athens. This scene was represented by Phidias on the west pediment of the Parthenon, Athen's crowning tribute of art to her goddess, while the opposite pediment represented that other favorite myth, the



Athena and the Parthenon, on the Acropolis.

birth of *Athena*. *Zeus* had taken to wife *Metis*, the personification of intelligence, and then, fearing the birth of a son stronger than himself, he swallowed the mother and her unborn child. In the Homeric poems *Athena* is all but the very mind of *Zeus*, and the belief took poetic form in the story of her birth from the head of *Zeus*. On the Parthenon pediment *Zeus* was seated in the midst on his royal throne, and the gods were disposed on either side. *Hephaistos* had just struck the head of *Zeus* with his axe, and the daughter *Athena* was represented as she had sprung forth from his head—a goddess in full armor. Unfortunately the central group is gone, but we can form some idea of it from vase paintings.

All the land of Attica was sacred to *Athena*, and she was worshiped in many parts of it under different names, but her true home was on the acropolis of Athens. Near the middle stood the old temple destroyed in the Persian wars; to the north was the Erechtheum, ancient home of Erechtheus, and of Athena as an agrarian

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goddess; and finally the age of Pericles erected that peerless building which later ages have known as the Parthenon. (1)

The most splendid religious festival at Athens was the Panathenaea. Once in four years this was a long holiday of athletic games and musical contests, but the religious center about which they moved was an ancient rite celebrated every year. In the rhapsode contests the Iliad and the Odyssey were recited, and later on Pericles introduced contests with the flute, with the cithara, and in singing. The gymnastic games were carefully graded for different ages, and consisted of running, wrestling, boxing, etc., of horse races, spear exercises, and dances executed in full armor. All had reference to the honor of the patron goddess, and the prizes were jars of oil from her sacred grove. The purely religious part of the feast consisted of torch dances at night by trained choruses of men and of women. These had some reference to the birth of the goddess. The second day came the grandest procession of the year, of which we may best gain an idea from the frieze of the Parthenon. Cattle and sheep for the sacrifice, with those who led them; bearers of the sacred vessels and of the wine for the sacrifice, musicians, the old nobility of Athens riding in chariots, and the youth of the city on horseback, constituted the splendid procession. At its head was borne the sacred garment which chosen maidens had long been preparing for the goddess. Sacrifices on the Areiopagos and the Acropolis concluded the circuit of the city, and after the solemn rites all the people feasted to the goddess. This worship recognized *Athena* as the warrior-goddess, guardian of the city, and at the same time as the patron of the women's art that had produced the garment thus brought to her.



Athena Writing.

In the epic *Pallas Athena* is distinctly the goddess of war. *Ares* and his companions, who represent the tumult of the battle, retreat into the background before the daughter of *Zeus*. In Thessaly, probably the early home of the people that produced the epic, *Athena* continued to be worshiped as a goddess of war (*Athena Itonia*). (2) The gold and ivory image made by Phidias for the Parthenon represented her wearing the helmet, the aegis on her breast and *Nike* "Victory," on her outstretched hand, while the bronze statue of *Athena Promachos*, "foremost in battle," was one of the striking features of the Acropolis.

The gift of the sacred peplos recognized *Athena* as the patron of women's arts. The garment was begun with religious rites, and woven by maidens set apart for the purpose, and finally presented to the goddess at the Panathenaea. *Ergane* was the special name of Athena in this capacity. She was also the patron of the arts in general, so that in the story of the Trojan war the wooden horse was constructed under her direction. *Hephaistos* was the smith-god, lame and grimy, like human smiths; but all cunning workmanship was under the care of *Athena*.

Finally, as associated with her foster-child Erechtheus, *Athena* was a goddess of agriculture. The dew-sisters, and the seasons, *Thallo*, *Auxo*, and *Karpo* (Bloom, Growth, and Fruit), belonged to the same group. One of the sacred ploughings before the farmer put seed in the ground was performed below the acropolis in honor of *Athena*. All the magistrates sacrificed to *Athena* when the young shoots first appeared above the ground; in early summer masses of figs were borne about in procession, and with other rites men sought the favor of the goddess for the ripening fruits of the field; finally, at vintage time, two boys with vine branches headed a procession to *Athena Skiras*. (3)

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We are to think of *Athena*, however, as primarily the goddess of Athens, protecting all the interests of the city. The gods considered in these last three lessons are, indeed, the more important *state* gods of Greece. Other gods occupied this position in particular localities, but it is not necessary to consider them in detail to get a true conception of Greek religion. *Hera* at Argos, *Zeus* on Aegina, *Athena* at Athens were the patrons of these states, the very exponents of the life and culture of these cities. It is but a symbol of this fact when we find at the treaties, *e.g.*, between Athens and Lamos, a relief representing the patron goddess with hands clasped [*cf. Collignon*, "*History of Greek Sculpture*," II., Fig. 56]. We proceed to consider two gods whose importance arises from a different source, in that they represent another phase of religious life.

5. ATHENA.

(1) **Athena and Athens.**—And they that possessed the goodly citadel of Athens, the domain of Erechtheus the high-hearted, whom erst Athene daughter of Zeus, fostered when Earth, the grain-giver, brought him to birth; and she gave him a resting place in Athens in her own rich sanctuary; and there the sons of the Athenians worship him with bulls and rams as the years turn in their courses—these again were led of Menestheus, son of Peteos.—"*Iliad of Homer*," *p. 38.*

(2) **Athena, Goddess of War.**—And Athene, daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus, cast down at her father's threshold her woven vesture many-colored, that herself had wrought and her hands had fashioned, and put on her the tunic of Zeus the cloud-gatherer, and arrayed her in her armor for dolorous battle. About her shoulders cast she the tasselled aegis terrible, whereon is Panic as a crown all round about, and Strife is therein and Valor and horrible Onslaught withal, and therein is the dreadful monster's Gorgon head, dreadful and grim, portent of aegis-bearing Zeus. Upon her head set she the two-crested golden helm with fourfold plate, bedecked with men-at-arms of a hundred cities. Upon the flaming chariot set she her foot, and grasped her heavy spear, great and stout, wherewith she vanquisheth the ranks of men, even of heroes with whom she of the awful sire is wroth.

So saying she aroused the spirit and soul of every man. And to Tydeides' side sprang the bright-eyed goddess Athene. That lord she found beside his horses and chariot, cooling the wound that Pandaros with his dart had pierced, for his sweat vexed it by reason of the broad baldrick of his round shield; therewith was he vexed and his arm grew weary, so he was lifting up the baldrick and wiping away the dusky blood. Then the goddess laid her hand on his horses' yoke, and said: "Of a truth Tydeus begat a son little after his own likeness. Tydeus was short of stature, but a man of war; yea, even when I would not have him fight nor make display—what time he came apart from the Achaians on an embassage to Thebes, to the midst of the multitude of the Kadmeians, I bade him feast in their halls at peace; but he, possessing his valiant soul as of old time, challenged the young men of the Kadmeians and in everything vanquished them [easily; so sure a helper was I unto him]. But for thee, beside thee stand I and guard thee and with all my heart bid thee fight the Trojans; yet either hath weariness of much striving entered into thy limbs, or disheartening terror hath taken hold of thee. If that be so, no offspring art thou of Tydeus, the wise son of Oineus." . . .

So speaking, with her hand she drew back Sthenelos and thrust him from the chariot to earth, and instantly leapt he down; so the goddess mounted the car by noble Diomedes' side right eagerly. The oaken axle creaked loud with its burden, bearing the dread goddess and the man of might. Then Pallas Athene grasped the whip and reins; forthwith against Ares first guided she the whole-hooved horses. Now he was stripping huge Periphas, most valiant far of the Aitolians, Ochesios' glorious son. Him was blood-stained Ares stripping; and Athene donned the helm of Hades, that terrible Ares might not behold her. Now when Ares, scourge of mortals, beheld noble Diomedes, he left huge Periphas lying there, where at the first he had slain him and taken away his life, and made straight at Diomedes, tamer of horses. Now when they were come nigh in onset on one another, first Ares thrust over the yoke and horses' reins with spear of bronze, eager to take away his life. But the bright-eyed goddess Athene with her hand seized the spear and thrust it up over the car, to spend itself in vain. Next Diomedes of the loud war-cry attacked with spear of bronze; and Pallas Athene drave it home against Ares' nethermost belly, where his taslets were girt about him. There smote he him and wounded him, rending through his fair skin, and plucked forth the spear again. Then brazen Ares bellowed loud as nine thousand warriors or ten thousand cry in battle as they join in strife and fray. Thereat trembling gat hold of Achaians and Trojans for fear, so mightily bellowed Ares, insatiate of battle. —*Ibid, pp. 104-8.*

(3) **Athena, Goddess of Agriculture.**

Chorus. What hymn then for this land dost bid me raise?

Athena. Such as is meet for no ill-victory.

. . . . . .

And pray that blessings upon men be sent,
And that, too, both from earth, and ocean's spray,
And out of heaven; and that the breezy winds,
In sunshine blowing, sweep upon the land,
And that o'erflowing fruit of field and flock
May never fail my citizens to bless,
Nor safe deliverance for the seed of men.
But for the godless, rather root them out:
For I, like gardener shepherding his plants,
This race of just men freed from sorrow love.
So much for thee: and I will never fail
To give this city honor among men,
Victorious in the noble games of war.
—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos*," *p. 331.*

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6. DIONYSOS.

The modern reader often misses in Greek literature that aesthetic appreciation of nature which is so important an element in our modern thought. However, the feeling of sympathy with nature, though not expressed in the form that modern poetry has made familiar to us, occupied a larger place in Greek life than we might imagine. To the Greek, all nature was instinct with manifold forms of life, not unlike his own, but free from many human limitations. The rivers were gods he worshiped; naiads dwelt in springs and moist meadows, dryads in single trees; wild hill slopes and deep wooded valleys away from human activity, as well as the grove where near his dwelling the still power of nature was manifest to him, he peopled with other types of nymphs. In these nymphs, as well as in *Pan*, the *Satyrs*, and similar male figures, the Greek personified the intangible essence of the nature-life which he felt about him. It was quite natural, therefore, that the earlier phallic cult should be largely observed by *Dionysos*, as appears from the symbols (*phallos* and *kteis*) carried in his processions, and in the marked male traits of his attendant *Satyrs*.

The nymphs were the nurses of *Dionysos;* the satyrs were companions following in his train; *Dionysos* himself, as we shall see, was honored as the god of that inner life which was manifest in all the different phases of nature. Even though he may have come to Greece from a people in the north who were distantly related to the Greeks, he became as truly a Greek god as *Apollo* or *Athena* or *Zeus*. The difference is that *Dionysos* is not simply a *person*, not simply an anthropomorphic god, but that we can trace the thought which was at the basis of this worship, viz., the personification of nature-life in him.

The story of the birth of *Dionysos* was localized in Thebes. (1) His mother, *Semele*, won the love of *Zeus*, and thereby the jealousy of *Hera*. She was moved by Hera to ask for a sight of *Zeus* in all his glory, and, the request being granted, she was consumed by the vision. *Zeus*, however, rescued her unborn infant from the flames (whence he was called fire-born) and placed him in his own thigh, from which in due time he was born a second time (and called twice-born, thigh-born).

Other stories of *Dionysos* tell mainly of his advent in Greece, and assume his foreign origin. According to one group of stories, he came a delicate youth, followed by train of maenads and satyrs, introducing a wild worship. Many obstacles are placed in his way by the adherents of the older order, but these yield to the power of the god. The new servants of the god feel his power as a divine madness overmastering them, while his opponents are bereft of reason and led to their own destruction. Another group of stories tell of his entertainment by early Greek kings (Oineus, Ikaros), in return for which favor he leaves the divine gift of the grape vine. Here also madness follows in the train of his visit, the madness which comes from drunkenness, and madness from the god is healed by the god.

Was *Dionysos* a foreign god introduced from Thrace? The meagre accounts in ancient writers show that Thracian tribes worshiped a supreme divinity, the personification (to use again our modern phrase) of the principle of life in nature. This supreme god of the Thracians was worshiped as the seasons changed to secure good crops; he was present in animal and vegetable life; his power was manifested in the human spirit, taking away human reason and giving man superhuman mental powers, so that he could foretell the future, and at death men went to him from whom their life had sprung—the god of life was also the god of souls. It is probable that the story of *Dionysos*' birth from the thigh of *Zeus* was an attempt to unite the supreme god of the Thracians with *Zeus* and give him a place in Greek mythology. His entrance against opposition, his triumphs over that opposition, are the truths told to later generations in mythical form.

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The worship of *Dionysos* in Greece tends to show that the Greek god, like his Thracian counterpart, was essentially the god of life in nature. At Delphi, and at several other religious centers, he was worshiped with orgiastic rites in winter when the old year died and the life of a new year began. Groups of women went out on the slopes of Parnassos at night with torches and engaged in ecstatic rites, dancing wild dances, swinging torch and thyrsos-staff, twining serpents, it is said, in their loosened hair, and making wild music with cymbal and flute. They fondled young animals, only to tear them in pieces as the mood changed, and devour the bleeding flesh. The god was in them, taking away their reason and possessing them with his spirit; the god of nature-life was in the animals they fostered and devoured; all the strange rites were tribute paid to the god that was dying and was being born again. (2)

The same thought, the adoration of the life in nature, appears in the worship of trees. At Ephesos, it is a grove of trees in which the divine presence is felt. Occasionally it is a single tree, an oak or a fir, that is not merely the sign of the god, but his very embodiment. Or, again, a tree-trunk is set up for worship, perhaps receiving a human mask and clothes, to be a *Dionysos*, the concrete representation of nature life.



Feast of Dionysos.

The vine, however, was commonly the sacred object of *Dionysos* worship. The very spirit of nature was seen present in the wine, and those who drank it felt his supernatural life flowing in their own veins. Certainly, in Attica, the worship of Dionysos centered about his presence in the vine which was his gift. The country Dionysia, the Lenaea on the shortest day of the year, the Anthesteria or feast of new wine, and finally the great spring festival of the city — Dionysia, were all celebrated in honor of the vine-god. Even the wild, joyful rites of nature-worship became ministers of Greek culture, although the ecstatic worship of the god of animal and vegetable life was never wholly obscured. The songs and dances and simple plays of the country Dionysia, the rough joking "from the wagons" at the Lenaea, were what developed into the dithyramb — the perfect lyric — and the tragedy and comedy of the Attic stage. In the hands of Pesistratos and of Pericles, the greater Dionysia at which these dramas were presented became the completest expression of Greek art, and from all the Greek world strangers flocked to Athens to share the festival, which was the glory, not of one city alone but of all Greece.

The sculptured representation of a Maenad in wild dance suggests to us little that is religious; still less the figure of a sensual youth overcome by drink. To the Greek these figures suggest not so much the wildness which set culture at naught, nor the sensual excess which reduced man to the level of the beast; to the Greek eye they represented a worship in which he felt the dread mystery of life and growth in nature, a worship in which he sought communion with the great spirit that lives in all that lives. The same mystic vein which was at the basis of revolting rites in Phoenicia inspired the sacred meal offering of the Hebrews; the same mystic effort for union with the divine which underlay the Dionysos worship of Greece has many times in purer form proved the source of new religious life to the Christian Church.

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6. DIONYSOS.

(1) Birth of Dionysos.

Chorus. O Thou of many names,
Of that Cadmeian maid
The glory and the joy,
Whom Zeus as offspring owns,
Zeus, thundering deep and loud,
Who watchest over famed Italia,
And reign'st o'er all the bays that Deo claims
On fair Eleusis' coast.
Bacchos, who dwell'st in Thebes, the mother-town
Of all thy Bacchant train,
Along Ismenos' stream;
And with the dragon's brood.
—"*Tragedies of Sophocles*," *pp. 168-9.*

(2) Rites of Dionysos.

Pentheus. Speak freely; thou from me hast naught to fear;
Nor on the good shall my displeasure fall.
But the more dreadful are the deeds by thee
Related of these Bacchæ, with more weight
Shall my severest vengeance light on him,
Who to these arts allured our frantic dames.
Messenger. Now to the mountain summits had I led
My herds, as on the earth the orient sun
Shot his refreshing beams; when I beheld
Three bands of females, to Autonoe one
Obedient, to Agave one, thy mother;
The third to Ino: all were laid asleep;
Beneath them some had spread the boughs of pines;
Some with the leaves of oaks form'd on the ground
Their casual bed, all decently composed.
Thou wouldst not say that goblets full of wine
Inflamed their sense, or that the wanton pipe
Had led them to the lonely shades to court
The rites of Venus with their paramours.
Thy mother, when the lowings of the herds
Had reach'd her ears, arose, and 'midst her band
Shouted aloud, to rouse them from their sleep:
They from their balmy slumbers oped their eyes,
And started up, but with that modesty
'Twas wonderful to see, the young, the old,
And the unmarried virgins. O'er their necks
Their loose-devolving hair they spread, refix
Their vestments, such whose cinctures were unloosed,
And o'er them bind the spotted skins of fawns,
With serpents wreathing round their shaded cheeks.
Some, holding in their arms a kid, and some
The wolves' wild whelps, taught them to drain their breasts
Swelling with milk, their new-born infants left
At home; then on their heads their garlands place
Of oak, of ivy, and the silvery bloom
Of smilax: one her thyrsus took, and smote
The rock; out gush'd the pure, translucent stream:
Another cast her light wand on the ground;
Instant (so will'd the god) a fount of wine
Sprung forth: if any wish'd a softer draught,
These with their fingers oped the ground, and milk
Issued in copious streams; and from their spears
With ivy wreathed the dulcet honey flow'd.
Hadst thou been present, thou wouldst not, as now,
Revile the god; but, seeing this, with vows
Address him. All the herdsmen gather'd round,
And all the shepherds, with dissentient voice
To descant on these deeds, that struck their sense
With dread and wonder. 'Midst us came a man
Practiced in city wiles, and train'd to gloze
His hackney'd tongue, who thus bespoke us all:
"You, who the hallow'd mountain's pastoral tracts
Inhabit, from her orgies shall we chase
The royal dame Agave, to our king
Doing a grace?" We thought he counsell'd well;
And, cover'd in the leafy thickets, took
Our secret stations: at the appointed hour
They shook the thyrsus to their revelry,
And shouted Evoe Bacchus, son of Jove.
With thickening clamors, all the mountains danced
To their wild revelry, with all its beasts,
And nothing at their measures stood unmoved.
Near me Agave chanced to bound along;
I, from the thicket where I stood conceal'd,
Sprung forward with an eager wish to seize her:
She cried aloud, "Companions of my chase,
We by these men are chased; but follow me;
Follow, and with the thyrsus arm your hands."
We saved ourselves by flight, the Bacchæ else
Had torn us piecemeal, on the herds, that grazed
The verdant slope, their hands unarm'd with steel,
They rush'd; a heifer lowing mightst thou see
Held in the hands of one, and others rent
The herds; their limbs and cleft hoofs mightst thou see
Hurl'd to and fro, and hanging on the pines
Distain their green with blood; ev'n the fierce bulls,
Wont with their angry horns to threaten, fell,
Beneath a thousand hands of youthful females
Dragg'd to the ground; asunder were they rent
Ere thou couldst close thy royal eyelids down.
Instant, like birds that wing their airy flight,
They hurried to the extended plains below,
Which, by Asopus water'd, yield to Thebes
A plenteous harvest; to Erythra's walls,
And Hysia, fix'd beneath Cithæron's heights;
On these with hostile rage they fell, and rent
Whate'er they found, and toss'd it scatter'd wide;
And ev'n their children from their houses snatch'd.
Whate'er was on their shoulders placed, remain'd
Fix'd, though not bound, and fell not to the earth,
Were it or brass or iron: in their hair
They carried fire, yet were their locks not burnt,
Those, who were plunder'd by these madding dames,
Flew in their rage to arms; then mightst thou see
A sight, O king! had struck thee with amaze;
Unstained with blood their iron-pointed spears
Fell harmless, whilst each thyrsus gored with wounds:
Dismay ensued, and flight, by female hands
Men vanquish'd, not without some god. And now
Back to the heights, which they had left, they wing'd
Their way, and to the fountains which the god
Had open'd for them, and wash'd off the blood,
Whilst from their cheeks the serpent's cleansing tongue
Lick'd the warm drop. Therefore receive, O king!
This god, whoe'er he be, into the city;
For, powerful as he is, his bounty gave
(So fame reports) the sorrow-ceasing vine
To men: where wine is wanting, love soon flies;
Nothing so bathes the spirits in delight.
Pen. These insults of the Bacchæ, like a flame,
Are kindled near us, a reproach to Greece.
This is no time for slow delay: with speed
Fly to the Electran gates; bid all that bear
The massy shield, that mount the rapid steed,
That toss the light targe, and the stringed bow
Grasp in their hands, attend me; I will lead them
Against these Bacchæ. No, it is too much,
From women to endure this insolence.
—"*Euripides*," *pp. 26-30.*

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FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **THE GODS OF HOMER.**—Beginnings of Greek religion, Nature of the epic, Zeus, Hera, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Minor gods.
2. **NATURE OF THE EPIC GODS.**—Homer as a school book, Gods and natural phenomena, Gods defined physically, mentally, and morally, Providence, Fate.
3. **ZEUS AND HERA.**—Local character of Greek worship, Worship of Zeus at Dodona, Mt. Lykaios, Athens, Olympia, Functions of Zeus, Hera and her worship.
4. **APOLLO AND ARTEMIS.**—Legend of their birth, The Delphic oracle, Worship of Apollo in Ionia, in the Peloponnese, Artemis as a nature goddess, and as Apollo's brother.
5. **ATHENA.**—Her birth, Temples at Athens, The Panathenaea, Athena as goddess of war, of woman's arts, of agriculture, as goddess of Athens.
6. **DIONYSOS.**—Greek sympathy with nature, Birth of Dionysos, Advent in Greece, From Thrace? Dionysiac worship, The god of wine and of the drama.

QUESTIONS.



Offerings at an Ancestral Tomb.

1. *What are the first archeological data, and the first literary data for our knowledge of Greek religion? Where did the Homeric poems receive their form? Where were they sung? Why were not its gods local? How is Zeus superior to the other gods in Homer? What are the two aspects of Homer? What various functions has Athena? What are the relations of the gods in the epic?*

2. *What was the place of Homer in Greek education? Define the idea of a god in Homer. Do the Greek gods represent natural phenomena? What is the best method of getting a definite idea of the epic gods? How do gods differ from men physically? —mentally? What is their moral character? What is felt to be the relation of men to the gods? Did men always feel their dependence on the gods? Explain how the gods came to be thought of as subject to fate.*

3. *Are the gods of the epic beings that men worshiped? What is the fact of local worship? Describe the worship at Dodona and on Mt. Lykaios. What is the connection of Zeus with agriculture? What was the worship of God at Olympia? What is the proof that Zeus was still conceived as king of the gods? Contrast Hera with Leto and Demeter. What was Hera's most important function? How does it appear in her worship?*

4. *Give the legend of the birth of Apollo and of Artemis. What was Apollo's function at Delphi? How great an influence did this have? Describe the worship at Delphi. What was Apollo's most important function in Ionia?—in the Peloponnese? Name other gods of the flocks. What was the general conception of Artemis? What was her relation to nature, both before and after she became a purely human god? How was she worshiped before marriage?*

5. *Give the story of the contest of Athena and Poseidon for Attika; also the story of Athena's birth. What were the temples of Athena on the Acropolis? What was the religious center of the Panathenaea? Describe the great festival procession and its sacrifices. Describe also the contests that were associated with the festival. What were Athena's special functions? What is the evidence that she presided over agriculture? What was the relation of Athena to Athens?*

6. *Describe the character of the Greek sympathy for nature. Give the story of the birth of Dionysos and of his advent in Greece. What is the evidence that he came from Thrace? Describe the nature of his worship in Greece. How were trees worshiped? How was the vine worshiped? and what was the religious meaning of this worship? What was the origin of the Greek drama?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Estimate the value of the Homeric poems (sung at courts, to please, by wandering bards) as a source for the knowledge of Greek religion.*

2. *Iliad XXI. Contrast the river god in the first half of the book with the general conception of the Homeric gods. Contrast the idea of the relation of the gods, as well as their nature, to be derived from the last part of the book (the Theomachy) with what is found in the rest of the poems and described in the lessons above.*

3. *What evidence can you find that Zeus was once a deification of the heavens?*

4. *How can we best explain the existence of so many separate local forms of the Greek gods, each with his own title?*

5. *What would be the probable result for religion and for politics of regarding the goddess as the personification of the city's life? Can State and Church be entirely separated, so that each will exercise its proper functions alone?*

6. *Study the development of the drama from Dionysos-worship, as presented in any good history of Greek literature.*

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7. DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE.

Demeter was primarily the goddess of agriculture, and of the grain which the fields produced. Homer speaks of the "corn of *Demeter*" as the characteristic food of men, and calls the goddess "yellow-haired," for the ripened corn is yellow. Hesiod bids the farmer pray to *Zeus* of the lower world and to holy *Demeter* for good crops as he begins to plough. *Demeter* is the earth, says Euripides, mother earth, who gives her children food; by her favor the corn grows, and when she is angry the seed fails to sprout. The story is that the goddess discovered the grain and made it subject to cultivation; then she gave the seed to Triptolemos, and sent him in a car drawn by winged serpents to bear it to every people.

Of the one myth of *Demeter* we have an early version in the Homeric hymn. In the epic we hear of *Persephone* only as the dread queen of the lower world, the bride of *Hades*. In the Homeric hymn she is the innocent daughter of *Demeter* and *Zeus*, who was snatched up and borne away to the lower world by *Aidoneus* (*Hades*) as she was plucking flowers in the Nysian plain. The mother heard her cry as she disappeared, and, tearing the veil from her head, she put on a black garment and wandered without food nine days in search of her daughter. When she learned that *Hades* had taken her with *Zeus'* consent, she left Olympos in wrath, and refused to allow the corn even to sprout. The Homeric hymn tells of her appearance at Eleusis in the guise of an old woman, sad and veiled, and how she was persuaded to break her fast with the mystic drink, the kykeon, and to become the nurse of the king's son. At length her divinity was revealed, and at her bidding a temple was erected, and the sacred Eleusinian rites established. Men still suffered for lack of food until *Zeus* sent *Hermes* to bring back *Persephone* from *Hades;* mother and daughter, we read, spent the whole day in affectionate caresses, and *Demeter* was propitiated. *Persephone* has eaten a pomegranate seed in the lower world, so she must continue to spend one-third of the year there with her husband. The hymn concludes with a reference to *Demeter's* two great gifts to men—the corn with which they are nourished, and the glorious rites of Eleusis by which they receive blessing for this life and the next.

The story of *Persephone*, who disappears each autumn when the corn is sown and is restored to this world as the new blade breaks the sod, seems clearly an allegory representing the corn itself. The corn is buried, as are the dead, and for three months *Persephone* is queen of the dead. For the rest of the year she is with her mother *Demeter* (Δημήτηρ), as the corn is nurtured in the lap of mother earth (Γῆ μήτηρ).

For Eleusis, however, the hymn has a far greater importance than as a simple myth, since it contains the sacred legend of the Eleusinian mysteries. Every autumn men came to Eleusis, for here *Demeter* had come in search for her daughter. Veiled like *Demeter*, they imitate her wanderings through the night. Having fasted for nine days, as did *Demeter*, they also break the fast with the kykeon. The well where she is said to have rested, the king's house where she was nurse, the temple built for her in the time of her grief—these are the sacred spots where they realize anew the presence of the goddess. The reunion of *Persephone* with her mother, the continued life of *Persephone* in Hades, the sending out of Triptolemos to distribute to the world *Demeter's* two gifts, the corn and the mysteries—these scenes in which men bore part as actors and as spectators constituted a drama of divine things. They shared the experiences of the goddess, her grief and anxiety, her anger, her joy in the reunion with her daughter; and in this mystic communion they found peace from their own sorrows, and felt the blessedness of a joy that seemed more than human. Thus conscious of the presence of the gods who ruled the dead, they could look forward with a calmer hope to death itself and could expect the favor of *Persephone* below, since they had worshiped her here at Eleusis. (1)

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That the worship at Eleusis met a real religious need is shown by its rapid development on from the sixth century B.C. Greek religion had centered in the state, and its rites, while they grew in importance and in magnificence with the development of the state, tended to become merely political and social institutions. With the rise of individualism in the political and the intellectual sphere, the need of a new type of religion was felt. Many new forms of religious ritual were introduced to meet this need, but they were under the ban of social disapproval, for they broke with tradition and seemed to undermine the basis of society. The worship at Eleusis was one of the very few old state cults which could adapt itself to meet the newly-felt needs of the individual. Its success was due to the fact that it combined old respectability with a religious message to the new age.



The boy Triptolemos between Demeter and Persephone.

The worship of *Demeter* emphasized a human sympathy in this divinity which was seldom thought of in connection with other gods. It is the worship of a mother-goddess, a mother who has felt a real human love for her daughter, whose love has been tried by anxiety and suffering, but who at length has found complete joy in reunion with her daughter. To the sufferer among the gods suffering men and women turn for help.

The peculiar relation of *Demeter* to the Greek woman found expression in the worship of *Demeter Thesmophoros.* At the Thesmophoria women alone joined in secret worship of the goddess, and men were excluded under the severest penalties. It was a worship of the goddess who protected the rights of married women, and from whom they expected the blessing of fair children.

Under these three aspects *Demeter* became one of the most important Greek gods. As mother earth, she received the seed and gave to men the grain; as the goddess of motherhood, she cared for the wife and granted her the children she desired; as the mother of *Persephone* and the goddess of the mysteries, she blessed men in their life here and after death.

7. DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE.

(1) **The Mysteries.**—"Summoning the rest of the initiated, they first call out, 'Whosoever is pure in hands and intelligible in speech,' and again others 'Whoever is pure from all defilement and whose soul knows no evil,' and 'Whoever has lived righteously.'"—"*Celsus,*" *Origen III., p. 147, ch. 59.*

We alone have the sun and holy light who have been initiated and have lived a pious life toward strangers and toward relatives. — *Aristophanes,* "*Frogs,*" *p. 455ff.*

The best of the initiatory rites here are a dreamy shadow of that vision, and that initiation and the statements made (at the mysteries) are cunningly devised to remind one of the beauties there (in the world of divine realities), else they are but nonsense.—"*Plut. de def. orac.,*" *p. 422C.*

Demeter graciously disposed toward our ancestors because of the favors she received—favors which only the initiated are permitted to hear—gave them the two gifts which proved of greatest value, the grain, which is the reason why we do not live as the beasts do, and the initiatory rites, by sharing which men have sweet hopes for the end of life here and for all future time.—*Isokrates,* "*Panegyric,*" *p. 28.*

Blessed is he who has seen those things before he goes beneath the earth; he knows the end of life; and its Zeus-given beginning.— *Pindar,* "*Fragments,*" *p. 102.*

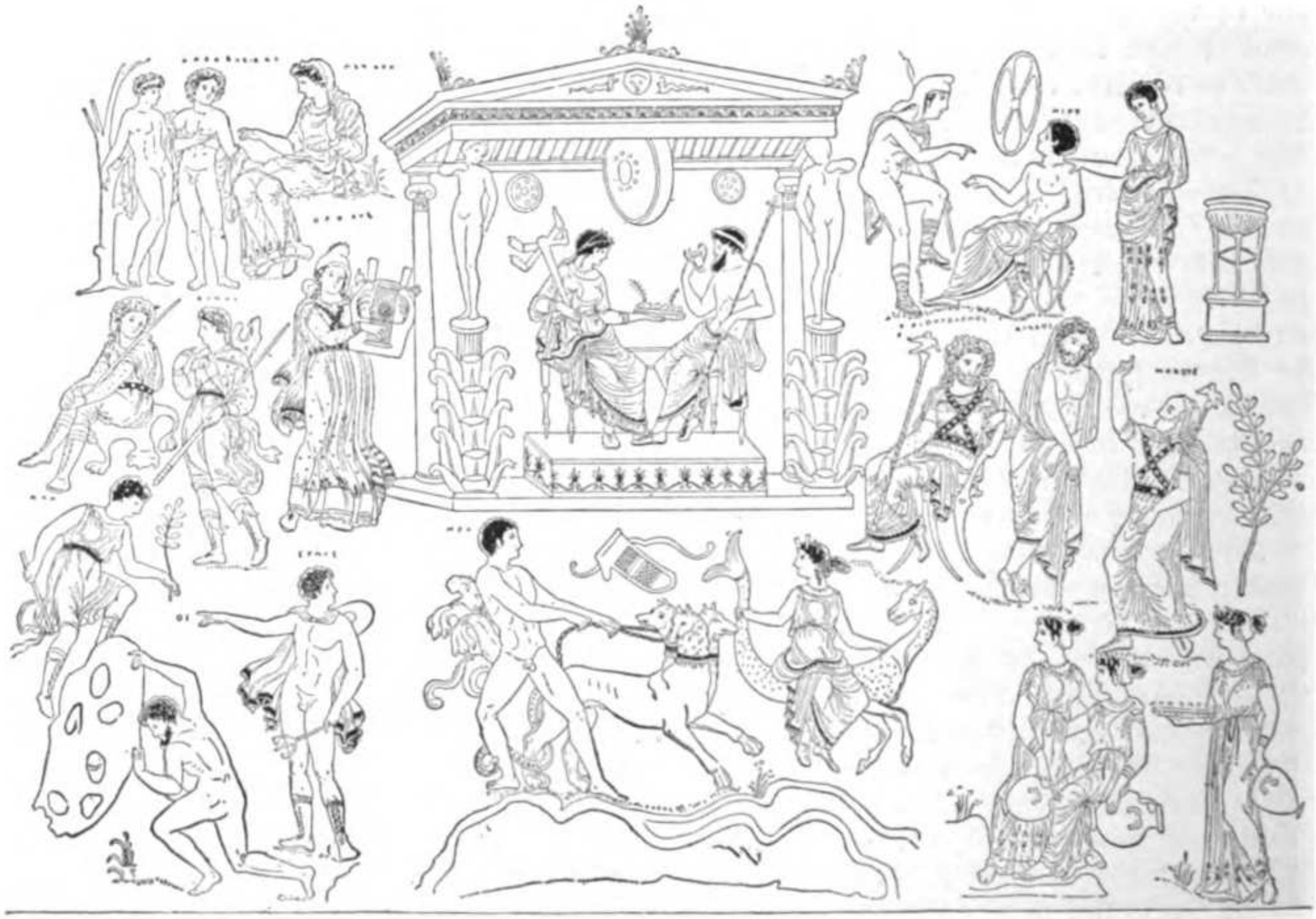
Thrice blessed are those mortals who have seen these initiatory rites before they go to Hades; for they alone have life, but the rest have all evils there —*Sophocles,* "*Fragments,*" *p. 719.*

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8. DEVELOPMENT OF BELIEF IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

The student of religion among primitive peoples finds an almost universal belief in a life after death. Burial is a time for feasting and games as much as any occasion during life; the dead are carefully housed, and supplied with food to meet their wants; good or evil is expected by survivors from the souls of the dead. In a word, men generally have believed that something lives on after death, and that this soul is freed from some human limitations and has some powers greater than man's.

The Homeric poems show a very different view of the future. What leaves the body at death is a sort of dream-image, unsubstantial as smoke or mist. The flight of a soul is compared to that of a gibbering bat. The body is called the man's *self*



The Underworld. On the Throne Sit Pluto and Persephone. For the other Figures see Side Lights.

quite as often as the soul. In fact, all is over at death, and what is left in Hades is nothing but a shade, a shadow, of the man. In two passages of the Odyssey, however, the picture of Hades is painted in somewhat fuller colors. Here the souls are represented as conscious of their lot, and as retaining an interest in what happens on the earth. But even in this picture Achilles exclaims:

> "I would rather be a laborer on earth and serve for hire
> Some man of mean estate, who makes scant cheer,
> Than reign o'er all who have gone down to death."
> —*Odyssey xi, 489-91.*

Still we find evidence enough in the Homeric poems themselves of an earlier belief, more in line with that found among primitive peoples. Careful burial is necessary, and the one instance which is described in detail (Iliad, XXIII.) includes

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sacrifices of men and animals, as well as many athletic contests. Such sacrifices and games can only have originated in connection with a belief in the supernatural character of the soul. So the rites for evoking a soul which are described in the eleventh book of the Odyssey, the promise of a sacrifice to Teiresias, and, indeed, the fact that Odysseus goes down to Hades at all to learn the future from a departed soul, are evidences of a view totally at variance with that ordinarily found in the epic. Remains in tombs from an earlier period confirm the opinion that in some localities the dead were worshiped before the rise of the Homeric poems; and the very existence of ancestor worship in historic times points in the same direction, for religious customs are very tenacious.

We may then affirm that the early Greeks had much the same view of the soul, as a being to be worshiped, which we find among primitive peoples generally. With the rise of the epic, which treated of heroic deeds of valor and endurance on this earth, men's attention was turned away from superstitious fears to the possibilities of life here, away from local worship of limited spirits to the splendid court of the Olympian gods. The dead continued to be honored, but the religion of the greater gods, as described in the epic, was entirely oblivious of any lesser spirits.

Coming down to the classical period, we find in forms of burial and in the worship of ancestors survivals of the early belief in souls. At Athens the body of the dead person was cleansed and arrayed in clean garments, then exposed to public view for a day. The mourning was almost a worship, and included elaborate sacrifices, until they were forbidden by law. With the body were buried vessels and utensils and ornaments for its use, and libations of wine, oil, and honey were made at the grave on certain specified days. The soul continued to flutter about the grave, and men hesitated to attract its notice in any way. But during one festival, the Anthesteria, the souls of the dead wandered freely through the city, and special precautions were necessary to ward off any harm they might do. All the various ceremonies in reference to the dead were either simple acts of piety, or means to protect the survivors from harm. Still they pre-suppose that the dead take pleasure in offerings, and that they have power to work evil when offended. (1)

In addition to this general worship of the dead, we find the more fully developed worship of hero-ancestors. These are semi-divine beings, worshiped by the family who claim descent from them or by the locality which is under their special patronage. In some instances such worship arose out of honors paid to the dead, though this was not usually the case. The worship of hero-ancestors did however influence the belief in a future life, because it constantly suggested to the Greek the fact that he was regarding *some* souls of the dead as actually divine.

The religion of *Dionysos* was probably the starting-point of a new belief in souls. The god of that life in nature which manifested itself anew each year was also the *god of souls.* Men felt his power overmastering their minds as they joined his ecstatic worship. They became united with the divine being in secret rites, and death could not separate this mystic union. Other mysteries also promised the same hope for the future, and the superstitious found comfort from their fears. The worship of *Demeter* at Eleusis was comparatively free from orgiastic elements, but the worshipers here also felt the presence of the goddess with them, and seemed to share her experiences of sorrow and of joy. Being assured of the power and favor of the chthonic gods, they could look forward with assurance to the future life.

While many found comfort in this new hope for the future, these very rites became a source of dissatisfaction to others, and confirmed them in their skeptical attitude. Still others, a small group of idealistic thinkers, found in philosophic speculation a basis for the popular belief that the soul lives on after death. (2)

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8. DEVELOPMENT OF BELIEF IN THE FUTURE LIFE.

(1) Ancestor-cult.

Electra [*moving to the tomb, and pouring libations as she speaks*].

O mightiest herald of the gods on high
And those below, O Hermes of the dark,
Call thou the Powers beneath, and bid them hear
The prayers that look towards my father's house;
And Earth herself who all things bringeth forth,
And rears them and again receives their fruit.
And I to human souls libations pouring,
Say, calling on my father, "Pity me;
How shall we bring our dear Orestes home?"
For now as sold to ill by her who bore us,
We poor ones wander. She as husband gained
Ægisthos, who was partner in thy death;
And I am as a slave, and from his wealth
Orestes now is banished, and they wax
Full haughty in the wealth thy toil had gained.
And that Orestes hither with good luck
May come, I pray. Hear thou that prayer, my father!
And to myself grant thou that I may be
Than that my mother wiser far of heart,
Holier in act. For us this prayer I pour;
And for our foes, my father, this I pray,
That Justice may as thine avenger come,
And that thy murderers perish. Thus I place
Midway in prayer for good that now I speak,
My prayer 'gainst them for evil. Be thou then
The escort of these good things that I ask,
With help of Gods, and Earth, and conquering Justice.
With prayers like these my votive gifts I pour;
And as for you [*turning to the chorus*], 'tis meet with cries to crown
The pæan ye utter, wailing for the dead.

STROPHE.

Chorus. Pour ye the pattering tear,
Falling for fallen lord,
Here by the tomb that shuts out good and ill—
Here, where the full libations have been poured
That turn aside the curse men deprecate,
Hear me, O Thou my Dread,
Hear thou, O Sire, the words my dark mind speaks!

—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos*," *pp. 256-8.*

Fly, Echo, to Persephone's dark-walled home, and to his father bear the noble tidings, that seeing him thou mayest speak to him of his son, saying that for his father's honor in Pisa's famous valley he hath crowned his boyish hair with garlands from the glorious games.—"*Odes of Pindar*," *p. 50.*

(2) **Attitude Toward Death.**—Victory setteth free the essayer from the struggle's griefs, yea, and the wealth that a noble nature hath made glorious bringeth power for this and that, putting into the heart of man a deep and eager mood, a star far seen, a light wherein a man shall trust, if but the holder thereof knoweth the things that shall be, how that of all who die the guilty souls pay penalty, for all the sins sinned in this realm of Zeus One judgeth under earth, pronouncing sentence by unloved constraint.

But evenly ever in sunlight night and day an unlaborious life the good receive, neither with violent hand vex they the earth nor the waters of the sea, in that new world; but with the honored of the gods, whosoever had pleasure in keeping of oaths, they possess a tearless life; but the other part suffer pain too dire to look upon.

Then whosoever have been of good courage to the abiding steadfast thrice on either side of death and have refrained their souls from all iniquity, travel the road of Zeus unto the tower of Kronos; there round the islands of the blest the ocean-breezes blow, and golden flowers are glowing, some from the land on trees of splendor, and some the waters feedeth, with wreaths whereof they entwine their hands; so ordereth Rhadamanthos' just degree, whom at his own right hand hath ever the father Kronos, husband of Rhea, throned above all worlds.—*Ibid, pp. 8, 9.*

Antigone. O tomb, my bridal chamber, vaulted home,
Guarded right well forever, where I go
To join mine own, of whom the greater part
Among the dead doth Persephassa hold;
And I, of all the last and saddest, wend
My way below, life's little span unfilled.
And yet I go, and feed myself with hopes
Then I shall meet them, by my father loved,
Dear to my mother, well-beloved of thee,
Thou darling brother: I, with these my hands,
Washed each dear corpse, arrayed you, poured libations,
In rites of burial: and in care for thee,
Thy body, Polyneikes, honoring,
I gain this recompense.

—"*Tragedies of Sophocles*," *pp. 160-61.*

I do not mean to affirm that the description which I have given of the soul and her mansions is exactly true—a man of sense ought hardly to say that. But I do say that, inasmuch as the soul is shown to be immortal, he may venture to think, not improperly or unworthily, that something of the kind is true. The venture is a glorious one, and he ought to comfort himself with words like these, which is the reason why I lengthen out the tale. Wherefore, I say, let a man be of good cheer about his soul, who has cast away the pleasures and ornaments of the body as alien to him, and rather hurtful in their effects, and has followed after the pleasures of knowledge in this life; who has adorned the soul in her own proper jewels, which are temperance, and justice, and courage, and nobility, and truth—in these arrayed she is ready to go on her journey to the world below, when her time comes. You, Simmias and Cebes, and all other men, will depart at some time or other. Me already, as the tragic poet would say, the voice of fate calls. Soon I must drink the poison; and I think that I had better repair to the bath first, in order that the women may not have the trouble of washing my body after I am dead.

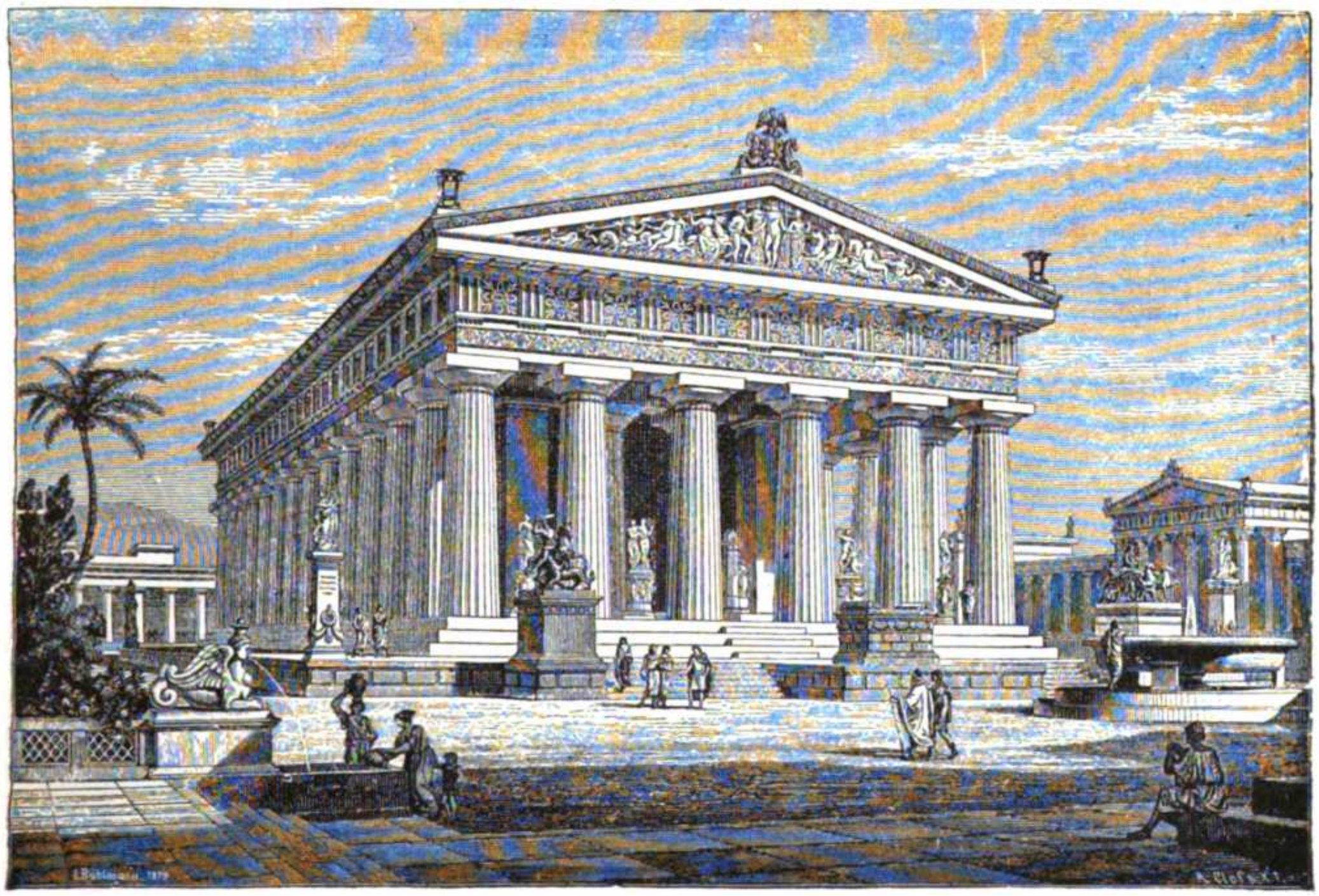
When he had done speaking, Crito said: And have you any commands for us, Socrates—anything to say about your children, or any other matter in which we can serve you?

Nothing particular, he said: only, as I have always told you, I would have you to look to yourselves; that is a service which you may always be doing to me and mine as well as to yourselves. And you need not make professions; for if you take no thought for yourselves, and walk not according to the precepts which I have given you, not now for the first time, the warmth of your professions will be of no avail.—"*Dialogues of Plato*," *translated by B. Jowett, I., p. 444.*

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9. GREEK WORSHIP:--LOCAL INSTITUTIONS.

The earlier history of Greek worship discloses a point of view decidedly different from that of the Christian church, especially in its Protestant branches. We have not uncommonly suffered the idea of the religious community to fall into the background, in the emphasis that we have laid on the salvation of the individual. The earlier established worship of Greece was wholly a matter for the local community, or for such social groups as the family, the phratry, or the state. And when an individual sought help for his own needs, he naturally turned to the god of some



Temple of Poseidon, at Pæstum.

local sanctuary—the sanctuary where he might be, if away from home; if at home, the sanctuary of the family or state to which he belonged. Thus all worship centered about particular localities at which particular gods were thought to be present. (1) When one race displaced another, it brought the worship of its patron gods to the new locality, but at the same time it adopted from its forerunners there the shrines where *they* had worshiped. Each local shrine had its own forms of worship, its own *priesthood*, its own traditions of the gods there honored. Such local cults were the starting-point of Greek religion; they continued through all its growth to be the ground in which it was rooted; and when Christianity was introduced, some of these local gods were transformed into Christian saints, still to be worshiped under a new title.

The different stages in the history of Greek religion may best be understood from this standpoint. It began in the worship by wandering tribes of their patron gods; and as soon as a tribe became attached to any locality, the worship of its gods was also localized there. As intercourse developed between the different Greek tribes or races, these gods became more widely known. It was the province of civilization to unify the culture of all the elements which entered into it. Politically

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it was attended by the rise of larger political groups, the early kingdoms of Greece; it tended to bring the gods also, as well as men, into one world—*e.g.*, to bring together heaven-gods into a *Zeus*, and herd-gods into an *Apollo*, the son of *Zeus*—so that the way was paved for the creation of the pantheon which appears in the Homeric poems. The life of historic Greece found expression in city-states, and the religious cults of a city shared all its progress and glory. *Athena* became, as we have seen, the exponent of the highest culture of Athens, and to her worship pilgrims gathered from all the Greek world. There remained, however, many heterogeneous elements in the nature of gods that had arisen thus, so that they were exposed to the criticism both of philosophy and of a developed religious sense. Greek religion could not rise out of itself. It brought to the religion which supplanted it a philosophy about God that reached far beyond any Greek god, and a sense of religious need that no Greek worship could satisfy.

The local shrine was very simple in its origin. In the Odyssey (IX., 197) we read of Maron, priest of *Apollo*, who frequented Ismaros, dwelling with his wife and child in the wooded grove of the god. (2) Chryses (Iliad, I., 36-42) served *Apollo Smintheus*, building temples to please him, and burning fat thighs of bulls and goats on his well-built altar at Chryse. (3) The oldest localities of worship were sacred spots, marked by an altar and often by a grove where a god was wont to be worshiped. The only priests mentioned in the Homeric poems conducted the worship at such local shrines.

In the historic period sacred precincts varied greatly in size and character. The whole Krisaean plain near Delphi was sacred to *Artemis*, *Leto*, and *Athena Pronaia*, and its cultivation was entirely forbidden. Or, again, the spot of sacred ground was scarcely more than large enough for a small chapel. Entrance into the sanctuary was fordidden to those who had not complied with the local requirements, and some places were entirely closed. (4) The more sacred spots were carefully marked, and often enclosed by a wall of stone. Rarely the sacred land was kept from cultivation; commonly it was cultivated and the rent derived from its use was devoted to the maintenance of the temple and its worship. Such leases were very carefully drawn up, and describe in detail the manner of cultivating the sacred land, of caring for its forest ground, and of keeping the sacred herds of cattle. From these sources, from tithes and other taxes levied by the state, and from gifts consecrated to the gods, the income of a shrine might become very large.

All that was necessary for worship was an altar. Before the dwelling house and often in each room was a sort of obelisk, on which fruit and incense were offered to the family gods; in the public squares, in the places of assembly, and on the acropolis stood altars to the gods of the city; the altar was the most important feature of the sacred precinct, and in the temple itself there might be a small altar for offerings that were not burned. The altars for offerings of fruits, flowers, cakes, etc., were small pillars, sometimes round, sometimes with paneled sides, and capable of high ornamentation. The altars for burnt offerings were still more various in character. One sacred altar at Olympia was a heap of ashes from former sacrifices, on top of which the thighs of new victims were burned. A pile of stones or a brick structure served as an altar at some sanctuaries, but often the structure was elaborate, with carved marble sides and architectural ornaments at the top. The great altar of Zeus at Pergamon was about forty feet high, and its sides were ornamented with a beautiful frieze representing the battle of the gods and giants.

The temple was situated on some spot already made sacred by worship, either on the acropolis of the city, or on some other site a little removed from the bustle of daily life. Only the more important cities had temples, and these varied in size from very small chapels to the great temple of *Artemis* at Ephesus. Approaching a temple from the east, and going up a flight of steps, the worshiper entered a hall enclosed only by pillars in front, from which opened the sanctuary proper, the *naos*

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(Latin *cella*). Larger temples had also a back room, *opisthodomos*, opening from the opposite end, and they were surrounded by one or two rows of columns. The front room, *Pronaos*, was used for votive offerings, while in the *naos* stood the image of the god. At first this was a rude object of wood or stone, but later the best art of Greece gave expression to the Greek thought of its gods in marble or in bronze. In few instances, as in the Parthenon at Athens, the statue was constructed of gold, with ivory to represent the flesh parts.

It has been said that the temples existed more for the god than for man. Originally, they were built to protect the holy image and the treasure of the divinity; and while this continued to be their main object, they were always centers of worship, for in them was felt the presence of the god. The temple differs from the church in that there is no assembly room for worship. The great altar stood outside, and here the victims were slain and the thigh pieces burned. Meantime, however, the worshiper would visit the god in his temple, and the feast which was so important a part of worship was held about temple and altar in the sacred precinct.

In regard to priests, but one general statement holds true, viz., that they were public officials rather than sacred persons. Each shrine had its own regulations as to age, sex, and other characteristics of its priests. The priesthood might belong to a particular family, or it might be acquired by lot, by election, or even by purchase. Selection did not depend on purity of life or religious devotion, though certain sins might render a man ineligible. The office of course conferred a certain degree of sacredness on those who held it, but the priests were primarily the officials of the city or of the local shrine, whose duty it was to direct the worship there.

9. GREEK WORSHIP:—LOCAL INSTITUTIONS.

(1) **Deities Addressed at their Proper Localities.**—So said he, and Patroklos hearkened to his dear comrade, and led forth from the hut Briseis of the fair cheeks, and give them her to lead away. So these twain took their way back along the Achaians' ships, and with them went the woman all unwilling. Then Achilles wept anon, and sat him down apart, aloof from his comrades on the beach of the grey sea, gazing across the boundless main; he stretched forth his hands and prayed instantly to his dear mother: "Mother, seeing thou didst of a truth bear me to so brief span of life, honor at the least ought the Olympian to have granted me, even Zeus that thundereth on high; but now doth he not honor me, no, not one whit. Verily Atreus' son, wide-ruling Agamemnon, hath done me dishonor; for he hath taken away my meed of honor and keepeth her of his own violent deed."

So spake he weeping, and his lady mother heard him as she sate in the sea-depths beside her aged sire. With speed arose she from the grey sea, like a mist, and sate her before the face of her weeping son, and stroked him with her hand, and spake and called on his name: "My child, why weepest thou? What sorrow hath entered into thy heart? Speak it forth, hide it not in thy mind, that both may know it."—"*The Iliad of Homer*," *p. 12.*

So the twain went along the shore of the loud-sounding sea, making instant prayer to the earth-embracer, the Shaker of the Earth, that they might with ease prevail on Aiakides' great heart. —*Ibid*, *p. 166.*

And she was called Alkyone of her father and lady mother by surname in their hall, because her mother in the plight of the plaintive halcyon-bird wept when the far-darter Phoebus Apollo snatched her away. By her side lay Meleagros, brooding on his grievous anger, being wroth by reason of his mother's curses; for she, grieved for her brethren's death, prayed instantly to the gods, and with her hands likewise beat instantly upon the fertile earth, calling on Hades and dread Persephone, while she knelt upon her knees and made her bosom wet with tears, to bring her son to death; and Erinnys that walketh in darkness, whose heart knoweth not ruth, heard her from Erebos.—*Ibid*, *p. 178.*

(2) **Maron, Priest of Apollo.**—Now I had with me a goatskin of the dark wine and sweet, which Maron, son of Euanthes, had given me, the priest of Apollo, the god that watched over Ismarus. And he gave it, for that we had protected him with his wife and child reverently; for he dwelt in a thick grove of Phoebus Apollo.—*Homer's "Odyssey," p. 140.*

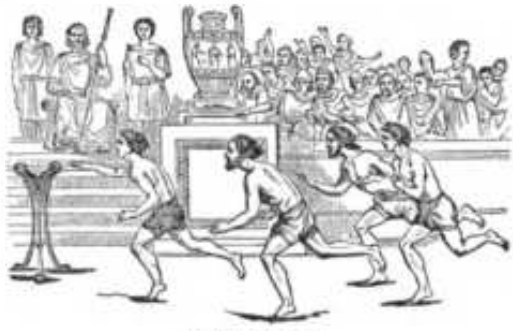
(3) **Chryses, Priest of Apollo.**—So said he (Agamemnon), and the old man was afraid and obeyed his word, and fared silently along the shore of the loud-sounding sea. Then went that aged man apart and prayed aloud to King Apollo, whom Leto of the fair locks bore: "Here me, god of the silver bow, that standeth over Chryse and holy Killa, and rulest Tenedos with might, O Smintheus! If ever I built a temple gracious in thine eyes, or if ever I burnt to thee fat flesh of thighs of bulls or goats, fulfill thou this my desire; let the Danaans pay by thine arrows for my tears. —"*The Iliad of Homer*," *p. 2.*

(4) **Access to Temples.**—Voted! Not to permit any stranger to offer sacrifice in the Heraion; the neokaros is to see that this is enforced, and exclude them; if he does not, let him pay ten sacred drachmae each day to Hera. This note is to be inscribed before the doors, and the neokorai are to see that this is enforced.—"*Dittenberger Sylloge*," *p. 358.*

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10. FORMS OF WORSHIP.

Religious worship in Greece was connected with certain specified days, as well with definite localities. The Athenians boasted that they were the most religious people of Greece because they observed more sacred days than any other people. Certain days of every month were sacred, the seventh to *Apollo*, the fifth to the *Erinyes*, if Hesiod's statement (Erg. 802) be true also of Athens, and the great festivals of the gods increased the number to approximately the number of holy days observed by the Christian church. In speaking of particular gods, we have mentioned some of the elements that entered into the worship of these days. Athletic games were a very ancient method of honoring the Greek gods, and the forms of the athlete were transferred to the types of the gods themselves. Music was a constant element in worship. Processions were accompanied by music, worship at the altar took the form of song and dance, the prayer that accompanied sacrifice was commonly a hymn of praise and supplication; even the contestants for prizes in music were often bound to sing or play in praise of the god. The drama was a development of *Dionysos*-worship, nor were its religious origin and meaning ever forgotten. Processions and splendid pageants were an important element in worship. They were an exhibition of the glory of the god, as well as an indication of man's desire to serve the god. The central point of worship, however, was the festal sacrifice.



Athletic Games.

It is a fair assumption that the pious Greeks recognized the gods whenever a domestic animal was slain for food. Certainly, when the farmer killed his own stock, he burned certain parts to the gods, just as at the great religious festivals animals were slain as a sacrifice, and parts of them were consumed by fire; and it is probable that the pious Athenian would have felt scruples about the use of flesh bought from a butcher had not similar rites been observed. (Such flesh was therefore "food offered to idols," I Cor. 8:4.) Thus it is true that the sacrifices were feasts, and also that at every feast the flesh had been in a sense consecrated to the gods. The religious occasions for sacrifice included, first, the recurring feasts of the gods; secondly, the fulfilment of vows made in time of danger, and thirdly, times when the help of the gods was specially needed, as before a battle or a journey. The animals chosen for the sacrifice must be in every way sound. Farther than this, the choice of the animal and its age depended on the particular god to whom it was offered, *Poseidon* preferring bulls, *Apollo* young lambs, *Athena* heifers, and *Dionysos* goats.

In preparation for the sacrifice the offerers clothed themselves in fresh garments and put on wreaths as for a feast, and the animals were adorned with flowers and garlands. The procession brought the animals, together with the implements of sacrifice, to the altar, barleycorns were scattered on the altar and on the animal, and a lock of the animal's hair was thrown into the flame. Meantime all present observed silence, while music of flutes accompanied the prayer-hymns to the gods. The animal's throat was cut—in the case of oxen, after they had been stunned by an axe or club—and the blood was either allowed to flow on the altar, or collected in a vessel and poured on the altar. Parts of the entrails were burned on the altar, with fat to help the flame; and after it was entirely cut up, the thigh bones, and in particular localities other parts also, were burned to the gods. All present joined

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in pouring libations of wine on the altar to the music of hymns and of flutes. The remainder of the flesh was roasted and eaten by priests and offerers in sacrificial meal, with farther libations to the gods. On great festal occasions large numbers of victims were slain, and thus the worship culminated in a general feast to the gods. (1)

Other minor sacrifices may be briefly mentioned. Whenever men were eating or drinking, libations of wine mixed with water were poured out to the gods. In Homer we read many times of libation and prayer, especially before men set out on some important undertaking. Special libations also are offered to the dead and to the gods beneath the earth. In the simple worship of the household, flowers, fruits, and cakes are placed on altars for the gods. In spite of the general preference for animal victims, there were some shrines to which they would be a profanation, and at these men offered fruits or sacred cakes. Again, as the use of incense was introduced into Greece, and men enjoyed its fragrance in their own houses, it came to be used both at the feasts of the gods and in the regular temple ritual.



Sacrifice to Athena at a wedding.

Votive offerings, *anathemata*, form a class by themselves, to which the name sacrifice is not strictly applicable. They were devoted to a god in memory of some distinct blessing that had been received. The sick man, on regaining health, would dedicate an image of the part that had been diseased—a foot or an ear, it might be—and many of these offerings have been recovered by excavation. After returning from a journey, offerings were brought to the gods. Thus upon the successful return of the ten thousand, a sum of money was dedicated, a part of which Xenophon later used to found a shrine in Elis for the Ephesian Artemis. Trophies won in the games were often devoted to the gods; *e.g.*, the tripods received as prizes in the dramatic contests at Athens were set up as votive offerings. Slaves were dedicated to a divinity, to be his servants; later, this became a regular method for the manumission of slaves, in which cases they received the protection of the god, though no regular service was required of them. It was always customary to dedicate to a god small copies of his temple image, or of the animal that was his symbol, however we may interpret this usage. Finally, the *anathemata* included religious taxes, or revenues which were dedicated by states to their patron divinities.

It is not always easy to determine the religious content of this worship. Votive offerings are the simplest to explain, for clearly they express the worshiper's desire to honor the god by a gift, just as a subject would honor his king by bringing him a gift of value. Libations, cakes, fruits, etc., were also gifts, not valuable in them-

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selves, but nevertheless the correct offering when ancient custom declared that they were what the god wanted then and there of his servant. The last statement applies equally to all sacrifices; viz., they were the right way to express one's desire to honor the god, because they were the way prescribed by tradition. Nevertheless we can analyze somewhat more closely the religious sentiment expressed in the sacrificial feast. The banquet still binds together those who share it, so that it is used by all sorts of associations to arouse a sentiment of union; and among many races this bond has in itself something sacred. Moreover, the banquet has a direct effect on the disposition, which we express by saying that it kindles "good feeling." The physical stimulus of meat and wine is very powerful on human nature. The sacrificial banquet bound Greek worshipers together, and awakened on each occasion a new feeling of union with one another and with the god they worshiped. It was the god who gave the banquet to entertain his worshipers; he was himself present at the sacrifice, so that those who shared it gained a sense of communion with him. The very physical stimulus of the banquet was utilized to produce religious feeling. It was combined, however, with other stimuli, which prevented the sentiment from becoming gross or material.

The splendid procession, solemnly bearing the image or some symbol of the god, the music on some theme consecrated by long use in worship, the artistic surroundings of the perfect temple and statue embodying religious ideals in form for the eye to see them—all these combined to stir the aesthetic nature of this people and to give fitting expression to the feelings which they aroused. The study of Greek worship indicates clearly that religion appealed to the artistic side of the Greek nature, and that it met any reaching toward God by the perfect forms of its manifold art.

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10. FORMS OF WORSHIP.

(1) **Sacrifice to Athena.**—For truly this is none other of those who keep the mansions of Olympos, save only the daughter of Zeus, the driver of the spoil, the maiden Trito-born, she that honored thy good father too among the Argives. Nay, be gracious, Queen, and vouchsafe a goodly fame to me, even to me and my sons and to my wife revered. And I in turn will sacrifice to thee a yearling heifer, broad of brow, unbroken, which man never yet hath led beneath the yoke. Such an one will I offer to thee, and gild her horns with gold.

Thus he spake, and lo, they all hastened to the work. The heifer she came from the field, and from the swift, gallant ship came the company of the great-hearted Telemachus; the smith came holding in his hands his tools, the instruments of his craft, anvil and hammer and well-made pincers, wherewith he wrought the gold; Athene, too, came to receive her sacrifice. And the old knight Nestor gave gold, and the other fashioned it skillfully, and gilded therewith the horns of the heifer, that the goddess might be glad at the sight of her fair offering. And Stratius and goodly Echephron led the heifer by the horns. And Aretus came forth from the chamber bearing water for the washing of hands in a basin of flowered work, and in the other hand he held the barley meal in a basket; and Thrasymedes, steadfast in the battle, stood by, holding in his hand a sharp axe, ready to smite the heifer. And Perseus held the dish for the blood, and the old man Nestor, driver of chariots, performed the first rite of the washing of hands and the sprinkling of the meal, and he prayed instantly to Athene as he began the rite, casting into the fire the lock from the head of the victim.

Now, when they had prayed and tossed the sprinkled grain, straightway the son of Nestor, gallant Thrasymedes, stood by and struck the blow; and the axe severed the tendons of the neck and loosened the might of the heifer; and the women raised their cry, the daughters, and the sons' wives, and the wife revered of Nestor, Eurydice, eldest of the daughters of Clymenus. And now they lifted the victim's head from the wide-wayed earth, and held it so, while Peisistratus, leader of men, cut the throat. And after the black blood had gushed forth and the life had left the bones, quickly they broke up the body, and anon cut slices from the thighs all duly, and wrapt the same in the fat, folding them double, and laid raw flesh thereon. So that old man burnt them on the cleft wood, and poured over them the red wine, and by his side the young men held in their hands the five-pronged forks. Now, after that the thighs were quite consumed, and they had tasted the inner parts, they cut the rest up small and spitted and roasted it, holding the sharp spits in their hands.

Meanwhile she bathed Telemachus, even fair Polycaste, the youngest daughter of Nestor, son of Neleus. And after she had bathed him and anointed him with olive oil, and cast about him a goodly mantle and a doublet, he came forth from the bath in fashion like the deathless gods. So he went and sat him down by Nestor, shepherd of the people.

Now, when they had roasted the outer flesh, and drawn it off the spits, they sat down and fell to feasting, and honorable men waited on them, pouring wine into the golden cups. But when they had put from them the desire of meat and drink, Nestor of Gerenia, lord of chariots, first spake among them.—*Homer's "Odyssey," pp. 43-4-6.*

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11. WORSHIP IN TIME OF NEED.

Nowhere is the objective character of Greek religion more apparent than in its attitude toward sin. The normal worship that has just been considered has been called *mechanical* because it proceeds on the supposition that, if man offers food and other objects to the gods, then the gods will grant him prosperity; it may more truly be called *social*, in that theoretically man honors the gods as he would honor a human ruler, and regards divine blessings and the divine rule as he would regard the rule of a righteous king. If, however, the student uses the word social, he should not forget that the social relations between man and god in Greece must be conceived as far broader and far more intimate than those between man and any human king.

In such a religion it is impossible that the sense of sin should occupy a fundamental place. It was not indeed difficult or unusual for men to incur the displeasure of the gods. But what impressed the Greek was the judicial side of the matter, the fact that disaster followed wrong-doing as its penalty. (1) No stress was laid on repentance; the Greek gods found no satisfaction in extreme self-humiliation; the wrong was conceived as in the outward act, not so much in the disposition from which the act sprang, so that the only remedy lay in the practice of certain outward rites by which at length divine favor might be regained.



Niobe.

The origin and motives of wrong-doing were carefully analyzed in Greek poetry. (2) It was the presumption of Agamemnon that incurred the wrath of *Artemis*, his ambition which led him to appease her wrath by the sacrifice of his daughter that he might lead the expedition against Troy. The ambition and lust of Aigisthos led him to marry Agamemnon's wife and to slay the king on his return. Pride, becoming presumption, brought severe penalty on such heroes of Greek legend as Marsyas and Niobe. The two great moral thoughts of Greek tragedy are: that sin breeds sin as its penalty; (3) and that laws sometimes conflict so that the observance of higher law makes one subject to the penalty of another law (*cf.* Orestes, Antigone).

Thus the supplicant did not pray for forgiveness of inward guilt, but sought immunity from the penalty of sin in the same spirit that he asked the divine help in evils which he had done nothing to bring on himself. Of the rites by which individuals sought to soothe the anger of the gods and escape disaster we know but little. When in peril at sea or in battle, men sought protecting favor by vows of sacrifices to be paid if they survived. Before a journey they sacrificed to *Hermes*, the traveler's god, and to their own family gods, to prevent disaster. In sickness they vowed sacrifices to some patron deity or hero, or had sacrifices performed in their behalf to some god of healing, such as *Paian* or *Asklepios*.

Sophocles gives us a picture of the rites by which a city sought relief from the plague. (4) An embassy is sent to Delphi to learn what should be done, and meantime processions kindle sacrifices on all the altars of the city. In time of extreme need even human sacrifices were practiced, though rarely, in the hope that the anger of the gods might be satisfied by one victim instead of many. It was the regular practice to offer sacrifices before battle and before an expedition set out from home, and the will of the god was ascertained from the appearance of the victim. The victims for sacrifice in time of calamity or of peril were not always domestic

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animals, as in the case of ordinary sacrifices, but dogs, asses, wild animals, and birds were also occasionally offered. Nor was the ritual of sacrifice the same; for apparently libations were omitted, the animal was slain in a slightly different manner, and its body was completely burned. At such times men could not seek communion with the gods, but by peculiar sacrifices sought to avert their wrath.

These sacrifices were offered not only to the great gods that ordinarily protected a city, but particularly to the special gods of each locality—the gods closely connected with the soil, and the so-called heroes. The gods of the soil were worshiped mainly by the peasantry, and often represented an older type of deity than the Olympian gods of the ruling classes. To the peculiar rites of such worship men turned in time of need, when the customary forms did not seem efficacious. The *hero* may be defined as a god worshiped only in a limited locality, and with no place among the Olympian gods of mythology. Often they too were old gods whose worship continued only in one place, so that they were reduced to the rank of local spirits. The myths about some of these gods were taken up in the Greek epic, where the term hero (*herōs*) had something of its English meaning; the general use of the term, however, in literature as well as in religion, had to do simply with local divinities. The worship of heroes filled a large place in practical religion. Not that cities celebrated great feasts in their honor, though such was sometimes the case, but for a smaller group of worshipers the hero was more of a real divinity than were the gods themselves. Calamity was attributed to the anger of some hero who had been neglected; and on the other hand, special blessings were expected from their favor. Like the saints of Europe, they stood much nearer the worshiper than the great state gods; they sympathized better with his needs, and so he paid them a truer worship.



Sophocles.

Closely related in form to the sacrifices in time of need (*sphagia*), which have just been considered, were the rites of purification for murder and for sacrilege. In the Homeric poems there is no trace of these sacrifices. In later times the murderer must flee out of the land, and, unless the murder were accidental, he could never return. If, however, the act were unintentional, he must first seek purification in a foreign land. The man who conducted the rites slew some animal, preferably a young pig, and applied its blood to the murderer, after which its body was burned and other sacrifices were offered to the gods. Before engaging in certain religious rites, *e.g.*, in the mysteries celebrated at Eleusis, it was also necessary for the individual to purify himself with the blood of a young pig. In contrast with this, the impurity which came from contact with the dead required only ceremonial washings to set it aside.

If it were a city that demanded purification, the rites were far more complex. It was first necessary to remove the cause of impurity, as the graves were all removed from the island of Delos, or again as the Alkmaionidai were all driven from Athens before the city could be purified from their sacrilegious act. In the latter instance, we read, the next step was to bring black and white sheep to the altars where the sacrilegious murders had been committed; there they were released, and wherever one lay down it was sacrificed on the spot to the god in whose precinct it was. A human sacrifice is also mentioned by some writers. By these means the city was purified and the plague was stayed.

Thus by water and by blood, as in special cases by different herbs or by burning sulphur, the taint of evil was removed, and men might again expect favor from the gods.

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II. WORSHIP IN TIME OF NEED.

(1) Sin Punished by Erinyes.

Come, then, let us form our chorus;
Since 'tis now our will to utter
Melody of song most hateful,
Telling how our band assigneth
All the lots that fall to mortals;
And we boast that we are righteous;
Not on one who pure hands lifteth
Falleth from us any anger,
But his life he passeth scatheless;
But to him who sins like this man,
And his blood-stained hands concealeth,
Witnesses of those who perish,
Coming to exact blood-forfeit,
We appear to work completeness.
—"*Tragedies of Aeschylos*," *p. 309.*

(2) Divine Law and Human Pride.

STROPHE. I.

Chorus. O that 'twere mine to keep
An awful purity,
In words and deeds whose laws on high are set
Through heaven's clear æther spread,
Whose birth Olympos boasts,
Their one, their only sire,
Whom man's frail flesh begat not,
Nor in forgetfulness
Shall lull to sleep or death;
In them our God is great,
In them he grows not old for evermore.

ANTISTROPHE. I.

But pride begets the mood
Of wanton, tyrant power;
Pride filled with many thoughts, yet filled in vain,
Untimely, ill-advised,
Scaling the topmost height,
Falls to the abyss of woe,
Where step that profiteth
It seeks in vain to take.
I ask our God to stay
The labors never more
That work our country's good;
I will not cease to call on God for aid.

STROPHE. II.

But if there be who walketh haughtily,
In action or in speech,
Whom Righteousness herself has ceased to awe,
Who shrines of Gods reveres not,
An evil fate be his
(Fit meed for all his evil boastfulness),
Unless he gain his gains more righteously,
And draweth back from deeds of sacrilege,
Nor lays rash hand upon the holy things,
By man inviolable:
Who now, if such things be,
Will boast that he can guard
His soul from darts of wrath?
If deeds like these are held in high repute,
What profit is't for me
To raise my choral strain?

ANTISTROPHE. II.

No longer will I go in pilgrim's guise,
To yon all holy place,
Earth's central shrine, nor Abæ's temple old,
Nor to Olympia's fane,
Unless these things shall stand
In sight of all men, tokens clear from God.
But, O thou sovereign Ruler! if that name,
O Zeus, belongs to thee, who reign'st o'er all,
Let not this trespass hide itself from thee,
Or thine undying sway;
For now they set at nought
The worn-out oracles,
That Laos heard of old,
And king Apollo's wonted worship flags,
And all to wreck is gone
The homage due to God.
—"*Tragedies of Sophocles*," *pp. 32-34.*

(3) **Sin Breeds Sin.**—Laos begets a son contrary to the command of the oracle, and this son slays his father and marries his mother, which sin of Oedipus bears fruit in the conflicts of his sons, till his house is overthrown.



Aeschylos.

(4) Supplicatory Rites.

Œdipus. Why sit ye here, my children, youngest brood
Of Cadmos famed of old, in solemn state,
Your hands thus wreathèd with the suppliants' boughs?
And all the city reeks with incense smoke,
And all re-echoes with your hymns and groans;
And I, my children, counting it unmeet
To hear report from others, I have come
Myself, whom all name Œdipus the Great—
Do thou, then, agèd Sire, since thine the right
To speak for these, tell clearly how ye stand,
In terror or submission; speak to me
As willing helper. Heartless should I be
To see you prostrate thus, and feel no ruth.
Priest. Yea, Œdipus, thou ruler of my land,
Thou seest our age, who sit as suppliants, bowed
Around thine altars, some as yet too weak
For distant flight, and some weighed down with age,
Priest, I, of Zeus, and these the chosen youth:
And in the market-places of the town
The people sit and wail with wreath in hand,
By the two shrines of Pallas, or the grave,
Where still the seer Ismenos prophesies.
For this our city, as thine eyes may see,
Is sorely tempest-tossed, nor lifts its head
From out the surging sea of blood-flecked waves
All smitten in the ripening blooms of earth,
All smitten in the herds that graze the fields,
Yea, and in timeless births of woman's fruit;
And still the God, fire-darting Pestilence,
As deadliest foe, upon our city swoops,
And desolates the home where Cadmos dwelt,
And Hades dark grows rich in sighs and groans.
—*Ibid., pp. 3-4.*

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12. CONCLUSION:—GENERAL CHARACTER OF GREEK RELIGION, AND ITS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.

It is the work of religion to explain the world in its spiritual meaning as science explains it from the purely intellectual side.

In the first place, Greek religion furnished a spiritual interpretation of nature. The nature side of most of the greater gods has been so obscured that we cannot be confident what it was; indeed, in many instances, we cannot be quite sure that they ever did represent powers of nature. We do know, however, that the Greek peopled all nature with spiritual beings; the hills and the woods, the rivers, the sea, the winds he regarded as the expression, in each instance, of a life like his own, only superior. Thus he felt a kinship between all that was useful, beautiful, wonderful, terrible, in nature and his own spirit. The world was made intelligible and human by religion; to use the happy phrase of a recent writer, religion made man at home in the world. In such a world not only could his mind work freely and use the objects of nature with confidence, but the spiritual side of his nature could also expand. For the Greek gods were not merely personified powers of nature, but full and complete persons, with the emotions and passions of man, so that a broad spiritual relation connected them with man. Man felt himself also to be a part of nature, and the deification of his own powers—his love in *Aphrodite*, his intellect in *Athena*, his warlike impetuosity in *Ares*—contributed farther to "make him at home in the world."

Secondly, Greek religion met man's needs directly by creating beings which watched over particular phases of his life and activity. *Sosipolis*, *Orthopolis*, *Alalkomeneis* were "city-protecting divinities"; *Auxesia*, *Phytos*, *Phorbas*, gods of growth, as *Erichthonios*, "earth-breaker," was a god of ploughing; *Mylas*, *Himalis*, *Alphito* were named from the grinding of the wheat, *Iatros* and *Paian* from their aid in healing; *Taraxippos* kept the charioteer's horses from fright, and *Telesidromos* brought them speedily to the goal of the race. Such gods find no distinct place in the Greek pantheon, although as *Kourotrophos*, "child-nurturer," became one phase of *Demeter's* being, so many of these special gods were in a manner taken up into the great gods of Greece. And these gods, like the divinities of nature, furnished an environment for the development of man's spiritual nature.

Thirdly, the social order was reflected in the world of the gods. All the elements of civilization and of culture were taken up into the Greek gods, so that they became the embodiment of all that was truly Greek, the concrete expression of the excellencies, and the faults also, of Greek life. The gods were so closely connected with the state that patriotism received the sanction of religion; art and literature became all but religious modes of expression; and at length philosophy made the daring attempt to re-create the gods—an attempt that was logical enough, for the gods were what man had made them, but yet it was necessarily all-destructive. The result of the intimate relation between Greek culture and the Greek gods was a peculiar sympathy between god and worshiper. Greek religion not only brought order into the world, but this order was along the lines of every-day Greek life, and it responded to every act of the individual, intellectual, aesthetic, or distinctly religious. As the natural world developed the body and the senses, so the divine world was a home for man's spirit.

With all its beauty and all its harmony with Greek culture, Greek religion had many weaknesses. In fact, its chief weakness lay along the very line of its strength. The gods were so truly Greek that they copied the frailties of the Greek nature all too well; these ideals of generous, beautiful life lacked the moral fibre of a sterner race; moreover, Greek religion was rooted in the past, so that popular worship, holding to traditional rites, could not rise to the idea of the gods which it had itself suggested. At length it could no longer satisfy religious thought and the needs of

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the religious life, so that the time was fully ripe for the introduction of Christianity.

Greek religion fulfilled its mission and in large measure disappeared. Estimated historically: 1. It prepared the way for the introduction of Christianity; 2. Its sacred places and sacred rites exercised a direct influence on Christianity; and 3. It offered a permanent contribution to the development of religion.

I. When Christian missionaries came preaching that the world was lost in wickedness, and that men needed salvation (*sōtēria*) both for this life and for the life to come, it was a familiar message to their Greek hearers. Earnest minds in Greece had been seeking just this *sōtēria* for centuries. A sense of spiritual need had been developed which neither Greek religion nor Greek art nor Greek philosophy could entirely satisfy; and what the Greeks had ignorantly sought, that Christianity declared unto them. A conception of God had been wrought out that was infinitely beyond any Greek god; poets and philosophers entertained a firmly-rooted belief in the righteous government of the universe and in a moral law at its foundation; Greek worship taught men to look to the gods for communion and sympathy only to disappoint them, for their gods were not equal to what men sought in them. These needs and these ideals were met by Christianity, and the new religion found a rich soil in the remains of an earlier growth.



Ruins of the Temple of Victory, Athens.

II. Although Greek religion disappeared, many features of it remained and were taken up into Christianity. Many local shrines were consecrated to the use of Christianity. The very Parthenon became at length a Christian church. Heroes and gods of local worship in many instances continued to be, and still are, worshiped as Christian saints. Some of the old feasts and processions, especially the processions by which help was sought in time of need, became consecrated to Christian use. The old mystery rites were consistently fought by Christian leaders, but we can see that before they entirely disappeared the Christian sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper had come to be celebrated somewhat as the mysteries were celebrated, simply because the mysteries had done so much to define the ideas of solemn ritual for the Greek mind. Thus there were many threads of connection between the old worship and the new. (1)

III. Certain phases of religion were developed in Greece more perfectly than they had been developed before, and the modern world still has something to learn from Greece along this line: *a*. Greece developed the human side of religion to a high degree. Human experiences were reflected in the divine world so that men might feel a peculiar sympathy with their gods. The gods were in closest touch with human life in all its phases. Their life was in the life of men; the work of the farmer and the smith, the experiences of the traveler by land or sea, the daily life of the market, the activity of the state—all this was the sphere of Greek religion. It made all of life brighter and better by lending to it a spiritual side. This was not peculiar to Greek religion, but it was attained by Greek religion perhaps better than

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by any other. *b.* In Greece the aesthetic side of religion was developed more perfectly than anywhere else. The type of divine life, like the type of human life, was formed according to an aesthetic standard. A fine sense for beauty, harmony, and proportion was idealized in religion, and through the medium of religion it worked the more effectively upon human life. Religious rites were moulded by the same Greek spirit, and much of their power lay in their appeals to the sense for beauty. A religion of beauty helped to make life beautiful; Christianity is indebted to Greece for what we have learned and what we may yet learn from that development of religion on the aesthetic side.

12. GENERAL CHARACTER OF GREEK RELIGION, &c.

(1) Greek Influence on the Christian Sacraments.—The first point of change is the change of *name*.

So early as the time of Justin Martyr we find a name given to baptism which comes straight from the Greek mysteries—the name "enlightenment" (φωτισμός, φωτίζεσθαι). It came to be the constant techical term.

The name "seal" (σφραγίς), which also came both from the mysteries and from some forms of foreign cult, was used partly of those who had passed the tests and who were "consignati," as Tertullian calls them, partly of those who were actually sealed upon the forehead in sign of a new ownership.

The term μυστήριον is applied to baptism, and with it comes a whole series of technical terms unknown to the Apostolic Church, but well known to the mysteries, and explicable only through ideas and usages peculiar to them. Thus we have words expressive either of the rite or act of initiation, like μυησις, τελετή, τελείωσις, μυσταγωγία; of the agent or minister, like μυσταγωγός; of the subject, like μυσταγωγούμενος, μεμνημένος, μυηθείς, or, with reference to the unbaptized, ἀμύητος. In this terminology we can more easily trace the influence of the mysteries than of the New Testament.

The second point is the change of *time*, which involves a change of *conception*. Instead of baptism being given immediately upon conversion, it came to be in all cases postponed by a long period of preparation, and in some cases deferred until the end of life. The Christians were separated into two classes, those who had and those who had not been baptized. And Basil gives the custom of the mysteries as a reason for the absence of the catechumens from the service. As if to show conclusively that the change was due to the influence of the mysteries, baptized persons were, as we have seen, distinguished from unbaptized by the very term which was in use for the similar distinction in regard to the mysteries—initiated and uninitiated, and the minister is μυσταγωγός, and the persons being baptized are μυσταγωγούμενοι.

The full development or translation of the idea is found in the great mystical writer of the fifth century (Dionysius the Areopagite), in whom every Christian ordinance is expressed in terms which are applicable only to the mysteries. The extreme tendency which he shows is perhaps personal to him; but he was in sympathy with his time, and his influence on the Church of the after-time must count for a large factor in the history of Christian thought. There are few Catholic treatises on the Eucharist and few Catholic manuals of devotion into which his conceptions do not enter.

I will here quote his description of the Communion itself: "All the other initiations are incomplete without this. The consummation and crown of all the rest is the participation of him who is initiated in the thearchic mysteries. For though it be the common characteristic of all the hierarchic acts to make the initiated partakers of the divine light, yet this alone imparted to me the vision through whose mystic light, as it were, I am guided to the contemplation (ἐποψίαν) of the other sacred things." The ritual is then described. The sacred bread and the cup of blessing are placed upon the altar. "Then the sacred hierarch (ἱεράρχης) initiates the sacred prayer and announces to all the holy peace; and after all have saluted each other, the mystic recital of the sacred lists is completed. The hierarch and the priests wash their hands in water; he stands in the midst of the divine altar, and around him stand the priests and the chosen ministers. The hierarch sings the praises of the divine working and consecrates the most divine mysteries (ἱερουργεῖ τὰ θειότατα), and by means of the symbols which are sacredly set forth he brings into open vision the things of which he sings the praises. And when he has shown the gifts of the divine working, he himself comes into a sacred communion with them, and then invites the rest. And having both partaken and given to the others a share in the thearchic communion, he ends with a sacred thanksgiving; and while the people bend over what are divine symbols only, he himself, always by the thearchic spirit, is led in a priestly manner, in purity of his godlike frame of mind (ἐν καθαρότητι τῆς θεοειδοῦς ἕξεως), through blessed and spiritual contemplation, to the holy realities of the mysteries."

Thus the whole conception of Christian worship was changed. But it was changed by the influence upon Christian worship of the contemporary worship of the mysteries and the concurrent cults. The tendency to an elaborate ceremonial which had produced the magnificence of those mysteries and cults, and which had combined with the love of a purer faith and the tendency towards fellowship, was based upon a tendency of human nature which was not crushed by Christianity. It rose to a new life, and, though it lives only by a survival, it lives that new life still. In the splendid ceremonial of Eastern and Western worship, in the blaze of lights, in the separation of the central point of the rite from common view, in the procession of torch-bearers chanting their sacred hymns, there is the survival, and in some cases the galvanized survival, of what I cannot find it in my heart to call a *pagan* ceremonial; because, though it was the expression of a less enlightened faith, yet it was offered to God from a heart that was not less earnest in its search for God and in its effort after holiness than our own.—*E. Hatch, "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church," pp. 295-7, 303-4, and 309.*

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SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE.**—The goddess of agriculture, The Homeric hymn to Demeter, Worship at Eleusis, Its rapid development, Demeter the mother goddess.
8. **DEVELOPMENT OF BELIEF IN THE FUTURE LIFE.**—Contrast of savage and Homeric view, Forms of burial at Athens, Hero ancestors, The new belief in the future.
9. **GREEK WORSHIP.**—Local institutions, Importance of the local shrine, Stages in the history of Greek religion, The sacred precinct, The altar, The temple, Priests.
10. **FORMS OF WORSHIP.**—Sacred days, Elements of worship, The sacrificial feast, Libations, Votive offerings, Religious content of this worship.
11. **WORSHIP IN TIME OF NEED.**—Relation of god and man, Greek sense of sin, Rites for relief, Heroes, Rites of purification.
12. **CONCLUSION. GENERAL CHARACTER OF GREEK RELIGION, AND ITS PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF RELIGION.**—Greek religion furnishes a spiritual interpretation of nature; created gods that watched over man's special needs; social order reflected in world of the gods. It prepared the way for the introduction of Christianity; its rites influenced Christian worship; it made a permanent contribution to the history of religion.

QUESTIONS.

7. *What is the relation of Demeter to the earth? To the grain? Give the story of Demeter and Persephone in the Homeric hymn. How may we use the hymn as evidence for the worship of Eleusis? What were some of the scenes represented in the mystic drama? What religious effect did this have on the spectators? Account for the rapid growth in importance of the mysteries. What were the three important phases of Demeter worship?*

8. *What is the belief as to the future among uncivilized races? What is the ordinary epic view of the future life? What traces of soul-worship are found in the epic? Why has soul-worship so little prominence in the epic? Describe the form of burial at Athens. What is the meaning of the ceremonies? Did the worship of hero-ancestors arise from soul-worship? What influence on the belief as to the future did the worship of hero-ancestors have? What is the new belief as to the future, and what its probable source?*

9. *What is the connection between religious and social groups in Greece? What is the importance of localities in determining worship? Describe the different stages in the development of Greek religion. What is the origin of the local shrine? What forms did it assume in historic times? How was sacred land used? Describe Greek altars. What were the essential features of the Greek temple? How was it used? How did the Greek priesthood differ from most other priesthoods?*

10. *What was the Greek substitute for the Sabbath? What different elements entered into worship? Was animal food always connected with a sacrifice? What were occasions of sacrifice? On what did the choice of the animal depend? Describe the preparations for a sacrifice, and the forms of the sacrifice itself? How were libations used? How did incense come to be used? What was the importance and meaning of votive offerings? What was the religious meaning of the sacrificial meal?*

11. *Describe the normal relation between a man and his god. How did the Greek notion of sin differ from ours? What were some of the motives to which sin was traced? What did the individual do to escape the results of sin? What did a city do under the same circumstances? What was the place of hero-worship in Greek religion? How did the hero of the epic differ from the hero that was worshiped? What called for purification, and by what means were men purified?*

12. *What was the relation between the greater Greek gods and nature? What was the effect of nature-gods in determining man's relation to nature? Describe the gods who presided over special functions? What is the relation between Greek civilization and the Greek gods? What are some of the weaknesses of the Greek gods? In what three ways did Greek religion influence the later development of religion directly? How far did Greek rites influence Christian worship? What is meant when we call Greek religion an aesthetic form of religion?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *How far can the parallel between Persephone and the seedcorn be carried? Trace the history of the mother ideal from Greek religion into Christianity.*

2. *What is the effect of belief in the greater gods on the belief in the supernatural power of souls? (Cf. American Journal of Theology, July, 1897, "Conception of the Future Life in Homer.")*

3. *What ought to be the influence of a sacred place on worship? What was the result for Greek religion of its conception of the priest?*

4. *What was the character of the relation between god and man which was cultivated by Greek worship?*

5. *Read the Agamemnon of Aeschylos or the Oedipus the King of Sophocles, and formulate the conception of sin which you find expressed.*

6. *How far does religious worship utilize aesthetic helps today? How far ought it to use them? Should those elements which Christianity adopted from Greek religion and Greek thought be weeded out or retained?*

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Ruins of Tombs on the Appian Way, near Rome.

THE ROMAN RELIGION.

BY

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13. THE GODS OF HEAVEN.

THE Romans, like all their kindred races, inherited from their Indo-Germanic forefathers the germs out of which their own religion grew; nature-worship, ancestor-worship, animism, totemism—all were there, developed in Italy's peculiar way and involved in Rome's minute legal ritualism. While the Greek religion, in accordance with the character of the people, developed in the direction of beauty, poetry, art, humanity, the Roman religion, in accordance with the character of that people, developed in the direction of the practical and formal, of law and politics. The old Roman was wholly lacking in poetry and imagination; he was too serious, too devoted to "business"; and so, while we have a distinctively Roman religion, we have no Roman theogony, cosmogony, or mythology, until these were imported from Greece. (1)

The Romans distinguished their own divinities as Gods of Heaven, Gods of Earth, and Gods of the Underworld, and in that order let us consider them.

The Romans had originally no system of (twelve) Great Gods; and when we find such a system formulated, it is due to Greek influence. The first mention of Twelve Great Gods in Italy was contained in the Sybilline Books; and even in Greece such a grouping is comparatively late, for it is not known in Homer. From the precedence of the different priests in Rome we discover that the greatest deities were, in the order of rank, *Janus*, *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Quirinus*, *Vesta;* and so the general form for prayers begins with *Janus* and ends with *Vesta*. According to that, the highest god of Rome was originally not *Jupiter*, but *Janus*. This old Sun-god, as his name (derived, like *Dyaus*, *Zeus* and *Jupiter*, from *div*, "to shine") implies, was originally the Bright One; he was the "Oldest god," the "Beginning of All Things," the "Creator." In the form of prayers he is named before *Jupiter*, the Father of Lights, the Bright Sky. But these two were in nature and being so closely akin that the one must in time yield to the other; and so when *Janus* became supplanted in part by his great rival, *Jupiter*, as the protector of united Rome, he passed into story as the first king of Italy, the beginning of Italian history and tradition, while *Jupiter*, as *Optimus Maximus*, "the Highest and Best," continued as the center of the Roman state religion.

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The female counterpart of *Janus* was *Jana* (identical with *Diana*, likewise from *div*, "to shine"), the great light of the night. *Janus* and *Jana*, *Jupiter* and *Juno*, *Saturnus* and *Ops*, *Mars* and *Vesta*, *Faunus* and *Vedius*—these were the original greater gods of the Romans. (2) After the union with the Sabines, there were added the gods of the Sabines: *Quirinus*, *Sancus*, *Sol*, *Luna*, *Flora*, *Minerva* (who was only the "function" of *thinking*), and a host of abstractions like *Fortuna*, "Fortune," *Fama*, "Fame," *Fides*, "Faith," etc. From the time of Tarquin on, the three gods of the Capitoline were grouped into a great trinity, *Jupiter*, *Optimus Maximus*, *Juno* and *Minerva*, corresponding to the Homeric trinity, *Zeus*, *Apollo* and *Athena*.

Gods unmodifiedly Roman in almost every feature, and suggestive of the simple old agricultural life, were *Mars* and *Vesta*. *Mars* (*mar*, "shine, be bright"), the god of the spring-time, to whom March and April were sacred, a sun-god like the Greek *Apollo*, whose influence was now blissful, now baleful, was a great tribal god of primeval Italy, patron of agriculture, herding, colonization, war, and with the Capitoline trinity the real national god of Rome. The Latin *Mars*, with his cult upon the Palatine, was identical with the Sabine *Quirinus*, whose temple adorned the Quirinal; but when *Quirinus* became identified with Romulus, he sank into the rank of a demigod subordinate to *Mars;* and when the Hellenizing came, *Mars* was identified with *Ares*, *Quirinus* with *Enyalius*.



Fame.

His female counterpart was *Venus*, "the Lovely," the goddess of the springtime, of the gardens, of the starting buds and flowers, and the promise of fruits and increase; her later development into the goddess of feminine charms, of love and pleasure, and her identification with Aphrodite, were quite natural.

But even more deeply rooted in the patriotic hearts of the people was the worship of *Vesta*. As *Vulcan* was usually the wild, untamed, destructive power of fire, so *Vesta* (*vas*, "burn," not *vas*, "to dwell") was the beneficent, civilizing force of fire—the fundamental principal of the home life. She is the goddess of purity, and purity was the essence of her cult; and she, with (*Vulcan*) the *Lares* and *Penates*, makes up the circle of the home gods whose altar was the hearth and to whom the family prayers were addressed.

In the case of some of their gods the Romans purposely concealed their names; in the case of all the greater gods the names are so mysterious that we can gain but little help from them: *e.g.*, *Janus* and *Jana*, *Jupiter* and *Juno*, are simply "the Bright, the Heavenly Ones;" *Faunus* and *Fauna* (**fav*, "*favor*"), "the Good, the Kindly Ones." (2) With such indefiniteness and impersonality it is no wonder that the whole theology was so readily Hellenized. The god's nature was expressed only when he received an epithet or "by-name": *Jupiter Tonans* (*the thunderer*), *Jupiter Victor*, *Jupiter Stator*, *Imperator*, *Triumphator*, *Urbis Custos* (*guardian of the city*), and three hundred more by which *Jupiter* is characterized rather than understood.

All these greater gods were at first personifications of the forces of nature, but

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later they became something more. While they continued to represent the physical world, they were also busied with regulating and directing human life; they became the defenders of law and justice, bringing prosperity or adversity, rewarding the good and punishing the bad. *Jupiter* was the god of the bright skies, *Diespiter*, "the Father of Lights," but he was also the upholder of equity, on whom the stability of the state depended. The Fatherhood of God was an omnipresent thought to the Romans as they prayed to *Janus Pater*, *Ju-piter*, *Liber Pater*, *Mars-piter*, etc.

But, on the whole, the Roman gods were merely abstractions or functions, endowed with just enough personality to give them sex, but not enough to systematize them into a family or families; they were not quite personal gods, but rather divine entities (*numina*, "powers"). There was no limit to the number of such "functional deities." Every object, animate or inanimate, every idea, abstract or concrete, became endowed with a spirit of its own. The religion of Rome was a *pandaemonism*, "a belief, not in one god, pervading all nature and identified with nature, but in millions of gods, a god for every object, every act." (3) For they had a separate divinity not only for every obje t, but for every possible human action or condition or experience from the cradle to the grave.

13. THE GODS OF HEAVEN.

(1) **Greek Opinion of the Roman Religion.**—We are today much inclined to mistreat the Roman religion; it is, for example, generally accepted as fact that it was much inferior to the religion of Greece. The ancients, however, were of quite the contrary opinion. When the scholars of Greece began to study carefully the institutions of the people which had just conquered them, they were struck with the importance which was given to religion at Rome and with the manner in which it was practiced. The historians, savants and philosophers of Greece expressed a lively sympathy for the forms of worship which seem to us sometimes so puerile and so dry. The praise that Greece accords so liberally is a surprise to us. The ground for their admiration is found in the qualities their own religion lacked: the calm "piety," the dignified orderliness, the minute formalism, the political authority that governed it all, and the sense of the practical that had succeeded in turning every human force—even the most untamed and rebellious—to one single end, the greatness of the Republic.—*Gaston Boissier, "La Religion Romaine," I., pp. 29, 30.*

(2) **Horace's "Ode to Faunus."**

Faunus, lover of the shy
Nymphs who at thy coming fly,
Lightly o'er my borders tread,
And my fields in sunshine spread,
And, departing, leave me none
Of my yeanling flock undone!
So each closing year shall see
A kindling sacrificed to thee;
So shall bounteous bowls of wine,
Venus' comrades boon, be thine;
So shall perfumes manifold
Smoke around thine altar old!
When December's Nones come round,
Then the cattle all do bound
O'er the grassy plains in play;
The village, too, makes holiday,
With the steer from labor free'd
Sporting blithely through the mead.
'Mongst the lambs, that fear him not,
Roves the wolf; each sylvan spot
Showers its woodland leaves for thee,
And the delver, mad with glee,
Joys with quick-redoubling feet
The detested ground to beat.

—*"Odes of Horace," p. 179.*

(3) **The Gods of the "Indigitamenta."**—No other nation, perhaps, would have conceived of a special divine spirit, existing merely for the purpose of causing Hannibal to turn his back upon Rome when already in sight of the city. The Romans, indeed, might have given the credit of it to *Jupiter* or *Mars*, and invested him with a new attribute and built him a new temple. Instead of that, they chose to build a shrine, on the spot which Hannibal last occupied, to the *Deus Rediculus*, the god who caused the turning about. But the most remarkable illustrations of this practice are found in the "Indigitamenta," or books of religious formulæ, and other remnants of the old worship. Every act of life has its peculiar divinity. . . . There were some sixty or seventy of these, who presided over the growth of the human body alone [nine different ones before the child is born]: *Vagitanus*, who opened the mouth of the infant for its first cry; *Cunina*, who guarded the cradle; *Educa*, who taught the infant to eat; *Potina*, who taught him to drink; *Ossipago*, who knit the bones, etc. Then for husbandry there were *Nodutus*, who caused the joints of the stalks to grow; *Volutina*, who wrapped them in their leaf-sheaths; *Patelana*, who opened the wrappings, that the ear might come out in due season; *Hostilina*, who made the crop even in its ears; down to *Runcina*, who presided over the pulling of the roots from the ground. These were not strictly gods, even in the polytheistic sense of the word, but *numina*, or attendant spirits.

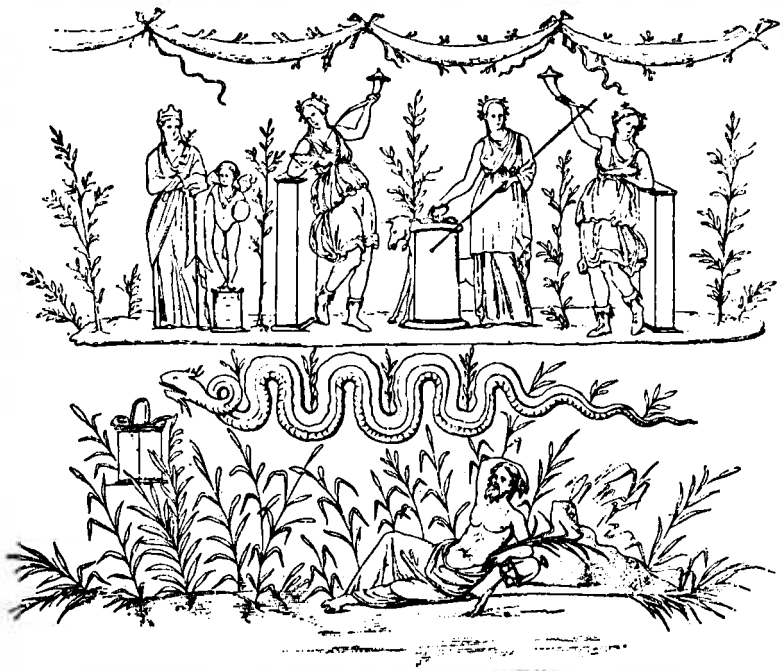
But above all—and this is the source of what is purest and noblest in the Roman religion—they delighted in recognizing the divinity that inspired every virtuous thought and act—the worship of abstract qualities. . . . *Honor*, *Pudicitia*, *Fortuna*, *Pax*, *Libertas*, and *Concordia* were among their most honored deities.—*William Francis Allen, "Religion of the Ancient Romans," North American Review, Vol. 113* (reprinted in "*Memorial Volume, Monographs and Essays*," *pp. 58, 59*).

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14. THE GODS OF EARTH.

The chief trait of the religion of Rome is this universal animism or naturism. To the Roman mind each phenomenon of nature and of life, everything that exists, abstract or concrete, seemed pervaded by its special deity, its peculiar genius. In the heavens above him he saw a powerful but distant god and protector, *Jupiter*, the Father of Lights; in the unfolding of the flower, the opening of the day, the clearing of the sky, as in the beginning of any human enterprise, he saw the working of his god *Janus*. But these great gods of heaven were remote from the heart of mankind; the people felt insignificant in their presence, and sought for humbler, more familiar deities, whom they found in unlimited numbers inhabiting the world immediately about them. (1)

Another striking characteristic of the Roman, in his religion as in everything else, was his practical, utilitarian trend. The "spirits" were everywhere about him; but the divinities of mountain or ocean were of little concern to him, as compared with the powers that might help or hinder his every act in life—the *Genii*, the *Lares* and *Penates*.



Vesta (with sceptre) and a Lar on either side.—The Genius as Serpent.

Intermediate between gods and men was the *Genius*, or Spirit, of each individual man, or object, or locality. This *Genius* was conceived as a product of deity, and at the same time the procreator of the man, now his spiritual counterpart, and again his guardian angel. The *Genius* is a divine, life-originating power, and is also, perhaps, the self-perpetuating principle of the family; in his very nature as the self-preserving and procreating principle, he belongs only to men; his symbol was originally the serpent, and he was guardian of the marriage-bed. Women had their *Junos* instead of the *Genius*. The *Genius* was, therefore, the man's own god, and to him sacrifice was offered. This made an easy step to the worship of the *Genius* of departed members of the family, which had its culmination in imperial times in the deification of the emperors.

Of kindred nature was the *Lar Familiaris* (2) or household god, whose worship formed the most important part of the religion of the home. So closely, indeed, was he connected with the idea of home that the word *lar* itself came to signify "home." The real nature of the *Lar* (or plural, *Lares*) it is hard to discover, because of the slightness of Roman tradition in regard to all their gods. (3) Not being fixed by tradition and literature, many of them changed greatly in the course of time. But the *Lar Familiaris* seems to be the presiding spirit or deity of the family. His

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are the family concerns; he goes with them, if they move. Sometimes it is one *Lar* (*i.e.*, *Lord*); but more frequently the word is plural, especially in the later period. The *Lares* are present at the family meals and are themselves served with a portion of the meat and drink. Libation and incense are their approved portion, while on holidays their images were crowned with flowers and sometimes the sacrifice of a pig was offered them. Another conception gives us the *Lares* of the family as its departed ancestors, themselves performing for it the same functions as did the *Lar Familiaris.*

Besides the *Lares* of individual families there were, closely related to them in general character, the *Lares Compitales*, worshiped in the country at every cross-road. They were the especial guardians of the neighborhood immediately around. There were two in each place, and they were honored with shrines; their worship was merry and was shared in by the poorest and humblest; slaves and their masters met there on equal terms.

Always reckoned with the *Lares* in the household worship were the *Penates*, or gods of the household goods that were stored away in the great store-chamber (*cella penaria*) of the house. The office of the *Penates* was to crown the house with blessings, to provide the daily bread. The hearth was their altar, shared with them by *Vesta* and *Lares;* and close by it stood their images—always two in number, as their name is always plural; the singular of the name does not occur. Indeed, the real name of these divinities, as the real name of the guardian genius of the Roman city, was never spoken, for fear that an enemy might hear it and win away the favor of the protecting powers.

The *Lares* and *Penates* together were the guardians of the fortunes of the individual family. But the great Roman Family, the state, had its Public *Lares* and Public *Penates*, as it had its public *Genius* of the Roman People. The Public *Lares* provided for the stability of the state as a whole; their altar was the state hearth, and their priest was the Pontifex Maximus.

In the same way, the Public *Penates* were the *Genii* who presided over the material goods of the state as a whole, the symbol of the unity and good fortune of that supreme household which included all Rome. To them the consuls, praetors, and dictators made sacrifice when they took their oath of office and again when they laid their office down.

In addition to these, we have as Gods of Earth all the rural deities, *Silvanus*, "Forest-god"; *Limpa* (or Graecized, *Lympha*), "Stream-goddess," while each forest had its own peculiar *Silvanus* and each stream its own *Limpa;* also *Terminus*, the "Boundary-god," and all the host of the gods of the *indigitamenta*, even to name whom with the signification of their names would exceed the limit of all our lessons.

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14. THE GODS OF EARTH.

(1) **The Gods are Innumerable.**—Besides, the gods are innumerable, though the list of names is not of enormous length, even in the records of the pontiffs. Have they no names?—*Cicero*, "*de Natura Deorum*," *I., p. 30.*

(2) **The Lar Familiaris Identical with the Genius.**—The *Lar Familiaris* was identical with the *Genius.* Down to Cicero's time we find *Lar Familiaris* in the singular only; after Cicero we hear of *Lares Familiares* in the plural. In the same way the *Genius* in earlier times was worshiped as *Lar Familiaris*, and later both the *Lares Compitales* had their cultus combined with the Genius by the hearth of the home.—*Marquardt*, "*Römische Staatsverwaltung*," *III., p. 125, note.*

(3) **Different Interpretations of the Lares.**—The Romans themselves did not understand the real nature of the *Lares*, and we may scarcely hope to do so. The ancient scholars were not satisfied to call them simply the guardians of the house and home, but sought to fathom the deeper meaning of these strange divinities. The efforts to explain them were put forth in two directions: On the one hand, they aimed to define the nature of the *Lares* by attempting to identify them with Greek divinities; on the other hand, they endeavored to assign the *Lares* their proper place in the circle of related beings inside the Roman religion alone. In the first-class, Cicero makes the *Lares* the same as the Greek *Daimones* (*divinities, spirits*); Nigidius Figulus is more precise, saying that they are identical with the *Curetes*, *Corybantes*, and the Idaean *Dactyls.* But neither helps to clear away the obscurity to any great extent.—*Roscher's* "*Lexikon der Griech. u. Röm. Mythologie*," *II., Col. 1888-1890.*

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15. THE GODS OF EARTH (CONTINUED). THE GODS OF THE UNDERWORLD.

But there were also greater gods of earth than these, albeit even these greater ones were only functional deities too. The old Italians were an agricultural race. They had observed the double nature of the earth, the generating and the producing powers. Accordingly the Gods of Earth appear as male and female: *Saturnus*, the God of *sowing*, and *Ops*, the Goddess of the *rich harvest*; *Tellumo*, the generating force, and *Tellus*, the conceiving, nursing power of the *Earth;* while *Ceres*, as her name implies (from the same root as *crescere*, "grow," and *cre-are*, "create"), was nothing more or less than the female productive function of Mother Earth. It was she, above all others, whom they worshiped for rich crops and increase of plant and animal wealth.



Ceres.

The sphere of the functional deities frequently became more extended. So Saturnus, who was originally god of sowing only, came to be also the god of agriculture in its widest sense. In this larger capacity he became the mythical inventor of agriculture and dwelt among men, and his reign on earth was the happy golden age. So his festival, the Saturnalia, December 17-24, marked the renewal of nature, the feast of freedom and plenty — a return to the golden age, when all human beings were free and equal and happy. It was a season of rejoicing, of feasting, and of giving gifts. No wonder that out of it grew our Christmas celebrations—dolls, candles, nuts, and all.

Ops, *Ceres*, *Tellus*, *Terra Mater*, *Dea Dia* (*the bright goddess*), *Bona Dea* (*the good goddess*), and many more are simply so many variations of the fostering Mother Earth.

The Gods of the Underworld.—As the Roman religion had no bright Olympus as home of the ever-blessed gods, so also it had no gloomy Hades with its dark, dank ways. The poets' picture of the underworld, with its rivers, its Elysium and its Tartarus, is thoroughly Greek. But the Romans did not fail to recognize the secret powers working beneath the earth, making the seed to grow, and affording an abiding place to the souls of the dead.

As the bodies of the dead were laid away in the grave, that was their dwelling-place. And from this conception of the individual grave the notion of a common home for all was naturally developed—subterranean, dark, like the grave itself. The souls of the dead were divine; they were gods, and their dwelling-place was holy, inviolate, like any other temple. But as the temple was the dwelling-place of the god, while he himself was omnipresent, so it was also with the grave and with the disembodied spirit, which dwelt, not with the body in the grave, but in the world below, moving at times also in the world above. It was universal belief that the life there was but a continuation of the life here. Accordingly, gifts of food, drink, weapons, tools, clothing, toilet-articles, and in the older times slaves and

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wives, accompanied the departing souls. Gods also they must have. And they had them—gods in form and nature as indistinct as any of those above. The only male god is *Orcus* (*Dis Pater* is foreign, and his name is but a translation of the Greek *Pluto*, the god of hidden *riches*); he is the personification of the might of death and is king of the underworld; while *Lara*, *Larunda*, *Mater Larum*, "the Mother of the Lares," *Terra Mater*, "Mother Earth," are only the motherly attendants of the souls of the dead—all of them but so many different names for kindly Mother Earth.

The well-being of the souls below depended upon the manner in which they and their gods were honored by their surviving kindred. Accordingly some worship was due those gods, but far more important were the divine honors paid to the *Manes*, the pure, the bright, the good, the disembodied souls themselves. Herein we find among the Romans an unmistakable evidence for ancestor worship. The departed soul was a god; hence the appellation *Dii Manes*, "the Bright Gods," and *Dii Parentes*, "Parental Gods."



Interior of a Roman Tomb.

Their service consisted in sacrificial offerings, (1) prayer, and in general, due meed of reverence from the surviving members of their own household; if these were withheld, horrors of the night might in consequence visit the offender, sickness and death would be his portion. Another expression of their worship is found in the great festivals in honor of the *Dii Inferi*, "Nether Gods"—the Secular Games, the *Ludi Terentini*, *Ludi Taurii*, the *Dies Parentales* (an all-souls' feast, February 13-21); and this cult was also responsible for the institution of gladiatorial exhibitions. An awful feature of their cult was the ancient *devotio*, a vow to the powers of the underworld which meant the death and total destruction of an enemy, public or private.

The counterpart of the *Dii Manes*, "the Bright Ones," were the souls which never reached the spirit-realm—souls of men whose bodies were not properly buried, of suicides, of murderers, and of the murdered. These remained on earth as ghosts and goblins, *Larvae* and *Lemures*, (2) to haunt and torment the wicked and to be propitiated by the good.

Even the good spirits could come back to earth on the great feast days of the dead, when the gates of the lower world were opened for them, and necromancy might conjure them up at any time.

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15. THE GODS OF EARTH (CONTINUED.) THE GODS OF THE UNDERWORLD.

(1) **The Offerings to the Dead.**—The offerings consisted of libations of fresh milk, the blood of black victims (kine, sheep, or swine), while the flesh of the victims was burned upon altars erected for that purpose, honey, oil, and in later times also wine; other offerings were food, especially beans, lentils, eggs, salt and broth, unguents, incense, and most frequently of all, flowers and garlands.—*Steuding, in Roscher's "Mythologisches Lexikon," II., Col. 2322.*

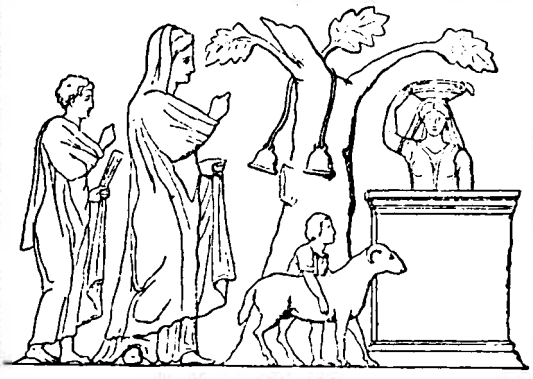
(2) **The Larvae and Lemures.**—The Larvae were conceived of as evil spirits hideous to behold, driving their victims to madness. The Lemures, who were practically identical with them, were, in consequence of the easy confusion in the spoken language between *l* and *r*, readily associated with the violent death of Remus, whose wrathful soul could not be pacified except through the institution of a festival of expiation to himself by his brother Romulus. This festival of the *Lemuria* (*Remuria*) occupied three nights, the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth of May, each year, and seems to have been originally a celebration of "all souls' day," but later the celebration took on the form of "laying" the ghosts who walked on those three nights especially.—*Paraphrased from Preller, "Römische, Mythologie," II., pp. 118-119.*

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16. TEMPLES AND PRIESTS.

At first the Roman religion had no image, no temple, and no ordained priest. The gods were spirits, approachable alike to their greatest and their humblest servants; their sanctuaries were the sun-lit mountain-tops, the devious streams, the broad forest, the familiar flame. Groves, above all, were sacred places, wherein dwelt the spirit of the god and the spirits of deified ancestors; and there the worshiper came for sacrifice, for prayer, and for holy meditation. The chief sanctuary of *Jupiter*, even in Romulus' days, was the great oak tree that crowned the Capitoline. Many of the old trees and groves continued in veneration even into the period of the empire. But all this was of the intellect rather than of the heart. The Romans' gods demanded sacrifice, not love; they did not even feed the imagination as did the Greek gods.

As the Romans knew no images of their gods for one hundred and seventy years after the founding of Rome, so they had no temples. Instead, they had symbols—stones for *Jupiter*, staves and spears for *Mars*, etc., and sacred animals (survivals of former totemism). The Roman, left to himself, had no desire to reduce his vague deity to a visible and tangible form. His god was not a man, but a *numen*, "power." But his own notion was swept away by the swelling tide of Grecian influence, and one temple only, *Vesta's*, received no image, even when Greece was plundered to furnish statues for Roman sanctuaries.



Sacrifice to a Sacred Tree.

After King Numa the Roman religion was one, not of feeling, but of form. It was not emotional, but legal: it was not for the salvation of the individual, but for the establishment of the state. Its want of story, of art, and of feeling was compensated for by a superabundance of the most minute ritual—the observance of certain rites to be performed in a certain manner at certain times and in certain places. It was not a matter of faith or creed, but of punctilious performance. The real nature of the Roman worship is suggested by the great number of religious festivals; there were more than twenty to *Mars* alone.

But the two principal expressions of worship were sacrifice and prayers, of thanksgiving and of expiation. In neither act of devotion was the mediation of a priest required. In Rome the role of the priest was very much curtailed; he was but a Roman citizen in an office to serve the state. (1) But anyone's sacrifice or prayer would ascend to heaven, if only it was offered in due form. Each individual was his own priest; the paterfamilias was priest for his household; the king—while kings lasted—was high-priest for his great household, the state. In republican times the consul offered prayer and sacrifice for his people; the priest might stand by, but the most he did was to suggest the forms to be employed. To represent the king, and under his direction, there were three Greater *Flamines*, "fire-fanners," and a *Rex Sacrorum*, "king" or "director of the sacrifices" (who once, no doubt, was the head of the whole state, political as well as religious), to superintend the worship of the greater gods, while later, as new worships were introduced, twelve Lesser *Flamens* were added. But even before the beginning of the republic the *Pontifex Maximus*, the president of the College of Pontiffs, (2) had become in place of the king a sort of cultus-minister, or pope, the head of the whole religious system of Rome.

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One of the oldest religious colleges was the sisterhood of the Vestal Virgins, who kept alive the sacred fire on the hearth of the state in *Vesta's* temple, and preserved the Roman *Penates.* Their prayers were supposed to have especial potency, and so they prayed every day for the general weal of the whole people and offered special prayers in time of public distress.

Other state priesthoods were the College of Augurs, whose business it was to discover from the flight or voices of birds whether the gods were favorable or unfavorable to any state proposal—a sort of state counsel to all public officials (3)—and the religious, close corporations of the Luperci (in the service of *Faunus*), the Salii (in the service of *Mars-Quirinus*), the Arval Brothers (in the service of the *Dea Dia*); but none of these last had any function to perform save on festal occasions connected with their particular deity. Thus there were priests enough, but the priests were, after all, officers of the law rather than of religion in our sense af the word. They dictated no creeds, preached no sermons, never tried to move the feelings of worshipers, and they could rarely mediate between an individual and his god. Their mediation was necessary only when a common sacrifice was to be made or a common prayer offered.

Everyone might offer his own sacrifice or prayer; and the Romans were much given to prayer; they prayed regularly every morning and evening, at the beginning and at the end of every meal. No sacrifice, of whatever sort, was unaccompanied by prayer. Besides this, the pious Roman prayed in private before undertaking any business of importance, and joined in the priests' prayers in public celebrations of a religious character. The assembly of the people, the meetings of the senate, the preparations for war, the public games, elections, even the theatre—all these were opened with prayer.

16. TEMPLES AND PRIESTS.

(1) **Priests also hedged about with a mass of ceremonial regulations.** — The *Flamen Dialis,* or priest of Jupiter, must be of pure, patrician birth, of parents married by the ancient ceremony of *confarreatio;* . . . he must not ride a horse, nor look upon a marshaled army, nor take an oath, nor wear a solid ring, nor a knot in any part of his clothing. His hair must not be cut except by a free man, and the cuttings of both hair and nails must be buried under a tree of good omen. He must not touch nor even name a goat, uncooked meat, ivy, or beans.—*Allen, l. c., p. 61.*

(2) **The Functions of the Pontiffs.**—The six "bridge-builders" (*pontifices*) derived their name from their function, as sacred as it was politically important, of conducting the building and demolition of the bridge over the Tiber. They were the Roman engineers, who understood the mystery of measures and numbers; whence there devolved upon them also the duty of managing the calendar of the state, of proclaiming to the people the time of the new and full moon and the days of festivals, and of seeing that every religious and every judicial act took place on the right day. As they had thus an especial supervision of all religious observances, it was to them in case of need that the preliminary question was addressed, whether the business proposed did not in any respect offend against divine law; and it was they who fixed and promulgated the general exoteric precepts of ritual, which were known under the name of the "royal laws." Thus they acquired (although not probably to the full extent till after the abolition of the monarchy) the general oversight of Roman worship and of whatever was connected with it—and what was there that was not so connected? They themselves described the sum of their knowledge as "the science of things divine and human." In fact the rudiments of spiritual and temporal jurisprudence as well as of historical reco ding proceeded from this college. For all writing of history was associated with the calendar and the book of annals; and, as from the organization of the Roman courts of law no tradition could originate in these courts themselves, it was necessary that the knowledge of legal principles and procedure should be traditionally preserved in the college of the pontifices, which alone was competent to give an opinion respecting court-days and questions of religious law. — *Mommsen, "History of Rome," I., pp. 219, 220.*

(3) **The Auspices and Divination.**—But the formal auspices which the magistrates consulted were among the most characteristic of the institutions of the state. Everything was simple and definite, and reduced to rigid rules. It was not all birds, at all times, that conveyed the will of the gods, but only certain ones, when the magistrate consulted them with well-defined ceremonies. It was to him only that the auspices were sent; the augur was but the skilled interpreter who was called in to explain phenomena, but who had no power himself to seek for the signs. This resulted from the fundamental principle that the state rested upon the divine will, as declared in the auspices. The auspices belonged to the citizens as a body—that is, to the patricians; the chief magistrate for the time being had them in his possession. . . .

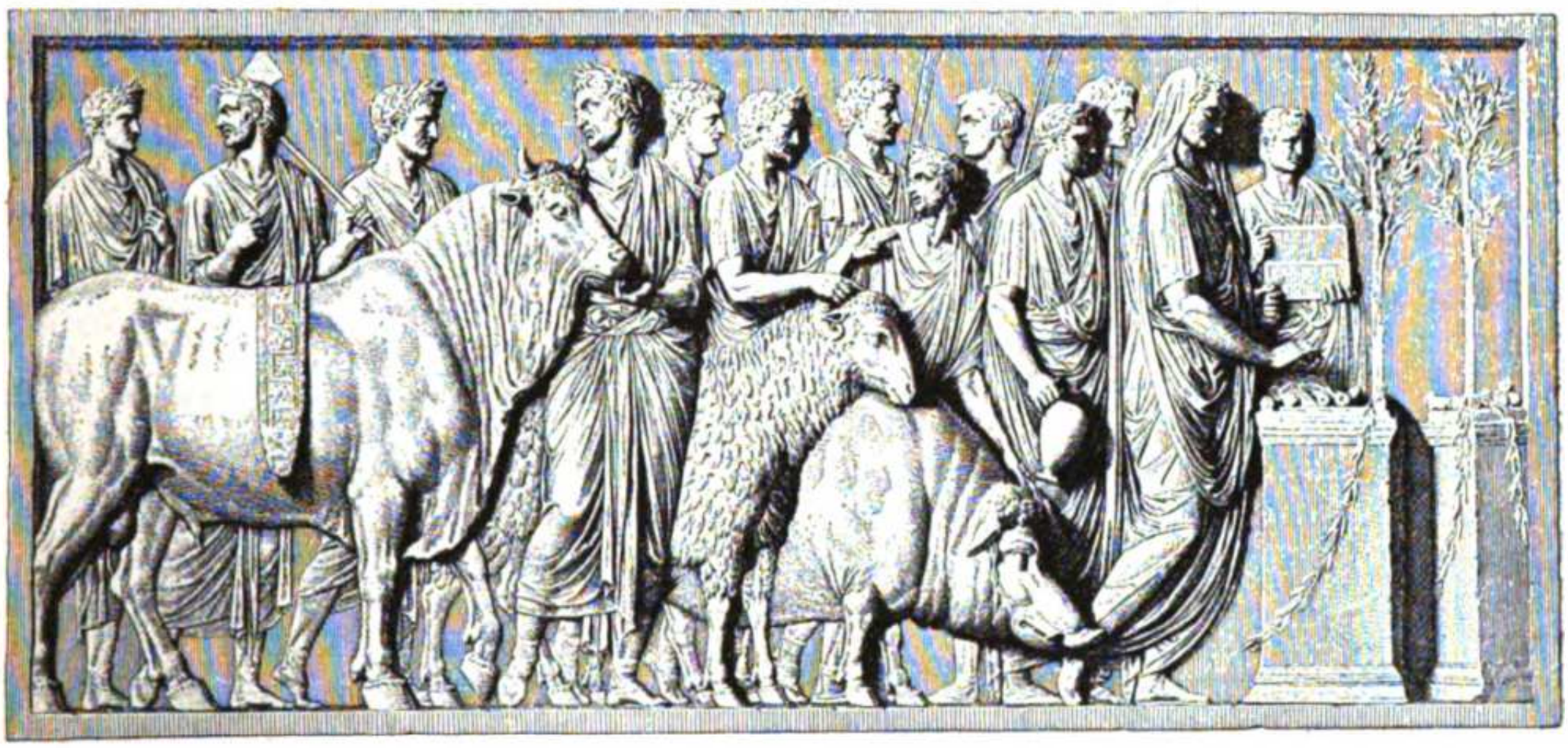
Individuals, too, could interpret for themselves the signs that came in their path, and there were many other methods of ascertaining the future besides the flight of birds, the appearance of animals, and the path of the thunderbolt.—*Allen, l. c., p. 69.*

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17. SACRIFICE AND PRAYER.

Anyone might sacrifice and pray; but every sacrifice and every prayer, to be efficacious, must conform exactly to the specifications of the religious law. When anyone had a favor to ask from heaven, he must know first just whom to ask. And that was no small difficulty; for, considering the almost countless hosts of the Roman pantheon, the most minute knowledge of the speciality of each one of the immortals and of the functions that each performed was indispensable. (1)

The worshiper must, therefore, discover not only the attributes and the specialty of the god to whom he would sacrifice and pray, but also his true name, or, at least, the one by which the god preferred to be called; for, if called by any other name, he might not hear, or, worse still, might misunderstand. So Romans never addressed a prayer without using a variety of names to improve the chances of getting the right one, adding often: "Be thou god or goddess, man or woman, whoever thou



Bull, Ram and Boar, the Sacrificial Animals.

art and by whatever name thou wilt be called." Even when they prayed to *Jupiter*, they took pains to say: "Almighty *Jupiter*, or by whatever other name thou wilt rather be called."

When all this had been accurately discovered, the next step was to know the proper form in which the prayer was to be couched. For, as in legal matters, the plea was thrown out of court, if it was not presented in proper form, so in religious affairs the slightest inaccuracy of expression or gesture would render the whole proceeding null and void, or even work the opposite of what was desired. It is a matter of record that because of some insignificant slip of the tongue or hand the same rite had to be performed again from thirty to fifty times before it was exactly correct. To be perfectly exact—and nothing else would do—demanded information not possessed by ordinary men. Therein lay the power of the pontifical guild. Its members were the attorneys and counsellors in religious law, as they were also jurisconsults. They alone had access to the names of the gods and their functions; they alone possessed the requisite knowledge of all the infinite details of worship and of the books in which were contained the forms of prayer for every occasion. These books were called the *Indigitamenta* (*indigitare*, "to point out"), because they pointed out the right gods and the right prayers to use.

The Romans' prayers were diffuse. The prayer, once uttered, was repeated over in a new form, for they could not afford to be misunderstood. Small words were

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very important; and so in serious cases of the public weal the worshiper, not daring to trust mere memory, had one priest by him to dictate the forms, another with the book to see that nothing was added or omitted, a third to guard against any profane speech, while a flute-player went up and down to drown out any profane speech that might happen to be uttered.

The Roman also carried his business principles into his religion. His prayer or sacrifice was a contract to make the god such and such return for such and such favors, and when properly uttered it was a contract binding upon both parties; the amount given the god was considered a fair exchange. It was this principle of exchange that led to the fulfilling of so many *vota*, "vows"—promises of offerings to the gods for favors to be received. Among no other people do we find this form of religious service carried so far. (2).

If all these minute conditions were met and everything performed with absolute conformity to the letter of the law, the Roman believed his prayer or sacrifice had power enough to *compel* the desired answer; there were prayers, he thought, of power enough to bring *Jupiter* himself down from heaven. Numa had done it; Tullus Hostillius had tried it, but by a slip in the form had brought the lightning down upon his own head. As to the state of mind and heart with which the Roman was to approach his god, that played no part in his religion. The most religious Roman was the one who observed most dillgently the rites and ceremonies prescribed by the Roman state. And that is what the Latin *religio*, "religion," means, "a re-selecting," "painstaking repetition" of the prescribed forms and rites; of the same root is *diligens*, *diligentia*, "exactness," "painstaking."

The same complex and minute ritual regulated the sacrifices; particular animals of specified color, age, and sex were prescribed for the various sacrifices of blood. But if the animal specified could not conveniently be found, the sacrifice of a waxen image of it satisfied the letter of the law. Human sacrifices were not uncommon in the earlier times, and were not unknown in the last days of the Republic, though this horror had been displaced by the symbolic sacrifice of human images, which satisfied the letter of the law.

On the whole, the religion of Rome was formal and cold; it suggested more fears than hopes—less still of love either from or towards its gods; while omens to be averted were everywhere. And yet this religion had its happy side—its games and its many happy festivals, with sacrifices, music, and dancing. (3) Though originally only sixty-five in number, there were at the beginning of the empire even more "holy days" (some two hundred in all) than in the "orthodox" calendar, with feasts and sacrifices, to make the idle Roman happy.

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17. SACRIFICE AND PRAYER.

(1) **Prayer and the Priesthoods.**—It was no easy matter to hold converse with a god. The god had his own way of speaking, which was intelligible only to the man acquainted with it; but one who did rightly understand it knew not only how to ascertain, but also how to manage, the will of the god, and even in case of need to overreach or to constrain him. It was natural, therefore, that the worshiper of the god should regularly consult such men of skill and listen to their advice; and thence arose the corporations or colleges of men specially skilled in religious lore, a thoroughly national Italian institution, which had a far more important influence on political development than the individual priests and priesthoods. These colleges have been often, but erroneously, confounded with the priesthoods. The priesthoods were charged with the worship of a specific divinity; the skilled colleges, on the other hand, were charged with the preservation of traditional rules regarding those more general religious observances.—*Mommsen*, "*History of Rome*," *I.*, *pp. 217-18.*

(2) **Contracts of Expiation.**—And on the contrary, when anyone has reason to suppose that a god is angry with him, he humbly begs for peace, and the man makes a contract or treaty which is binding upon both. For the man must purchase the protection of the heavenly powers by prayers and offerings, and it would be unbecoming of a god who has received a sacrifice not to respond with some favor. If they found that the god failed to stand by the conditions of the contract, the gods were abused. When the people heard of the death of Germanicus, for whose recovery they had offered sacrifices in vain, they threw rocks into the temples and overturned the statues and altars of the gods into the streets.—*Boissier*, "*La Religion Romaine*," *I.*, *p. 19.*

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18. FOREIGN INFLUENCES.

So far our attention has been directed only to those features of religious thought and expression which were genuinely Roman. The essence of the first religion of Italy was the inheritance from Indo-Germanic times. The Latins, Sabines, etc., as sister tribes, had religiously much in common; and as they all became more and more united with Rome, many compromises were necessarily made in points where their religious development had varied. (1) Numa's legislation, constitutional and religious, was evidently Sabine. Tarquin's was Graeco-Etruscan or genuinely Greek. From the Graeco-Etruscan source sprang some forms of divination, the Roman Games, the first rude temples and statues; while the genuinely Greek elements were the introduction of art and of the Sybilline Books, written in Greek and brought from the Greek city of Cumae. Herewith was planted in the soil of Rome's religion new seed that was to take possession of the entire field. These Greek oracles found a place in the new temple of *Capitoline Jupiter;* the two chief men in the college that had charge of them were native Greeks; and they were consulted by the state in times of great distress, when Rome's own religion could afford no hope and no salvation. The oracles they gave generally brought relief only through the establishment of new cults or new forms, and these, of course, were invariably Hellenic. The Sybils were priestesses and prophetesses of *Apollo.* Very naturally, therefore, the first oracle of the newly acquired Books brought to Rome the worship of *Apollo Paean,* the Healer of body, mind and soul, with all his Hellenizing influences. Then came *Ceres, Liber* and *Libera, i.e., Demeter, Dionysus* and *Persephone,* whose temple was the first built in Rome by Greek architects, and whose cultus was wholly Greek; then came also *Asclepius* with his serpent from Epidaurus, and *Cybele,* in her Hellenized form, from Pessinus. More Greek temples and temple statues, the gods in idealized human form, followed as a matter of course.



Jupiter Ammon. (From the Egyptian Amun.)

Of Oriental and Egyptian cults that came, no mention need be made. They were always "foreign" cults, of which Rome was very tolerant as long as they caused no conflicts with established forms and ceremonies. Indeed, whenever Rome took in a conquered people, she took not only its goods, but its gods as well.

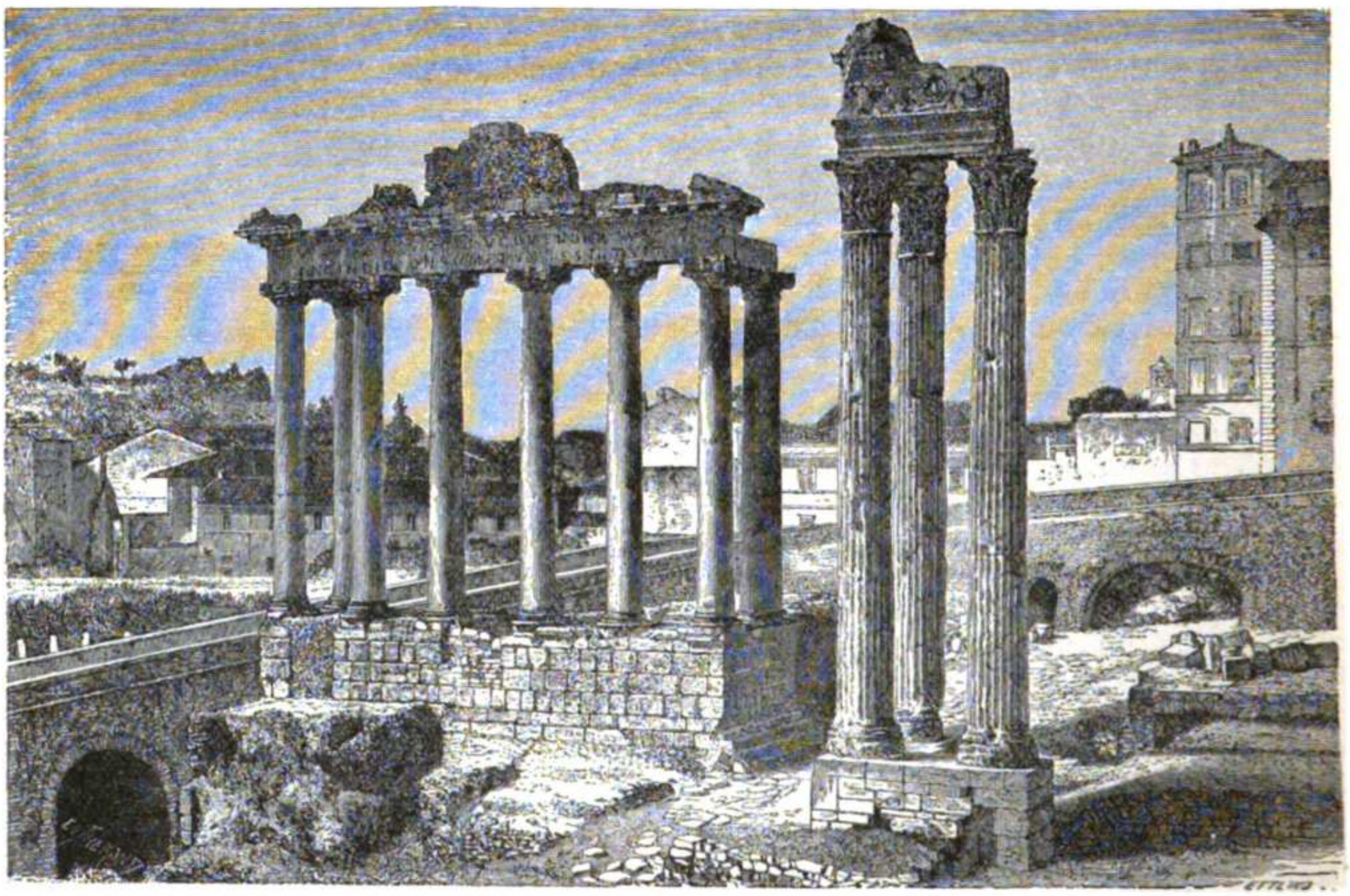
But finally came Greek philosophy; for it was from Greece that Rome learned, not only religious and theological, but also philosophical, speculation. From the time that Greek philosophy—the rationalism of Euhemerus, the skepticism of Euripides and the Pyrrhonists, the agnosticism of Protagoras and the atheism of Diagoras and Theodorus—began to affect the impressible Roman mind, the old religion began visibly to fail. The pure theism and perfect virtue of the Stoics had no attractions for the ordinary Roman. The state and its patriots, like Cato, Aelius Stilo and Varro, tried to save the old forms and usages in the interest of the Republic, but their reforms failed, because the reformers themselves did not believe in the truth of what they tried to preach. Varro himself said that the worship was ill-planned, and that, if it could be made over, it could be made better. So reformers

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confined themselves to urging the observance of the time-honored *practices;* as to personal *conviction*—the law said nothing about that, and all had equal freedom of thought.

The comic poets, Plautus especially and Lucilius, made all manner of fun of the religious notions of their contemporaries, and their audiences no doubt laughed. Polybius not only ignores Providence and Fate in the affairs of men, but even goes so far as to declare that the Roman religion was a clever invention of shrewd politicians, and he congratulates them upon their success in discovering so excellent a scheme for holding men together.

Scipio, Laelius, Lucilius, and Polybius might well as Roman citizens defend that which as men they did not scruple to attack. Those times saw no hypocrisy in such a course. Cato, himself an augur, is notorious for having "wondered how one soothsayer could meet another without smiling." And Cotta, as the great High



Interior of the Forum Romanum: Temples of Saturn and Vespasian.

Priest of Rome, believed in the gods; but, as a philosopher, he was an atheist or an agnostic. A magistrate, in the function of his office, should show a proper attitude toward the existing laws; he must to a certain extent put down his own likes and dislikes and beliefs and perform what the law dictates.

The masses did not lose their religion so soon as the educated Romans, (2) but they did early lose everything but the forms, and to those they clung out of patriotic motives only. They sacrificed to gods in whom they did not believe; they went through archaic formulae that had no longer any meaning; their rites had lost significance; the very science of taking the auspices was forgotten in Cicero's day, except for purposes of political intrigue; their temples fell into ruins; the contents were plundered and the lands appropriated for private ends; they had forgotten who many of their gods were—Veiovis, and the Lares even—and the divine names became a subject for archeological study instead of worship. Even that which

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they borrowed from Greece proved to be only shadow, not substance. One last effort Augustus made to save the religion of his fathers, but in vain; it was left a broken and empty vessel for Christianity to fill. And the Roman religion perished as Varro had prophesied it would, "not by opposition from without, but by the indifference of its own adherents."

18. FOREIGN INFLUENCES.

(1) Relation of Rome to Foreign Worship.—As the Roman gods ruled over the Roman community, so every foreign community was presided over by its own gods; but sharp as was the distinction between the burgess and nonburgess, between the Roman and the foreign god, both foreign men and foreign divinities could be admitted by resolution of the community to the freedom of Rome, and when the citizens of a conquered city were transported to Rome, the gods of that city were also invited to take up their new abode there.—*Mommsen," History of Rome," I, pp. 206-207.*

(2) Insufficiency of the Old Religion.—The old Roman religion could not satisfy the new needs and longings of this new Roman people, because it had neither elasticity nor sympathetic power. It fell short as well of the intellectual demands of the time.—*Allen, l. c., p. 82.*

THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **THE GODS OF HEAVEN.**—Character of the Roman religion as compared with the Greek, Greater gods, Gods of the Indigitamenta.
14. **THE GODS OF EARTH.**—Spirits, Utilitarianism, Genius, Lares, Penates, Gods of forest and fountain, Indigites.
15. **THE GODS OF EARTH CONTINUED. GODS OF THE UNDERWORLD.**—The Greater gods of earth, Saturn, Ceres, Conception of the world to come, Ancestor-worship, Devotion, Ghosts and goblins.
16. **WORSHIP—PRIESTS.**—Nature of the earlier worship, Want of temples, Religion of ceremonies, Relation of priest to people, Pontiffs, Augurs, Vestal virgins, Occasions for prayer.
17. **WORSHIP—PRAYER AND SACRIFICE.**—Difficulties, Importance of correct form of address, Power of the pontiffs, Nature of prayer, Business principles, Power in prayer, Definition of religio, Literalism, Games.
18. **FOREIGN INFLUENCES.**—Combinations of Latin cults, Numa's institutions, Tarquin's innovations, The Sybilline Books, Hellenizing of Rome, Effects of Greek philosophy, Attitude of the different classes to religion, Its end.

QUESTIONS.

13. *What elements go to make up the Roman religion? How was it different from the Greek? Who were the principal gods, and what did each originally signify? What was the most marked characteristic of the Roman religion? What did the Greeks think of it? What do we think of it?*
14. *What was the difference in nature between the Gods of Heaven and the Gods of Earth? Explain the Genius, the Juno. Describe the Lares and Penates. What were the Public Lares and Penates? What was the relation of the Public Penates of the Roman City to those of Alba Longa and Lavinium?*
15. *Who were the greater Gods of Earth? What was their nature and what the significance of their names? How did the Roman conception of the Underworld originate? Who were its gods? What was the life there? Who might not enter? How and when was return possible? What was the nature of Roman Ancestor-Worship? What offerings were made? What was the Devotio?*
16. *What was the earliest manner of worship? Was the genuine Roman religion idolatry? Trace its transformation. What was the position of the Roman priest? What priesthoods were there? Describe the duties of Augurs, of Vestal Virgins. What forms of divination were employed?*
17. *What difficulties stood in the way of efficient prayer? What was necessary to secure an answer? How was Roman worship like Roman law? Wherein lay the power of the Pontiffs? What was the character of the prayers? How great was their faith? What were the qualities of the Roman religion? What was its greatest strength? What its greatest weakness? Describe its dark side; its bright side.*
18. *What did Numa and Tarquin add to Roman religion? What were the Sibylline Books? Who was the Sibyl? What did the Books do for Rome's religion? What were the first Greek cults introduced into Rome? What were the effects of Greek letters and Greek philosophy on Roman religion? What were the causes of the decadence of the Roman religion? What efforts were made to save it?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Read Mommsen, History of Rome, Chapter XII.*
2. *Compare the worship of the Gods of Earth with modern Saint-Worship.*
3. *Compare the Latin conception of the Underworld with Homer's (Od. XI.), Vergil's (Aen. VI.), Dante's, Milton's, and the Roman Ancestor-Worship with the Chinese.*
4. *Compare the office of the Priest in Rome with the corresponding position in the ancient Greek religion and in the Christian Church?*
5. *Compare the ritualism of the Roman religions law with that of the Mosaic law.*
6. *How did the Roman religion prepare the way for Christianity, and what is the relation of the Roman to the Christian Religion?*

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TEUTONIC AND KELTIC RELIGIONS.

BY

CHANTEPIE DE LA SAUSSAYE, D.D., Professor of the Science of Religion, University of Amsterdam, Holland.

19. TEUTONIC AND KELTIC PEOPLES.

THOSE parts of the Indogermanic family that wandered farthest to the West and to the North of Europe were the Kelts and Teutons. These tribes did not make their appearance in history at once, but only by successive raids on Southern Europe did they come into full historical view. Several centuries before our era, Kelts had already left their stamp upon Iberic Spain. Under Brennus they almost took the capitol of Rome; they penetrated into Greece and settled in Asia Minor (Galats); even in the times of such a powerful Roman general as Marius combined German and Keltic hordes (the Kimbrs and Teutons) were dangerous to Rome. It is interesting to remember these repeated attacks of successive centuries. They were the prologue of the great migration period, which in ordinary histories does not begin until 378 A.D. Of course before and a long time after that date, for long centuries, the settled condition of civilized life was an exception in Europe north of the Alps, apart from a country so completely under Roman sway as Gaul.

Partly owing to this state of things, partly owing to our scanty means of information, we can draw no certain line of demarcation between the various tribes, not even between Teutons and Kelts. These tribes had no fixed boundaries; they were numerically rather small and covered very thinly the vast plains, besides being constantly at war with each other. Originally the cradle of the Teutons must have been the land between the Oder and the Vistula, the Kelts covering all the western and most of the southern countries. But gradually the Teutons moved westward; in Cæsar's time they had already made the Rhine a loose boundary between themselves and the Kelts.

With Cæsar our fuller knowledge of things Keltic and Teutonic begins. In the period of the Roman empire we must carefully distinguish between Keltic Gaul, that was an organized province, wholly subdued to the Roman rule and culture, and on the other side the barbaric Teutonic tribes in Germany. These latter were not nomadic, but still only semi-settled; amongst them an established kingdom, as that of Marobod over the Marcomans, was an exception, the rule being that a powerful chieftain, *e.g.*, Arnin the Cherusk, could not succeed in founding a lasting empire.

During several centuries these Teutonic peoples had no literature of their own. Their letters, the Runes, are of Roman origin, and were for a long time used chiefly for the purpose of divination. So our knowledge of the ancient Teutons is derived mainly from Roman sources. We know the history of the Roman sway over Ger-

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many, the province stretching along the borders of the Rhine, with lines of fortifications eastward, reaching the Elbe. The defeat of Varus (9 A.D.) marks the date when the Romans were stopped on their conquering way to the East.

We are fortunate enough to possess in the works of Tacitus, in his Annals and Histories, but above all in his treatise on Germania, an account of the position, the life and the religion of the Germanic tribes. Tacitus, who was an officer in Germany, gives very full and accurate information of what he ascertained himself, besides what he heard from others. He is always to be trusted as to his truthfuluess, even when he reports of countries more out the way, but where Roman trade and travel did occasionally penetrate. So, *e.g.*, in his account of the Nerthus festival in an isle of the ocean, which must have been either Rügen or Danish Zealand, where seven tribes met, pledged to a religious truce in order to celebrate the rites of a common religion, and thus instituted something like the Greek amphiktyony. Although the style of Tacitus is colored by the rhetorical taste of his time and his thought by the antithetic comparison between the corruption of Roman civilization and the simple, moral life of German tribes, we can fairly well separate the facts from the Roman interpretation of them.



Tracing of Later Runes Illustrating the Eddaic Songs and Volsunga Saga. Ramsund Rock, Södermanland, Sweden.

Moreover, we must bear in mind that the narrative of Tacitus gives a true account of his own time, but not of a few centuries later. During these following centuries the fighting on the "*limes*" of the Rhine and of the Danube continued; in that struggle Marcus Aurelius was engaged, as well as two hundred years after him Julian, before he became the Apostate emperor. Through this war of several centuries not only the physical and moral strength of both the Roman and the Germanic peoples was nearly exhausted, but there was besides a constant intercourse, a regular infiltration and mixture of German and Roman blood.

19. TEUTONIC AND KELTIC PEOPLES.

(1) Names and Divisions of Peoples. — It is always hard to trace the original meaning of ethnographic names. The name German is assumed to be given to the people by their Keltic neighbors, as the name Scandinavia has come from the Lapps. There is danger of misunderstanding, because Teutonic (*deutsch*) and Germanic (*germanisch*) are used with a different meaning by German and by English scholars. German scholars as a rule use *Germanisch* for the whole family (including Scandinavian and Anglo Saxon) and *deutsch* in the narrower sense of what belongs to Germany, but J. Grimm often uses *deutsch* for the more comprehensive idea. In English the sense of the word is just the reverse: *German* denotes the narrower, *Teutonic* the wider circle; but here, too, there are exceptions; for instance, F. B. Gummere writes on Germanic origins in a general sense. As to the original meaning, it is curious to note that very likely Teuton was the name of a Keltic tribe on the Main.

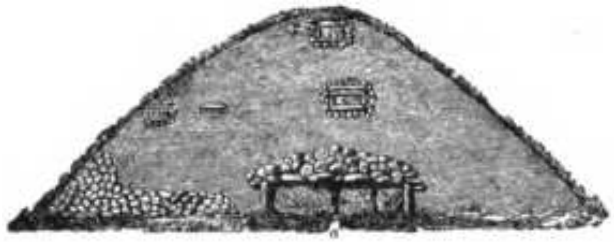
The position and division of the single tribes is for the most part hypothetical; the only means of ascertaining them is supplied by the geographical names. The division of Tacitus points to Islaevones on the Rhine, Ingaevones in the North.

Runes.—The word *run, raunen*, "to mutter," has itself the signification of mystery, incantation, and only later did it get the sense of "sign, letter." Since the recent researches, chiefly of Wimmer and Bugge, it is certain that the runic alphabet (futhark) included originally twenty-four signs, the shorter one of sixteen letters being of later date, and that the signs themselves were of Roman origin. Much labor has been given to the explanation of Runic inscriptions, chiefly in England and Scandinavia.

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20. THE EPIC STORIES FROM THE PERIOD OF THE MIGRATION.

From olden times the Germanic tribes sang songs about their heroic ancestors. Tacitus already mentions these old poems. In the Anglo-Saxon genealogies we see that the princely families trace their origin back through a series of heroes to a god, Voden; and so did the princes of other peoples too. History carried with it a great amount of epic lore, as is conspicuous in the Longobardian history of Paulus Diaconus, abounding in heroic legends and poetic tales. So we can pick up in different parts of the Teutonic world, even among the Scandinavians whom we leave for the present out of sight, a great many heroic tales. Here we confine ourselves to the cycles centering round some great figures, and supplying the materials for several long epical poems and a still greater number of shorter ballads. The history of this poetry is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of medieval literature. This epic poetry has a historical background. For the northern seafaring Teutons, the Anglo-Saxons, Danes and Norsemen, this background was the adventurous life on the seas, as we find it in the Hilde-gudrun, and in the Beowulf poems. But for the Germans this historical background is the period of the great migration. No heroic lore of older time about Arnin or other chiefs has come down to us. All the heroes of the epics, so far as they have been real people, lived in the struggle of the great migration. So the two Ostrogothic kings: Ermanarich, who ruled over his people when they lived in Southern Russia, and who is said to have died of terror at the first approach of the Huns at the end of the fourth century, and the great Theodorich, who founded the mighty but short-lived kingdom in Italy, in the sixth century, and who is the Dietrich von Bern, Thidrek of the epics. In the same way the great chief of the Huns, Attila (Etzel, Atli), has become an epic hero. The overthrow of the Burgundian kingdom, near Worms, by these same Huns in the fifth century, has passed into the Nibelungen story. The subject of the Walthari story is how a young Germanic warrior and a maiden of royal blood, kept as hostages by the Huns, contrived to make their escape through many dangers. A young Merovingian prince, accused of being of bastard descent and persecuted by his two brothers; that is the historical kernel of the Hug-and Wolf dietrich story. King Rother in a disguise wooing a king's daughter in a foreign land; this story, with other names, we read in Paulus Diaconus' Longobardian history.



Burial Mound Containing Stone Coffin, and Four Stone Cists.

It is, nevertheless, not Euhemerism pure and simple that provides the key to the understanding of these heroic tales and epics. We spoke only of a historical *background;* neither the persons nor the series of events are kept distinct in their historical surroundings. Times and peoples and situations are intermingled. This is owing first to the transference of these tales to peoples far remote from the time and the scenery of their origin. Anglo-Saxon poems of the eighth, and a Latin epic of the tenth or eleventh centuries, tell us how in the fifth century the Aquitanian Walther and the Burgundian maid Hiltgund escaped from Etzel and had to encounter Hagen in the Wasgenwald (Vosges). The Nibelungen story is presented to us in several forms; the most famous, being one of the latest, is the medieval Nibelungen epic, but in the meantime the same story had migrated by different ways into the Scandinavian north, and lived there in a cycle of poems of the Edda and in different legends, so it cannot surprise us that the tales were altered in the most unexpected ways. In the times of the breaking up of old tribes and forming of new

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peoples, when medieval Europe was shaped, one people borrowed these stories from another, and so there is no unbroken line, no direct succession between the first poet who may have constructed the loose incidents into one story and the much later generations which gave it a new frame. So Ermanarich and Theodorich, in reality severed by more than one and a half century, became contemporaries. Dietrich himself was made the representative of many trials his people had to suffer long before or after his own age. The same Dietrich played a part in the catastrophe of the Nibelungen; the Eddic form associated even Jormunreh (Ermanarich) with this story. Later, times, too, left their representative figures or features in the stories; thus, for instance, in the Nibelungen the very sympathetic figure of Rüdiger of Bechlaran, in history as in character belonged to the late Middle-ages; and thus in Wolfdietrich and in the Rother story the oriental scenery reminds us of the period of the crusades.

We have till now only mentioned *historical* connections. And it is indeed necessary to point at the historical foundation of the heroic and epic lore of the Middle ages. But the mythical part must not be overlooked. Ortnit, whose story is interwoven in that of Wolfdietrich, is for the greater part mythical, Wieland the clever workman, altogether so. So are essential parts of the Nibelungen plot: the treasure of gold blended with the curse, the maiden or Walkyre to be won by the ride through fire or thorns, the demonical race who covet the gold and kill the hero. Of course it is not a god who is here hidden in the figure of the hero, Siegfried; but some of the most simple formulas of elementary nature myths have here independently taken flesh and blood in the heroic myth and are combined with the historical legend.

Another point of view of no less interest is that of the moral ideas, the standard of life and character embodied in the epical poetry. Much has been said on this subject already, especially by Uhland. In general we may ascribe to the former centuries the fundamental tragic conception, the deep sense of unavoidable fatality; that feeling of the period of the migration has its expression in most of the epic stories. The idea of fidelity, which is so paramount in the epics, belongs more to the medieval world of later time. Christian elements are fewer than we should expect; in the Nibelungenlied they are more in the external circumstances; the queens are going to church, a child is baptized, and so on, but there are none at all in the whole of the plot.

20. EPIC STORIES FROM THE PERIOD OF THE MIGRATION.

(1) Sources of our Knowledge of the Siegfried (Sigurd), Wolsungen, and Nibelungen Legends. —These belong to three families: *1. The Northern:* Seventeen of the heroic songs of the poetic Edda, interwoven with prose summaries, treat of the Wolsungensaga. In the prose Edda a part of Skaldshaparmmal tells this story. The whole of it is told in the Wolsungasaga. Characteristic of this family of sources is that it covers a far wider field than the German tradition. The story of Sigurd's ancestors and of the treasure is here in the foreground. More or less connected with the main story is that of Atli and of Jormeenreh (in Hamdismal). The Eddic lays here alluded to do not form a cycle; they are from different parts and of very unequal value. There is in the Codex Regius a great hiatus between two of them, which is compensated for to a certain extent by the prose narration of Wolsungasaga. On the whole the northern sources show us the tradition in different forms; and so it is not unlikely that the story has been imported to the north more than once.

2. The High German.—This family is represented chiefly by the Nibelungenlied, compiled from smaller "Lieder," as is recognized by most scholars after Lachmann, and brought in its actual form about 1200 A.D. to Austria. Here we have a unity, although the two parts (the first ending with the murder of Siegfried) are only loosely connected. Much that is necessary to understand the formation of the saga is here left out of sight; but the poetic value of the tragic mood and the vivid scenery in the first part, and of the characters of Kriemheld, Hagen, Ründiger, stands on the highest level of medieval production. Besides this great epic we have to mention the nearly contemporary *Nibelungenklage*, and the *Siegfriedslied*, this last a product of the "Spielmannsdichtung" in Rheinfranken.

3. The Low German. The Nibelungen story was known too in the Saxon countries, but no original productions from this sphere have come to us. This form of the tradition must, however, not be neglected, for it provided northern writers with materials. We find it in some old Danish Kaempeviser and in the Norse Thidreksaga.

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21. THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

The German kingdoms founded on the ruins of the Roman empire took possession not only of the Roman territory, but also of a great deal of classical culture. So in Spain, in Italy, and most of all in Gaul, where the Frankish population amalgamated with the Gallo-Roman society and received from it not only its language, but most of its institutions. Exactly the reverse was the case in England. The Romans were settled in the isle for three and one-half centuries, and left there notable traces of their rule; but Britain had never been in any way a center of culture as Gaul was, and gradually the Romans had loosed their hold on this out-of-the-way province. When the Anglo-Saxons came there, called by an ill-advised British chieftain, they drove the Christian Britons before them to the North and West and founded states of comparatively pure nationality; the conquest was not as is generally the case, the blending of two nationalities, but the displacement of one by another.



A Viking Warrior.

The Anglo-Saxons ruled for more than six hundred years (449-1066) in England. For nearly one hundred and fifty years they were still heathens, but their Christianity was imported in two very different ways, from Ireland, and directly from Rome, the latter carrying at last the victory. For several centuries the freer Irish Church and the Papal Church of England sent to the continent the best missionaries; and the British Isles were still in the Karolingian period in France the seat of the best learning of the time.

The Anglo-Saxon kingdoms had to fight for several centuries the hosts of invaders which constantly appeared from Denmark; in the midst of these struggles stands the heroic figure of the great Alfred, and at the end the great empire of the Danish kings, Svein and Kanut, who succeeded in uniting the Danish and the Anglo-Saxon element. When, a few generations later, the Normans from Normandy conquered England, there was no feeling of the still real tie of kinship between these invaders and the Danes and Saxons they subdued.

A very rich Anglo-Saxon literature has come down to us. In England the use of Latin had not absorbed the thought and feeling to so great an extent as elsewhere. It is true that the most famous name amongst the Anglo-Saxon men of letters is that of the venerable Bede, whose works are in Latin and whose very keen interest for his nation is almost entirely limited by his ecclesiastical standpoint. In consequence of these limitations he tells us far less than we should wish about the pagan period. But, nevertheless, the vernacular literature flourished. We know not only the names of poets and authors, but we possess many of their works. The greatest reputation was won by the illiterate Kaedmon, who received poetry by inspiration, by the scholar Aldhelm, whose Latin works are still extant, but who was also a master of Anglo-Saxon poetry, by Kynewulf, the greatest of all, by King Alfred himself, who translated several Latin books into the national tongue. We pass over many notable relics of Anglo-Saxon writing, the genealogies already mentioned in Lesson 2, the magical incantations, the codifications of law, several smaller epic lays, to mention only the great poem of Beowulf.

This great epic is of the least mixed Teutonic origin, more free than any other from foreign influence; only occasionally are there traces of Christian influence.

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The epic tells us a story with a great many episodic tales inserted. It is very difficult to distinguish between the traditions already living among the Anglo-Saxon tribes before they left their original home in Denmark and the figures and stories that originated in England. Certainly a great deal of the subject-matter in the tales of Sceaf, Beav, of the Geats, and so on, belongs to the former part and is clearly of continental origin. But the historic Hygelac, whose descent upon the Frisian and Dutch coast took place in the beginning of the sixth century, and many stories besides, point to periods after the settlement in England. As it is, this epic, too, brings many semi-historical records about the ancient tribes and their ancestors. But the mythical element is still greater than in many other tales, and the history itself is more that of tribes and peoples than of real historical persons. On the whole, critical labor, though done with great care and cleverness by some of the best scholars, has not yet given as clear results as in the Siegfried-Nibelungen cycle. But still the Beowulf epic is of great value. It is the great poem of the seafaring Teutons of the North, and at the same time it is the first really great poem of English literature, an epic of the sea and of man's fierce struggle with elementary forces. (2)

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21. THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

(1) **The Vikings.**—From what is told in the text it appears that long before the time of the Northern Vikings of the end of the ninth century the same sort of expeditions had taken place. Of course, the coming of Hengist and Horsa to England, the expedition of Hygelac and others, are as much Viking raids as those of a few centuries later. The Vikings proper came from Norway or from Denmark. They plundered not only the shores with their much dreaded *furor Normannorum*, but they settled in England as well as in Ireland, in Normandy and elsewhere. Specially through the work of Norse and Danish scholars, the history of this Viking-period is now far better known than before.

The Beowulf Epos contains in two great divisions the story of the hero's struggle with Grendel and Grendel's mother, his fight with the dragon and his death. The story of the swimming race with Breka is no more than an episodic tale like so many others. We give here a few characteristic samples from this epic, taken from the English translation, quoted in *F. B. Gummere's "Germanic Origins."*

(2) Beowulf's Burial Mound.

Bid the battle-famed build me a mound,
bright after bale on a brow of the coast;
this as a token to tribes of mine
on Whale-Headland high shall tower,
by ocean-wanderers ever called
Béowulf's Barrow, when back from far
they drive their keel, o'er the dusky sea.

—*F. B. Gummere, "Germanic Origins," p. 312.*

Burning and Burial of Beowulf.

Then the wounden gold on wain was laden
—'twere ill to count it!—and th' ætheling borne,
hoary hero to Hronës-Ness.
Folk of the Jutes then fashion'd there
on the earth a pyre imperishable,
hung with harness and helms of battle,
with breastplates bright, as he begged them once.
In the midst they laid their mighty chieftain,
warriors wailing their winsome lord.
Then on the mountain a mighty pyre
the warriors wakened: the wood-smoke rose
swart o'er the red glow, roaring flame,
mingled with moaning (the wind was whist),
till the heat had broken the house of bones,
melt in its bosom. Mourning-hearted
they moaned the sorrow, a master's death.
Likewise the widow, a woful song. . . .

* * * * * *

Then the Weder people wrought anon
on the cliff a barrow broad and high,
by ocean farers easily seen,
and within the tide of ten days built
the bold-one's beacon, *by burnt out pyre*,
and wrought them a wall, as worthiest seemed
to wisest men who weighed the matter.
Then they put in the barrow bracelets and rings,
all the treasure taken before
out of the hoard by the hero-band.
They left earl's riches for earth to hold,
the gold in ground, where again it lies
useless to men as ever it was.
Then round the barrow brave men rode,
sons of æthelings, twelve in all,
would moan their misery, mourn the king,
say their sorrow, and speak in laud,
praise his prowess, his powerful doing,
worthily laud him, as well beseemeth
men to praise their master-friend,
heartily love, when hence he goeth
from life of the body forlorn away.
So mourn'd their master the men of Jutland,
fall of the hero his hearth-companions,
counted him of the kings of earth,
of men the mildest and most beloved,
to his kin the kindest, keenest for praise!

—*Ibid, pp. 333-5.*

The Haunt of Grendel.

A dismal land,
wolf-haunted cliffs and windy head-lands,
fen-ways fearful, where flows the stream
from mountains gliding 'neath gloom of the rocks,
underground flood. Not far is it hence,
by measure of miles, that the mere expands,
and o'er it the frost-bound forest hanging,
sturdily rooted, o'ershadows the wave.
In the dark of night is a dread to see,
fire on the waters: no wight so brave
of the sons of men who will search that flood!

—*Ibid, p. 476.*

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22. SKALDIC AND EDDIC POETRY.

In the seventeenth century, the Bishop Bryniolf found in Iceland the MS. of the Eddic songs. Since that time the origin and character of these songs have been very often disputed. On one side the most fantastic views about the antiquity and the value of these relics have been advanced, and on the other theories have been built trying to prove them to be the patchwork of a very late period, hardly to be considered as a source of our knowledge of Teutonic mythology. Although this last view has still representatives of very great authority (Bugge the foremost of them, and besides several of the newer German scholars), it seems that as well in the Scandinavian North as in Germany (in the School of Müllenhoff) a more historical method of treatment prevails today, assigning to these poems their true place. The best starting-point for such a historical treatment is to be found in the skaldic poetry, remains of which have been preserved from the ninth century onwards.



Odhin upon his Eight-Legged Steed. (Runic stone in Götland.)

The names of a great many skalds (not less than three or four hundred) are known, beginning with Bragi, who certainly was a historical person living about 800. The adventurous lives of many of them, who lived at the courts of the kings and Jaels, won their favor, shared in their exploits, and wandered far through all parts of the North, form the subject of several of the most romantic tales in Norway and Iceland. But we have still more than these tales, viz., many shorter and longer poems, included in the later sagas of the Norse kings, and giving us the vivid impression of a contemporary who saw what he sang. These *drapas* (songs) in honor of a king or chieftain, describing his shield or exalting his bravery in war and exploits on the sea, are the most ancient and true part of what we possess from old Norse literature. They are, however, not at all the naive productions of a primitive state. The skalds sang in a very artificial manner; the art of building up their verses into the *staves* was a very elaborate one, and there are few things more hard to interpret than these ancient verses, crowded with metaphors or circumlocutions called *kenningar*, which play a great part in the poems of the Edda also. (1) The Eddic songs differ from the skaldic ones, first, in that they are anonymous, while we know the different skalds as authors of their *drapas*. For the greater part this Eddic poetry was contemporary with the skaldic songs; both are to a certain extent products of the same art.

We cannot speak of the poetic Edda as of a whole. The different songs are very loosely connected with each other. They are from different countries: Norway, Iceland, and some from Greenland. For a great number, and some of the most famous amongst them, the period must have been the tenth century. That is the period in which the Norsemen and the Icelanders were still heathens, but Christendom began to infiltrate through many channels into their lives. In this way, for example, the peculiar character of the peoples of the Wala and the Woluspa, can be accounted for. Apart from some later interpolations the materials are decidedly

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pagan; but the whole scheme, the drama of the world from its beginning to the final catastrophe, the cosmogony and the eschatology, the idea of a crime as the turning-point of the destiny of the gods and of the world: all this, though carrying much of heathenish material, is very likely the work of a mind not unacquainted with Christian thought and feeling. Besides this Woluspa, the poetic Edda contains a dozen or more of songs about the gods, where the myths of *Thor*, *Baldur* and other gods are told in the most varying style, sometimes with a profusion of *kenningar*, sometimes (as in Thrymshoida and Skirnisför) in the manner of a poetic fairy tale. It contains, moreover, a long poem, or better, a small collection, Havamal, with many short maxims illustrating social life and moral ideas. The second part of the poetic Edda treats of the heroic myths of Wolund (Wieland), Helge, and the greater part (seventeen out of twenty-one) of the story of the Woesings and of Sigurd (Siegfried).

Our space does not allow us to enter into particulars about the extensive prose literature. First comes the prosaic Edda, to which the name Edda belongs in a more proper sense than to the songs, and where we find many myths told in order to explain the poetic language, especially in the mythographic treatise, "Gylfaginning." Then we have a great many sagas, prose stories with stanzas interwoven, the most beautiful about the life of the Icelandic families, the longest about the Norwegian kings. Then law books, and from the later centuries of the middle ages, literature of all sorts, adapted from foreign models. In the best period of Norse writing, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the art of telling long tales, perhaps developed by the intercourse with the Irish Kelts, was nowhere on so high a level as in Iceland. And, for historical investigation, the Norse sagas and histories provide us with an amount of materials for the history of the Norse from 800 to 1000 A.D. far richer than was done for any more southern country in that period.

22. SKALDIC AND EDDIC POETRY.

(1) Kenningar in the Skaldic Poetry.—A very good list of kenningar is given in *G. Vigfusson* and *F. York Powell's* "Corpus Poeticum Boreale," II., pp. 447-9. We give here some of the most striking ones:

The *eye* is the moon or star of the brows, the cauldron of tears, the pledge of Odhin (allusion to the myth, telling how Odhin gave one of his eyes in pledge); the eyelids are cups of sleep; tears, the ban of laughter. So the *mouth* is the city of song, the cave of the voice.

Wind is the destroyer of ships, the wolf of the forest.

Sea is the home of the eels, the pike's meadow, the path of ships, the necklace of the earth.

Odhin is named the lord of the gallows; the gallows are Odhin's steed.

Longfellow said: "The Icelandic is as remarkable as the Anglo-Saxon for its abruptness, its obscurity, and the boldness of its metaphors. Poets are called song-smiths; poetry, the language of the gods; gold, the daylight of dwarfs; the heavens, the skull of Ymer; the rainbow, the bridge of the gods; a battle, a bath of blood; the hail of Odin, the meeting of shields; the tongue, the sword of words; a river, the sweat of earth, the blood of the valleys; arrows, the daughters of misfortune; the earth, the vessel that floats on the ages."

So for all objects and for the gods, too, this poetic language invented metaphorical circumlocutions, at the meaning of which we can often guess only.

(2) Bragi's Shield Lay.—In this, one of the skaldic lays, a description occurs of the following mythical scenes: The everlasting battle on the isle of Hod; the avenging of Swanhild on Jormunrek; Gefeon ploughing Zealand out of lake Wenern; Thor and the Earth Serpent.

(3) A Few Specimens of the Edda Poetry.—Here are some maxims from the Havamal:

No man can bear better baggage on his way than wisdom; in strange places it is better than wealth. It is a wretched man's comfort.

No one can bear a better baggage on his way than wisdom; no worse wallet can he carry on his way than ale-bibbing.

He that never is silent talks much folly. A glib tongue, unless it be bridled, will often talk a man into trouble.

It is far away to an ill friend, even though he live on one's road; but to a good friend there is a short cut, even though he live far off.

Chattels die; kinsmen pass away; one dies oneself; but good report never dies from the man that gained it.

The following is a strophe from the beginning of Woluspa, describing original chaos:

In the beginning, when naught was, there was neither sand nor sea nor the cold waves, nor was earth to be seen nor heaven above. There was a yawning chasm (chaos), but grass nowhere, ere that the Sons of Bor, who made the blessed earth, raised the flat ground. Then the sun shone forth from the south on the dwelling stones, and the fields were mantled with green herbs. The sun from the south, with the moon her fellow, cast her right hand on the edge of Heaven. The Sun knew not her inn, nor the Moon his dominion, nor the Stars their place.—*Vigfusson and Powell, "Corpus Poeticum Boreale."*

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23. MEDIEVAL AND MODERN FOLKLORE.

The relative scantiness of literary records has driven the scholars who inquire after Teutonic antiquity to folklore as one of the paramount sources of information. Of course part of this folklore, too, has been handed down through literature; thus we find magical incantations in medieval manuscripts, and in medieval books many tales and proverbs, accounts of manners and customs. Still the greater part of folklore has been preserved only in unwritten tales and in old surviving superstitions, ceremonials, and customs. They have been collected thence in our age with a fervid ardor, though not always with a true insight into the subject. The brothers Grimm took the lead, collecting from written sources the "Deutsche Sagen," and from oral tradition the "Kinder und Hausmärchen." The blending of the romantic spirit that lived in them and drew them to these popular relics, with the true scientific accuracy they brought into all their pursuits, made these books of the Grimms unsurpassed, if not unattainable, models in the collecting of popular lore.



The Longest Runic Inscription Known. (Götland, Sweden.)

In truth, they were not absolutely the first who cared for *popular anti-quities*. Brand's collection with this title is known well enough; and long before our century, treatises about fairies and goblins existed. But only after the Grimms did the general interest in this subject awake, and now the heap of books containing folk lore of all countries of the world can hardly be summarized or even catalogued. The greatest supply of these materials concerns the Teutonic lands, the different provinces of England, France, Germany and Scandinavia.

Amongst the many subjects included in that general name folklore, namely: riddles, games, superstitions, songs, etc., etc., two are prominent—the tales (Märchen), and the manners and customs in private and public life. Many scholars, following the brothers Grimm, are particularly interested by the tales. They present them in very different lights. To one these tales speak of the wonderful poetic fancy still living in the uncultured mass of the people. Another sees the remarkable coincidence between accidents in the heroic saga and the folktale, between Siegfried winning Brunhild and the pretty sleeping girl in the wood, Dornröschen. Another, again, hunting farther on this same track, discovers the fundamental types in different tales and tries to classify them. Finally, a different order of facts is put into the foreground, where the literary genealogy of the tales is discovered, and their parentage traced back either to India, where the books of fables already contain so much that passed into European tales, or to a still remoter antiquity in Babylonia or elsewhere. All these different observations throw light on the tales that are found in medieval or modern Europe. But still a complete and exhaustive explanation

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that would give an account of the origin and development, will hardly ever be attained. The migration of most of these widespread tales must be recognized as a very interesting fact, but can never be accounted for by a theory that will exhaust the matter.

Another set of facts embraces manners and customs in the most complete sense of these words. What men did and will do at the great events of life—birth, marriage, death, the remains of village and tribal ceremonies, the ceremonials at different times of the year in connection with the seasons and the aspects of nature, the beliefs and customs kept and practiced in relation to the vegetation and the harvest: all this and still more has been studied with great care. So W. Mannhardt made the tree and corn customs the subject of very extensive and accurate investigations. The transmission of such customs in a literary way is a thing out of the question, and so these parallels seem to point far more to a primitive fact and to afford conclusions of a far greater certainty than the tales do. But here, too, we must own that the evidence has no national limitations. Facts of the same order as they are found to-day amongst the German peasantry appear in the ritual of great Greek and Roman festivals, and are still found in different parts of the world.

Thus, of course, the very character of this folklore, as being so universally spread, showing the same essential features everywhere, makes it of less interest as a characteristic of one peculiar people. We cannot ascribe to the special invention of the Teutons what the Romans had as well, nor make conclusions from a generally spread tale to the remote past of Germanic tribes. Therefore it is of so great an interest that the collection has been made as historical as it is possible to be. Unrestrained by any tie of time or country the *Märchen* flies through the air; and the same habits and customs occur amongst peoples who have nothing to do with each other. But still there is nothing in human life that cannot be connected in some way with history. So it is here. The collections made in a strictly limited sphere, in several provinces, amongst populations of the same origin and the same traditions illustrate the life of that country, as a historical record of a peculiar description. Besides, there is folklore that is confined to certain places or certain historical persons, sometimes by chance, sometimes by an original and essential tie.

Through folklore we ascertain the original animistic beliefs of humanity. But there is nothing special in that, because it is no more or less true in Germany and Scandinavia than amongst Greeks and Romans, or even amongst savages. Animism is everywhere a part, nowhere the whole, of original belief. In order to make use in a fruitful way of Teutonic folklore, all the different ties must be sought for—and there are a great many to be found—that link these tales and these customs to the real historic life of the Teutonic peoples.

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23. MEDIEVAL AND MODERN FOLKLORE.

(1) **The Magical Incantations** —Amongst them the two found at Merseburg are of genuine heathen origin. We give no translation, which can, by no means, give a fair idea of the original. But we mention only that in both of them the magical formula proper is preceded by a mythical allusion, meant to give power to the magical words. In the first the spell to loosen fetters (Lösungszauber) follows after the mention of three groups of *Idisi* (*Walkyren*) busy on the battlefield. The second is a medical formula, to heal a wounded horse, after the same manner by which *Wodan* cured a lame foal.

(2) **Classification of Folktales.**—Much attention is paid nowadays to this subject. In *Mr. G. L. Gomme's* "Handbook of Folklore" no less than seventy types of these tales are enumerated. Three of these types are as follows:

Cupid and Psyche Type.—1. A beautiful girl is beloved by a man of supernatural race. 2. He appears a man by night, and warns her not to look at him. 3. She breaks his command and loses him. 4. She goes in quest of him, and has to surmount difficulties and accomplish tasks. 5. She finally recovers him.

Gudrun Type.—1. A bride is carried off by a monster or a hero. 2. And is recovered, or is the cause of misfortune and ruin on the ravisher.

Sleeping Beauty Type.—A princess warned not to touch a certain article. 2. She does what she is forbidden and falls asleep. 3. A prince discovers her sleeping after a lapse of many years, kisses her and wakes her.

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24. FEATURES OF KELTIC CHARACTER.

"*Et quasi cursures vitae lampada tradunt.*" These words of Lucretius apply not only to the successive generations of men, but also to the nations, in the part they play in the history of mankind. Many nations in turn take the lead in civilization. Poor Crete, last winter the scapegoat of European politics, once, in a time as remote as the Homeric period, was the *hekatonpolis* "hundred-citied" isle, the cradle of Zeus and the realm of Minos. Since that time many nations have ruled and decayed; nearly each country of old Europe has had its century of power and glory.

But the Kelts never had a day of their own; only for a short time did they take a notable place as representatives of Roman or of Christian culture in Gaul and in Ireland. Once, as we noticed before, Keltic tribes covered the whole of Western Europe, from the Elbe to the Atlantic ocean, from the British Isles to the north of



Ruins of King Arthur's Castle in Cornwall.

Italy. But they were always driven more and more to the west. In Gaul neither their political nor their military organization was strong enough to resist the conquering power of Cæsar. The bloody worship of the cruel Gallic gods, *Tentales*, *Hesus*, *Taranis*, offended the Romans, who persecuted the Druids (priests of Gaul), but made friends with the Gallic nobles. There has been no province of the empire more thoroughly imbued with classical culture than the province of Gaul. The native population, endowed with quick understanding, wholly assimilated Roman life and ideas. Thus it was on the Keltic soil of Gaul that the German people was infused with Roman culture, in that Frankish empire, the one great German kingdom that lasted after the storms of the migration and that almost shaped Medieval Europe.

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Thus it was the blending of Roman, Keltic, and German features that made France. People have tried to trace back to their ethnic origin some of the chief influences and characters in French history and literature, and much stress has now and then been laid upon the Breton (= Keltic) birth of men like Abelard, Chateaubriand, and Renan. There may be some grain of truth in that; but in so complex a growth as the historical formation of a modern nation, the result of centuries of development, it is impossible to simplify the problem so far as to find the original Keltic features in a mind educated by so many modern and foreign influences as, *e.g.*, that of Renan.

Quite different from the fate of the Gallic tribes was that of the Kelts in the British Isles. Especially Ireland, never conquered by a Roman army, and converted to Christianity as early as the fourth century, became a seat of Christian faith and learning. Irish monks and anchorites lived in the famous monasteries of Armagh and Bangor (Wales), or retired to the inhospitable isles to the north of Scotland. Irish missionaries were the first who undertook to preach the Gospel to the heathen Teutonic peoples in England as well as on the continent. From Ireland the first independent Christian mission work started, but was overthrown by the later papal missions, whose great hero was Winfrid (Bonifacius). In the darkest century of all, the seventh, the light of culture and learning, nearly extinct in the Longobardian Italy and the Gaul of the Merovingians, shone in Ireland, and later that first Renaissance under the Karolingian princes borrowed its greatest masters from the Emerald Isle. No scholar of these early centuries is more famous than Scotus Erigena.

Very early, certainly frequently in the ninth century, the Irish had much intercourse with Norse seaman, and the Vikings settled in Ireland itself, where they founded several kingdoms. The influence of the Keltic Irishmen and the Teutonic Norse Vikings on each other has been judged from very different standpoints. It may be that in material culture, certainly in seafaring and trade, the Norse stood at the front; but in learning, in poetic feeling and musical accomplishments the Kelts were far the foremost. We cannot enter here upon the difficult question what features of literature are to be assigned to the one, what to the other race. Ireland was the home of many tales, and the Icelandic bondmen who in summer traveled abroad came home with a great number of stories they repeated in their long northern winters. So in the Icelandic Sagas there is, both in the form and the subject-matter, much borrowed from the Irish.

The Irish literature has been rich in all sorts of works that are preserved in the Irish manuscripts, known as the book of Leinster and the book of Ulster. The most interesting from a literary point of view are the stories of sailors and their miraculous adventures, the strange and remote countries fading away in a far-off horizon, and blended in the imagination with the other world of spirits and the dead. Among these *unramas* the travels of Bran (Brandaen) have had the greatest popularity in medieval Europe. The heroic tales belong chiefly to the Ulstermen (here the heroes are Conchobar, MacNessa and Cuchulin), and to the people of Munster, who told about Finn and Ossin.

Nor was Ireland alone a seat of poetry. Not less poetic or musical were the Kymry of Wales and Cornwall, where in every house there is said to have been a harp. From these quarters we possess the stories known under the name of Mabinogi. Here we find some of the great figures and themes with which the greater part of medieval romantic literature was nourished, and which still awake the fancy of our nineteenth century poets. "Arthur," the "Lady of the Lake," "Lancelot," "Peredur" (Parceval), "Tristan and Ysolde"—these romantic tales in the European literature of centuries are due to the lively imagination, the deep feeling, and the sense for nature of the Kelts.

So the Kelts, if they had not a day of their own in the government of the world, have supplied materials enough for thought and for feeling.

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FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. TEUTONIC AND KELTIC PEOPLES.—The Indogermanic family, Teutons and Kelts, Migrations, Cæsar, Tacitus.

20. EPIC STORIES FROM THE PERIOD OF THE MIGRATION.—Historic background, Migrations, by sea and land, Ermanorich, Theodarich, Attila, Confusion of dates, Ortnit, Wieland, The Nibelungen plot, Fate, Fidelity.

21. THE ANGLO-SAXONS.—Influence of Roman culture on Continental and on English peoples, Alfred, Kanut, Kaedmon, Kynewulf, Beowulf.

22. SKALDIC AND EDDIC POETRY.—Edda, Skalds, Kenningar, Location, Period, Christian influence, Thor, Baldur, Wolund, Sigurd, Prose, Edda.

23. MEDIEVAL AND MODERN FOLK-LORE.—Folklore in records, tales, rites, customs, proverbs, etc., Grimm Brothers, Folklore in many lands, Tales and customs, Comparison, Types, Genealogies.

24. FEATURES OF KELTIC CHARACTER.—Kelts in France, England, Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, and Iceland, The Kelts in government, thought, and feeling.

QUESTIONS.

19. *What peoples of the Indogermanic (Indo-Keltic, or Aryan) family migrated to the North and West of Europe? Recall some early facts about the Kelts. How were Teutons and Kelts related? What does Cæsar tell us about them? What does Tacitus tell us?*

20. *What formed the historic background for the epic stories of the Germanic tribes? What for the other peoples of the Teutonic race? Name three great heroes of the Germans. How are these historical elements confused? Name some mythical elements in the epics. What are the chief two moral traits?*

21. *How did Teutonic influence in England differ from that in France? How were the Norman conquerors of England related to the Saxons? Name some famous Anglo-Saxon writings. Outline the burial of Beowulf?*

22. *State the opposed views concerning the Eddas. Who were the skalds? About what did they sing? Repeat some kenningar. Where and to what period do the Edda belong? What gods do they concern? What heroes? What do the Norse sagas and histories provide?*

23. *Name the varied sources of folklore. Who were its greatest collectors in Europe? State some of the special lines of research in folklore. How much of this folklore is peculiar to the Teutons?*

24. *What was the fortune of the Kelts in politics? What their influence upon culture? How did they variously affect France and Great Britain?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Read chapters 1 to 10 of F. B. Gummere's "Germanic Origins."*
2. *Read Paul B. du Chaillu, "The Viking Age," vol. 2.*
3. *Read Ibid, vol. 1.*
4. *Consult the "Corpus Poeticum Boreale" of Vigfusson and Powell for further material.*
5. *Study "Handbook of Folklore," by G. L. Gomme.*
6. *Consult "Hibbert Lectures" for 1886, by J. Rhys.*

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GAZETTEER AND GLOSSARY.

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION.

a as in fat.	i as in pin.	û as in tube.
ā as in fate.	ī as in pine.	ü Place the lips for oo, but say ee.
ä as in father.	o as in not.	oi as in joint.
a when obscure.	ō as in note.	ou as in proud.
e as in met.	ö as in move.	g as in get.
ē as in mete.	u as in tub.	ñ French nasal n.

N. B.—Greek names are sometimes variously written, according as the original Greek or the Latinized form is followed. The pronunciation of the commonly known names is according to English rules, otherwise as in Greek or Latin.

Aeschylos (ēs'kē-los).—Greek poet.
Aides (ī'dēz) or **Hades** (hā'dēz).—Greek god.
Antigone (an-tig'ō-nē).—Greek heroine.
Aphrodite (af-rō-dī'tē).—Greek goddess.
Apollo (*a*-pol'ō).—Greek god.
Ares (ā'rez).—Greek god.
Artemis (är'tē-mis).—Greek goddess.
Asklepios (as-klē'pi-os).—Greek god.
Athena (*a*-thē'n*a*).—Greek goddess.
Bona Dia (bō'nä-dē'ä). Roman goddess.
Ceres (sē'rēz).—Roman goddess.
Cybele (sib'e-lē).—Greek goddess.
Dea Dia (dā'ä-dē'ä). Roman goddess.
Demeter (de-mē'ter).—Greek goddess.
Diana (dī-an'*a*).—Roman goddess.
Diespiter (dē'äz-pē'tär).
Dii Inferi (dē'ē-ēn'fä-rē).
Dii Manes (dē'ē-mä'nāz).
Dione (dī-ō'nē).—Greek Titan.
Dionysos (dī-ō-nī'sos).—Greek god.
Erinyes (e-rin'i-ēz).—Greek deities.
Faunus (fou'nös).—Roman god.
Fides (fē'dāz).—Roman goddess.
Flamines (flā'mē-n*az*).—Roman priests.
Flora (flō'r*a*).—Roman goddess.
Fortuna (for-tö'n*a*).—Roman Goddess.
Freya (frī'*a*).—Teutonic goddess.
Freyr or **Frey** (frīr or frī).—Teutonic god.
Genius (gā'nē-ös).—Roman god.
Hades (hā'dēz).—Greek god.
Hephaistos (hē'fis-tos) or **Hephaestus** (he-fes'tus).—Greek god.
Hera (hē'r*a*).—Greek goddess.
Hermes (her'mēz).—Greek god.
Indigitamenta (ēn-dē'gē-tä-mān't*a*).
Jana (jā'n*a*).—Roman goddess.
Janus (jā'nus).—Roman god.
Juno (jö'nō).—Roman goddess.
Jupiter (jö'pi-ter).—Roman god.
Lar Compitales (lär cōm'pē-tā'l*as*).
Lares (lā'rēz).—Roman gods.
Lar Familiaris (lär fä-mē'lē-ä'rēs).
Larvae (lär'vē).—Ghosts.
Lemures (lā'mö-r*az*).—Ghosts.
Leto (lē'tō).—Greek heroine.
Limpa (lēm'p*a*).—Roman goddess.
Luna (lö'n*a*).—Roman goddess.
Maenad (mē'n*ad*).—Votary of Dionysos.
Mars (märz).—Roman god.
Minerva (mi-ner'v*a*).—Roman goddess.
Manes (mā'nēz).—Spirits of the dead.
Metis (mē'tis).—Greek goddess.
Naos (nā'os).—Part of temple.
Numina (nö'mē-n*a*).—Powers, deities.
Odhin or **Odin** (ō'dhin or ō'din).—Norse god-Saxon Woden.
Odysseus (ō-dis'ûs).—Greek hero.
Opisthodomos (o-pis-tho'do-mos).—Part of temple.
Ops (ops).—Roman god.
Optimus (op'ti-mus).—Maximus (max'i-mus.)
Orcus (or'kus).—Roman god.
Orestes (o-res'tēz).—Greek hero.
Paean (Pē'*an*).—Greek god.
Pallas (pal'*as*).—Epithet of Athena.
Pan (pan).—Greek god.
Poseidon (pō-sī'don).—Greek god.
Penates (pē-nā'tēz).—Roman gods.
Persephone (per-sef'ō-nē).—Greek goddess.
Phoibos (foi'bos) or **Phoebus** (fē'bus).—An epithet of Apollo.
Pluto (plö'tō).—Greek god.
Pontifex Maximus (pōn'tē-*fax* mäx'ē-mös).
Pythia (pith'i-*a*).—The prophetess at Delphi.
Python (pī'thon).—A demon.
Quirinus (kwi-rī'nus).—Roman god.
Salus (sā'lös).—Roman god.
Sancus (sāŋ'kös).—Roman god.
Saturnus or **Saturn** (sat'ern).—Roman god.
Silvanus (sēl-vā'nös).—Roman god.
Sol (sol).—Roman god.
Sophocles (sof'ō-klēz).—Greek poet.
Tellus (tel'us).—Roman goddess.
Thor (thor).—Teutonic god.
Tiu (te'ö).—Teutonic god.
Triptolemos (trip-tol'e-mos).—Greek hero.
Vedius (vā'dē-ös).—Roman god.
Venus (ve'nus).—Roman goddess.
Vesta (ves't*a*).—Roman goddess.
Vulcan (vul'k*an*).—Roman god.
Woden or **Wodan** (wo'den).—Teutonic god.
Zeus (zûs).—Greek god.

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SIDE LIGHTS.

The Great Nature Gods of the Teutonic Peoples.—So ran popular belief; and northward with outstretched hands our forefathers turned when they engaged in ceremonial worship. With the introduction of Christianity, the east became cardinal point of prayer, and the north, as we might expect, was banned as unlucky and a place of devils. Who were, then, the dwellers of that cold Germanic Olympus?

Some definite evidence on this point seems to meet us in the names given to our days of the week. The Germans were still of heathen faith when they took the names of these days from Rome and translated them into terms of their own mythology. . . . Of the individual days, Sunday and Monday are obvious translations. But Tuesday, *dies Martis*, is credibly traced to the Germanic god Tius. Wednesday, *dies Mercurii*, has the stamp of Woden plain to see; and old Thor, our Saxon Thunor, is as evident in the name of Thursday, *dies Jovis*. *Frige dæg* is good Anglo-Saxon for the *dies Veneris*. Saturday is Anglo-Saxon for *Sæteres dæg*, but also *Sæternes dæg*, evident translation of *dies Saturni*. . . .

The chief god of the Germans when the Romans came in contact with them seems to have been Woden. . . . Certain, however, is the fact that Woden is the wind-god, the deity of heaven in the literal sense, the prince of the powers of the air, although he is not the original ruler of Germanic deities; he has taken the place of an older heaven-god, Tius, and seems to have got the latter's wife into the bargain. . . .

The explanation of this supremacy of Woden in the later heathen times lies in his double attribute of intellectual skill—he is said to have "invented" runes—and love of war. . . . Moreover, Odin was father of war itself; when he threw his spear, battle was born in the world. The spear was his peculiar weapon, and was still the chief arm of Germanic soldiers in the time of Tacitus. . . . The wolf is Woden's beast, and the raven is his bird; the latter is also a sign of victory, not at all the thing of evil it became in later times. . . . Luckily we have a genuine relic of the old Woden cult, an incantation preserved in widely sundered dialects, and of undoubted German origin. . . .

Phol and Wodan fared to the holt:
then Balder's foal's foot was wrenched.
Then Sinthgunt besang it and Sunna her sister:
Then Fria besang it and Volla her sister:
then Wodan besang it, who well knew how,
the wrenching of bone, the wrenching of blood,
the wrenching of limb;
bone to bone, blood to blood,
limb to limb, as if they were limed!

. . . Still another charm, this time from the Anglo-Saxon, shows us Woden as final appeal in a somewhat similar emergency. . . . Then follows:

These nine are opposed to poisons nine.
Sneaking came snake, tore asunder a man.
Then took Woden nine Wonder-Twigs:
he smote the Nadder, in nine [pieces] it flew. . . .

In some of the German cornfields it was the habit at harvest-time to leave a heap of corn "for Woden's horse." A writer living in Rostock in 1593 describes the custom of Mecklenburg at rye-harvest, when they gave grain to the god, with the rhyme—

Wode, give thy horse fodder.
Now thistle and thorn,
Next year, better corn!

Renunciation used under Boniface by Saxons and Thuringians: "Ec forsacho allum diaboles wercum and wordum, Thunær ende Woden ende Saxnote ende allum them unholdum the hira genotas sint." "I forsake all devil's works and words, and Thuner and Woden and Saxnot and all the monsters who are their companions."

In Scandinavia he seems to have received, in Viking days, supreme honors; but, as we shall presently see, Thor was the real god of the Northmen. Still, in the famous temple at Upsala in Sweden, described by Adam of Bremen, Odin was represented by an image "like to Mars"—that is to say, fully armed. He it was who received the soul of the warrior in the new-fashioned heaven of Viking Scandinavia, Walhalla; and to him the men of war everywhere—and war was everywhere—put up their prayers and in stress of battle offered service, child, or proper life. By the *Interpretatio Romana* he was called Mercury.

To Thunor, as the Anglo-Saxon called him, the Thor of the Scandinavian peasant, there must have belonged a widespread Germanic cult. . . . He was called Jupiter by the Romans, and that not solely, we may imagine, on account of his thunderbolts. . . . Additional testimony to Thor's or Thunor's importance is the fact that the arch-fiend of Christian times, the devil himself, takes the place of the old thunder-god. In Scandinavia men made most solemn oaths in calling upon Thor, and they celebrated his feast at the sacred time of Yule. As god of the home and all that belongs to it, he was worshiped first and foremost of the deities. They prayed to him for a mild winter, an early spring, and generous crops; his first thunderings heralded return of warmth and vegetation. As late as the eighteenth century a Scandinavian woman was known to pray regularly to Thor; and the Anglo-Saxon homilies bear witness to the stubbornness of Thunor's cult on English soil.

Thor's thunder, audible sign that he and his hammer were fighting ice-giants and obstinate spirits of the northern hills, was regarded as more a benefit than a terror. It symbolized fertility; and we find several plants named after the thunder. . . . Of trees, the oak was dedicated to the thunder-god—a bold and not ignoble piece of religious invention. His day was Thursday, still in every regard a lucky day; in Scandinavia the traditional day for a wedding, and of good right, if we consider that it was Thor's hammer which "hallowed" every bride.

Almost alone of Scandinavian gods, Thor found lasting representation in a rude picture carved on stock and stone, even on ships—"a long-bearded face, with the hammer hung beneath"; while his

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actual image was adorned with gold and silver, and set up in the holy places. . . . Viking belief assigned the souls of dead warriors to Odin, while "Thor has the thralls";—yet not as god of the thralls did he take them, but rather because the servants were part and parcel of the household.

The god whose old Germanic and Gothic name must have been Tîus, Old High German Zio, Scandinavian Tyr, but in English was known as Tîw, was once worshiped as the heaven-god, but seems to have been the war-god as well. . . . Tacitus tells us that human sacrifices were offered to Mercury and Mars—that is, to Woden and to Tîus; and similar offerings to a war-god are related by the historian Procopius. The sword-dance described above was doubtless in honor of this god, and Grimm connects with him the worship of swords recorded by old historians. . . . His day, Tuesday, has a few superstitions connected with it which point to older cult; for instance, it must be on the Tuesday that the plant is gathered which warriors use for crown. . . .

Another hypostasis of Tîus, and more interesting to us, is Saxnéat or Saxnôt, "the sword-companion" or brother in arms, who figures above as one of the gods to be abjured in the Old German renunciation, and is undoubtedly Tîus under another name. . . .

Another god is called in Scandinavian myths Freyr. He is interesting to us as the probable god whose worship was most popular among our coast-dwelling ancestors by the German Ocean. In the opinion of certain scholars, Freyr and Béowulf, the hero of our old epic, are one and the same god, and with Scandinavian Freyja and Niörthr represented a brother and a sister who were worshiped by the Ingævonic race as far back as the time of Tacitus. The female was then known, in Roman transliteration, as Nerthus, and her cult is described by the historian. In this worship were bound together Reudigni, Avoines, Anglii, Varini, Eudoses, Suardones, Nuithones—all of them tribes which lived in Schleswig, Holstein, and about Elbe mouth. Nerthus, explains Tacitus, is Mother Earth, and these people "believe that she enters into human affairs, and travels about among the people. In an island of the ocean there is a sacred grove, and in it a holy chariot covered with a cloth. Only the priest is allowed to touch it. He knows when the goddess is present in her consecrated place, and in all reverence accompanies her as she is drawn about by cows. These are joyful times and places which the goddess honors with her presence, and her visit makes holiday. People begin no war, do not take up arms; all weapons are put away; peace and quiet only are then known and welcome, until the priest leads back to her holy place the goddess, now wearied of mortal fellowship. Then the wagon, the covering-cloths, and—if one cares to believe it—the divinity herself, are washed in a hidden lake. These services are performed by slaves whom the same lake presently swallows up. Hence spring the secret terror and sacred ignorance about something which is seen by those alone who are doomed to immediate death." . . .

In Sweden, Freyr was a very prominent god, and his image stood beside the images of Thor and Odin. Freyr, like the older Nerthus, had a chariot which was drawn about the countryside every spring, while the glad people worshiped and made holiday. In the chariot was a young and beautiful priestess, answering to the priest who went about with the wagon of Nerthus. Here, too, was a time of piece; and Freyr was asked to give rain and sunshine, fertile soil, and a prosperous year. He presided over marriages; and Adam of Bremen speaks of his image as a god of fecundity. The boar was sacred to him, and was not only sacrificed to him, but is said to have drawn his wagon; while even in recent times, Swedish folk were wont to bake cakes in the shape of a boar, remnants of the old Freyr-offering. As the military spirit waxed with conquest, the peaceful emblem served as warlike decoration; Anglo-Saxon warriors wore the boar upon their helmets; and the boar's head, upon which Scandinavian warriors took oath, is known in the Christmas feasts of England. . . .

Petersen gives a few Scandinavian proper names which were compounded with the name of Freyr. This, itself, means simply "prince," "lord," "master," and is familiar to us in its feminine form as the German "Frau." Freyr and Freyja are simply "the lord" and "the lady"; they could appear under different names, as in Anglo-Saxon the god Ing, mentioned by a poem known as the "Rune Lay," and evidently the ancestral god of the Ingævonic race, is undoubtedly none other than Freyr. . . .

In all Norse cult, Freyja is abundantly worshiped, and in close relation to the cult of Freyr. She gave them fertility, peace and happy wedlock. Boar and ox were sacrificed to her; she has, like Nerthus, the chariot of highest divinity. . . . The cat was sacred to her; a happy recognition of her manifold connection with household blessings, and not, perhaps, without influence on the later belief about witches. . . . Lovers prayed to Freyja, and for the purposes of cult, as well as by the traditions of mythology, she is in every way Germanic goddess of love. . . .

J. M. Kemble has found relics of Fricg cult in England; and they have been noted in Lower Saxony.—*F. B. Gummere, "Germanic Origins," pp. 416-439.*

The Cult Among Teutonic Peoples.—Islands seem to have been favorite places for the purposes of a cult; and, as we have just seen, all of Helgoland was given up to such a use. Still, groves were the best-loved temples. The house of gods, like the house of men, could be built about a tree; and we cannot altogether reject the romantic reason, added by Jacob Grimm, that something oracular and divine attracted the early worshiper in the swaying of branches and the low murmur of the leaves. . . .

This heathen temple of Scandinavia seems to have been a rectangular building, rounded at one end, after the manner of an apse or choir in certain Christian churches, and running from west to east. . . . In the "apse" were set up the images, such as there were; and before them was a sort of altar covered with iron, whereupon burned a fire that durst not be extinguished — "the sacred fire." Here lay the ring, dipped by the priest in sacrificial blood, and upon which all oaths were sworn; but when the chieftain presided at popular meetings, he wore this ring upon his hand. On this altar, moreover, stood the vessel which held the blood of sacrifice. No one was allowed to carry arms within the temple. . . .

In Iceland and the Norse realm generally we find regular images of the gods. Adam of Bremen distinctly testifies to the three images at Upsala in Sweden—Odin, Thor and Freyr (Fricco); Odin as a warrior in mail, Thor, with sceptre, holding the middle place as greatest god, Freyr with the customary phallic symbols of fecundity and peace. . . .

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Priests were a Germanic institution known in all the tribes; but it is better not to lay too much stress upon a priesthood. . . . In heathen Scandinavia it is a positive principle that all details of worship are closely connected with the administration of affairs in general, and testify to a union of church and state. The king is high priest; and where a "jarl" acts as viceroy, he performs the king's duty at sacrifice and banquet. In Iceland the judicial districts were each under control of an officer who was at once judge and priest; and Maurer seems to assume that this custom was common to all German races. The place of justice, of oath and trial and lawsuit, was the place of prayer and sacrifice. It was also, in all probability, a place of trade, as is proved by the history of many a holy resort which develops into a center of trade, the capital city of the land. Trade and justice demand peace; and peace was only possible under the awful sanctions of a present god. . .

Striking is the costume of the Cimbrian sibyls—gray-haired women dressed in white, with red over-garment and metallic girdle, but bare of foot. They cut the throats of the captives, and let the blood flow into a brazen kettle—evidently priestly functions; while the wise-woman, of whom much has already been said, was doubtless held in reverence little inferior to that felt towards the priests themselves . . .

Undoubtedly, however, sacrifice was the central fact, and Grimm remarks that many of the words used for prayer go back to the notion of an offering. . . . Religion was ceremonial and a bargain: the gods were not thought to give blessings *pour les beaux yeux* of their worshipers. . . .

The favorite animal for sacrifice seems to have been the horse, though ox, boar and ram were often used; and the cock must have played a brave part. Color was of great importance, and the male sex was alone accepted. White horses, white cattle were special favorites; and a host of cases could be cited where folk-lore has preserved this prejudice for the white. On the other hand, black animals—without speck of other color—were also chosen for sacrifice, and in witchcraft, residuary legatee of much old sacrifice lore, black cats, cocks, and so on are particularly popular. But the horse was prime favorite for sacrifice. In the famous passage of Tacitus which describes a battle between two German tribes for the possession of a salt-spring, we are told that the victors "had dedicated their opponents to Mars and Mercury; and in accordance with this vow, horses, men, all that the conquered possessed, were given to destruction." Here we have a sacrifice in the grand style, while "horses and men" has the true nomadic ring. A valued article of food, the horse must be a gracious offering to the gods, and was held as sacred among the Germans as it had been among the inhabitants of ancient Persia . . . A more agreeable form of this cult, however, was the sacrificial banquet, a highly popular festivity; as result, the eating of horse-flesh was a sign of heathendom, and remains taboo down to the present. Heathen Swedes were called "horse-eaters" by their converted brethren. Heads of horses and other sacrificial beasts, often the hides as well, were hung on trees as an offering to the gods.

But it was not only horses that figured in the Tacitean account; men were included, as they were in all highly important sacrificial rites. . . . The Germans appear in history with sufficiently marked love of human sacrifice—witness the Cimbrians in Italy, the wholesale sacrifices among warring German tribes, and the direct testimony of Tacitus, who gives us specific cases and a general summary. . . . A chain of evidence reaches from Tacitus down to the borders of the middle ages. . . .

However, on occasion, "the dearest" could mean more than any of these things. In times of great distress, private or general, in sickness, danger, famine, pestilence, the alarm might rise to a point where no alien sacrifice could measure the height of calamity, and some "dearest" thing of family or race must be offered to the god. Dearest of the dearest was the king. In olden times the sacrifice of the first-born seems to have been more or less common; and survivals meet us in Scandinavian legend, where the old ferocity lingered longest. . . .

The usual human sacrifice, however, was of captives, criminals, or slaves. The slaves who are employed about the grove of Nerthus, Tacitus reminds us, are drowned in the lake; and the Roman's reason of secrecy is quite fanciful. . . . The execution of a criminal was originally a sacrifice to the god whose peculiar cult had been offended by the crime in question. . . .

Everywhere survivals meet us based on the notion that a human life must be sacrificed at the beginning of any important piece of work. . . . The Vikings of Scandinavia, when they launched a new ship, would bind a victim to the "rollers" on which the vessel slipped into the sea, and thus redden the keel with sacrificial blood. That the doctrine of souls and manes-cult generally played its part in many of these rites, is quite beyond question. . . .

A gingerbread horse, eaten at a given time, replaces the sacrifice; and even the harmless bottle of champagne broken over the bow of a new-launched ship is not without relation to that victim once bound to the rollers of a Viking launch.

Some account of the details of human sacrifice is preserved to us from Scandinavian heathendom. Ari, born in 1067, was as near to the old Scandinavian rites as Beda was to the Anglo-Saxon—about seventy years from the arrival of the first Christian missionary. The altar, he tells us, was of stone, and had to be kept red and gleaming with sacrificial blood. "There is still to be seen the doom-ring wherein men were doomed to sacrifice. Inside the ring stands Thor's stone whereon those men who were kept for the sacrifice had their backs broken, and the blood is still to be seen in the stone." The blood was caught in kettles, and in old times may have been mixed with the beer or other drink of the assembly; sometimes it was baked in bread or cakes. . . .

Casting lots was an appeal to the gods, and was carried into the daily round of life, being as applicable to the merest domestic details as to the greater problems.—*Ibid, pp. 440-466.*

Key to Picture of the Underworld.—On the throne sit Persephone and Pluto. Beneath them stands Hercules with the dog Kerberos. On his right a woman rides on a hippokampe; on his left stands Hermes. At the top of the right-hand side appear the trio Pelops, Myrtilos, and Hippodameia. Below them come another trio, Triptolemos, Aiakos, and Rhadamanthus. Below these again come the three Danaides. At the top of the left-hand side Megara addresses the two Heraklidae. Below them appear Orpheus with his harp, and two Erinyes Finally at the bottom left Sisyphos rolls up his stone, lashed on by a Fate above him.

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PAGAN really means "belonging to the country," while **CIVIL** means "belonging to the city"?

SHAKSPERE may have held horses at the theater doors, but he was not guilty, as tradition says, of deer-stealing?

KNAVE once meant "boy," with no implication of dishonesty?

CUBA is longer than from Canada to Alabama?

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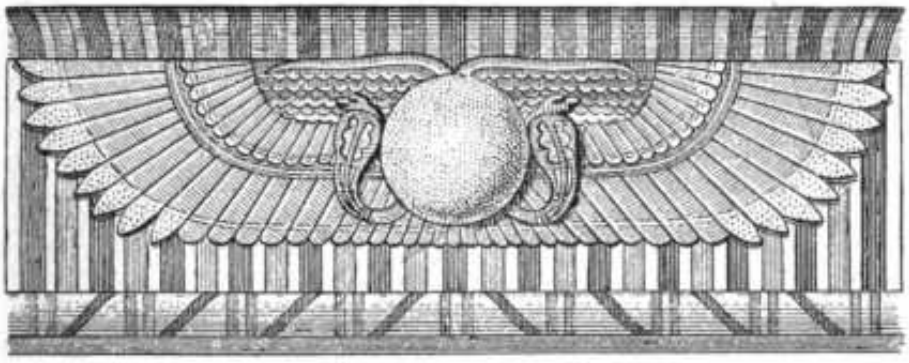
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Winged Sun, with Serpents, being the symbol of the god Ra.

EGYPTIAN RELIGION.

BY

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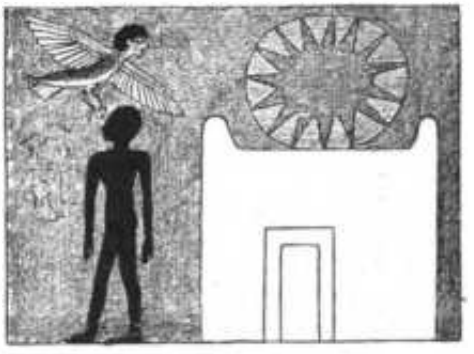
1. NATURE AND DESTINY OF THE SOUL.

IN the basis of all religion, the nature of the soul, the Egyptians showed the same aptitude for holding several different views that we notice also in their theology. The presence of entirely contradictory notions side by side, points to their having been devised by different tribes or races; each of these divergent views has probably descended from some different element of the population.

The most complete account recognized many different parts of the personality. There was: *a*, The body, which became a mummy, *sahu*; *b*, the double or ghost, the *ka*, which was exactly like the body, was born with it, but was immortal and wandered about at will after the death of the body; (1) *c*, the *ka* carries with it the *khaib* or shadow symbolized by a sunshade. These are the elements of the material person. The immaterial parts are: *d*, The *ba*, or soul symbolized as a human-headed bird, which flies in and out of the tomb, and visits the mummy; (2) the king's *ba* was a hawk; *e*, the *khu*, or glory, symbolized by a crested bird; *f*, the *ab*, or will, symbolized by the heart; *g*, the *sekhem*, or strength; *h*, the *ran*, or name.



Ka Statues of Ra-hotep and his Sister-Wife, Nofret.



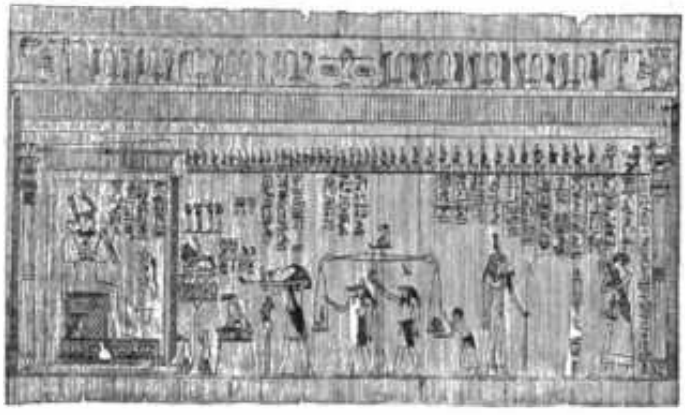
The Khaib and the Ba.

The simplest, and apparently earliest, notion of the soul after death was that it hovered about the tomb and required food and drink, (3) an idea which is usual

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among many other races; hence the offerings of food which are found placed in the tombs of all periods. Later, however, these offerings were changed from being corruptible food into the incorruptible images of the food, and of the servants who prepared it; and these again were changed into mere surface sculptures, and lastly into paintings of the objects. (4) All of these changes took place before 4000 B.C., and throughout the historical period all of these modes of offering existed side by side. Failing the provision by human care, the soul was reduced to rely on the tree-goddess, who lived in the thick shady sycamore trees that overshadowed the cemeteries. The starving *ka*, or ghost, and the *ba*, or soul, came to adore the goddess, who from her mysterious haunt poured out the drink and gave them the bread. The *ba*, or soul, easily wandered about, and was provided (in some cases) with a narrow opening which led from the outer air down the shaft in the rock into the funeral chamber. Thus it could rest with the body or fly out to receive its nourishment.



The Judgment before Osiris. (*Cf.* Lesson 4, note 4.)

Another notion, which is entirely inconsistent with the above, is that the dead, after attesting his righteousness to Osiris, (5) was permitted to enter the fields of Aalu in the kingdom of Osiris, and there to cultivate the ground, to plough, to sow, and to reap the gigantic and glorified maize which rewarded his Elysian labors. The natural result of believing that the dead had to work after death was that their labors should be lightened as in life by having many servants to do their bidding. Probably servants were actually sacrificed at first, and at about 2500 and 1500 B.C. we find representations of human sacrifice which was probably then in image and not in reality. But from about 1600 B.C. down to about 400 B.C. images of the servants were buried in the tombs; at first only a few large and important figures, but afterwards many hundreds, degraded to mere lumps of mud about 700 B.C., but starting again with fine statuettes at about 600 B.C. These are known as *ushabtis*, or "answerers," as they had to answer for the dead when his name was called out from the roll of the *corvée* to work in Aalu.

The third notion was that the dead joined the sun, and went through all the hours of day and night with Ra, the sun-god. Here it had to face hosts of evil spirits during the progress through the twelve hours of night; and much of the "Book of the Dead," and of other manuals for the future state, is occupied with giving the pass-words and charms which will overcome this legion of terrors. (6)

On the whole, the Osiride view was the pleasanter, where the fields of Aalu gave all the delights of earth in a glorified form; and this certainly had a stronger and more lasting hold on the people than the other views.

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1. NATURE AND DESTINY OF THE SOUL.

(1) **Migration of the Ka.**—In the tomb was Naneferkaptah, and with him was the *ka* of his wife Ahura; for though she was buried at Koptos her *ka* dwelt at Memphis with her husband whom she loved. — "*Egyptian Tales*," *II., p. 88.*

(2) **Life of the Ba.**—It was imagined as being in the form of a bird, usually with human head and hands. At death it flew to the gods; but it was no more immaterial than the *ka*, and equally dependent upon renewed supplies of food and drink. In Egyptian art the *ba* is sometimes shown perched on the coffin, tenderly caressing it, and taking farewell of the mummy within.—

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Festive scene depicted in a Theban tomb-chapel for the delectation of the deceased, believed able, by means of magic to share in it.

Wiedemann, "Religion of the Ancient Egyptians," p. 242.

(3) **Sustenance of the Dead.**—Funeral sacrifices and the regular cultus of the dead originated in the need experienced for making provision for the sustenance of the manes after having secured their lasting existence by the mummification of their bodies. Gazelles and oxen were brought and sacrificed at the door of the tomb chapel; the haunches, heart and breast of each victim being presented and heaped together upon the ground, that there the dead might find them when they began to be hungry. Vessels of beer or wine, great jars of fresh water, purified with natron, or perfumed, were brought to them, that they might drink their fill at pleasure, and by such voluntary tribute men bought their good will, as in daily life they bought that of some neighbor too powerful to be opposed.—*Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," p. 115.*

(4) **Funeral Offerings and Representations.**—As the living were not in direct communication with the dead, and could not pass the offerings from hand to hand, they took a god for intermediary and dedicated the sacrifice to him, on condition that he should give part to the dead of all the good things presented to him, on which he lived. The *ka*, or double of the bread, drink and meat, passed thus to the other world, and fed the *ka* of the dead. There was not even a need of the offerings to be solid in order to be effective; the passer-by, repeating in honor of the dead the formula of offering, thus easily procured for the *ka* the possession of all the things of which he repeated the list. . . . . The paintings or sculptures, which cover the surface of the tablet, serve as a translation of the inscriptions into images. . . . . In the New Empire (about 1500 B.C.) they sometimes added to the scenes of offerings the representation of the burial, the transport of the mummy, the lamentations of the women, and the arrival at the tomb.—*Maspero, "Guide au Musée de Boulaq," pp. 35-39.*

(5) **Judgment Before Osiris.**—Before Osiris sat the forty-two judges of the dead, each summoned from a different city in Egypt, each to pronounce sentence upon the dead with regard to some particular sin. . . . . The deceased was received by the goddess or goddesses of truth. He proceeded to speak in his own justification, declaring that he had not committed any one of the forty-two sins, and then the truth of his words was tested by weighing his heart in the scales against the symbol of truth. . . . . If the dead was found to be righteous, he received back his heart, the rest of the immortal parts of his soul were reunited in him, and he was again built up into the man who had walked the earth, but who now entered upon new and eternal life.—*Wiedemann, "Religion," pp. 248, 249.*

(6) **The Hours of Night.**—In these texts there were twelve divisions of Duat (the underworld), and the journey of the night sun through each of them lasted one hour. The divisions were designated fields, cities, or dwellings, and each was entered by a door. They were connected by a river running through their midst, upon which the sun-god in his bark journeyed from west to east, while upon its banks dwelt all manner of spirits and demons. . . . . The demons themselves are far from homogeneous; some were ancient gods, while others were later personifications endowed with forms adapted to the qualities which it was deemed necessary to ascribe to them. Some of the demons were represented as monkeys, because it was their function to worship the setting sun.—*Wiedemann, "Religion," pp. 34-51.*

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2. DOMESTIC WORSHIP.

In most countries and ages the domestic or personal worship has differed from the public or state worship, and more generally represents an earlier stratum of belief. Even in countries most strongly imbued with an exclusive religion, like Christianity or Islam, the personal beliefs and motives of action are largely what are termed superstitions and have no root in the professed religion of the state.

It is, however, far more difficult to estimate the private than the public religion, owing to the natural absence of the temple sculptures, the rituals, and the public statements, which are the main sources of our information on state religion. We are reduced to noticing the smallest traces of beliefs and actions which may have left some tangible remains.

In the early tales we find that a belief in magic was deeply ingrained; images could be vitalized by magic powers so as to act on man or on animals. (1) And this belief revived into greater influence in the later age when the dogmatic and public theology had decayed, and when belief became concentrated on the old ideas of magic and the control of spirits, (2) which was so intimate a part of gnosticism. So far as purely personal religion can be traced, the belief in amulets and their magical effects was the most potent force. In the old kingdom (3500 B. C.) amulets of many kinds were worn; the sacred eyes of horses and the images of gods were the more theologic, and continued in use till late times; while the clinched hand, the jackal's head, and the hornet were simple charms which did not hold their place against later ideas. Such amulets were equally efficacious for the dead as for the living, and could control the malice of evil spirits in the future as in the present world. Hence nearly all our examples are those found in the mummies in tombs.



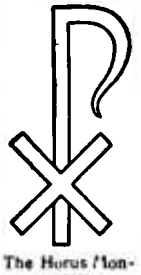
King Seti I. offers wine before Osiris. "To the chief God of the West (*i.e.*, of the Kingdom of the Dead), the Great God, the Lord of Abydos, Uennofre, the Lord of Eternity, the Ruler of Eternity." Behind Osiris stand "the Great Isis, the Divine Mother," and "Horus, the Son of Isis and of Osiris."

The more social beliefs of the household seem to have been largely devoted to the worship and benefit of the ancestors, as in China at present. In the central hall of the house was a niche or recess, usually in the western wall. This recess was two or three feet wide, and with sometimes a narrower recess in the middle of it. A raised step stood before it, or sometimes a platform with two or three steps leading to it. The recess was usually painted red, but in one case a painted scene remains in it, showing an ancestor come forth from his tomb as a *ka* of human form, and a *ba* or human-headed bird. Both *ka* and *ba* are adoring the tree goddess, who gives them food and drink. Here we see that the earliest and simplest beliefs about the soul continued to be the basis of the domestic worship, although complex and gorgeous services were devoted to the temple gods at the same time. The evidence for this belongs only to the XVIII-XXII dynasties; so that we do not know how

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late this domestic worship continued. We may infer from its simple type that it preceded this period from the earliest times downward. (3)

In later times of the Ptolemaic and Roman ages there is much evidence of the popular worship to be gathered from the crowd of cheap pottery images, which were made in thousands to hang upon pegs in the rooms of the common people. These images show that the great mass of the mythology and theology had no hold upon the people. Very few of the well-known gods appear at all in this popular pantheon. The main objects of worship were, before all, *Horus*, then *Isis* with *Horus*, and *Serapis*, which was the later form of *Osiris* as modified by the type of *Zeus*. The vase-formed (or "canopic") Osiris is equally frequent. Female figures are also common, and are of different types, but connected with the gestures of those who went to the orgies at Bubastis, and those who sought fertility by invoking the sacred Hapi bull at Memphis. These were probably charms against childlessness, so dreaded in the east.



The Horus Monogram.

This prevalent worship of Horus, and of Isis as his mother, led immediately into a union with Christianity, in which Christ became identified with *Horus*, and the *khi rho* monogram was formed first as a star with the lock of hair of the infant Horus attached to it; while Isis, in precisely the typical attitude nursing Horus, gave the type of the Virgin and child which has lasted down to our time. Similarly the extremely popular worship of Isis in Italy in the first two centuries (4) led on to the continuance of it under the name of Mary. Thus some of the oldest elements of Egyptian theology have survived down to the present time.

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2. DOMESTIC WORSHIP.

(1) **Magic Animals.**—Then said Uba-aner, "Bring me my casket of ebony and electrum," and they brought it; and he fashioned a crocodile, of wax, seven fingers long; and he enchanted it, and said, "When the page comes and bathes in my lake, seize on him." And he gave it to the steward, and said to him, "When the page shall go down into the lake to bathe, as he is daily wont to do, then throw in this crocodile behind him." And the steward went forth bearing the crocodile. . . . And when the even was now come, the page went forth to bathe as he was wont to do. And the steward cast in the wax crocodile after him into the water; and, behold! it became a great crocodile seven cubits in length, and it seized on the page. . . . And Uba-aner called unto the crocodile and said, "Bring forth the page." And the crocodile came forth from the lake with the page. . . . And Uba-aner stooped and took up the crocodile, and it became in his hand a crocodile of wax.—"*Egyptian Tales*," *I., pp. 11-15.* (Before 3000 B.C.)

(2) **Magic Spells.**—Come down left side of the sky, right side of the earth. A man rises as royal sovereign; he has taken the white crown of the white land. Be not deaf, O ye who walk athwart; shut your mouths, let all reptiles remain attached to the ground by the terror of thy valiance, O Amen!

Another chapter: Hail to thee, O ape of seven cubits, whose eye is of silver, whose lip is of fire, and burning are all his words. Calm the deep! Let the safeguard be poured forth.

Another chapter: To shut enclosures. I shut the enclosures through my mother Rannu (the serpent goddess), having two legs, and by Hu I stay in the land. Horus allows it to be pervaded. I confide in the efficacy of that excellent written book given today into my hand, which repels lions by fascination, disables men; which repels men by fascination, disables lions; which muzzles the mouths of lions, hyenas, wolves, the heads of all animals having long tails, living upon flesh, drinking blood; which muzzles the mouth of the tiger, muzzles the mouth of the leopard, muzzles the mouth of the zapulma, muzzles the mouth of the lioness, muzzles the mouth of Her who sees, muzzles the mouth of Sekhet the good (evil), muzzles the mouth of the great living woman, muzzles the mouth of all men who have bad faces, so as to paralyze the limbs, not to allow the action of their flesh and bones, to keep them in the shade, to cause darkness, nor to allow daylight for them, at every moment of night. Shatabuta, Artabuhia, Thou art the keeper, warlike, tremendous, the safeguard!—*Harris papyrus, about 1100 B.C.* "*Records of the Past*," *X., pp. 150-158.*

(3) **Country Worship.**—There were casual divinities in every nome whom the people did not love any the less because of their unofficial character; such as an exceptionally high palm tree in the midst of the desert, a rock of curious outline, a spring trickling drop by drop from the mountain to which hunters came to slake their thirst in the hottest hours of the day, or a great serpent believed to be immortal, which haunted a field, a grove of trees, a grotto, or a mountain ravine. The peasants of the district brought it bread, cakes, fruits, and thought that they could call down the blessing of heaven upon their fields by gorging the snake with offerings.—*Maspero* "*Dawn of Civilization*," *pp. 120-122.*

(4) **Italian Worship of Isis.**—The worship of Isis and Serepis gained its footing only after a long struggle, and no small amount of persecution.—*Lecky*, "*History of European Morals*," *11th edit., I., p. 402.*

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3. WORSHIP OF ANIMALS.

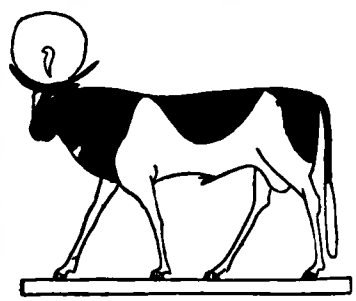
This worship, which served for the ridicule of Roman and Christian writers, was probably one of the earliest, and belonged to the most nearly primitive layer of Egyptian population. It was extended through every state of the country, and every local capital had its sacred animal.

The list of animals thus honored comprises the baboon, shrew-mouse, dog, wolf, jackal, ichneumon, cat, lion, hippopotamus, ram, bull, cow, vulture, hawk, egret, ibis, goose, crocodile, cobra, oxyrhynkhos fish, eel, lepidotas, latus, and maeotes; while the scarabaeus beetle was the commonest sacred emblem, though not worshiped anywhere. Of all these animals that were worshiped, it should be noted that it was always an individual animal that was honored and held sacred; while the whole species enjoyed only a vague sanctity, since any member of it might possibly become the divine representative. There was not the *tabu* and inviolability of the species to a special family or tribe, as in totemism; and no Egyptian hesitated to kill and feed on the sheep, ox, or goose, however much single individuals were honored and adored. (1)



The Scarab, supposed capable of propagation by itself, and hence an emblem of resurrection.

This worship of the individual animals did not ensure their length of life. On the contrary, they were the victims of a sacramental feast, as is the case in some other countries where the people periodically eat their god to strengthen their nature. At Thebes, the ram was yearly killed and eaten, and the statue of *Amen*—the god identified with the ram—was covered with the skin. The undisturbed burials of the sacred bulls of Hapi or Apis at Memphis show that they also were eaten in a solemn feast; the fragments of bone were then gathered together, made into a mass with pitch, adorned with costly jewelry, and then buried in the grandest state. This killing of the sacred bull is mentioned in a story of about 1200 B.C. Moreover, the cow that was brought up as a mate for the Apis bull was killed immediately after consorting with him. (2)



The Bull Apis.

The source of this worship of animals has been much debated. That they were not adored because of their utility is evident, as many are useless to man. That they were not merely employed as emblems of pre-existing gods is probable, since different gods are associated with the same animals; the animal worship appears to be a wider and earlier stratum than that of gods, and some were sacred apart from any god. Probably the idea of extra-human intelligence, perception, and powers attributed to them is to be looked on as really the origin of the worship devoted to them. The most celebrated examples of the worship of sacred animals are described by Greek and Roman authors. Four sacred bulls were adored: Hapi or Apis at Memphis, Mnevis at Heliopolis, Bakh or Bakis at Hermonthis, and Onuphis. These appear from some figures of them to have been different local breeds with marked characteristics. The most celebrated by far was the bull Hapi of Memphis; (3) the long series of tombs of these sacred bulls at Sakkara is one of the most impressive sights in Egypt; the earlier ones, about 1500 B.C., were separate chapels; but during the later centuries vast catacombs were excavated, in the chambers of which gigantic sarcophagi of granite still remain. Later, in Greek times, the deified Hapi (who became an *Osiris* in his apotheosis, and was hence the *Osir-apis*) was worshiped

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as Serapis; (4) and this form of *Osiris* became the principal state-deity of the Ptolemaic and Roman government of Egypt. The noble temple of *Serapis* at Alexandria was one of the greatest and most magnificent then known, and became the rallying point of the expiring struggles of paganism. The last great festival of the Egyptian religion was that of a fresh Apis bull under Julian, 361 A.D., noted on his coinage as an event of his reign.

Another very prominent sacred animal was the jackal, the emblem of *Anubis*, the protector of the dead in their wanderings. The association of the jackal, which haunts the cemeteries along the edge of the desert, with a guardian of the dead, is but natural; and though specially worshiped at Siut, yet the jackal is represented in sculptures as a divine emblem throughout the whole country.

3. WORSHIP OF ANIMALS.

(1) **Nature of Animal Worship.**—In fixing upon certain animals as being respectively the incarnations of certain deities, the Egyptian was guided by what he considered the salient characteristics of the different divinities and of the different species of animal in question. To the gods of nature in its annual rejuvenescence were assigned animals supposed to be possessed of exceptional procreative vigor, such as the bull and ram; while animals, such as the cow, were dedicated to the fertile and food-producing deities; and serpents owed their deification to their stealthy movements, to their deadly power, and also to an occasional trustful familiarity by which all nations have been impressed. The association of the hawk with sun-gods was obviously suggested by the bird's soaring and hovering in high heaven; and the crocodile, lying inert upon the bank, but terrible and devouring when roused, was the embodiment of the dignity and self-conscious power which have always appealed to the reverence of Orientals.—*Wiedemann, "Religion," pp. 178-9.*

(2) **Renewal of Sacred Animals.**—The death of the sacred animal did not involve the death of the god whom it represented, nor the loss of its own personal identity. Though the dislodged deity at once sought fresh incarnation in another animal of the same species and appearance as that which had died, the soul of the latter was immortal. According to the doctrine which taught that the dead man became an Osiris, so did the dead Apis become an Osiris Apis, the dead ram of the temple an Osiris ram, etc. In all these cases the same rites were performed for the animal as for the human mummy: it was embalmed and provided with amulets for that world beyond death in which its soul would henceforth live forever. The increasing number of the Apis bulls, of the divine rams and crocodiles which he was thus relegating to the next world, suggested no embarassments to the Egyptian, although he believed the soul of each sacred animal to be of unconditioned divinity.—*Ibid, pp. 182-3.*

(3) **Tablet of Adoration to Apis.**—The devotee of Osorhapi, the companion of the general Aahmes, son of Pasabenhor and of the lady Tapenha, says: "When they had brought this god (the Apis) for his reunion with the good region of the west (the funeral region), after all the ceremonies in the sanctuary had been made to him, and he had been clothed with his covering, when they had brought this god to his western abode (the tomb) then I, thy slave, I have made the shrouding of thy person; I have watched each day; I have not slumbered to accomplish all thy ceremonies; I have established thy veneration in the hearts of all men of the country, as well as of every locality, as far as the limits of the district, by the things that I have done in thy sanctuary. I have despatched my orders to the South as to the North to convoke in thy sanctuary all the chiefs of Ponds with the loads of their contributions. O! prophets of the temple of Ptah (where the sacred bull was kept), this is what I say: Osorhapi! prostration before thee of him whose respirations are for the accomplishment of thy ceremonies, of the general Aahmes, who came himself to bring silver, gold, staffs, royal linen, perfumes, precious stones and all good things. Make him a recompense according to what he hath done for thee; prolong his years, perpetuate him eternally; establish for him the duration of the existence of Horus in the upper region, that his name may be remembered forever."—*"Records of the Past," IV., p. 63.*



The god Anubis.

(4) **Worship of Serapis.**—It was in this form that Osiris was generally recognized by the Greeks, who, having endowed him with attributes derived from Pluto and Asklepios, named this half Greek, half Egyptian deity Sarapis or Serapis. Under the Romans the worship of Serapis extended throughout the empire, having its devotees in every province.—*Wiedemann, "Religion," p. 191.*

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4. THE OSIRIDE RELIGION.

The gods of the family of *Osiris* form a very marked group; they are all purely human and without animal or cosmogonic nature, except so far as combined in later times with other gods. In the early times, before 2000 B.C., they form about a quarter of the monumental religion; as the abstract gods declined in importance, the proportion rose to a half; and in the latest times they may be said to have constituted practically the sole worship of Egypt.

The earliest form of the myth is far different from the later, and has probably preserved for us the traces of some tribal revolution of prehistoric times. In the most remote age it appears that *Osiris*, *Isis*, *Horus*, and *Set* were all independent and unconnected deities, belonging probably to different tribes. *Isis* was a virgin goddess at Buto in the Delta. (1) *Horus* came to be worshiped with her, and was therefore called her son, though a separate form as "*Horus* the elder," apart from *Isis*, continued until late times. Then *Set* was worshiped along with *Horus* and *Isis*, and is treated as a coequal god with *Horus*. Lastly, *Osiris* came to be united with this family, *Isis* was considered his wife, *Horus* his son, and *Set*, with whom he was at enmity, ceased to be coequal with *Horus*, and became the evil brother of *Osiris*, with whom *Horus* waged ceaseless war. This warfare of the *Horus* tribe with the earlier members of the *Set* tribe forms the oldest chapter of the legendary history, the earlier stages of the religious changes being only dimly preserved, owing to intense conservatism.

At the earliest historic times we find, then, a compact family of gods: *Osiris*, who married his sister *Isis* (for thus all good brothers were bound to do in ancient Egypt), and also his sister *Nebhat*, or *Nephthys*, who is otherwise considered the wife of *Set*, the evil brother of *Osiris*. The sons of *Osiris* were *Horus*, from *Isis*, and *Anpu* or *Anubis*, from *Nebhat*. The latter is, however, perhaps only a later theologic connection, as *Anubis* is never figured with *Nephthys*, while *Isis* and *Horus* are constantly shown together.

The myth of *Osiris* as stated in Roman times ran thus: *Osiris* came into Egypt as a civilizer and benefactor, teaching agriculture, laws and worship, and abolishing cannibalism, and afterwards went over the world spreading like benefits. *Set*, jealous of him, trapped him in a coffin, which was thrown in the sea, and floated to Byblos in Syria. *Isis* wandered in search of it, and at last obtained it. *Set*, however, found the coffin, cut the body in fourteen pieces and scattered them widely. *Isis*, however, recovered nearly all, (2) and at each place of the pieces a shrine of *Osiris* was set up, known as a Serapeum in Roman times. *Horus* then fought against *Set* and conquered him, placing garrisons of followers by the side of each centre of the power of *Set* to restrain him. *Osiris* then became the god of the dead, whose kingdom lay in the mysterious and inaccessible marshes of the Delta; or later—when they became known—away in the vague coasts of Syria; and lastly, in the northeast quarter of the sky. (3)

As the god of the dead, *Osiris* was of the highest importance to the Egyptian. Every good Egyptian needed to enter his kingdom, and to become osirified, so as to be assured of immortal bliss. Hence all deceased persons were entitled "the *Osiris* so-and-so," much as we speak of "the blessed dead." The kingdom of *Osiris* was a shadowy but glorified copy of earthly life. All the pleasures and needful work of life went on there; and in the vignettes to the "Book of the Dead," which was the guide to the unseen world deposited in the tomb of every well-to-do Egyptian, the varied occupations are delightfully figured. To enter this paradise, however, the dead needed to be judged by *Osiris;* his heart was weighed against truth to see if it were just, and the dead asserted his innocence of a long list of what we should call "mortal sins." If he failed to be accepted, his soul was driven away in the form of a pig to an unknown doom. If his heart proved to be true when weighed, he then

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passed into the fields of Aalu, where *Osiris* ruled, and all was peace and plenty. And even there he did not need to labor if his tomb had been properly provided with the *ushabtis* or slave figures, which we have noticed in the first lesson.

4. THE OSIRIDE RELIGION.

(1) **Primitive Form of Isis.**—The goddess whom we are accustomed to regard as inseparable from Osiris, Isis the cow, or woman with cow's horns, had not always belonged to him. Originally she was an independent deity, dwelling at Buto in the midst of the marshes of Adhu. She had neither husband nor lover, but had spontaneously conceived and given birth to a son, whom she suckled among the reeds—a little Horus who was called Har-si-isit, Horus the son of Isis, to distinguish him from Haroeris (Horus the elder). At an early period she was married to her neighbor Osiris, and no marriage could have been better suited to her nature. For she personified the earth . . . the black and luxuriant plain of the Delta, where races of men, plants, and animals increase and multiply in ever succeeding generations. To whom did she owe this inexhaustible productive energy if not to her neighbor Osiris, to the Nile? . . . The marriage of the two elements suggested that of the two divinities: Osiris wedded Isis and adopted the young Horus.—*Maspero*, "*Dawn of Civilization*," *pp. 131-2.*

(2) **Lamentations of Isis.**—Come to thine abode! come to thine abode! god An (Osiris), come to thine abode! Thine enemies exist no more. O excellent sovereign come to thine abode!

Look at me: I am thy sister who loveth thee. Do not stay far from me, O beautiful youth. Come to thine abode with haste, with haste.

I see thee no more; my heart is full of bitterness on account of thee. Mine eyes seek thee; I seek thee to behold thee. Will it be long ere I see thee? Will it be long ere I see thee? O excellent sovereign, will it be long ere I see thee? Beholding thee is happiness; beholding thee is happiness, O god An, beholding thee is happiness.



Isis and Horus, assisted by two hawks, restoring to life Osiris by means of spells and ceremonies. The side of the bier shows Thoth and some sacred animals. Above appears the inscription "Osiris-wennufer in the midst of the house of Sokar (mortuary god): may he grant satisfying life to Seti I."

Come to her who loveth thee; come to her who loveth thee, O Un-nefer (Osiris) the justified. Come to thy sister, come to thy wife; come to thy sister, come to thy wife; O Urt-het (Osiris), come to thy wife.

I am thy sister by thy mother; do not separate thyself from me. Gods and men turn their faces towards thee, weeping together for thee, whenever they behold me.

I call thee in my lamentations, even to the heights of Heaven, and thou hearest not my voice.

I am thy sister who loveth thee on earth; no one else hath loved thee more than I, thy sister, thy sister.—"*Records of the Past*," *II., pp. 119-20.*

(3) **The Myth of Osiris.**—There he was met by

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the gods and goddesses of the court of Osiris: by Anubis, by Hâthor the lady of the cemetery, by Nit, by the two Mâits who preside over justice and truth, and by the four children of Horus stiff-sheathed in their mummy wrappings! They formed as it were a guard of honor to introduce him and his winged guide into an immense hall, the ceiling of which rested on light graceful columns of painted wood. At the further end of the hall Osiris was seated in mysterious twilight within a shrine through whose open doors he might be seen wearing a red necklace over his close-fitting case of white bandaging, his green face surmounted by the tall, white diadem flanked by two plumes, his slender hands grasping flail and crook, the emblems of his power. Behind him stood Isis and Nephthys watching over him with uplifted hands, bare bosoms, and bodies straitly cased in linen. Forty-two jurors who had died and been restored to life like their lord, and who had been chosen, one from each of those cities of Egypt which recognized his authority, squatted right and left, and motionless, clothed in the wrappings of the dead, silently waited until they were addressed. The soul first advanced to the foot of the throne, carrying on its outstretched hands the image of its heart or of its eyes, agents and accomplices of its sins and virtues. It humbly "smelt the earth," then arose, and with uplifted hands recited its profession of faith: "Hail unto you, ye lords of Truth! hail to thee, great god, lord of Truth and Justice! I have come before thee, my master; I have been brought to see thy beauties. For I know thee, I know thy name, I know the names of thy forty-two gods who are with thee in the Hall of the Two Truths, living on the remains of sinners, gorging themselves with their blood, in that day when account is rendered before Onnophris, the true of voice. Thy name which is thine is 'the god whose two twins are the ladies of the two Truths'; and I, I know you, ye lords of the two Truths, I bring unto you Truth, I have destroyed sins for you. I have not committed iniquity against men! I have not oppressed the poor! I have not made defalcations in the necropolis! I have not laid labor upon any free man beyond that which he wrought for himself! I have not transgressed, I have not been weak, I have not defaulted, I have not committed that which is an abomination to the gods! I have not caused the slave to be ill-treated of his master! I have not starved any man; I have not made any to weep; I have not assassinated any man; I have not caused any man to be treacherously assassinated, and I have not committed treason against any! I have not in aught diminished the supplies of temples! I have not spoiled the shewbread of the gods! I have not taken away the loaves and the wrappings of the dead! I have done no carnal act within the sacred enclosure of the temple! I have not blasphemed! I have in nought curtailed the sacred revenues! I have not pulled down the scale of the balance! I have not falsified the beam of the balance! I have not taken away the milk from the mouths of sucklings! I have not lassoed cattle on their pastures! I have not taken with nets the birds of the gods! I have not fished in their ponds! I have not turned back the water in its season! I have not cut off a water channel in its course! I have not put out the fire in its time! I have not defrauded the Nine Gods of the choice parts of victims! I have not ejected the oxen of the gods! I have not turned back the god at his coming forth! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! I am pure! Pure as this Great Bonû of Heracleopolis is pure! . . . There is no crime against me in this land of the Double Truth! Since I know the names of the gods who are with thee in the Hall of the Double Truth, save thou me from them!" He then turned towards the jury and pleaded his cause before them. They had been severally appointed for the cognizance of particular sins, and the dead man took each of them by name to witness that he was innocent of the sin which that one recorded. His plea ended, he returned to the supreme judge, and repeated, under what is sometimes a highly mystic form, the ideas which he had already advanced in the first part of his address: "Hail unto you, ye gods who are in the Great Hall of the Double Truth, who have no falsehood in your bosoms, but who live on Truth in Aûnû, and feed your hearts upon it before the Lord God who dwelleth in his solar disc! Deliver me from the Typhon who feedeth on entrails, O chiefs! in this hour of supreme judgment; grant that the deceased may come unto you, he who hath not sinned, who hath neither lied, nor done evil, nor committed any crime, who hath not borne false witness, who hath done nought against himself, but who liveth on truth, who feedeth on truth. He had spread joy on all sides; men speak of that which he hath done, and the gods rejoice in it. He hath reconciled the god to him by his love; he hath given bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked; he hath given a boat to the shipwrecked; he hath offered sacrifices to the gods, sepulchral meals unto the manes. Deliver him from himself, speak not against him before the Lord of the Dead, for his mouth is pure, and his two hands are pure!" In the middle of the Hall, however, his acts were being weighed by the assessors. Like all objects of the gods, the balance is magic, and the genius which animates it sometimes shows its fine and delicate little human head on the top of the upright stand which forms its body. Everything about the balance recalls its superhuman origin; a cynocephalus, emblematic of Thot, sits perched on the upright and watches the beam; the cords which suspend the scales are made of alternate *cruces ansatæ* and *tats*. Truth squats upon one of the scales; Thot, ibis-headed, places the heart on the other, and always merciful, bears upon the side of Truth that judgment may be favorably inclined. He affirms that the heart is light of offence, inscribes the result of the proceeding upon a wooden tablet, and pronounces the verdict aloud: "Thus saith Thot, lord of divine discourse, scribe of the Great Ennead, to his father Osiris, lord of eternity, 'Behold the deceased in this Hall of the Double Truth, his heart hath been weighed in the balance in the presence of the great genii, the lords of Hades, and been found true. No trace of earthly impurity hath been found in his heart. Now that he leaveth the tribunal true of voice, his heart is restored to him, as well as his eyes and the material cover of his heart, to be put back in their places, each in its own time, his soul in heaven, his heart in the other world, as is the custom of the Followers of Horus. Henceforth let his body lie in the hands of Anubis; let him receive offerings at the cemetery in the presence of Onnophris; let him be as one of those favorites who follow thee; let his soul abide where it will in the necropolis of his city, he whose voice is true before the Great Ennead.'"—*G. Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," pp. 187-191.*

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5. THE COSMOGONIC RELIGION.

So great has been the influence of sun-worship in Egypt that to the later Egyptians it absorbed everything else, and almost all the other gods became identified with *Ra*, the sun-god. (1) In the early times before 2000 B.C., the solar and cosmogonic gods receive but two or three per cent. of all the mentions of divinities. In the XVIII.-XX. dynasty they receive over thirty per cent., while later than that they are less prominent, but only because almost every other god was subdued to *Ra* and formed but a manifestation of the sun.

This cosmogony has many elements similar to that of Mesopotamia, familiar to us in Genesis. The sky or celestial ocean, *Nut*, rests upon the earth, *Seb*, to begin with. Then a firmament lifts the waters above from the waters below, and the god *Shu* raises *Nut* and supports her on his arms. *Shu* is empty space or air, symbolized by the lightest bulk known—an ostrich feather. Another version was that *Ra*, the sun himself, lifted the upper waters from the lower; and this may be seen daily in the sun lifting the thick fog and cloud from off the Nile. The sky, *Nut*, was symbolized by a woman spotted over with stars, and resting with hands and feet on the ground—the four pillars of the sky—while *Shu*, or space, supports her body on his upraised arms. *Seb*, the earth, symbolized as a man, lies on the ground below. (2)



Air supporting Sky, while Earth reclines below.

The sun has several names, and was worshiped as different gods at different times of day. *Ra* was an entirely human god, and this name is maintained for the sun throughout the whole day and night. *Harakhti*, or *Horus* on the horizon, a compounding of *Ra* with *Horus*, is a hawk-headed god, who specially is the rising and morning sun. Another form, *Atmu* or *Tum*, is the afternoon sun; and *Khepra* is the night sun. (3) *Atmu* is the god who is theologically said to have created everything by the word of his power. Heliopolis, in the Delta, just below Cairo, was the special center of this worship; and the story of creation as told there was in three scenes: First, the separation of *Ra* and *Atmu*, *Ra* being the sun and *Atmu* the creator; second, the lifting of the sky (*Nut*) from the earth (*Seb*); third, the birth of the Nile and of cultivation. This corresponds to the first three days of Genesis; the separation of light from the Creator, the separation of the upper waters from the lower by space, and the production of sea and land and plants. (4). Specially connected with this *Ra* worship was the division of the day and night each into twelve hours. The separate hours of day are not specially important, but the hours of night form the basis of one of the most essential beliefs of Egypt. Each hour was a different territory through which the sun passed, accompanied by his bodyguard of gods, and the spirits of the faithful who accompanied him. (5) Several religious works were adapted to this idea, or founded on it. The Book of the Dead, the Book of the Shades (Duat), and the Book of Gates or of Hades belong to this form of spiritual guide-book. Such words were placed in the tomb, written on papyrus, or on the walls of some of the royal tombs, so that the dead could have them always at hand to warn them of their nightly dangers and to give the charms which could lead them safely past the many demons who would obstruct their progress in each of the hours. In the earlier writings of the Book of the Dead the hours are not so prominent, and *Osiris* is more important than *Ra* as a patron of the dead; but in all

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the later writings *Ra* became more and more important, and the twelve hours are the basis of the whole system. The motion of the sun was seen to be smooth and regular, as that of a boat on water; and rain was known to descend from the sky. Hence the conclusion was not unnatural that there was a river above in the sky, and the sun floated in a boat on that river. The boat or bark of the sun is therefore constantly represented, and the gods who formed his bodyguard went with him in this boat. Whenever the sun as a moving body was to be shown, as in rising or setting, the disc is figured on a boat. (6)

5. THE COSMOGONIC RELIGION.

(1) **Union of Ra with Other Gods.**—Of the more important gods, Ptah was almost the only one to escape the common lot of fusion with the sun, and this simply because he was already practically merged in Osiris, god and ruler of the realm of the dead.—*Wiedemann, "Religion," p. 43.*

"Hail Ra! the royal Osiris (Sety I) is thyself, and reciprocally. Hail Ra! thy spirit is that of Osiris, thy course is his in the empyrean."—*Litany of Ra, in "Records of the Past," VIII., p. 113.*

This course would gradually lead to the abolition of polytheism, and in fact this tendency is very apparent. Thus, *e.g.*, in the phraseology of the hymn to the sun-god, the divine amalgam, composed of Amon, Ra, Harmachis, Atmum, is called the "only god, in truth, the living one."—*A. Erman, "Life in Ancient Egypt," p. 261.*

(2) **Seb and Nut.**—In the beginning earth and sky were two lovers lost in the Nu (ocean of chaos), fast locked in each other's embrace, the god lying beneath the goddess. On the day of creation a new god, Shu, came forth from the primeval waters, slipped between the two, and, seizing Nut with both hands, lifted her above his head with outstretched arms. Though the starry body of the goddess extended in space—her head being to the west and her loins to the east—her feet and hands hung down to earth. These were the four pillars of the firmament under another form, and four gods of four adjacent principalities were in charge of them. . . . Nevertheless, Seb had not been satisfied to meet the irruption of Shu by mere passive resistance. He had tried to struggle, and he is drawn in the posture of a man who has just awakened out of sleep, and is half turning on his couch before getting up. One of his legs is stretched out, the other is bent and partly drawn up as in the act of rising. The lower part of the body is still unmoved, but he is raising himself with difficulty on his left elbow, while his head drops and his right arm is lifted towards the sky. His effort was suddenly arrested and rendered powerless by a stroke of the creator. Seb remained as if petrified in this position, the obvious irregularities of the earth's surface being due to the painful attitude in which he was stricken. His sides have since been clothed with verdure: generations of men and animals have succeeded each other upon his back, but without bringing any relief to his pain; he suffers evermore from the violent separation of which he was the victim when Nut was torn from him, and his complaint continues to rise to heaven night and day.—*Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," pp. 128, 129.*

(3) **Different Phases of the Sun.**—Ra symbolized the sun of springtime and before sunrise; Harmakhuti the summer and the morning sun; Atmu the sun of autumn and of afternoon; Khepra that of winter and of night.—*Ibid, p. 139.*

(The order was, however, not invariable.) In a Turin papyrus it is said: "I am Khepra in the morning, Ra at noon, and Atmu in the evening." But this distinction was not thoroughly carried out, and occasionally Khepra may indicate the sun in general.—*Wiedemann, "Religion," p. 31.*

(4) **Action of Atmu.**—Atmu then, rather than Ra, was placed by the Heliopolitan priests at the head of their cosmogony as supreme creator and governor. Several versions were current as to how he had passed from inertia into action, from the personage of Atmu into that of Ra. According to the version most widely received he had suddenly cried across the waters, "Come unto me!" and immediately the mysterious lotus had unfolded its petals, and Ra had appeared at the edge of its open cup as a disk, a new born child, or a disk-crowned sparrow-hawk; this was probably a refined form of a ruder and earlier tradition, according to which it was upon Ra himself that the office had devolved of separating Seb from Nut, for the purpose of constructing the heavens and the earth. But it was doubtless felt that so unseemly an act of intervention was beneath the dignity even of an inferior form of the suzerain god; Shu was, therefore, borrowed for the purpose from the kindred cult of Anhur, and at Heliopolis, as at Sebennytos, the office was entrusted to him of seizing the sky-goddess and raising her with outstretched arms. — *Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," p. 140.*

(5) **The Underworld.**—The other world, the Duat, is like Egypt, a valley between two mountains, divided in the midst by a river, the celestial Nile, of which the waters flow from west to north for half the way, and then turn from north to east. . . . This Egypt of the shades is divided into twelve regions, corresponding to each of the hours of the night, and which formed according to the case a country, a city, or a province, a stone house of chambers, and separate houses, dwellings or prisons, a vaulted hall, or a circle—to employ the word of Dante.

(6) **Boat of the Sun.**—The sun was a disc of fire placed upon a boat. At the same equable rate the river carried it round the ramparts of the world. From evening until morning it disappeared within the gorges of Duat; its light did not then reach us, and it was night.—*Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," pp. 18, 19.*

As soon as his bark appeared at the east bend of the celestial Nile, the cynocephali who guarded the entrance into night began to dance and gesticulate upon the banks as they intoned their accustomed hymn. The gods of Abydos mingled their shouts of joy with the chant of the sacred baboons; the bark lingered for a moment upon the frontiers of day, and instructed souls seized the occasion to secure their recognition and their reception on board of it.—*Ibid, pp. 197, 198.*

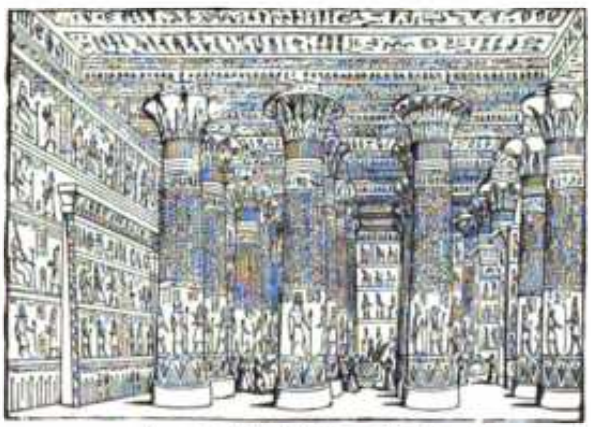
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6. THE ABSTRACT RELIGION.

The forms of religion that we have already noticed are comparatively free from abstract ideas. The utmost that can be said of the animal worship is that it may have originated in the animals being adored as embodying or exemplifying certain attributes. Of *Osiris* it may be that he was a god of vegetation; and *Horus* and *Set* are looked on as the principles of good and evil. The whole cosmogony is essentially concrete, with hardly any abstraction traceable.

But another class of gods, which stand quite apart from all the others, are essentially abstract. *Ptah*, the god of Memphis, is the creator; he is not like the creator *Atmu*, identified with the sun; nor like the creator *Khnumu*, a potter; but he is the divine architect who ordains. And his companion goddess is even more abstract; *Maat* is law and orderly regulation, justice and principle, expressed in sign by the cubit measuring-rod. Such is one great abstract conception, the creator working by law and measure.

Another pair of abstractions was that of the divine Father, and of universal Mother Nature. The great father god was *Min* (otherwise rendered as *Khem*), represented by images furnished with a *phallos*, in whom all the beauty and life and vigor of nature rejoiced, (1) And parallel to him was *Hathor*, the great mother, who was worshiped in every capital of the country, and identified in turn with all the other goddesses. (2) In some places she was the sky, being identified with *Nut*, from whom sprang everything. In other places she was *Isis*, the principal divine mother of the earlier mythologies. In the early times, before 2000 B.C., she seems to have received a quarter of the whole devotion of the land, but in later periods her importance diminished.



Hypostyle Hall of the Esneh Temple.

We have now given some outline of the principal ideas of the Egyptian religion, but we have not attempted to enter on the details of the attributes or usual forms of the gods, which would convey little or no distinctive notion of the mental view.

There remain some other gods of great importance which do not form part of the main groups here presented, and which were strictly local in their origin. Several of these were partly human, partly animal. *Khnumu*, the ram-headed god of the cataract, was the modeler who frames each living man, being shown with a potter's wheel, on which he models a man. *Tahuti*, the ibis-headed god of Eshmunên, was the patron of learning, of wisdom, and of measurement; he is also connected with the moon, and the cynocephalus ape was sacred to him, and often shown as his emblem. *Amen*, the ram-headed or entirely human god of Thebes, was the great god of that district; (4) as such he had to be assimilated to *Ra*, when *Ra* (the sun) was supreme, thus becoming *Amen-Ra;* (4) and also assimilated to *Min*, the divine father, becoming *Min-Amen*. He was always associated with a local goddess, *Mut*, whose name means simply the "Mother." And their son *Khonsu* was connected with the moon. Owing to the political supremacy of Thebes, the influence of the worshipers of this triad of gods carried them widely throughout Egypt. *Sokar*, the Memphite god of the dead, was adored as a hawk; in early times he was united in worship with *Osiris*, as *Sokar-osiris*, and later on *Ptah*, of Memphis, was

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joined with them as *Ptah-sokar-osiris.* This system of piling names together, confusing as it seems, is of great historical value, as it shows that such similar gods must have belonged to different tribes to begin with. *Bast*, the lion-headed goddess of Bubastis, was very important about 1000-700 B.C., when that city was the royal capital; but no very distinctive character was assigned to her, the worship being mainly associated with dances and orgies. *Bes*—perhaps connected with Bast—was the god of dancing; originally he seems to have been female, and the early figures of dancing girls and snake-charmers wear the lion-skin headdress and tail of *Bes;* later a waist-cloth was added, and the lion's beard led to transforming the whole figure into a male god. Probably he was a foreign importation from Arabia, after the prehistoric mixtures of races in Egypt. And another divinity that was mainly connected with foreigners was the goddess *Neit*, who was especially Libyan, and rose into importance when her city, Sais, became the capital of Egypt from about 660 to 330 B.C.

This is only the barest outline of the main features of a most complex group of simultaneously active religions in Egypt. In all there are reckoned to be about fifty important gods, fifty varieties of *Hathor*, about one hundred minor and local gods, thirty sacred animals, and about two hundred spirits and genii of Hades.

6. THE ABSTRACT RELIGION.

(1) **Hymn to Min.**—Glory to thee, Min of Koptos; . . . great of love, piercing the sky with the double feathers, lord of joy in the shrine, king of the gods, sweet of love, full of his mother, upon his great throne, great god in the two hemispheres, . . . male of the gods, valiant, prince of the desert, loving mankind, he has created youths. His abomination is to say, "Cut short the breath of life by which one lives;" causing to breathe him who follows his current (or ways) Fair of face, he enriches the two breasts; beautiful beyond the gods, his excellence is beyond the divine cycle, satisfying the majesty (of the king) in the desert and in the eastern mountains (the special abode of Min); . . . healing the sick, making the distressed to live, good physician to him that places him in his heart, making to live him whose heart is contracted. . . . I slept not at night, I rested not in the daytime, searching after thy beauties in my heart.—*Translated by Griffith in Petrie's "Koptos," p. 20.*

(2) **Nature of Hathor.**—She was the goddess of love and joy, to whom many festivals were dedicated, and whose magnificent temple at Denderah is still comparatively uninjured. Here she was esteemed the sum and substance of feminine godhead, and all goddesses were considered as forms or attributes of Hathor, worshiped under different names, so that, according to the priests of Denderah, all prayers to them were in reality addressed to Hathor.—*Wiedemann, "Religion," p. 142.*

The Egyptians knew that Hathor, the milch cow, had taken up her abode in their land from very ancient times, and they called her the Lady of Punt (south end of Red Sea), after the name of her native country.—*Maspero, "Dawn of Civilization," p. 84.*

The most famous of all the sacred trees, the Sycamore of the South, was regarded as the living body of Hathor on earth.—*Ibid., p. 122.*

The double of the dead met the god-cow Hathor, the lady of the west, in meadows of tall plants, where every evening she received the sun at its setting. If the dead man knew how to ask it according to the prescribed rite, she would take him upon her shoulders and carry him across the accursed countries at full speed.—*Ibid., p. 186*

(3) **Hymns to Amen.**—O Amen, lend thine ear to him who is alone before the tribunal; he is poor; he is not rich; the court oppresses him, silver and gold for the clerks of the book, garments for the servants. There is no other Amen acting as a judge to deliver one from his misery, when the poor man is before the tribunal, making the poor to go forth rich.

(Another).—I cry, The beginning of wisdom is the way of Amen, the rudder of truth. Thou art he that giveth bread to him who has none, that sustaineth the servant of his house. Let no prince be my defender in all my troubles; let not my memorial be placed under the power of any man who is in the house. My Lord is my defender; there is none mighty but him alone Strong is Amen, knowing how to answer, fulfilling the desire of him who cries to him; The Sun, the true king of gods, the strong bull, the mighty lover of power.—*1200 "B.C. Records of the Past," VI., pp. 99, 100.*

(4) **Hymn to Amen-Ra.**—The one maker of existences, maker of beings, from whose eyes mankind came forth, of whose mouth are the gods; maker of grass for the cattle, and fruitful trees for men; causing the fish to live in the river, the birds to fill the air; giving breath to those in the egg, feeding the bird that flies, giving food to the bird that perches, to the creeping thing and the flying thing equally; providing food for the rats in their holes, feeding the flying things in every tree.

Hail to thee, say all creatures; salutation to thee from every land; to the height of heaven, to the breadth of the earth, to the depth of the sea, the gods adore thy majesty; the spirits thou hast created exalt thee, rejoicing before the feet of their begetter; they cry out welcome to thee, father of the fathers of all the gods, who raises the heavens, who fixes the earth.

Maker of beings, creator of existences, sovereign of life, health, and strength, chief of the gods, we worship thy spirit who alone hast made us; we, whom thou hast made, thank thee that thou hast given us birth; we give to thee praises on account of thy mercy to us.—*Ibid., VI., pp. 132, 133.*

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FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **NATURE AND DESTINY OF THE SOUL.**—Various views. Mummy, Ghost, Shadow, Soul, Glory, Will, Strength, Name, Offerings, Images, Sculptures, Paintings, Kingdom of Osiris, Human sacrifice, Ushabtis, The god Ra, Combat with spirits.
2. **DOMESTIC WORSHIP.**—Magic, Amulets for living and dead, Household cult, The niche, Horus with Isis, Osiris, Female figures, Monogram.
3. **WORSHIP OF ANIMALS.**—Its extension, Animals worshiped, No *tabu*, Sacramental feast, Not useful or emblematic, but superhuman, Apis, Mnevis, Bakis, Onuphis, The jackal
4. **THE OSIRIDE RELIGION.**—Osiris, Isis, Horus, Set, Nephthys, The Osiris myth, The kingdom of Osiris, Judgment, Aalu.
5. **THE COSMOGONIC RELIGION.**—Ra and his influence, Cosmogony, Nut, Seb, Shu, Ra, Horus, Khepra, Atmu, Three scenes, Twelve hours, Religious books, Sun in its boat.
6. **THE ABSTRACT RELIGION.**—Ptah and Maat, Min and Hathor, Khnumu, Tahuti, Amen, Amen-Ra, Min-Amen, Amen Nut and Khonsu, Bes, Neit.



Lion-form of some king, about 2,000 B.C. Later identified by the Egyptians with *Harmachis*, a solar *Horus*; and called by the Greeks a Sphinx.

QUESTIONS.

1. *How may the various views be accounted for? State the simplest notion and practice. State the subsequent changes in practice. State the Osiride view. What was the function of the ushabti? How was the "Book of the Dead" used?*

2. *How was magic applied? What forms of amulets were used? What was an important household cult? Name the gods of the later household cult. (The want of material evidence for an earlier household cult of nature-gods does not prove there was no such worship; indeed, it is morally certain that there was.) With what worship did that of Isis and Horus easily coalesce?*

3. *Mention some sacred animals. How was the species affected? How did these sacred animals end their lives? What was the source of this cult? Specify some famous cases described by Greek and Roman authors. Why was the jackal sacred?*



Mummy Case. Period of the New Empire.

4. *State the varying importance of the Osiris family. Explain how its various members arose. State their final relations. Sketch the myth of Osiris. Explain the preëminence of Osiris. What were deceased Egyptians called? Why? Describe the judgment before Osiris.*

5. *What part did sun-worship play? Relate the cosmogonic myth. Distinguish the various sun-gods. State the three scenes of creation. What did the twelve hours of the night represent? Why was the sun depicted on a boat?*

6. *Characterize Ptah and Maat. Who were Min and Hathor? How was Hathor identified? Name the Theban triad of gods. With what other gods was Amen associated? What was the origin of Bes and of Neit?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Recall the parallels to human sacrifice hitherto noted in other religions.*

2. *Compare the "orgies at Bubastis" with those mentioned on pages 322-23.*

3. *Specify some cases of animal worship in all the other religions hitherto studied, and thus correct a common error that animal worship was peculiar to Egypt.*

4. *With Osiris compare King Yama (p. 189) and Amida Buddha (pp. 265-66).*

5. *Compare with the many sun-gods here the four of Vedism (p. 182).*

6. *Point out the instances of political influence given in this lesson, and review other instances given in preceding lessons of this course.*

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SEMITIC RELIGION.

BY

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7. THE SEMITIC PEOPLES.

THE name "Semitic" is applied to a body of peoples who in ancient times occupied districts in western Asia and spoke dialects which show many and striking similarities. Because the great majority of these peoples are described in Genesis as descendants of Shem, the son of Noah, they are called Shemites, more commonly written Semites.

Philology organizes them into two groups, northern and southern. The latter embraces the various Arabian communities and the Ethiopians. The northern Semites comprise the Babylonians and Assyrians, the Aramaeans (Syrians), the Canaanites, the Phoenicians, the Hebrews, Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites. Linguistic and historical science is still uncertain as to the race character of the Egyptians, with an inclination in recent years in favor of a strong Semitic element in their constitution. Similarities of language and customs, together with contiguity of habitat, suggest that these peoples are offshoots from one common stock which in the earliest time occupied a single definite region. Scholars differ as to the common home of the original Semitic race, according as they are traced back to (*a*) Armenia, the region between the Caspian and the Black seas; (*b*) Africa, the district opposite the straits of Bab-el-Mandeb; (*c*) southern Mesopotamia, the alluvial region of the lower Euphrates; (*d*) central and northern Arabia. The last view is most in favor. It is geographically more central, and this desert region seems to be most suited to produce what are generally recognized as the primitive Semitic traits.



Assyrian Head.

The various branches of the Semitic race have played a large and significant part in the world's history. Politics, art, science, and religion owe much to their activities. The earliest civilization was probably Semitic. The Semites built up the first

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great empires, were the pioneers in trade, industry, and commerce in the ancient world. Those nations of human history which show most clearly the evidence of progress and which are most closely bound together today in the interests of civilization trace back the beginnings of their advancement to the Semitic communities of western Asia. Three of the world's great religions come from this race. (1) One of the branches of it—the Hebrews or Jews—still lives and prospers in western civilization, vigorous, aggressive and resourceful.

Not distributed so widely as the other great races, they seem to have turned in upon themselves and built up a racial character of a remarkably enduring type and of striking unity of feature. The very facial peculiarities have been preserved, as a glance at the accompanying Assyrian head reveals. Many of these fundamental traits still linger in the nomad Bedouin of today. Indeed, an essential element in the progress of the Semites is found in the contiguity of desert and cultivated land. The wide, sandy, and rocky wastes of Arabia blend impercebtibly into the more fertile and attractive Syrian and Mesopotamian plains and valleys. Thus nomad and agriculturist reacted upon one another, and progress was a slow blending of customs and activities from both spheres. The influence of this element in the social and political life of the Semitic communities was important. Equally significant was the part it played in their religion.

The Semite has always been a marked and peculiar man. Such characteristics as tenacity of purpose, somberness of disposition, which passes, however, on occasion, into bursts of extravagant joy, great hospitality and courtesy, yet cruelty and relentless enmity, intense religiosity, yet abundant sensuality, little constructive and synthetic power, have with good reason been ascribed to him. (2)

7. THE SEMITIC PEOPLES.

(1) **Importance of Early Semitic Religion.**—Our subject, however, is not the history of the several religions that have a Semitic origin, but Semitic religion as a whole in its common features and general type. Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are *positive* religions; that is, they did not grow up like the systems of ancient heathenism, under the action of unconscious forces operating silently from age to age, but trace their origin to the teaching of great religious innovators, who spoke as the organs of a divine revelation, and deliberately departed from the traditions of the past. Behind these positive religions lies the old unconscious religious tradition, the body of religious usage and belief which cannot be traced to the influence of individual minds, and was not propagated on individual authority, but formed part of that inheritance from the past into which successive generations of the Semitic race grew up as it were instinctively, taking it as a matter of course that they should believe and act as their fathers had done before them. The positive Semitic religions had to establish themselves on ground already occupied by these older beliefs and usages; they had to displace what they could not assimilate, and, whether they rejected or absorbed the elements of the older religion, they had at every point to reckon with them and take up a definite attitude towards them. No positive religion that has moved men has been able to start with a *tabula rasa*, and express itself as if religion were beginning for the first time; in form, if not in substance, the new system must be in contact all along the line with the older ideas and practices which it finds in possession. A new scheme of faith can find a hearing only by appealing to religious instincts and susceptibilities that already exist in its audience, and it cannot reach these without taking account of the traditional forms in which all religious feeling is embodied, and without speaking a language which men accustomed to these old forms can understand. Thus, to comprehend a system of positive religion thoroughly, to understand it in its historical origin and form as well as in its abstract principles, we must know the traditional religion that preceded it. It is from this point of view that I invite you to take an interest in the ancient religion of the Semitic peoples; the matter is not one of antiquarian curiosity, but has a direct and important bearing on the great problem of the origins of the spiritual religion of the Bible.—*W. Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," pp. 1, 2.*

(2) **Semite Characteristics.**—This race founded no lasting empires, and showed no great aptitude for art or for literary style; but, in point of religion, it has communicated to the world impulses of immeasurable force, which will act powerfully on the world as long as the Prophet is named or Christ preached. . . . The Semitic races differ from the Indo-European, with whom alone we need compare them, in their greater intensity of disposition and a corresponding poverty of imagination. The Semite has a smaller range of ideas, but he applies them more practically and more thoroughly. He has, indeed, an intensely practical turn, and does not touch philosophy except under an irresistible pressure of great practical ideas, while for plastic art he has no native inclination. From this it follows that the religious views he entertains appear to him less as ideas than as facts, which must be reckoned with to their full extent as other common facts of life must, and from which there is no escape. His religious convictions, therefore, are apt to be carried out to their utmost extent, even at the cost of great and painful sacrifices. —*Menzies, "History of Religion," pp. 156-57.*

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8. EARLY SEMITIC RELIGION. SOURCES AND SCOPE.

A common home and race character suggest common elements of primitive religion from which the separate communities develop the various religious systems which history records. This question is particularly interesting in the case of the Semites because of the relation of Christianity to Judaism, the religion of a Semitic people. What are these primary elements of Semitic religion? To determine them requires (*a*) the collection of contributions of the various distinct worships, (*b*) their careful comparison in order to determine the common traits which may reasonably be ascribed to this period of beginning. Only a portion of this work falls within our field. The study of the great religions of the Semitic world is to be taken up elsewhere in this series. But the contribution of the early cults and less highly organized systems is valuable because they ordinarily preserve in a cruder form survivals of original forms of religious life. (1)

Difficulties arise in any systematic presentation of early Semitic religion because few memorials, and these in fragmentary form, are available for study. Were it not that ancient religion is a very conservative institution and preserves some very ancient customs even when their significance is lost, any discussion at all would be impossible. These survivals, however, in custom, cult, and language are speaking memorials of an earlier time. Religions now dead have left behind temples and idols, or have found descriptions in travelers' tales or the pages of ancient historians. Codes of laws, coins, funeral inscriptions, and tombs in general often yield grateful results.

Arabia, where nomadism is the permanent social system, yields the simplest and crudest forms of religion. Early Arabic poetry which precedes the introduction of Mohammedanism, has preserved some memorials of it. The cults of Syria, where political organization never reached unity, are second in importance. Our knowledge of the Canaanites receives valuable incidental contributions from the Old Testament, while much useful material is furnished for the Aramaeans by the Pseudo-Lucian, whose treatise "On the God of Syria" has come down to us. The Phœnician religion, yet further advanced in organization, has yielded much more material to excavation in the way of religious objects and inscriptions, besides being described in a fragmentary way by Greek writers and late native historians writing in Greek.

All this is scanty enough, and warns the student against hasty generalization and too great expectations of certain knowledge.

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8. EARLY SEMITIC RELIGION. SOURCES AND SCOPE.

(1) **A Phœnician Inscription.**—To our lord Melkarth, the lord of Tyre. The offerer is thy servant, Abd-Osiri, and my brother, Osiri-Shomar, both (of us) sons of Osiri-Shomar, the son of Abd-Osiri. In hearing their voice, may he bless them. —*On a Cippus found in Malta, quoted in Rawlinson's "Phœnicia," p. 400.*

A Phœnician Cosmogony.—From the wind, Colpia, and his wife, Bahu, which is by interpretation "Night," were born Aeon and Protogonus, mortal men so named; of whom one, viz., Aeon, discovered that life might be sustained by the fruits of trees. Their immediate descendants were called Genos and Genea, who lived in Phœnicia, and in time of drought stretched forth their hands to heaven towards the sun; for him they regarded as the sole Lord of Heaven, and called him Baalsamin, which means "Lord of Heaven" in the Phœnician tongue, and is equivalent to Zeus in Greek. And from Genos, son of Aeon and Protogonus, were begotten mortal children, called Phos, and Pyr, and Phlox (*i.e.*, Light, Fire, and Flame). These persons invented the method of producing fire by rubbing two pieces of wood together, and taught men to employ it. They begat sons of surprising size and stature, whose names were given to the mountains whereof they had obtained possession, viz., Casius, and Libanus, and Antilibanus, and Brathy. From them were produced Memrumus and Hypsuranius, who took their names from their mothers, women in those days yielding themselves without shame to any man whom they happened to meet. Hypsuranius lived at Tyre, and invented the art of building huts with reeds and rushes and the papyrus plant. He quarreled with his brother, Usôus, who was the first to make clothing for the body out of the skins of the wild beasts which he slew. On one occasion, when there was a great storm of wind and rain, the trees in the neighborhood of Tyre so rubbed against each other that they took fire, and the whole forest was burnt; whereupon Usôus took a tree, and having it cleared of its boughs

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was the first to venture on the sea in a boat. He also consecrated two pillars of Fire and Wind, and worshiped them, and poured upon them the blood of the animals which he took by hunting. And when the two brothers were dead, those who remained alive consecrated rods to their memory, and continued to worship the pillars, and to hold a festival in their honor year by year.—*From Philo Byblius, translated in "Rawlinson's "Phœnicia," pp. 387-88.*

Light from the Grave.—Occasionally we get a glimpse, beyond the mere dry facts, into the region of thought, as where the erector of a monument appends to the name of one, whom we may suppose to have been a miser, the remark, that "the reward of him who heaps up riches is contempt"; or where one who entertains the hope that his friend is happier in another world than he was upon earth, thus expresses himself: "In memory of Esmun. After rain, the sun shines forth;" or, again, where domestic affection shows itself in the declaration concerning the departed: "When he entered into the house that is so full (of guests), there was grief for the memory of the sage, the man that was hard as adamant, that bore calamities of every sort, that was a widower through the death of my mother, that was like a pellucid fountain, and had a name pure from crime. Erected in affection by me, his son, to my father."—*Rawlinson, "Phœnicia," p. 402.*

Religion and Early Society.—Religion in primitive times was not a system of belief with practical applications; it was a body of fixed traditional practices, to which every member of society conformed as a matter of course. . . . Strictly speaking, indeed, I understand the case when I say that the oldest religions and political institutions present a close analogy. It would be more correct to say that they were parts of one whole or social custom. Religion was a part of the organized social life into which a man was born, and to which he conformed through life in the same unconscious way in which men fall into any habitual practice of the society in which they live. Men took the gods and their worship for granted, just as they took the other usages of the state for granted; and if they reasoned or speculated about them, they did so on the presupposition that the traditional usages were fixed things, behind which their reasonings must not go.—*W. Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," pp. 20, 21.*

Meyer's Estimate of Primitive Semitic Religion.—Semitic religious conceptions are but little complex. The powers active in nature go forth from spirits, daemons, who act according to their mood, and who, according to circumstances, have friendly or unfriendly feelings towards man, and must be won by him through sacrifice and prayer. They dwell above all in trees and stones and heights. The cultus particularly is connected with holy stones. Next to them are the daemons that protect family and house, primarily the guardian lord of the tribe, who lives with it, grants it victory and power, and as belonging especially to it stands in sharp contrast both to all other widely worshiped deities and to all foreign tribes. Next are also the phenomena of heaven, the sun and moon god, the "lord of heaven" is worshiped. Behind all these powers, like the chief at the head of the tribe, stands the highest god, *Il*. He is indeed the highest world power, but on that account he stands far from men, is unapproachable by them, is acknowledged, but little worshiped, and often quite ignored; and so is explained why the word *God* among these various Semitic peoples is some form of *Il*. The relation of individuals to these deities is conceived of in a strictly practical and calculating way; no ethical or mystical relation. Man is the servant of *God*, before whom he bows in the dust. He may influence the subordinate and local daemons, but feels himself utterly dependent upon the great powers of nature, and unconditionally obedient to them. Hence the development of brutal religious fanaticism and a bloodthirsty cult. Out of this feeling springs the much described monotheistic tendency of the Semitic religions. The local god is the supreme lord of his worshipers, but the development of these views rests upon the principle of exclusion, not of speculation or mystical pantheism."—*E. Meyer, "Geschichte des Altertums," Vol. I.*

Phœnician Rites.—But there were two respects in which the religion was, if not singular, at any rate markedly different from ordinary polytheisms, though less in the principles involved than in the extent to which they were carried out in practice. These were the prevalence of licentious orgies and of human sacrifice. The worship of Astarte was characterized by the one, the worship of Baal by the other. Phœnician mythology taught that the great god, Il or El, when reigning upon earth as king of Byblus, had, under circumstances of extreme danger to his native land, sacrificed his dearly loved son, Ieoud, as an expiatory offering. Divine sanction had thus been given to the horrid rite; and thenceforth, whenever in Phœnicia either public or private calamity threatened, it became customary that human victims should be selected, the nobler and more honorable the better, and that the wrath of the gods should be appeased by taking their lives. The mode of death was horrible. The sacrifices were to be consumed by fire; the life given by the Fire God he should also take back again by the flames which destroy being. The rabbis describe the image of Moloch as a human figure with a bull's head and outstretched arms; and the account which they give is confirmed by what Diodorus relates of the Carthaginian Kronos. His image, Diodorus says, was of metal, and was made hot by a fire kindled within it; the victims were placed in its arms and thence rolled into the fiery lap below. The most usual form of the rite was the sacrifice of their children—especially of their eldest sons—by parents. This custom was grounded in part on the notion that children were the dearest possession of their parents, and, in part, that as pure and innocent beings they were the offerings of atonement most certain to pacify the anger of the deity; and further, that the god of whose essence the generative power of nature was had a just title to that which was begotten of man, and to the surrender of their children's lives. . . . Voluntary offering on the part of the parents was essential to the success of the sacrifice; even the first-born, nay, the only child of the family, was given up. The parents stopped the cries of their children by fondling and kissing them, for the victim ought not to weep; and the sound of complaint was drowned in the din of flutes and kettledrums. Mothers, according to Plutarch, stood by without tears or sobs; if they wept or sobbed they lost the honor of the act, and their children were sacrificed notwithstanding. Such sacrifices took place either annually or on an appointed day, or before great enterprises, or on the occasion of public calamities, to appease the wrath of the god.—"*History of Phœnicia," pp. 345-47.*

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9. THE NOMADIC RELIGION.

The simplest form of Semitic social organization and the most primitive cult are found among the nomadic tribes of northern Arabia. Hence these may be regarded as affording a type of early Semitic religion. Two elements condition this religion.

(*a*) Nature in Arabia is monotonous and its aspect unfavorable. Desert beneath, and the wide sky above, the whirling wind and frequent storm, the burning sun, the infrequent oasis, the scanty means of subsistence—all tend to produce few nature-gods, to connect those with the air and the heaven, and to lay the emphasis upon the stern side of nature in its relation to man. The most widely-known divine name among the Semites is *Il*, "the Strong One," or "the High One," found in almost all Semitic languages (Assyrian, *Ilu;* Hebrew, *El;* Phœnician, *Alon;* Arabic, *Allah*, etc.). Hence the attitude of deity toward man is that of absolute power, of authority arbitrary, irresistible, and inevitable. The attitude of man is that of dependence, submission, unquestioning obedience, and devotion. This is expressed most clearly in that extensive Semitic practice of human sacrifice even of which almost every Semitic religion bears evidence more or less clear. It is shown likewise in those names of worshipers which Phœnician inscriptions have preserved, containing a divine name compounded with *abd*, "slave," or *kelb*, "dog," *e.g.*, *kalbiel*, "dog of god."

(*b*) Contrasting with the comparatively narrow range of the nature influence is the intimate relation of this religion to the social organization of the Semitic nomads. The center of life is the tribe to which the individual is subordinate, in which his individuality is swallowed up. The essential element of tribal organization is blood kinship. This makes the tribe a unity. This unity is maintained by the common meal, and manifested in the assembly for war—two essential elements of tribal membership. Religion exists in this unity, and sanctions it. The god is the protector, father, ruler of the tribe. The common meal is not enjoyed without him; he, too, partakes in it. It is the primitive sacrifice in which the compact, the blood fellowship, human and divine, is revived and strengthened. On such occasions alone flesh is eaten, the flesh of a sacred animal, by which the bond of deity and worshipers is cemented yet more strongly. (1) Thus divine power and favor enter into the very heart of the community. The god lives in it, fights for it, protects and blesses it. This tribal conception of deity was held by the Semitic nomads with extraordinary intensity, as the sense of tribal unity was highly developed among them. This was characteristic of desert life where the sum of varied external interests is small. The relations of man become more important than the aspects of nature. The latter are significant chiefly as they affect his life and that of his flocks and herds. Worship must be simple and the objects of worship portable. (2)

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9. THE NOMADIC RELIGION.

(1) **Meaning of Primitive Semitic Sacrifice.**—The sacred function is the act of the whole community, which is conceived as a circle of brethren, united with one another and with their god by participation in one life or life-blood. The same blood is supposed to flow also in the veins of the victim, so that its death is at once a shedding of the tribal blood and a violation of the sanctity of the divine life that is transfused through every member, human or irrational, of the sacred circle. Nevertheless, the slaughter of such a victim is permitted or required on solemn occasions, and all the tribesmen partake of its flesh, that they may thereby cement and seal their mystic unity with one another and with their god. In later times we find the conception current that any food which two men partake of together, so that the same substance enters into their flesh and blood, is enough to establish some sacred unity of life between them; but in ancient times this significance seems to be always attached to participation in the flesh of a sacrosanct victim, and the solemn mystery of its death is justified by the consideration that only in this way can the sacred cement be procured which creates or keeps alive a living bond of union between the worshipers and their god. This cement is nothing else than the actual life of the sacred and kindred animal, which is conceived as residing in its flesh, but especially in its blood, and so, in the sacred meal, is actually distributed among all the participants, each of whom incorporates a particle of it with his own individual life.

It is common, in discussions of the significance

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of piacular ritual, to begin with the consideration that piacula are atonements for sin, and to assume that the ritual was devised with a view to the purchase of divine forgiveness. But this is to take the thing by the wrong handle. The characteristic features in piacular sacrifice are not the invention of a later age, in which the sense of sin and divine wrath was strong, but are creatures carried over from a very primitive type of religion, in which the sense of sin, in any proper sense of the word, did not exist at all, and the whole object of ritual was to maintain the bond of physical holiness that kept the religious community together. What we have to explain is not the origin of the sacrificial forms that later ages called piacular, but the way in which the old type of sacrifice came to branch off into two distinct types. And here we must consider that, even in tolerably advanced societies, the distinction between piacular and ordinary offerings long continued to be mainly one of ritual, and that the former were not so much sacrifices for sin, as sacrifices in which the ceremonial forms, observed at the altar, continued to express the original idea that the victim's life was sacrosanct, and in some way cognate to the life of the god and his worshipers. Thus, among the Hebrews of the preprophetic period, it certainly appears that a peculiar potency was assigned to holocausts and other exceptional sacrifices, as a means of conjuring the divine displeasure; but a certain atoning force was ascribed to all sacrifices; and, on the other hand, sacrifices of piacular form and force were offered on many occasions when we cannot suppose the sense of sin or of divine anger to have been present in any extraordinary degree. . . .

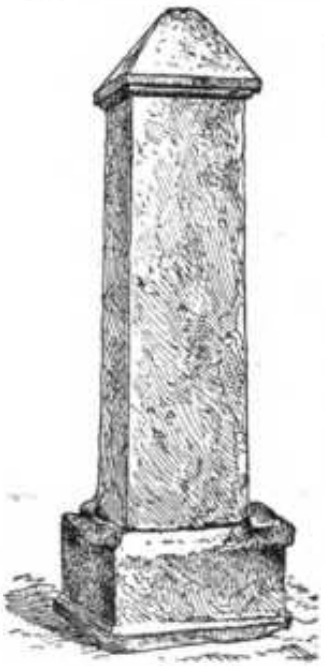
On the whole it is apparent, from the somewhat tedious discussion which I have now brought to a close, that the various aspects in which atoning rites presented themselves to ancient worshipers have supplied a variety of religious images which passed into Christianity, and still have currency. Redemption, substitution, purification, atoning blood, the garment of righteousness, are all terms which in some sense go back to antique ritual. But in ancient religion all these terms are very vaguely defined; they indicate impressions produced on the mind of the worshiper by features of the ritual, rather than formulated ethico-dogmatical ideas; and the attempt to find in them anything as precise and definite as the notions attached to the same words by Christian theologians is altogether illegitimate. The one point that comes out clear and strong is that the fundamental idea of ancient sacrifice is sacramental communion, and that all atoning rites are ultimately to be regarded as owing their efficacy to a communication of divine life to the worshipers, and to the establishment or confirmation of a living bond between them and their god. In primitive ritual this conception is grasped in a merely physical and mechanical shape, as indeed, in primitive life, all spiritual and ethical ideas are still wrapped up in the husk of a material embodiment. To free the spiritual truth from the husk was the great task that lay before the ancient religions, if they were to maintain the right to continue to rule the minds of men. That some progress in this direction was made, especially in Israel, appears from our examination. But, on the whole, it is manifest that none of the ritual systems of antiquity was able by mere natural development to shake itself free from the congenital defect inherent in every attempt to embody spiritual truth in material forms. A ritual system must always remain materialistic, even if its materialism is disguised under the cloak of mysticism.—*W. Robertson Smith, "Rel. of the Semites," pp. 312-313, 381-2, 418-9.*

(2) Characterization of the Nomadic Semitic Religion.—The names for God among the Semites show us that for them the original object was not how to obtain a religious conception of the various developments of life in nature, but how to express their own subjection to the irresistible force revealed in nature. . . . As the peculiar genius of the Semitic languages generally makes it difficult to separate the noun from its verbal root, we certainly have here a strong barrier against the development of myth proper, against the individualizing of the gods, that is, against polytheism properly so called, while at the same time the strongly personal conception of the idea of God rendered the transition to pantheism difficult. The unity of God was not an article of faith. But the plurality of divine forces, being thought of as a matter of course, excited little interest. The God to whom prayer was addressed, or who was regarded as specially interested in the particular people, exercised quite an exceptional influence over the religious life. . . . With this is connected what is generally called the "particularist" idea of God, viz., the paying of almost exclusive attention to the god whom the particular tribe claims as its own, either along with or in opposition to the other gods. . . . This "uniformity" of religious life was favored not only by the language, but also by nature and by the national development of these peoples. The pastoral tribes of the desert did not find in nature a bright and varied life, but only the august and uniform omnipotence that kills as well as vivifies, the light which is at the same time a consuming heat. Hence, with all their power of imagination, there was really a want of variety in their conceptions. And they lacked a rich and harmoniously-developed social and political life. They devoted their mental energies with resolute persistency to a few subjects. Human life, when spent amid quiet, monotonous surroundings, affords but little scope for the exhilaration of joy, and for the consciousness of freedom; it rather tends to foster a spirit of submission and resignation. Not as if the children of the desert were pious in the proper sense. Indifference is often the result of resignation. But if the religious sense be awakened, then in such circumstances it delights to manifest itself in entire self-surrender. From the very poverty of the life it gains in fervor and passion, and may thus turn out to be the one element which, not being weakened by distracting feelings, holds sovereign sway over the soul.

Of such a soul the natural product is, on the one hand, prophecy, and on the other, wild religious enthusiasm, with its fanatical devotion to God, its sacrifices of children, its self-mutilations, and its tribute of maidens. Moreover, since every higher development of political and social life is absent, the ethical element in religion must likewise be lacking. . . . Owing to its peculiar characteristics, this religion had no strong tendency to image-worship or to priestly mediation. In Canaan, as in Arabia, the symbols of the divine presence were sacred stones and trees. There were no statues of the gods. There were, at the most, symbolical figures in which the strength and the wisdom of the godhead were worshiped.—*Schultz, "Old Testament Theology," I., pp. 102-104.*

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10. THE AGRICULTURAL RELIGION.



Phoenician Masseba.

When the Semite passed over into the more fertile regions of the Mesopotamian plain or the Syrian hills and valleys, a new series of experiences modified his religious life. He came face to face with a very different world, with rivers and green hills, groves, fountains, and grottos, luxuriant vegetation, the haunts of innumerable wild animals. It was the opposite of the dreary and monotonous waste of the desert. Now nature greeted him in her benignant mood and welcomed him to the enjoyment of her free gifts or rewarded him for the labor of his hands. The tribal organization is broken up by settlement. The tribal god must find a resting-place in the land. Hence local religion is the characteristic mark of this stage of development. Every hill, every grove, every stream, every fountain, every locality which possesses some peculiar characteristics has its deity, who is the lord of the place and the dispenser of its gifts, the embodiment of its fertility. Thus appears the old Semitic idea of power localized and personified in the local *Baal*, "Lord." He is objectified sometimes in the animals of the place, or in a tree or stone which marks the spot. Sometimes an artificial mound or pillar (*masseba*) is provided for the god to dwell in. As lord of the place and giver of its blessings, his worship consists in bringing the first fruits of the ground or of cattle, in anointing the stone or pillar with blood or oil. (1) His worshipers gather at the stated seasons of the year, in spring or autumn or winter, for festivals in his honor, where the old idea of communion sacrifice is revived in the common meal with the god. Though joy and thanksgiving give the keynote to the spring and autumn feasts, the coming of winter is the signal for grief and distress, for the god is dead or he has forsaken his worshipers, and no gift or sacrifice can be too great to win him back. Indeed, he may and sometimes does claim even the first fruits of the womb; and infants are slain to his glory, children become his property, maidens sacrifice their chastity in his honor. By his side there often stood his consort, *Astarte*, who received a separate worship as a mother goddess, queen of fertility and abounding life, in symbols (of which the *ashera*, a tree or stake, was most common) and forms often rude and sensual. (2) Such was the religion of the Agricultural Canaanites of Palestine with which the Hebrews came in contact and by which they were so affected.



Astarte with the dove.

10. THE AGRICULTURAL RELIGION.

(1) **The Baal.**—In Semitic religion the relation of the gods to particular places which are special seats of their power is usually expressed by the title *Baal*. As applied to men *baal* means the master of a house, the owner of a field, cattle or the like; or in the plural the *baalim* of a city are its freeholders and full citizens. In a secondary sense, in which alone the word is ordinarily used in Arabic, *baal* means husband; but it is not used of the relation of a master to his slave, or of a superior to his inferior, and it is incorrect to regard it, when employed as a divine title, as a mere synonym of

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the titles implying lordship over men. When a god is simply called "the *Baal*," the meaning is not "the lord of the worshiper," but the possessor of some place or district, and each of the multitude of local *Baalim* is distinguished by adding the name of his own place. *Melcarth* is the *Baal* of Tyre, *Astarte* the *Baalath* of Byblus; there was a *Baal* of Lebanon, of Mount Hermon, of Mount Peor, and so forth. In Southern Arabia Baal constantly occurs in similar local connections, *e.g.* Dhū Samāwī is the Baal of the district Bācir, 'Athtar the Baal of Gumdān, and the sun-goddess the Baalath of several places or regions.

As the heathen gods are never conceived as ubiquitous, and can act only where they or their ministers are present, the sphere of their permanent authority and influence is naturally regarded as their residence.—*W. Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," pp. 92 94.*

(2) A Semitic Shrine.—Gublu, or—as the Greeks named it—Byblos, prided itself on being the most ancient city in the world. The god *El* had founded it at the dawning of time, on the flank of a hill which is visible from some distance out at sea. A small bay, now filled up, made it an important shipping center. The temple stood on the top of the hill, a few fragments of its walls still serving to mark the site; it was, perhaps, identical with that of which we find the plan engraved on certain imperial coins. Two flights of steps led up to it from the lower quarters of the town, one of which gave access to a chapel in the Greek style, surmounted by a triangular pediment, and dating at the earliest from the time of the Seleucides; the other terminated in a long colonnade, belonging to the same period, added as a new façade to an earlier building, apparently in order to bring it abreast of more modern requirements. The sanctuary which stands hidden behind this incongruous veneer is, as represented on the coins, in a very archaic style, and is by no means wanting in originality or dignity. It consists of a vast rectangular court surrounded by cloisters. At the point where lines drawn from the centers of the two doors seem to cross one another stands a conical stone mounted on a cube of masonry, which is the *beth-el* animated by the spirit of the god; an open-work balustrade surrounds and protects it from the touch of the profane. The building was perhaps not earlier than the Assyrian or Persian era, but in its general plan it evidently reproduced the arrangements of some former edifice. At an early time *El* was spoken of as the first king of Gablu, in the same manner as each one of his Egyptian fellow-gods had been in their several nomes, and the story of his exploits formed the inevitable prelude to the beginning of human history. Grandson of *Elioûn*, who had brought Chaos into order, son of *Heaven* and *Earth*, he dispossessed, vanquished, and mutilated his father, and conquered the most distant regions one after another—the countries beyond the Euphrates, Libya, Asia Minor and Greece; one year, when the plague was ravaging his empire, he burnt his own son on the altar as an expiatory victim, and from that time forward the priests took advantage of his example to demand the sacrifice of children in moments of public danger or calamity. He was represented as a man with two faces, whose eyes opened and shut in an eternal alternation of vigilance and repose; six wings grew from his shoulders, and spread fan-like around him. He was the incarnation of time, which destroys all things in its rapid flight; and of the summer sun, cruel and fateful, which eats up the green grass and parches the fields. An *Astarte* reigned with him over Byblos—*Baalat-Gublu*, his own sister; like him, the child of *Earth* and *Heaven*. In one of her aspects she was identified with the moon, the personification of coldness and chastity, and in her statues or on her sacred pillars she was represented with the crescent or cow-horns of the Egyptian *Hathor;* but in her other aspect she appeared as the amorous and wanton goddess in whom the Greeks recognized the popular concept of *Aphrodite*. Tradition tells us how, one spring morning, she caught sight of and desired the youthful god known by the title of *Adoni*, or "My Lord." We scarce know what to make of the origin of *Adonis*, and of the legends which treat him as a hero—the representation of him as the incestuous offspring of a certain King Kinyrat and his own daughter Myrrha is a comparatively recent element grafted on the original myth; at any rate, the happiness of the two lovers had



The Temple at Byblus.

lasted but a few short weeks, when a sudden end was put to it by the tusks of a monstrous wild boar. *Baalat-Gublu* wept over her lover's body and buried it; then her grief triumphed over death, and *Adonis*, ransomed by her tears, rose from the tomb, his love no whit less passionate than it had been before the catastrophe. This is nothing else than the Chaldean legend of *Ishtar* and *Dûmûzi* presented in a form more fully symbolical of the yearly marriage of *Earth* and *Heaven*. Like the Lady of Byblos at her master's approach, *Earth* is thrilled by the first breath of spring, and abandons herself without shame to the caresses of *Heaven;* she welcomes him to her arms, is fructified by him, and pours forth the abundance of her flowers and fruits. Then comes summer and kills the spring; Earth is burnt up and withers; she strips herself of her ornaments, and her fruitfulness departs till the gloom and icy numbness of winter have passed away. Each year the cycle of the seasons brings back with it the same joy, the same despair into the life of the world; each year *Baalat* falls in love with her *Adonis* and loses him, only to bring him back to life and lose him again in the coming year.—*Maspero, "The Struggle of the Nations," pp. 172-5.*

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11. STATE CULTS. MOABITES. PHOENICIANS.

A higher stage of social and political organization follows for the Semites, where the wealth of agricultural communities increases or where commerce, trade, or industry takes an important place. This development culminated in the great empires on the Tigris and Euphrates, or, in a lesser degree, in the western kingdoms of Israel and Judah, or Moab, Edom and Ammon, or the commercial cities of Phoenicia. In such cases religion becomes an affair of the state; the cult is developed and ennobled; religious officials are appointed and paid; splendid temples are built; the local or tribal deity becomes the god of the state and its divine king. The whole affords, however, a striking illustration of the survival and intensification of primitive Semitic ideas of religion. (1)

The chief monument of the Moabite religion is the *stele* set up by Mesha, king of Moab, in commemoration of his victory over the king of Israel. (2) *Chemosh* is the god of Moab, and is lord and protector of the state. His name signifies, perhaps, the "Overpowering" one. Under his leadership victory is gained. King and citizens are his servants. The spoil of victory is his. The war of Moab and Israel is the struggle of *Chemosh* with *Jehovah*. The fanatic dependence on the deity characteristic of this cult is seen in that strange narrative of 2 Kings, ch. iii. Deliverance must be secured, though it costs the life of the king's son. The god must be appeased.



Baal—Hammon

The Phoenicians, living on the promontories or islands of the eastern Mediterranean coast, became the great traders of the oriental world. But they never attained political unity, and their religion consisted of a series of more or less local city cults. It preserved, also, many primitive characteristics, such as would have disappeared if a unity of state life had ever been secured. The two elements of nature and tribe religion appear in it side by side. A favorite title for deity is *Milk* (*Melek*), "King," appearing in *Melkarth* of Tyre, the most widely worshiped of Phoenician deities, almost a national god. *Eshmun*, god of healing, *Baalshamen*, *Baalhamman* and others, are nature gods. The *Baalat* of Gebal owed her prominence to the little stream flowing down from the mountains which turned blood-red in the spring. Gebal became a sacred city for all Phoenicia. The ritual seems to have been very elaborate at the greater temples. Lists of clean and unclean animals, of the kinds of sacrifice suitable for certain occasions, with regulations governing the ritual have been discovered. (3) The temples have almost all disappeared. One at Amrit remains. Others are represented on coins. The symbol of divinity, whether a stone or picture or image, stood in the midst of a court with only a railing about it. At Amrit it stood in the midst of a lake. Most of these symbols were rough and crude, mere blocks or rough-hewn pieces of stone. Evidently the priesthood at such temples was well organized. A striking personage of Phoenician religion is the *nbi*, "prophet," "seer." Traces of the various systems of doctrine are thought to survive in the different forms of myths handed down, but these

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probably belong to a later period. The accounts of the ritual show that it was bloody. Human sacrifice lingered in Phoenicia long after it had disappeared elsewhere, and was carried to the Phoenician colonies. The offering of young children and the devotion of maidens to the god is a well-established Phoenician custom.

As a trading people the Phoenicians were familiar with the religions of other states and borrowed many things from them. Egypt, especially, contributed much from the *Osiris* cult. It has been thought that the *Kabiri*, dwarf gods, were taken from Egypt. The Phoenician religion had much which reminds us of the Hebrew religion, only in a cruder, less developed and less purified form.

11. STATE CULTS. MOABITES. PHOENICIANS.

(1) **The God of the State.**—He is the founder of a state; he is the inventor of navigation and of purple; he is the first king; when a colony is sent out, it goes with his approval, and he himself leads the expedition; he is the dread ruler whom none must disobey; the majesty, the power, and the enterprise of the state are all embodied in him. And as the king-god is far above the landlord-god in power, he is infinitely removed from him in character also. The chief gods of Sidon and Tyre have nothing luxurious or effeminate about them. They are strict and awful beings, and must not be incautiously approached. They retain their primitive character as sources of life, but they are destroyers of life as well. Pure and holy themselves, they require purity and holiness in all who draw near to them. Their priests are celibates, their priestesses virgins. They require sacrifices of a very different nature from those of the *Baals*, more costly and more dreadful. Human sacrifices appear to have been a regular feature of their worship.—*Menzies, "History of Religion," p. 169.*

(2) **The Mesha Stone, or Moabite Stone.**

1. I am Mesha' son of Chemoshmelek, king of Moab, the Da-
2. -ibonite. My father reigned over Moab for thirty years, and I reign-
3. -ed after my father. And I made this high place for Chĕmōsh in QRHH, a high place of sal-
4. -vation, because he had saved me from all the kings (?); and because he had let me see my pleasure on all them that hated me. Omr-
5. i was king over Israel, and he afflicted Moab for many days, because Chemosh was angry with his la-
6. -nd. And his son succeeded him; and he also said, I will afflict Moab. In my days said he th[us;]
7. but I saw my pleasure on him, and on his house, and Israel perished with an everlasting destruction. And Omri took possession of the [la-]
8. -nd of Mehĕdeba, and it (*i.e.* Israel) dwelt therein, during his days, and half his son's days, forty years; but [resto-]
9. -red it Chemosh in my days. And I built Ba'al-Me'on, and I made in it the reservoir (?); and I built
10. Qiryathên. And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of 'Ataroth from of old; and built for himself the king of I-
11. srael 'Atroth. And I fought against the city, and took it. And I slew all the [people of]
12. the city, a gazingstock unto Chemosh, and unto Moab. And I brought back, (*or*, took captive) thence the altar-hearth of Davdoh (?), and I drag-
13. -ged it before Chemosh in Qeriyyoth. And I settled therein the men of SHRN, and the men of
14. MHRTH. And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. And I
15. went by night, and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon. And I too-
16. -k it, and slew the whole of it, 7000 men and . . . , and women, and . . .
17. -s, and maid-servants; for I had devoted it to 'Ashtor-Chĕmōsh. And I took thence the [ves-]
18. -sels of YAHWEH, and I dragged them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel had built
19. Yahaz, and abode in it, while he fought against me. But Chemosh drave him out from before me; and
20. I took of Moab 200 men, even all its chiefs; and I led them up against Yahaz, and took it
21. to add it unto Daibon.

—*Translation of S. R. Driver.*

(3) **The Cultus Inscription of Marseilles.**—The temple of Baal. . . . Account of the payments fixed by those set over the payments, in the time of our lords, Halats-Baal, the Suffes, the son of Abd-Tanith, the son of Abd-Esmun, and of Halats-Baal, the Suffes, the son of Abd-Esmun, the son of Halats-Baal, and of their colleagues: For an ox, whether as burnt sacrifice, or expiatory offering, or thank offering, to the priests (shall be given) ten (shekels) of silver on account of each; and, if it be a burnt sacrifice, they shall have beside this payment three hundred weight of the flesh; and if the sacrifice be expiatory, (they shall have) the fat and the additions, and the offerer of the sacrifice shall have the skin, and the entrails, and the feet, and the rest of the flesh. For a calf without horns and entire, or for a ram, whether as burnt offering, or expiatory offering, or thank offering, to the priests (shall be given) five (shekels) of silver on account of each; and if it be a burnt sacrifice, they shall have, besides this payment, a hundred weight and a half of the flesh; and if the sacrifice be expiatory, they shall have the fat and the additions, and the skin, and entrails, and feet, and the rest of the flesh shall be given to the offerer of the sacrifice. . . . Every payment which is not prescribed in this tablet shall be made proportionately to the rate fixed by those set over the payments in the time of our lords, Halats-Baal, the son of Abd-Tanith, and Halats-Baal, the son of Abd-Esmun, and their colleagues. Every priest who takes a payment beyond the amount prescribed in this tablet shall be fined. . . . And every offerer of a sacrifice who shall not pay (the amount) prescribed, beyond the payment which (is here fixed, he shall pay. . . . —*Rawlinson, "Phoenicia," p. 399.*

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The Moabite Stone.

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12. THE FUTURE LIFE. MORALS. SUMMARY.

The more primitive Semitic cults have left behind few, if any, memorials which illustrate their belief concerning the future. It is from the Phoenician remains and from survivals in other higher faiths that our knowledge must come. The existence of life after death was fully believed in by these early Semites. The dead are conscious; they dwell in the graves where the dead bodies lie; with them are buried various utensils, spoons, lamps, drinking glasses, amulets; a sort of worship is given to them. The greatest pains are taken that the body be not disturbed, since then the spirit finds no resting-place. Food is offered at the grave, or buried with the dead. (1) The favorite food of the dead is blood. No doubt there was a sort of worship of the dead, who were thought to have the power to injure or benefit the survivors; but there is no real basis for the view held by some that the worship of the Semitic deities was an outgrowth of the worship of ancestors, or, indeed, was preceded by this.

It is difficult to estimate the moral character of this primitive religion, since religion is so closely connected with other social customs wherein primitive morality abides. One thing, however, is evident. The conception of a tribal unity, presided over by the god who is at the same time father and king of his tribe, affords a starting-point for a higher ethics. The individual exists for the tribe, sinks himself and his own interests unconsciously, perhaps, but yet really, in the life of the whole, and feels therein the blessing of his tribal god. It is also true that in the fundamental Semitic conception of the deity as power lies the possibility of higher morality. The power at first is arbitrary and incomprehensible in its dealings, but man must submit, and with the growing sense of social order religion keeps pace and consecrates all law as from the supreme lawgiver and judge. Thus the Semite learns to be obedient to the power above him; and because he is at the same time tribal god, he has less relation to nature and a deeper human value. It is no wonder, therefore, that, in connection with such beginnings as this, small and rude though they are, the religion of *Jehovah* appeared to proclaim the supreme law of righteousness.

It is from this point also that the tendency of the Semitic religion toward monotheism can be understood. The primitive Semitic religions uniformly emphasized the element of supreme power. Closest to the Semitic mind of all the innumerable crowd of powers was that power who protected, blessed, and united himself with the tribe. Thus a tendency toward the recognition of one god as a practical fact appeared at an early date. From the tribe the god passed to the state, and in the Hebrew state he was purified, glorified, and set apart in supreme and single majesty by the prophets of *Jehovah*. (2) Thus at the time when the Aryan was still bound in fetters of all-embracing though refined naturism, or, at the most, philosophizing in pantheistic phrase upon the universe, the Hebrew was learning the secret which he was to teach the world in the doctrine of the one holy God. (3)

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12. THE FUTURE LIFE. MORALS. SUMMARY.

(1) **The Last Words of Esmunazar.** — I am snatched away before my time, the child of a few days, the orphan son of a widow; and lo! I am lying in this coffin, and in this tomb, in the place which I have built. I adjure every royal personage and every man whatsoever that they open not this my chamber, and seek not for treasures there, since there are here no treasures, and that they remove not the coffin from my chamber, nor build over this my chamber any other funeral chamber. Even if men speak to thee, listen not to their words, since every royal personage and every other man who shall open this funeral chamber, or remove the coffin from this my chamber, or build anything over this chamber—may they have no funeral chamber with the departed, nor be buried in tombs, nor have any son or descendant to succeed to their place.—*Rawlinson*, "*History of Phoenicia*," *p. 395*.

(2) **Morals and Monotheism.** — As regards their ethical tendency, the difference between Eastern and Western religion is one of degree rather than of principle. All that we can say is that the east was better prepared to receive the idea of a god of absolute righteousness, because its political institutions and history, and, not least,

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the enormous gulf between the ideal and the reality of human sovereignty, directed men's minds to appreciate the need of righteousness more strongly, and accustomed them to look to a power of monarchic character as its necessary source. A similar judgment must be passed on the supposed monotheistic tendency of the Semitic as opposed to the Hellenic or Aryan system of religion. Neither system, in its natural development, can fairly be said to have come near to monotheism; the difference touched only the equality or subordination of divine powers. But while in Greece the idea of the unity of God was a philosophical speculation, without any definite point of attachment to actual religion, the monotheism of the Hebrew prophets kept in touch with the ideas and institutions of the Semitic race by conceiving the one true God as the king of absolute justice, the national God of Israel, who at the same time was, or rather was destined to become, the God of all the earth, not merely because His power was world-wide, but because as the perfect ruler He could not fail to draw all nations to do Him homage — *W. Robertson Smith, "Religion of the Semites," pp. 74-75.*

(3) Semite and Indo-European in Religion.— Even in the field of religion the nations of Indo-European civilization display a richer genius than the Semites; but they lack that tremendous energy which produced the belief in the unity of God, not as a result of scientific reflection, but as a moral demand, tolerating no contradiction. This strength of faith, which has subdued the world, is necessarily associated with much violence and exclusiveness. — *Nöldeke, "Sketches from Eastern History," p. 7.*

SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **THE SEMITIC PEOPLES.**—Name, Northern group, Southern group, Original home, Earliest civilization, Habitat, Traits.
8. **EARLY SEMITIC RELIGION. SOURCES AND SCOPE.**—Semites, Christianity, Collection, Comparison, Survivals, Arabia, Syria, Canaan, Aramaea, Phoenicia.
9. **THE NOMADIC RELIGION.**—Arabia, Aspect of Nature, Divine names, Human attitude, Aspect of society, Relation to it of the god.
10. **THE AGRICULTURAL RELIGION.**—Mesopotamia or Syria, Local god, Baal, Masseba, Blood, Joy and grief, Astarte, Ashera.
11. **STATE CULTS, MOABITES, PHOENICIANS.**—Empires, kingdoms, and cities, The gods of Moab and Israel. Phoenicia, Milk or Melek, Ritual, Egypt.
12. **THE FUTURE LIFE. MORALS. SUMMARY.**—Burial, Worship, Tribal unity and ethics, Nature-power and ethics, Monotheism.

QUESTIONS.

7. *Define the term Semites. Classify them into two groups. Discuss their home. What part have the Semites played in the world's history? Characterize them.*
8. *How can the elements of Semitic religion be discovered? Of what use are survivals? Specify some individual contributions.*
9. *Why seek earliest traits in Arabia? Describe the natural environment of religion there. Describe the social environment.*
10. *How did settled life modify Semitic ideas? Who was Baal? How objectified? What two leading traits has he? Who was Astarte? How objectified?*
11. *What conditions elevated Semitic religious notions? Compare the deities Chemosh and Jehovah. What was the favorite title of a Phoenician deity? What sacrifice lingered in Phoenicia? What influence had Egypt?*
12. *How were the dead treated? How did the tribal god promote ethics? How the nature-god? How did Hebrew monotheism arise?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Compare the chief traits of Mongolians, Indo-Kelts, and Semites, the world's three historic races.*
2. *Trace primitive Semitic elements in the Hebrew Scripture.*
3. *The special elements from nature and society that have proved formative in the reader's own notion of God. Mr. John Fiske, when a boy, visualized God as a white-haired bookkeeper.*
4. *Trace this instructive phase of Semitism further by consulting Smith's "Dictionary of the Bible," or "The Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia," under the terms "Astarte" and "Baal." Especially consult Exodus 34 : 12-17, Judges 6 : 25-6, 2 Chron. 34 : 4, Isaiah 57 : 3-8.*
5. *Why did the worship of Chemosh perish, while that of Jehovah spread widely?*
6. *Compare the Greek, Hebrew, and Hindu monotheisms.*

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The King drinking in the presence of friendly nature-demons.

RELIGION OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.

BY

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13. SOURCES. ORIGIN OF THE PANTHEON.

Before the discovery and the deciphering of the cuneiform inscriptions, our knowledge of the religion of the people that lived in ancient times on the borders of the Euphrates and Tigris was limited to the information given by Greek authors. Since 1835 a great number of documents have been found in the ruin-mounds of the now almost deserted country that bear testimony to the power and civilization of its ancient inhabitants. Parts of temples and palaces were laid bare, inscriptions were found and deciphered by the ingenuity of English and French scholars, and an almost unknown world was revealed. The excavations of the latest years, conducted by the French consul, de Sarzea, and by the University of Pennsylvania, added materials of the highest value to the large collections of monuments preserved in London, Paris, and Berlin. (1)

One of the most remarkable finds was the discovery of the remains of Sardanapalus' (668-626 B.C.) library in the mound of Kojundshik (Nineveh), that provided us with numerous texts, copied by order of the king. These copies form the chief source for our knowledge of Babylonian religious life, and contain prayers, incantations, forecasts, lists of gods, lists of temples, etc. But as they do not mention the date of the originals they were taken from, and as there is only a small number of well-preserved texts (owing to the fragility of the tablets, made of baked clay), our knowledge of the religion, though increasing every year, is still very imperfect, especially as to its development.

In the oldest times a number of small kingdoms existed in North and South Babylonia (Ur, Uruk, Eridu, Larsa, Lagash, Nippur, Agade), the population being formed by tribes of different descent and race. Among these the Sumerians possessed a high civilization. Before 3800 B.C. Semitic tribes took possession of a part of the country (kingdom of Sargon of Agade, 3800 B.C.), and after 2250 B.C. Babel became the predominating town (conquests of King Chammurabi). One branch of the Semites, the Assyrians, settled in Mesopotamia; their might increased, and several times the Babylonian empire was overpowered by Assyrian kings. After the fall of Nineveh, the capital of the Assyrians, there was a short time of glory for

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Babylon (Nabopolassar, Nebukadrezar), until it was conquered by the Persians under Cyrus (538 B.C.).

The history of the religion runs to a certain degree parallel to the political history. (2) The Sumerians were the inventors of the cuneiform script, became the teachers of the Semites, who in that period did not not know how to write, and their language was for centuries used in religious texts. Their influence on the religion of the Semites has been important, but is not to be overrated, as the religious ideas of both were doubtless very similar. (3) Each town possessed a small pantheon, and was always governed by the Lord and Lady of the town. Where the population of a town was homogeneous, the gods were also of uniform nature; in the case of diverse origin among the inhabitants, there was a difference also between the characters of the gods; for men make their gods according to their own peculiar qualities.



Heads of statues from Telloh

As the Semites of Babylon became predominant in the country, the gods of their capital town took the leading place, but in many instances the Lords of other places were brought into relation with them by the schools of priests. The gods were almost always believed to live in matrimony, and so it was easy to make genealogies, which, owing to the differences between the schools of priests, were not always in harmony. Local deities of the same character were often regarded as different manifestations of one god; and thus it happens that we have an enormous number of names for some twenty gods, representing distinct types.

13. SOURCES. ORIGIN OF THE PANTHEON.

(1) **Excavations at Nippur.**—From the excavations made by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur it is evident that Babylonia is the country where flourished the oldest human civilization we know of. At Nippur were found tablets, which date at least from about 6000 B.C.

We now know that in the times of glory of Nineveh and Babylon the name of "Nippur" was as familiar to the dwellers in those cities as the names of Nineveh and Babylon are to us, and that Nippur exercised on their religious life and religious development an influence as potent as that of Jerusalem on our own. The temple of Bel at Nippur was to the religion of Babylonia and Assyria very much what the temple of Jerusalem was to our religion. It was this city, which exercised so great an influence on the religious life of the people, that so long dominated the civilized world, and so materially affected and determined the religious and scientific development of both Orient and Occident, and particularly the great temple of Bel in that city, the oldest temple in the world, which the University of Pennsylvania Expedition explored.—*J. T. Peters, "Nippur," p. vi.*

(2) **Principles of Growth.**—By the two rules, (*a*) parallelism between history of religion and political history, and (*b*) that gods are formed according to the peculiar character of the race, the growth of the Babylonian pantheon is to be explained. The local gods of the Semitic tribes were similar because the men that worshiped them possessed common traits. As long as the tribes were independent one from another, the gods were regarded as independent powers, but as soon as the formation of states brought the tribes into nearer relations this similar character of the gods gave occasion for the priests to construe them as manifestations of one god. That each town possessed a pantheon is evident from Lagash, where a great number of gods were worshiped even in the oldest times Among those gods we find (besides the great nature-gods, and the Lord and Lady of the place) also some gods of the towns who represented their own towns in the capital. — *Cf. "Records of the Past," New Series, Vol. II., p. 86.*

(3) **Sumerians and Semites.**—The features of religious belief among early mankind are of no great diversity. So *e.g.*, there was no chasm between the Sumerian and the Semitic religions; and as the Semites adopted the Sumerian system of writing and scholarship, they simply used other names for their gods and evil powers, while the Sumerian religious ideas in general were quite familiar to them, as they are to a certain degree even to the wandering Arabs of today.

We have no right to maintain, as a matter of fact, that the religion of the Sumerians was a rough shamanism, either before their connection with the Semites, or before they settled on the shore of the Persian gulf, that their culture was a mere sorcery, and that the beings they believed in were no gods, but mere spirits which they transformed into gods in later times. . . . If they were ever in such a state, then this was a long time before our oldest documents were written.—*C. P. Tiele, "Geschiedenis von de godsdienst in de Oudheid," Vol. I., p. 135.*

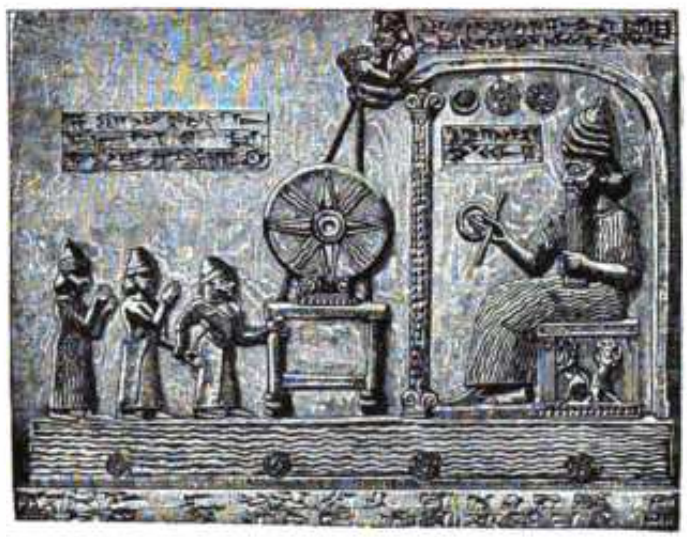
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14. GODS. (LOCAL CULTS. THE PANTHEON.)

The Babylonian-Assyrian gods belong to the class of nature-gods. In many instances the heavenly bodies are believed to be their incorporations, but we must remember that gods and stars were not identified; it was only that by means of them that the gods showed themselves. In other cases we find animals as an attribute of gods, because the peculiar power of a god was especially proper to a certain animal, but the animal itself was not esteemed as a god.

The first place of the Pantheon is taken by *Ana* or *Anu*, God of Heaven. In the inscriptions of Gudea, priest of Lagash, he and his companions *Bel*, and *Ea*, are already mentioned at the head of the list of gods, but at the same time we know him as the local god of Urick, where he, his wife *Anatu* and his daughter *Nana*, or *Ishtar*, are worshiped in the temple E-anna, house of heaven.

Bel (the lord=*Baäl*), Lord of the Earth-mountain, takes the second place, and is the local god of Nippur. In ancient times his temple at Nippur was famous, but afterwards most of the glory of the ruler of mankind was transferred to *Maruduk*, the local god of Babylon. (1)



Priest introducing votaries to Shamash, the Sun-god in his shrine.

Ea is the God of the Waters that surround the Earth-mountain, and also of the waters beneath the earth. The place of his local cult was Eridu, where he was worshiped as Lord of Wisdom. In the depth of the sea is his home. He speaks to mankind in dreams; he knows the secret exorcisms against evil spirits; as Lord of the Waters he bestows fertility; as Lord of Wisdom he is the patron of artists and workmen.

These three gods, with their wives, *Anat*, *Belit* and *Damkina*, are consequently the rulers of the universe (heaven, earth, and the deep waters around and beneath the earth).

Of little lower rank are the three gods *Sin*, *Shamash* and *Ishtar*. *Sin*, the Lord of the Moon (the local god of Ur in Babylonia and of Harran in Mesopotamia), is often called the father of *Shamash* (the Sun). As some peasants still do, the Babylonians believed in the influence of the moonlight on the growth of plants, and so he is venerated as Lord of Fertility; the mysterious transformations of his shape are the reason that he is believed to be a mighty sorcerer, who creates himself, and according to this possesses sacred wisdom (Lord of Decrees).

Shamash, Lord of the Sun, was the local god of Larsa and Sippar. In the morning the doors of heaven are opened and from between two mountains he drives in his carriage, guided by Bunene the charioteer. He is the great judge, the counselor of the gods, and as Lord of the Sunlight he is a friendly power that frightens the wicked.

Ishtar, the Lady of Heaven, is identified with the star Venus. She is unmarried, and her position among the gods represents the position of women in the times of the matriarchate, when the mother was the head of her family, without regarding the various fathers of her children as husbands. Thus her cult was of great sensu-

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ality; and in historical times, when the matriarchate had been long forgotten, she was worshiped as the Lady of Fertility, especially in Uruk. On the other hand, she reminds us of the Amazons, when as the Lady of the Battle (as she is often called in the historical inscriptions) she rides on a leopard, bearing bow and arrows. (2)

The god *Ramman*, Lord of Wind, Thunder and Lightning, Rain and Storm, was imported in early times from the Syrian countries. His character is the same as that of the Israelitic *Jahwe*, (*Jehovah*) the bull being his animal, while he bears powerful horns on his head.

The local god of Babylon was *Maruduk*. Under the famous king Chammurabi (2250 B.C.) his town become the capital of the country, and so *Maruduk's* glory rose. As son of *Ea* he is the mighty sorcerer, who knows all his father knows. He is the creator, the god of light, the conqueror of the great dragon of darkness, *Tiamat*. The fate of mankind is settled by him in the chamber of destiny, and his name is *Pel beli*, Lord of Lords. Even the Assyrian kings worshiped him in Babylon. He was the national Babylonian god, as *Ashur* was the national god of Assyria.

Ashur is the only god that is particularly Assyrian. Perhaps he was originally the Lord of the town Ashur, but his origin is not sufficiently clear. In Assyria he is the Lord of Lords, the father of the gods, whose banner is at the head of the troops, for the wars of the kings are his wars; it is the glory of his name that frightens the enemy, and to him a part of the booty is dedicated.

With this one exception, the Assyrian pantheon is wholly the same as that of Babylonia. Besides the gods already mentioned, there are worshiped in both countries *Ninib*, the warrior, a sun-god, whose wife *Gula* "vivifies death;" *Nergal* (local god of Kutu), a god of war, a terrible lion, symbolizing the burning summer sun, also the lord of the deceased, the king of Hades; *Nabu* (*Nebo*), the great god of Borsippa, the patron of the scholars, to whom mankind is indebted for the art of writing, the gracious lord, the messenger and son of *Maruduk; Gibil*, Lord of Fire and *Nusku*, the messenger of the gods.

Those are the "ilani rabuti," the great gods, but there is a large number of gods of less prominent position: the seven spirits of heaven (the *Igigi*), and the seven spirits of earth (*Anunnaki*); *Duzu* (*Tammuz*), the god of the sun in spring-time, whose place is at the door of heaven; *Namtor*, the god of pestilence; and all the other gods whose names are preserved to us.

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14. GODS. (LOCAL CULTS. PANTHEON.)

(1) Hymn to Maruduk.

I praise thy name, O Maruduk, mighty one of the gods, ruler of heaven and earth,
Who hath been well created, is exalted alone by himself.
Thou dost raise up the divinity of Anu, of Bel, thou dost bind all kings, O thou perfect of strength.
Strong, a prince, a great lord, a mighty potentate (art thou).
The Anunnaki have made great his dominion, have battled for him,
In heaven art thou great, on the earth thou art king, wise and of good counsel.
Who establishes all dwelling-places, who holds the ends of the starry heavens.
Thou art mighty amongst the gods; beget! thou, whom *Ea* hath begotten,
Into thy hands the great gods have delivered the carrying out of destinies.
They kissed thy feet, they spoke, they were gracious. . . . They are all subject to thee, Igigi, Anunnaki, gods, goddesses, cities, governors, princes.
Favorite of Ea, the first-born, mighty, strenuous, who makes enemies tremble,
I beseech thee, mighty and powerful lord, let thy heart which is angered be quieted, let thy mind be appeased. Let him who has offended, obtain forgiveness, let him live through thee, O Maruduk, exalted prince of the gods!—*Brünnow*, "*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*," *VI. p. 60.*

(2) **Hymn to Ishtar.**—Light of heaven, thou art like the fire shining on earth, Ishtar at thy appearing on earth, thou, who art precious (?) like the earth, the righteous salute thee. As thou enterest the house of mankind, thou art a tiger that will seize a kid, thou art a lion running in the fields. Light, virgin, ornament of heaven, Ishtar, virgin, ornament of heaven, that art placed in a brilliant habitation, ornament of heaven, sister of Shamash, ornament of heaven. (Ishtar answers) I appear to fulfill the decrees, powerful I appear, I appear for my father Sin to fulfill the decrees, I appear for my brother Shamash to fulfill the decrees, etc. I am Ishtar, Lady of the Night, I am Ishtar, Lady of the Morning.—*Jeremias*, "*Izdubar-Nimrod*," *p. 61.*

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15. TEMPLES. PRIESTS. OFFERINGS. FEASTS.

A town of any importance possessed a number of temples, and among those one *ziggurat* or "tower-temple." The *ziggurat* consists of several terraces, made of bricks, on the top of which a small chapel was erected, open in front, with an altar before it. The chapel contained the image of the god; sometimes the walls of the terraces were made of enameled bricks in different colors (black, white, purple, blue, red, silver and gold). The top was reached by steps or by a sloping way. On the lower floors were rooms dedicated to various other gods. So in Esagila, the famous tower-temple of Babylon, were smaller temples for *Maruduk's* wife, *Nabu*, *Ea*, *Anu* and *Bel*.

The temples contained imitations of the supposed real dwellings of the gods (house of the great mountain of earth, house of the fundament of heaven and earth, house of heaven, etc.). The great ocean, that surrounds the world, was represented in a temple of Lagash by a basin; the "chamber of destiny" was imitated in Esagila.



God Ea.

Of course, the oldest temples were of a modest construction, but the kings were always engaged in repairing and embellishing the houses of their gods; and in the times of Nebukadrezar the Great, the chief-temple of Babylon was a complex of temples, surrounded by a huge wall, with large courtyards and a great *ziggurat* of seven stories. (1)

The priests were persons of great influence, not only by their position in the temples, but also by their knowledge. People wanted them for the writing of contracts, for medicaments, exorcisms, and forecasts. In many instances we find women as priests, even royal princesses. Their revenues consisted in parts of the offerings and in the profits from the possessions of the temple. The kings endowed the temples with fields, slaves, necessaries of the service (oil, incense, meal, and animals), and in many instances priests lent silver or corn; especially in the older times they are usually the bankers.

All sorts of perfect animals could be offered to the gods; the kings offer at special occasions, and often a temple receives from them the necessaries for a daily offering. The gods were supposed to eat and drink the essences of the things offered to them, and therefore at least twice daily they were supplied with a meal. Every undertaking: a campaign, hunting party, building of a house, etc., was opened by an offering, and, when finished, thank-offerings were given. Human sacrifices were not unusual, though not unknown, but of the offering of children there is not any example or trace. In the cult of *Ishtar* the sacred prostitution was of importance. The priests introduced the offerer to the god, leading him by the hand, and after introducing him, the gifts were poured out or burned on the altar.

Every day was dedicated to some particular god, at least in later times, as is stated in long lists (hemerologies). The seventh, fourteenth, twenty-first, twenty-eighth, and also the nineteenth of a month were "Sabbaths," days of rest for the king, but not for the whole people. (2)

Our knowledge of the feasts is still very limited. Best known is the feast "Zagmuku," the feast of the New-year, which began in the Spring. In Babylon it was celebrated with great splendor. Conformably to human custom, the gods went to visit *Maruduk*, Lord of Lords, in his "chamber of destiny." From the near Borsippa *Nabu* came on his holy ship, and *Maruduk* himself went to receive him. The gods of other places were also brought to Babylon, and whilst they were bowing to him *Maruduk* determined the events of the coming year. (3)

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Another feast was celebrated in honor of *Duzu* or *Tammuz*, the young Sun-god, that was killed and had gone to Hades. The women planted little gardens, which soon were burned by the heat of the summer sun, as a symbol of the death of the god of fertility, and they recited mourning-songs. (4)

Every god had his annual feast, but about the particulars of them we still know very little.

15. TEMPLES. PRIESTS. OFFERINGS. FEASTS.

(1) Temples and Revenues.

INSCRIPTION ON STATUE A OF THE LOUVRE.
Cartouche engraved on the right shoulder.

Gudea,
the patesi
of SHIRPURLA,
who the temple E-NINNÛ
of the god NIN-GIRSU
has constructed.



Statue of King Gudea from Tello, about 2800 B.C.

COLUMN I.

For the goddess NIN-GHARSAG,
the goddess who protects the city,
the mother of its inhabitants,
for his lady,
Gudea
the patesi
of SHIRPURLA
her temple of the city GIRSU-KI
has constructed.

COLUMN II.

Her sacred *altar* (?)
he has made.
The holy throne of her divinity
he has made.
In her sanctuary he has placed them.
From the mountains of the land of MAGAN

COLUMN III.

a rare stone he has caused to be brought;
for her statue
he has caused it to be cut.
"O goddess who fixes the destinies of heaven and earth,
NIN-TU
mother of the gods,
of Gudea

COLUMN IV.

the builder of the temple
prolong the life!"
by this name he has named it (*i.e.*, the statue),
and in the temple he has placed it.

—"*Records of the Past*," *New Series*, *II.*, *pp. 75, 76.*

(2) **Sabbath.**—The fourteenth day is sacred to Belit and Nergal. It is a lucky day, a Sabbath. The shepherd of men shall not eat what is cooked or stewed, he shall not change his clothes and not wear bright garments, he shall not pour libations. The king shall not drive in his carriage, nor speak in his quality. The seer shall not place his mouth in the place of mystery. The medical man shall not touch the sick, for speaking a conjuration the day is not fitted. In the night the king shall place his offer-gift to Belit and Nergal and pour libations. His prayer shall be favored by the gods—*Rawlinson*, "*Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*," *IV.*, *23*, *6 13-22.*

(3) **Zagmuku-feast.**—I (Nebukadrezar) made brilliant like the sunshine the door of Esagil. Du-azog," the chamber of destiny" of Ubshuginna, the place of fate, in which the king of the gods of heaven and earth, the lord of lords, comes at Zabmuku, the beginning of the year on the eighth and eleventh day in order to destine the fate of my life, the fate forever, whilst the gods of heaven are bowing to him respectfully, his shrine, the shrine of his kingdom and lordship, sacred to the leader of the gods, the prince Maruduk, which a former king made of silver, I covered with brilliant gold. The utensils of the temple I covered with red gold and the holy ship I embellished with jewels like the stars of heaven.—"*Keilinschriften Bibl*," *III.*, *14*, *15.*

(4) **Mourning-Song over Duzu.** — Shepherd, Lord, Duzu, beloved of Ishtar, lord of Hades, lord of the Dwelling-place, thou art like a grain of seed, that did not drink water in the furrow, the husk of which does not produce a flower in the field; thou art like a twig that is not planted near water, a twig of which the root is withered, a plant that did not drink water in the furrow. . . .

He went to the deep of earth, Shamash educated him for the land of death, lamentation came over him on the day of great affliction, in the month cutting off the year of his life, on the way, upon which all is finished with mankind, that gives rest to men, (he went) to the lamentations of death, he, the hero, went to the far land, that cannot be seen. —*Rawlinson*, "*Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*," *IV.*, *27*, *30.*

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16. MYTHOLOGY.

The Assyrians and Babylonians believed the earth to be a huge mountain, surrounded by the sea. The heaven was a cupola supported by the wall of the horizon. At the east and west side were doors for the sun, that rises from the "chamber of destiny" in the east wall, and that sets in the "midst of heaven" in the west wall. This world was created by *Maruduk*. Before the creation of heaven and earth there existed *Tiamat*, the great dragon, living in the ocean. Then the gods were born and war arose between *Tiamat* and the gods, among whom *Maruduk*, son of *Ea*, was the great warrior. Armed with seven winds, thunder and lightning, he went to meet *Tiamat;* and as a terrible wind blew her up, so that she was unable to shut the mouth, *Maruduk* then threw his net over her and cut her into two parts. One part was extended by him as heaven, the other part became the earth. Then the poles were fixed, the bodies of heaven placed, and mankind was created. This myth dates from the times of *Maruduk's* (Babylon's) supremacy. (1)

Another myth is "*Ishtar's* descent into Hades." After the death of *Duzu* (*Tammuz*), the god of the sun, in spring-time, *Ishtar*, his beloved, mourned for him. She decided to go into Hades, the world of death, that lies deep below the earth, in order to take the "water of life" with which she may revive her lover. She passes through the seven gates of Hades, and at every gate the guard takes a part of her dress, until finally she arrives naked. During the absence of *Ishtar* all vegetation and generation ceases on earth. The queen of Hades strikes *Ishtar* with diseases. Now *Ea* creates a helper, which is sent to her assistance. The queen of Hades is overpowered, the source of the water of life is opened, and *Ishtar*, after being cured, returns, and every year *Duzu* revives in the spring.



Maruduk quelling Tiamat, or "Bel and the Dragon."

Historical elements are found in the great epos of *Gilgamesh*, the Babylonian *Hercules*, whose deeds are glorified in twelve songs. In very old times the town of Uruk was besieged by an enemy and saved by *Gilgamesh*, who became king. As he was growing mightier every day, the goddess *Aruru* created *Eabani* in order to resist him, but by means of a woman dedicated to *Ishtar*, they became friends. They made a campaign against the Elamitic king Chumbaba. After conquering his city they returned to Uruk, where a great feast was arranged. Now the goddess *Ishtar* asked *Gilgamesh* to be her consort, but he refused and reproached her with the fickleness of her love. (2) Full of wrath she made complaint to her father *Anu*, who created a great bull, that, however, was killed by *Eabani*. After a new war against Nippur, *Eabani* died, while *Gilgamesh* suffered from leprosy. In order to be cured he went to see his deceased forefather, *Tsit Napishtim*, living on the isle of the blessed at the mouth of the rivers. A long and difficult travel it was. Finally he came to the seashore, where he found the ferryman. They rowed forty-five days and reached the isle. Here *Tsit Napishtim* told him the story of his deluge, his escape, and glorification on the isle of the blessed; then he cured him at the fountain of life and gave him a plant that would protect him from illness. *Gilgamesh* returned to Uruk, but on the way home the plant was stolen by a

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serpent. In Uruk he complained of not finding *Eabani* on the isle of the blessed, but the god *Nergal* called the ghost of *Eabani*, which told him of the mystery of the land of the dead, where he was living.

16. MYTHOLOGY.

(1) Creation.

At that time the heaven above had not yet announced,
or the earth beneath recorded, a name;
the unopened deep was their generator,
MUMMU-TIAMAT (the chaos of the sea) was the mother of them all.
Their waters were embosomed as one, and
the corn-field was unharvested, the pasture was ungrown.
At that time the gods had not appeared, any of them;
by no name were they recorded, no destiny (had they fixed).
Then the (great) gods were created.
LAKHMU and LAKHAMU issued forth (the first),
until they grew up (when)
AN-SAR and KI-SAR were created.
Long were the days, extended (was the time, until)
the gods ANU, (BEL and EA were born),
AN-SAR and KI-SAR (gave them birth).
The rest of the tablet is lost.
—"*Records of the Past*," *New Series I., p. 133.*

. . . . . .

They (the gods) approached MERODACH the king.
They bestowed upon him the sceptre (and) throne and reign,
they gave him a weapon unsurpassed, consuming the hostile.
"Go," (they said), "and cut off the life of TIAMAT;
let the winds carry her blood to secret places."
The gods of his fathers also hear the report of EA:
"A path of peace and obedience is the road I have caused (him) to take."
There was too the bow, as his weapon he prepared (it);
he made the club swing, he fixed its seat;
and he lifted up the sacred weapon which he bade his right hand hold.
The bow and the quiver he hung at his side.
he set the lightning before him;
with a glance of swiftness he filled his body.
He made also a snare to enclose the dragon of the sea.
He seized the four winds that they might not issue forth, any one of them,
the south wind, the north wind, the east wind (and) the west wind.
His hand brought the snare near the bow of his father ANU.
He created the evil wind, the hostile wind, the storm, the tempest,
the four winds the seven winds, the whirlwind, the unending wind;
and he caused the winds which he had created to issue forth, the seven of them,
confounding the dragon TIAMAT, as they swept after him.
Then the lord lifted up the deluge, his mighty weapon.
He rode in the chariot of destiny that retreats without a rival.
He stood firm and hung the four reins at its side.
—*Ibid, pp. 137, 138.*

. . . . . .

Stand up, and I and thou will fight together.
When TIAMAT heard this
she uttered her former spells, she repeated her command.
TIAMAT also cried out vehemently with a loud voice.
From its roots she strengthened (her) seat completely.
She recites an incantation, she casts a spell,
and the gods of battle demand for themselves their arms.
Then TIAMAT attacked MERODACH, the chief prophet of the gods;
in combat they joined; they met in battle.
And the lord outspread his snare (and) enclosed her.
He sent before him the evil wind to seize (her) from behind.
And TIAMAT opened her mouth to swallow it.
He made the evil wind enter so that she could not close her lips.
The violence of the winds tortured her stomach, and
her heart was prostrated and her mouth was twisted.
He swung the club, he shattered her stomach;
he cut out her entrails; he overmastered (her) heart;
he bound her and ended her life.
He threw down her corpse; he stood upon it.
When TIAMAT who marched before (them) was conquered,
he dispersed her forces, her host was overthrown,
and the gods her allies who marched beside her
trembled (and) feared (and) turned their backs.
—*Ibid, p. 140.*

(2) Ishtar the Slayer of Men.—Gilgames repels this unexpected declaration with a mixed feeling of contempt and apprehension; he abuses the goddess, and insolently questions her as to what has become of her mortal husbands during her long divine life. "Tammuz, the spouse of thy youth, thou hast condemned him to weep from year to year. Allala, the spotted sparrow-hawk, thou lovedst him, afterward thou didst strike him and break his wing; he continues in the wood and cries, 'O, my wings!' Thou didst afterwards love a lion of mature strength, and then didst cause him to be rent by blows, seven at a time. Thou lovedst also a stallion magnificent in the battle; thou didst devote him to death by the goad and whip; thou didst compel him to galop for ten leagues, thou didst devote him to exhaustion and thirst, thou didst devote to tears his mother Silili. Thou didst also love the shepherd Tabulu, who lavished incessantly upon thee the smoke of sacrifices, and daily slaughtered goats to thee; thou didst strike him and turn him into a leopard; his own servants went in pursuit of him, and his dogs followed his trail. Thou didst love Ishullanu, thy father's gardener, who ceaselessly brought thee presents of fruit, and decorated every day thy table. Thou raisedst thine eyes to him, thou seizedst him: 'My Ishullanu, we shall eat melons, then shalt thou stretch forth thy hand and remove that which separates us.'"—*Maspero*, "*Dawn of Civilization*," *pp. 580-81.*

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17. RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE.

Every individual was protected by a particular god and goddess. He needed this protection especially against the evil spirits, an almost innumerable army of demons, that brought illness and diseases to men. (1)

At the head of these demons were placed the terrible seven *Anunnaki*, that fought against *Sin*, and that were only defeated after a heavy struggle with the mightiest of the gods. They lived in the wall of the horizon like wild horses. The demon "south-wind" was the first, a terrible panther the third, the others were also animals and winds; they were not masculine and not feminine, without wife and children. They went round in the streets to cause trouble; they entered the houses even through the smallest opening; they crept into a man's body to make him ill; they hid themselves among the cattle when driven home; they caused hatred and jealousy, and did all the evil they could.

Against them man makes a fortress of his house. He daily invokes the help of the great gods and defends his house by their images. At the top of the roof, in the fire-place, in the door, and even at a certain distance from the door the figures are placed as sentinels. In the morning and evening he offers to them nourishment and sweet drink, and asks them to keep off all that might be wrong. In case of illness, they are placed near the bed, two at the head and two at the foot.

Man is exposed to the influence of the demons when the gods are insulted. Either the protecting gods are indifferent and do not defend the man, or the gods themselves send the evil spirits as punishments for the sins.

The wrath of a god may be provoked by ritual neglects, but also by moral mistakes. When the offerings are not given or vows remain unfulfilled, the gods are insulted, but they are also insulted by sins against morality and laws. Changing of the boundary-stones, making use of false weights, stealing or commanding to steal, causing quarrels, speaking right, but doing wrong, killing the neighbor, teaching improper things, bribing in lawsuit, transgressing the limits of righteousness, eating or drinking out of unclean objects, etc., are punished, and may be the cause of a curse. It is remarkable that, except the precepts of worshiping one god and the forbidding of idol-cult, all the ten commandments have their equivalents in Babylonian religious precepts. The condition of woman in Babylonia compared unfavorably with that in Egypt. (2)

Not only do the gods send misfortune, but man also is able to do so. Some persons have "the evil eye," others know how to conjure the spirits. Though sorcery is forbidden by the gods, a number of witches bring misery by their practices. They make images of a person, and by cursing their figures, by hiding them, by burying them, by throwing them into the water, by burning them or crushing them in the street, they are sure of damaging the man himself sooner or later. (3)

In cases of illness and adversity the gods should be satisfied and the spirits expelled. This could be done by reciting long exorcisms and by symbolical acts. *Maruduk* is the great god, whose assistance purifies the sick. The symbolical acts consist in the burning of onions, meal, clothes, fruit; the conjuror asks that the sickness may be buried at the same time. The body of the sick man is wrapped in sacred cords, which are tied with a mysterious tie; the conjuror unties the magical knot and supplicates that the god may untie the band of sickness.

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17. RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE.

(1) **The Demons.**—Namtar, beloved son of Bel, children of Nin-ki-gal (queen of Hades), above they cut off, beneath they overturn the walls, they are the offspring of Hades. Above they call, beneath they shout, the poison of the gall of the gods they are. Terrible monsters, that come down from heaven, birds that shout in the towns, sons of the earth they are. High and large beams they overturn like a flood of water, from house to house they go, a door does not keep them off, a bolt does not prevent them, like serpents they steal in, like the wind they enter by the hinges of the door, they carry off the wife from the man, and the child from his mother's lap, they are all pain, they are as

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bound on a man's back.—*Rawlinson's "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," IV., 1. a. 5-43.*

A cloudy day, an ill-wind they are, a bad monster, a storm is going ahead, strenuous sons they are, messengers of Namtar, throne-bearers of Ninki-gal, they are like a storm blazing in the land. Seven they are in the wide heaven, seven they are on the wide earth, seven mighty gods, seven evil gods, seven bad demons, seven ill-flamed, in heaven they are seven, on earth they are seven, by the heaven they may be conjured, by the earth they may be conjured, by Bel, Belit, Ninib, Ishtar, that shines in the night, they may be conjured.

Namtar, demon that destroys the country, that causes sickness and evil in the land, that is not good for the flesh, not favorable for the body, evil demons, evil man, evil eye, evil mouth, evil tongue, go away from the man, the son of his god, go away from his body, do not approach my body, do not harm to my eye before me, do not go behind me, do not enter my house, do not pass my sills, come not into my room, by heaven and earth, by Bel and Belit, Ninib, Nushu, Sin, Ishtar, Ramman, Shamash, by the Anunnaki they may be conjured. —*Ibid, 1 a.*

The Rationale of Spiritism. — These monsters of alarming aspect, armed with knives and lances, whom the theologians of Heliopolis and Thebes confined within the caverns of Hades in the depths of eternal darkness, were believed by the Chaldæans to be let loose in broad daylight over the earth—such were the "gallu" and the "maskim," the "âlu" and the "utukku," besides a score of other demoniacal tribes bearing curious and mysterious names. Some floated in the air and presided over the unhealthy winds. The southwest wind, the most cruel of them all, stalked over the solitudes of Arabia, whence he suddenly issued during the most oppressive months of the year; he collected round him as he passed the malarial vapors given off by the marshes under the heat of the sun, and he spread them over the country, striking down in his violence not only man and beast, but destroying harvests, pasturage, and even trees. The genii of fevers and madness crept in silently everywhere, insidious and traitorous as they were. The plague alternately slumbered or made furious onslaughts among crowded populations. Imps haunted the houses, goblins wandered about the water's edge, ghouls lay in wait for travelers in unfrequented places, and the dead quitting their tombs in the night stole stealthily among the living to satiate themselves with their blood.—*G. Maspero, "The Dawn of Civilization," pp. 631-32.*

(2) **Woman in Babylonia.**—The wives of the sovereign do not seem to have been invested with that semi-sacred character which led the Egyptian women to be associated with the devotions of the man, and made them indispensable auxiliaries in all religious ceremonies; they did not, moreover, occupy that important position side by side with the man which the Egyptian law assigned to the queens of the Pharaohs. Whereas the monuments on the banks of the Nile reveal to us princesses sharing the throne of their husbands, whom they embrace with a gesture of frank affection, in Chaldæa the wives of the prince, his mother, sisters, daughters, and even his slaves, remain invisible to posterity. The harem in which they were shut up by custom, rarely opened its doors; the people seldom caught sight of them, their relatives spoke of them as little as possible, those in power avoided associating them in any public acts of worship or government, and we could count on our fingers the number of those whom the inscriptions mention by name. As the kings, who put forward no pretentions to a divine origin, were not constrained, after the fashion of the Pharaohs, to marry their sisters in order to keep up the purity of their race, it was rare to find one among their wives who possessed an equal right to the crown with themselves; such a case could be found only in troublous times, when an aspirant to the throne, of base extraction, legitimated his usurpation by marrying a sister or daughter of his predecessor. The original status of the mother almost always determined that of her children, and the sons of a princess were born princes, even if their father were of obscure or unknown origin. These princes exercised important functions at court, or they received possessions which they administered under the suzerainty of the family; the daughters were given to foreign kings, or to scions of the most distinguished families.—*Ibid, pp. 707-8.*



Head of Statuette showing oblique eyes.



Female Head.

(3) **The Curse Exorcised.**—The evil curse lies upon the man like a demon, fullness of pain rests upon him, fullness of evil rests upon him, the evil curse, the sickness. The evil curse slaughters him like an ass. His god went away from him, his goddess placed illness on him, the fullness of pain covers him like a cloth, and Maruduk looks at him. He enters the palace of his father Ea and says: Father, the evil curse is upon the man like a demon. For a second time he addresses him: This man does not know what to do, how to soften (the pain). Ea answers his son Maruduk: My son, what dost thou not know, what shall I teach thee more? Maruduk, what doest thou not know, what shall I add (to thy knowledge?) What I know, thou knowest; go, Maruduk, my son, loose his curse, break his curse, may it be a curse of his father, may it be a curse of his mother, may it be a curse of his eldest brother, may it be a curse of an unknown witch, by the conjuration of Ea the curse will be peeled like an onion, be plucked like a date. Curse, by the heaven thou mayst be exorcised, by the earth thou mayst be exorcised.

As this onion is peeled and thrown into the fire, and the fire burns it, as it will not be placed in a furrow, will not stay near water or a canal, as its root does not touch the ground, its stalk does not grow, does not see the sun, as it will not be placed on the table of a god or a king, so may the illness, that is in my body, in my flesh, in my members, be peeled like this date, on this day may the fire burn it, may it take away the curse, may I see the light. — *Rawlinson's "Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia," IV., p. 7.*

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18. RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE (CONTINUED).

All uncommon events were believed to have significance. In the first place, dreams, unusual births, color of the hair, the moth in clothes, the scratching of dogs, and a thousand things more were deemed significant as to the future. Furthermore, the constellations, the eclipses of sun and moon, the rising of the planets were anxiously watched, for no doubt was entertained about the influence of these on the crops, the result of wars, etc. This belief in forecasts became the occasion of astronomical researches. Stars and gods were brought into relation by the priests. Each star represented a distinct number, and by means of those they made calculations about future events. So religious life in Babylonia and Assyria was not easy. In all circumstances the gods ought to be consulted. The king of Babylonia was not really invested with his dignity, unless he "seized the hands of *Maruduk*" at the first Zakmuku-feast of his reign. He therefore went to Esagila and led the image of *Maruduk* by the hand on his holy procession. No campaign was undertaken without consent of the gods; no house nor temple was built or repaired without numerous offerings; in the observatories on the top of the tower-temples the priests prepared reports that were sent to the king. (1)



God Nebo. *Cf.* note 2.

Sins were confessed in penitential hymns of deep religious feeling. (2) Of course, the religious ideas of the scholars and priests gradually became more developed than popular opinions, and some priests really came very near monotheism. In the eighth century B.C. one of the Assyrian governors tried to make *Nabu* the god exclusively worshiped, but ended in failure, as the people could not appreciate his feelings. In another case a number of gods are regarded as manifestations of the one *Maruduk;* and the lists of gods prove that systems of identification of gods were taught in the schools of the priests. But all this was mere scholarship, and not living religion.

The gods were conceived as human beings, animals, or animals with human faces. Only a part of their being was thought to be united with their images. In the mythological literature much is spoken of them that seems to us disrespectful. The gods became anxious on account of the waters of the deluge; like frightened dogs they go to the heaven of *Anu;* like flies they come to the offering of the Babylonian Noah; and *Gilgamesh* addresses *Ishtar* very disrespectfully.

The Babylonians believed in a life after death, but not in what we call the resurrection and immortality of the soul. The deceased was buried and placed in a tomb, where he was provided with fruits, wine, oil, etc. His shade is supposed to rest here for a time and then is transported to Hades, the kingdom of *Nergal* and of *Allatu*, queen of death. In other cases the corpse was burned and the remains placed in a jar of clay. Hades is surrounded by seven walls, and by a river. The shades live there in darkness and misery, and no evidence is forthcoming as to any difference between the destinies of good and bad.

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18. RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE (CONTINUED).

(1) **Astrology.**—All these discoveries, which constitute in our eyes the scientific patrimony of the Chaldæans, were regarded by themselves as the least important results of their investigations. Did they not know, thanks to these investigations, that the stars shone for other purposes than to lighten up the nights—to rule, in fact, the destinies of men and kings, and, in ruling that of kings, to determine the fortunes of empires? Their earliest astronomers, by their assiduous contemplation of the nightly heavens, had come to the conclusion

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that the vicissitudes of the heavenly bodies were in fixed relations with mundane phenomena and events. If Mercury, for instance, displayed an unusual brilliancy at his rising, and his disk appeared as a two-edged sword, riches and abundance, due to the position of the luminous halo which surrounded him, would be scattered over Chaldæa, while discords would cease therein, and justice would triumph over iniquity. The first observer who was struck by this coincidence noted it down; his successors confirmed his observations, and at length deduced, in the process of the years, from their accumulated knowledge, a general law. Henceforward, each time that Mercury assumed this same aspect it was of favorable augury, and kings and their subjects became the recipients of his bounty. As long as he maintained this appearance no foreign ruler could install himself in Chaldæa, tyranny would be divided against itself, equity would prevail, and a strong monarch bear sway; while the landholders and the king would be confirmed in their privileges, and obedience, together with tranquility, would rule everywhere in the land. The number of these observations increased to such a degree that it was found necessary to classify them methodically to avoid confusion. Tables of them were drawn up, in which the reader could see at one and the same moment the aspect of the heavens on such and such a night and hour, and the corresponding events either then happening, or about to happen, in Chaldæa, Syria, or some foreign land. If, for instance, the moon displayed the same appearance on the 1st and 27th of the month, Elam was threatened; but "if the sun, at his setting, appears double his usual size, with three groups of bluish rays, the king of Chaldæa is ruined." To the indications of the heavenly bodies, the Chaldæans added the portents which could be deduced from atmospheric phenomena: if it thundered on the 27th of Tammuz, the wheat-harvest would be excellent and the produce of the ears magnificent; but if this should occur six days later, that is, on the 2d of Abu, floods and rains were to be apprehended in a short time, together with the death of the king and the division of his empire. It was not for nothing that the sun and moon surrounded themselves in the evening with blood-red vapors or veiled themselves in dark clouds; that they grew suddenly pale or red after having been intensely bright; that unexpected fires blazed out on the confines of the air, and that on certain nights the stars seemed to have become detached from the firmament and to be falling upon the earth. These prodigies were so many warnings granted by the gods to the people and their kings before great crises in human affairs: the astronomer investigated and interpreted them, and his predictions had a greater influence than we are prepared to believe upon the fortunes of individuals and even of states. The rulers consulted and imposed upon the astronomers the duty of selecting the most favorable moment for the execution of the projects they had in view.—*Maspero*, "*Dawn of Civilization*," *pp. 778–9*.

(a) Penitential Hymn.

. . . I confess to thee, NEBO, in the assembly of the great gods:
. . . my sins, my soul is not subdued:
. . . NINEVEH, I make my prayer unto thee, warrior of the gods, his brothers:
. . . the life of Assur-bani-pal for a long time, hereafter:
. . . I prostrate myself at the foot of NEBO:
. . . NEBO, in the whole multitude of my sins.
I will cause thee to live, Assur-bani-pal, even I, NEBO, to everlasting days:
Thy feet shall not be weary, thy hands shall not tremble:
These thy lips shall not fail for praying to me:
Thy tongue shall not be put out from thy lips,
For I goodly speech will bestow upon thee:
I will go forward as thy head, I will make thy body to go forward in the house of E-BARBAR.
NEBO spake thus: Thy mouth utters good things, which have been offered in prayer to URKITTU:
Thy body which I made has been brought before me in supplication, according to her appointment in E-BARBAR:
The destiny which I formed has been brought before me in supplication,
Thus:—May he have a reward in the house of the Queen of the Universe!
Thy life has been brought before me in supplication thus:—His life do thou prolong [even the life] of Assur-bani-pal!
Bowing down in his sanctuary Assur-bani-pal made his prayer to NEBO his lord:
I have given myself unto thee, NEBO, thou wilt not forsake me [even], me:
My life in thy presence is governed, my soul is held in the embrace of BELTIS:
I have given myself unto thee, NEBO [thou] mighty one, thou wilt not forsake me, even me, in the midst of my sins.
There answered a breath from the presence of NEBO his lord:—
Fear not, Assur-bani-pal, long life will I give unto thee:
Fair winds from thy life will I appoint:
My mouth speaking that which is good shall cause thy prayer to be heard in the assembly of the great gods.

REVERSE.

Assur-bani-pal confessed his misdeeds: he made his prayer unto NEBO his lord:
What he took at the feet of the queen of NINEVEH he did not conceal in the assemby of the great gods:
That which with the reed of URKITTU is acquired he did not conceal [even] in the whole multitude of his sins:
In the whole multitude of my offences thou wilt not forsake me, NEBO:
In the whole multitude of my woes thou wilt not forsake my soul.
Small wert thou, Assur-bani-pal, when I gave you over to [the care of] the Queen of NINEVEH:
A suckling wert thou, Assur-bani-pal, when I satisfied thee on the lap of the Queen of NINEVEH:
The full streams of milk which unto thy mouth are given twain thou suckest, twain thou drawest into thy mouth:
Thy sins, Assur-bani-pal, like ripples on the face of water shall they be:
Like sandhills (?) which on the face of the earth are piled up shall they be dispersed before thy feet:
Thou shalt stand, Assur-bani-pal, in the presence of the great gods: thou shalt magnify NEBO.

—"*Records of the Past*," *New Series, Vol. VI., pp. 104-106.*

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THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

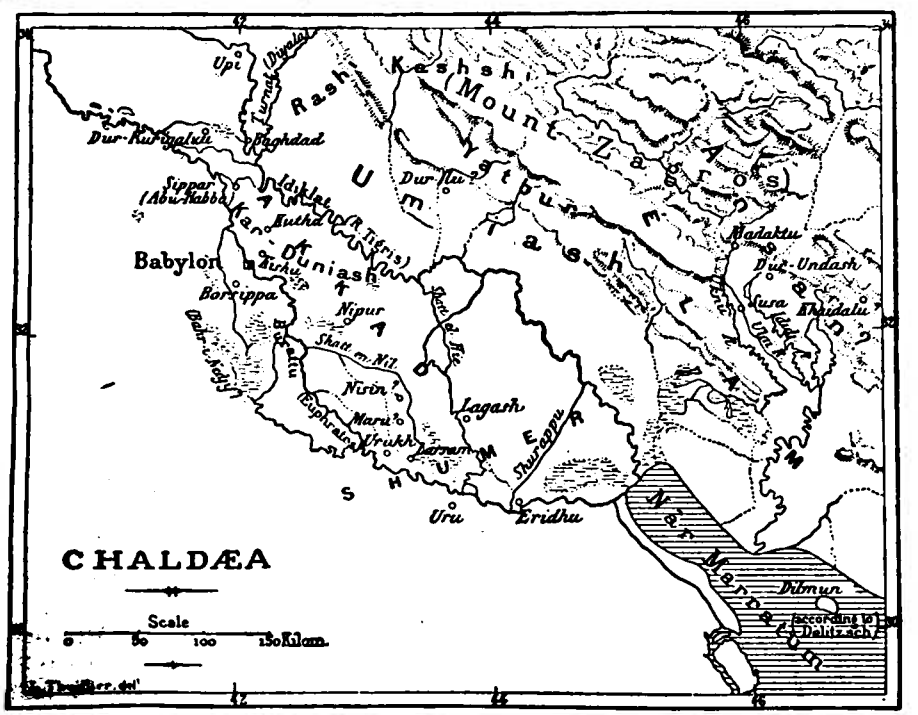
13. **SOURCES. ORIGIN OF THE PANTHEON.**—Excavations, University of Pennsylvania at Nippur, Small kingdoms, Sumerians, Semites, Analogy of religious history, Relationing.
14. **GODS. (LOCAL CULTS. THE PANTHEON.)**—Anu, Bel, Ea, Sin, Shamash, Ishtar, Ramman, Maruduk, Ashur, Minor deities.
15. **TEMPLES, PRIESTS, OFFERINGS.**—Ziggurat, Temple, Priests, Their functions and revenues, Sacrifice, Essence, Ishtar, Sabbaths, Zagmuku, Tammuz.
16. **MYTHOLOGY.**—Maruduk and Tiamat, Ishtar, Tammuz, Hades, Return, Gilgamesh, Eabani, Tsit, Napishtim, The flood, Nergal.
17. **RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE.**—Anunnaki, House fortification, Wrath from ritual or moral transgression, Ten commandments, Evil eye, Sorcery, Exorcism, Symbolic magic.
18. **RELIGIOUS BELIEF AND LIFE (CONTINUED.)**—Omens, Astrology, Penitential hymns, Monotheism, Gods frightened, greedy, or lustful, Tomb, Hades.

QUESTIONS.

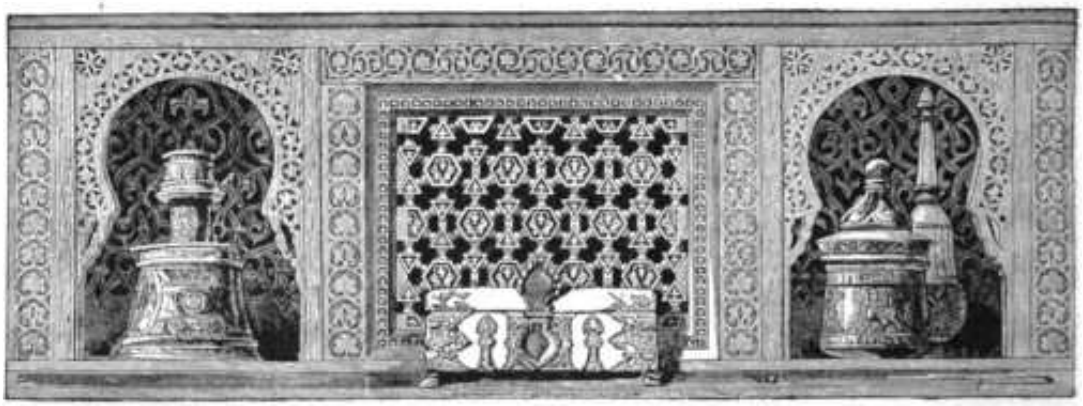
13. *What are the sources of our knowledge here? Since when discovered? What was the political condition of Babylonia at the earliest known time? When did Semites arrive here? Name the two great capitals. How was religion related to these conditions? How was union effected?*
14. *Name and describe the first triad of gods. Do the same for the second. To what god does Ramman correspond? Describe Maruduk. Describe Ashur. Instance some minor deities (demons).*
15. *What was the Ziggurat? Relate the functions of the priests. What offerings were made, and how could the gods partake of them? What days were sacred? Describe the New Year's festival at Babylon. Describe that in honor of Tammuz.*
16. *Relate the myth of Maruduk and Tiamat. Relate that of Ishtar. Relate that of Gilgamesh.*
17. *Why did each person need a patron deity? Who were the Anunnaki? How did man fortify his house? How can the gods be offended? Specify some moral offences. Describe some mischievous sorcery (magic). How can sickness be removed?*
18. *State the various omens. Give the substance of a penitential hymn. How were the gods unified? Describe the life after death.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Recall other cases of the influence of political upon religious conditions.*
2. *Recall other divine triads in Sinism, Vedism, Hinduism, and Buddhism.*
3. *On the especial cult of Ishtar, consult further Maspero's "Dawn of Civilization," or "Herodotus," I., p. 199.*
4. *Compare with the Ishtar myth, that recorded pp. 326-7.*
5. *Inquire in your neighborhood for cases of magic.*
6. *Search for other cases, besides that of astrology and astronomy, where religion has contributed to science.*



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ISLAMISM.

BY

MORRIS JASTROW, Jr., Ph.D., Professor of Semitic Languages at the University of Pennsylvania.

19. ARABIAN RELIGION BEFORE MOHAMMED.

THE closing half of the seventh century marks the beginning of one of the greatest revolutionary movements in history. As by a turn of the hand, the particles of glass in a kaleidoscope shift their position, and through a changed combination a different picture is projected on the background, so the total aspect of Europe and the greater part of Asia underwent a sudden transformation. Mighty thrones were shaken in their foundations, old empires tottered and fell, ancient cultures were swept away, and it seemed as though a time had arrived of which an ancient prophet had spoken, when the nations of the earth were to be shaken, as "one shakes grain in a sieve." A tidal wave threatening to engulf the entire occidental civilization swept over the earth; and when the waters receded, it was evident that a new world had appeared to take the place of a destroyed one—a new world with new forces, new leaders, and a new goal. The new world was Mohammedanism, the new forces Mohammed and the Koran, the new leaders the Arabs, and the new goal the conversion of the world into a vast mosque, wherein there was to resound from one end to the other the cry: "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet."

When the curtain of history first rises to disclose to our view the peninsula of Arabia, we find in Arabia the same two classes of inhabitants which still divide it today, the Bedâwî, or Bedouin (as we commonly say), and the "Ahl el-medr," the people of fixed abodes.

Of the districts where permanent settlements had been made, the oldest, so far as we know, was the province of Yemen. It is at all events in the southwestern corner of the peninsula that Arabic civilization takes its rise. Here, as early at least as the tenth century before our era, there flourished a kingdom of no inconsiderable power and extent, which attained a high degree of culture. This Sabaean kingdom, as it is generally known, seems to have exercised at one time a supremacy over a large portion of Arabia, and it is more than likely that its monarchs in the hey-day of their rule reached out to the Abessynian coast, and on the other hand came also into contact with the Babylonian empire.

Before the Sabaean kingdom passed away, it had left its impress upon the most remote parts of the peninsula. Steady streams of Yemenitic emigrants were sent in various directions. Passing into the province of Hedjaz, permanent settlements

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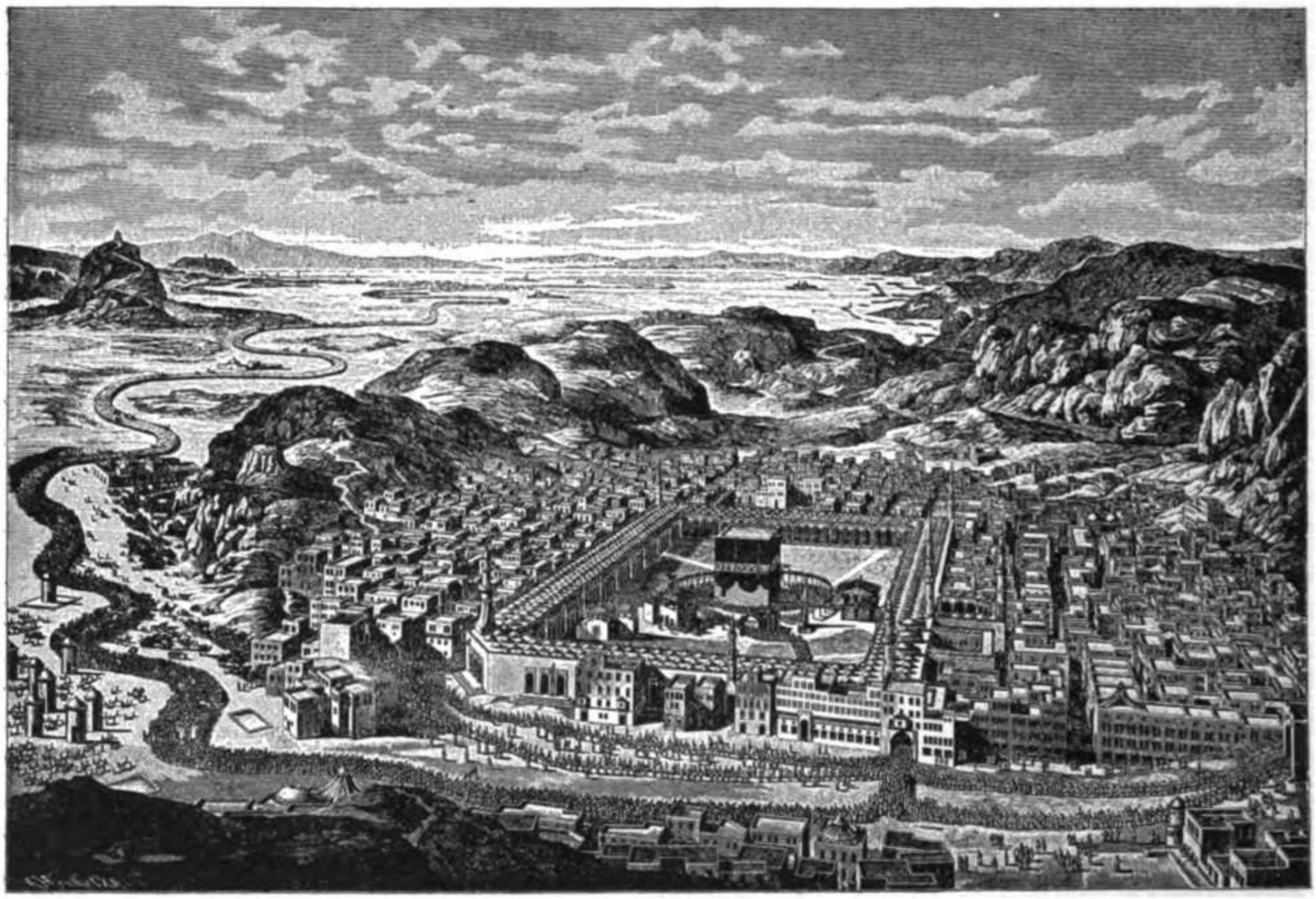
were made there. Other offshoots proceeded still further north, where two important border states were founded, that of Ghassan, on the edge of the Syrian desert, and that of Hira, at the northeastern extremity of Arabia and embracing parts of southern Mesopotamia. But wherever the Yemenites came, they found the country already well filled with a people, which, although a closely-related branch of the same great Semitic race, yet differed considerably from them in manners and customs, and occupied a much lower grade in the scale of civilization. A recent writer tersely describes this northern race "as less susceptible of culture, but gifted with greater energy and concentration of purpose than their southern cousins."

It would be a mistake, however, to throw all these northern and central tribes into one heap. Long before the days of Mohammed, there had developed, under the influence in part of the example of the higher culture furnished by the south, all the variations existing between semi-barbarous manners with thoroughly nomadic conditions and a close approach to the milder conditions of settled abodes. The caravan stations lying along the route leading from Yemen to Syria acted as natural centers around which villages grew up. We find the northern Arabs disputing with the Yemenites who poured into Hedjaz the possession of the soil as well as the right of sovereignty. The power of the northern tribes steadily increased until in the fifth century of this era, under a leader whom tradition calls Koleib, with the aid of a powerful coalition, they threw off entirely the hated Yemenitic yoke. The topography of Arabia about this time also begins to assume a more definite character. There is no longer so frequent a shifting of positions among the tribes as formerly, and while the differentiating process among the tribes goes on uninterruptedly, leading to further and smaller sub-divisions, certain well-defined groups, advancing more and more into the foreground, enable us to obtain a general grasp of the situation. Foremost among those groups stand the sister-clans of Bekr and Taglib, the former with its seat in the northeastern corner of Arabia, the latter, after much shifting about, established on the banks of the Euphrates in southern Mesopotamia. An almost equally prominent position is occupied by the group of the Hawazin in the Nedjd. The Hodheilites, whose territory lay to the east of Mecca, acquired high renown on account of the excellence of their poets and the bravery of their warriors. Somewhat to the north, occupying an intermediate position between the Hawazin and the Hodheilites, was the clan of Soleim, while in the extreme north of the Nedjd lived the powerful groups of Assad. To the south of Bekr was another large group known as Abdelkais. There was no bond of union among these groups, unless the consciousness of a common descent which never died out may be called such a bond. Each group was a law unto itself, and as each group guarded its independence with the utmost jealousy, it was only in the face of common danger that a temporary coalition with others took place, or when the overweaning growth of one division threatened a disturbance of the equilibrium of power. The free existence led by these tribes and the constant dangers to which they were exposed, produced a species of valor that contained a strong admixture of true nobility of heart. A high sense of honor acted as a check to cruel instincts. Ancestral pride made the Arab slow to forgive wrongs, but once the insult was wiped out, the generous side of his nature was shown in his dealings with those to whom he was bound by compact or gratitude. The strength of Islamism lay in its ability to form a combination between the loosely organized tribes and the townspeople. Previous to the days of Mohammed, the two classes met only on the occasion of the great fairs, which from an early period became a marked feature in Arabia. At these fairs—devoted primarily to barter and exchange—the Arabs gathered together from all parts. The poets vied with one another in celebrating the exploits of the clan to which they belonged. During the fairs, hostilities ceased, and frequently at these gatherings long-standing feuds between tribes or clans were amicably settled. The fairs, more than anything else, served to keep alive the

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feeling of a common bond between the tribes, as also between the townspeople and those who were ordinarily removed from the influences that affected those who lived in the towns.

In religious customs, likewise, the differences between the two classes became accentuated in the course of time. In the life of the Northern Arab, religion did not play an important role prior to the days of Mohammed. The country abounded in sacred objects—holy stones and trees. Each tribe had some protecting deity. The fellowship between the members of the tribe and the deity was expressed by a common meal, shared on certain occasions, as a means of establishing the compact between the two parties. There appears to have been some kind of a festival celebrated in the spring in connection with the beginning of the summer season; and the appearance of the new moon was welcomed with certain formulas and shouts,



Mecca and its Mosque, and the Kaaba inside that.

indicative of joy at the return of the lost planet. A special class of the population was formed by the *Kahane*, the workers of magic, who by virtue of a closer relationship with the gods could consult the latter directly; but it is important to bear in mind that the religion of ancient Arabia is entirely dissociated from fixed ritual, daily worship, or indeed any regular cult. In the towns, however, the influence of the systematized pantheon and cult of southern Arabia, and at a later period of Christianity, under certain forms, and of a Judaism of a rather inferior type, produced considerable changes in the old religion. In Mecca and Medina (or Yathrib, as it was known before the days of Mohammed), special importance came to be attached to certain gods. It became customary to pay visits at regular intervals to places sacred to them. In Mecca, more particularly, a famous stone sacred to a god *Allah* grew to be a favorite object of devotion. A sanctuary was erected near the stone (or perhaps around the stone), and the guardianship of this sanctuary

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became vested in certain families. Moreover, the presence of Jews and Christians in Mecca, Medina and Kheibar (not to speak of southern Arabia and Syria) brought about changed conceptions with regard to the ancient gods of Arabia, and while direct traces of the influence of these two faiths in the Arabs are not as numerous as we might have reason to expect, the indirect influence can hardly be exaggerated as a factor in accounting for the rise of Islam.

19. ARABIAN RELIGION BEFORE MOHAMMED.

(1) **Early Arabic Poetry.**—To add by his prowess or his hospitality or his eloquence to the glory of the clan was the Arab's ambition.

A mountain (*i. e.* the glory of the clan) we have
  where dwells he whom we shelter there,
  lofty, before whose height the eye falls back
    blunted;
Deep-based is its root below ground, and overhead
    there soars
  its peak to the stars of heaven whereto no man
    reaches.
A folk are we who deem it no shame to be slain in
    fight,
  though that be the deeming thereof of Salūl and
    'Amir;
Our love of death brings near to us our days of
    doom,
  but their dooms shrink from death and stand
    far distant.
There dies among us no lord a quiet death in his
    bed,
  and never is blood of us poured forth without
    vengeance.
Our souls stream forth in a flood from the edge of
    the whetted swords:
  no otherwise than so does our spirit leave its
    mansion.
Pure is our stock, unsullied; fair is it kept and
    bright
  by mothers whose bed bears well, and fathers
    mighty.
To the best of the uplands we wend, and when the
    season comes
  we travel adown to the best of fruitful valleys.
Like rain of the heaven are we: there is not in all
    our line
  one blunt of heart, nor among us is counted a
    niggard.
We say nay when so we will to the words of other
    men,
  but no man to us says nay when we give sentence.
When passes a lord of our line, in his stead there
    rises straight
  a lord to say the say and do the deeds of the
    noble.
Our beacon is never quenched to the wanderer of
    the night,
  nor has ever a guest blamed us where men meet
    together.
Our days (battles) are famous among our foemen,
    of fair report,
  branded and blazed with glory like noble horses.
Our swords have swept throughout all lands both
    west and east
  and gathered many a notch from the steel of
    hauberk-wearers;
Not used are they when drawn to be laid back in
    their sheaths
  before that the folk they meet are spoiled and
    scattered.

. . . . . .

And since his fiery temper easily took offence, the history of the early Arabs is full of the traditions of slight quarrels and their horrible results—secret assassination and the long-lasting blood-feud.

Many the warriors, noon journeying, who, when
  night fell, journeyed on and halted at dawning—
Keen each one of them, girt with a keen blade
  that when one drew it flashed forth like the
    lightning—
They were tasting of sleep by sips, when, as



The Kaaba with its covering lifted. *a* = The sacred stone. *b* = Ornamental curtain for the door. *c* = the door. *d* = spout. The legend runs: "There is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is the apostle of Allah."

  they nodded, thou didst fright them, and they
    were scattered.
Vengeance we did on them: they escaped us
  of the two houses none but the fewest.
And if Hudheyl broke the edge of his sword-blade—
  Many the notch that Hudheyl gained from him!
Many the time that he made them kneel down on
  jagged rocks where the hoof is worn with
    running!
Many the morning he fell on their shelter,
  and after slaughter came plunder and spoiling!

. . . . . .

To Hudheyl we gave to drink Death's goblet,
  whose dregs are disgrace and shame and dishonor.
The hyena laughs over the slain of Hudheyl, and
    the wolf—see thou—grins by their corpses,
And the vultures flap their wings, full-bellied
  treading their dead, too gorged to leave them.

—*S. Lane-Poole, "Studies in a Mosque," pp. 5-6, 8-9.*

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20. MOHAMMED.

In the year 570 A.D., there was born at Mecca the man who was to be the means of establishing a permanent social and political bond among all Arabs. Mohammed, the son of Abdallah, is not merely the founder of a religion, he is the creator of the Arabic nation as well; and unless he had also succeeded in establishing a state, his religious preaching would not have left an indelible impress upon the history of the world. Until Mohammed reached about his fortieth year, there is nothing in his career which gives evidence of unusual ability. He belonged to the family of Koreish, which, some generations before Mohammed, had succeeded in obtaining control of the sanctuary at Mecca, known, from its dice-like shape, as the Kaaba. Mohammed himself had no direct connection with the sanctuary. He gained a livelihood by attaching himself to the caravans that passed through Mecca, on their road from Yemen to Syria. Entering the service of a widow in good circumstances, Khadidja, as a kind of business agent, he subsequently married her, and continued his mercantile pursuits. The general testimony is given to him of being a domestic man, of a kindly disposition, and upright in his dealings. His journeys brought him into contact with Jews and Christians. Their practices, and what he heard from them with regard to their religious beliefs, aroused his interest. In recognizing, as in the course of time he did, the insufficiency of the ancient Arabic beliefs and customs, he was but a child of his age, for there is abundant evidence that in the towns a disintegrating religious process had begun several generations before Mohammed. The more thoughtful persons had secretly or openly cut loose from the practices of their ancestors. Some had even joined the Jewish or the Christian church, while others held aloof from all religious associations. The latter were opprobriously termed *Hanîfs*, "Heretics." To them Mohammed felt strongly attracted; and when, as an outcome of his religious struggles, he declared himself to be "neither a Jew nor a Christian," he was naturally regarded as a Hanîf.

It was about the year 610, that he first appears in public with the pretense of having been sent by *Allah* with a message to his people. It was this claim more than what he said that aroused opposition to him. Some regarded him as insane, others as an audacious and dangerous personage. The message itself which he claims to have received is neither startling nor revolutionary. Its essence consists in a call upon all people to worship only one god. The name that he chooses for god—*Allah*—was in use before the days of Mohammed. The Kaaba was known as the "House of *Allah*," and it was the *implication* involved in the call, that there was no other god besides *Allah*, that alone could have been distasteful to Mohammed's fellows.

The interest in Mohammed's career up to this point lies entirely in the study of his personality. He was a man without education. If he could read or write, it is quite certain that he never availed himself of these accomplishments. It is said that he used to betake himself to a cave in the mountain Hira, on the outskirts of Mecca, in order to meditate in solitude; and it was on one of these occasions that the first revelation came to him. If we question Mohammed's sincerity at this moment, we set aside the only means at our command for understanding the birth and spread of Islam. Mohammed had nothing to gain and everything to lose by deception.

His revelation merely confirmed him in the belief which, after severe torments of soul he had reached, that everything in the universe—man and nature, the sun, moon, and stars—was produced by a single power. The influence of Judaism and Christianity is clearly apparent in this doctrine, as also in the conviction, confirmed by his revelation, that he was a divinely sent prophet of *Allah*, as Abraham, Moses, and Jesus were before him. To reconcile the differences existing between the Jews and Christians, Mohammed declared that he was a follower of Abraham, and he changed

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the sting of the term Hanîf, by declaring that Abraham, being neither a Jew nor a Christian, was in reality a Hanîf.

Mohammed's appearance in public for some years attracted little attention. While the implication of his monotheistic doctrine may not have been looked upon with favor, there was no reason for interfering with him, as long as his talk did not disturb social conditions. His wife, the members of his household, and some influential citizens of Mecca accepted Mohammed's claim of being inspired. Mohammed and his followers continued to pay their respects to the Kaaba, and it was only as the group threatened to assume the character and dimensions of a "clique"—to use the modern phrase—leading to dissensions among the members of the Koreish family, that an opposition to Mohammed began to develop. Some of the influential members of the Meccan humanity—notably Mohammed's uncle, Abu-Tâlib—endeavored to dissuade Mohammed from increasing the fomentation; but the prophet had proceeded too far to abandon what he now regarded as the one object of his life—to preach the power and greatness of *Allah*. In time, he became bolder, and attacked religious practices that were regarded as a precious heritage. Stronger attempts were now made to silence Mohammed, but such efforts only widened the breach that separated him and his followers from the Meccans. Finally, things came to such a pass that it was hardly safe for Mohammed to remain in his native town. Meanwhile reports of his teachings had spread to Yathrib, and much interest was felt in him at that place. Whatever the reasons may have been for this attitude of the Yathribites, Mohammed availed himself of the opportunities presented for a more favorable field for his labors, and, together with his followers, he left Mecca for Yathrib in the year 622. The departure, rendered advisable by circumstances, was called—probably by his opponents—the *Hidjra* or "flight" of Mohammed. It is from this event that the Mohammedans date the era still used by them.

Mohammed's change of residence from Mecca to Yathrib, which was soon to become known as medinet el-nabî, "the city of the prophet," or, more briefly, Medina, emphasizes the social character of the movement that he inaugurates. Those who joined Mohammed at Medina are significantly known as his "helpers." They formed a small army, of which Mohammed became the leader. The ultimate object in view was the conquest of Mecca, and before he died, Mohammed had the satisfaction—only seven years after his flight—of seeing Mecca yield to him, almost without a struggle. During the interval, several minor encounters take place between the forces of Mohammed and the Meccans. The outcome was generally favorable to Mohammed, so that, when the end of the struggle came, it was generally recognized that a new age was dawning for Arabia. Mohammed's success as a political leader led many to his side who had but little interest in his religious doctrines. The time seemed ripe for a movement uniting the Arabic tribes, and Mohammed was in a real sense "a man of destiny." He had that natural power of attracting followers which is a certain indication of greatness. Before he died, his emissaries had proceeded to various parts of the Arabian peninsula, calling upon the tribes to adopt the standard of Mohammed and *Allah*. *Allah* had shown himself to be a powerful god by the assistance he granted Mohammed. To acknowledge Mohammed as a messenger of *Allah* involved no departure from ancient rites; and since Mohammed kept many of the practices of his fathers—notably the pilgrimage to the Kaaba—the opposition between the old and the new faith was not clearly manifest. True, he imposed religious obligations that were new; but those that were irksome, as *e.g.* daily prayers, the Bedouins simply ignored. Shortly before his death, which took place at Medina, in the summer of 632, Mohammed paid a farwell visit to the sanctuary at Kaaba, and thus sealed the bond that united him to the past. When death overtook him, he was occupied with the ambitious plan of spreading beyond the confines of Arabia, his doctrine of one god, with Mohammed as the last of the messengers. This work was taken up by his trusted lieutenants—notably by Omar.

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21. THE KORAN.

Mohammed was essentially a preacher, if ever there was one; and he was wont to describe himself as such—as one who was sent to "warn" men. The political revolutions and the social reforms which accompany and in so large measure control the movement that he inaugurates are due to the circumstances of his age. As a social reformer and political leader, he was but the instrument of fate. In his preaching, however, his own personality manifests itself.

His utterances were at first brief. They impress one like telegraphic messages—sharp and decisive, and implying much more than they actually express. This character of his early utterances is due to the mental excitement under which they were produced. They reflect his internal struggles. He ponders over the mysteries of the universe, he racks his brain for a solution, a flood of thoughts rushes in upon him, and the result is a string of disconnected and sometimes incoherent sentences. He is utterly unable, by his nature and by his lack of education, to formulate a system of thought. He sees the truth, but his emotions, as strong as his intellect, prompt him to outbursts, instead of to exposition. The burden of his early messages is always the same—the absolute oneness of *Allah*, his power, his kindness to mankind, his readiness to forgive, and the impossibility of salvation outside of belief in him, and devotion to him.

In the course of time, as adherents flocks to his side, Mohammed's utterances become more elaborate. Personal circumstances mingle with his revelations. He replies to the objections raised against his claim of being a messenger of *Allah*. He is taunted with being a poet, and in strong terms he declares the reality of the messages that he receives. When the growth of his party leads to more serious attacks, he denounces his enemies, threatening them with the tortures of hell. He introduces arguments to convince his hearers of the correctness of his religious views. Another important change becomes manifest in his utterances when he removes to Medina. Attached with all the fervency of the Arabic nature to his native place, he felt the humiliation involved in being obliged to leave Mecca. He was sent primarily to warn his people, the Koreish. If they rejected him, how could he hope to reach others, and, above all, how could he reconcile his defeat with the power of *Allah*, who had sent him? While the change in the scene of his labors gave Mohammed a wider horizon, the consciousness of this did not dawn upon him at first. His mind was occupied with thoughts of Mecca. He becomes a political leader *malgrè lui*, and his utterances in Medina take on in consequence a decidedly secular character. His revelations became the *ordres du jour* of a general. The weaker sides of his nature are brought into the foreground. His vanity is touched by the growing number of his adherents. He seeks to hold them by entertaining them. The Arabs, ever fond of listening to tales, were delighted with the recitals of Mohammed regarding Noah, Abraham, Joseph, Moses, Jonah, and Jesus. These were new stories to them. He tells them of Arabic prophets also who were sent to warn their people. Mohammed adds details of his own invention, and, never having read the Old or the New Testament, when he does not invent he distorts the Biblical tales so horribly at times, as to make one doubt whether he understood the Jews and Christians from whose lips he had heard the stories. The credit, however, must be given Mohammed that he never leaves out of view the main purpose of his declarations. He never fails to draw the lesson from the tales with which he regales his hearers. Like a true preacher, he avails himself of the interest he arouses in his audience, by dropping the thread of the narrative at a dramatic point and interspersing reflections upon *Allah's* motives, upon his mercy, and the protection he affords to those who cling to him. Mohammed's last word to his people is the same as his first: "*Allah*—there is none but *Allah*. Serve ye *Allah*." These words constitute his last testimony. He leaves the state that he by the accident of circumstances founds without a suc-

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cessor. In vain do his lieutenants urge him to appoint someone who might lead the nation that he creates into the promised land of glory and conquest. Mohammed dies—as he lived—a preacher.

The utterances of Mohammed during the several periods of his public career were gathered together within a few years after his death. The collection became known as the Korân; Mohammed himself applies this word to his utterances. Korân may be approximately rendered "recitation"; and since Mohammed claims that what he utters is the revelation made to him by *Allah* through the angel Gabriel, the appropriateness of calling his addresses a recitation will be apparent. The Korân is divided into one hundred and forty-four chapters known as Suras, that is, divisions. The authority of the collection is vouched for by the fact of its compilation during the lifetime of those who followed the career of the prophet from the beginning to the end—not that the Korân contains all of the public utterances of Mohammed, but what it contains is stamped with his personality. No doubt many of Mohammed's speeches are lost, for no special means were taken during the early years of his public career to preserve them. At the same time, oral tradition is tolerably trustworthy among a people accustomed to preserve in this way lengthy poetic compositions for many generations. Exactly from what time on Mohammed engaged the services of a secretary to take down his speeches, is not known, but there is no reason to question the tradition that he had one during his sojourn in Medina. Certainly his later utterances are better and more fully preserved than the earlier ones. Of the one hundred and fourteen Suras, it is true ninety are assigned to the Meccan period and only twenty-four to the sojourn in Medina; but the latter are about the only ones that can be dignified by the name of speeches; the former with few exceptions are merely sporadic sayings, bearing clearly the traces of being the more memorable extracts which impressed themselves upon the minds of his hearers; and while, as has been pointed out, at the outset of his career he confined himself to short messages, the custom of more elaborate addresses was inaugurated sometime before he left his native city. It must be remembered, too, that many of the larger Suras and some also of the shorter ones are really composite productions, made up of two or more speeches. Great care was taken to secure general consent to the authenticity of the collection. Abu-Bekr, who was recognized as the leader upon the death of Mohammed, entrusted Mohammed's secretary, Zaid ibu Thâbin, with the task of gathering the prophet's speeches. Differences of opinion having arisen among the intimates of the prophet as to what he said, a revised version was prepared at the instigation of the caliph Othman about the year 640, who engaged the same Zaid and several other authorities for the work. This version was declared to be authentic, and such copies as differed were sought out, so far as possible, and burned.

The arrangement of the Suras is peculiar. In general, the longer ones were placed at the beginning of the collection, the shorter ones at the end. What the motives of the collections were in adopting such a method, we do not know. It happens, therefore, that the addresses made at Medina, which are the later ones, are found in the first part of the Korân, while the earliest Suras are at the end. An exception is formed by the first Sura—the Doxology of Islam—which is still recited at the beginning of every religious service in Mohammedan countries. To determine the chronological order (which is manifestly of the utmost importance), we must be guided by the contents of the Suras, together with abundant though not always reliable traditions of the circumstances under which the utterances were made. Titles were assigned to each Sura, some chosen from a subject introduced, others from a catch word that appeared in the Sura in question. No great importance is to be attached to these titles. The style of the Korân varies. The shorter Suras and frequently passages in the long Suras are couched in a rhymed prose, and it is of importance to note that the *Kahane* (the magic workers of ancient Arabia) gave forth their oracles in this same style. The finest, the most poetic, and the most

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solemn passages in the Korân are written in this manner. When Mohammed enters upon an elaboration of his views, his style changes. Often it is vivid, but in general it is dull, in consequence of prolixity and frequent repetitions of certain set phrases. He spins his stories out too long, and the frequent exclamations and digressions make the Korân tiresome reading, though all the more effective for recitation. It is necessary, indeed, to hear the Korân read to judge of its effect and to account for the influence it has exerted; and to read the Korân properly is an art in which but few acquire expertness. For us, its value lies chiefly as an expression of Mohammed's personality, and as the foundation upon which the great structure of Islamic theology was reared by the generations that followed upon the prophet.

21. THE KORAN.

The Chapter of Congealed Blood.—(The first five verses of this sura, No. 96, are generally supposed to form the oldest revelation to Mohammed contained in the Korân. The ninth verse arraigns Abu Jahl, who threatened to set his foot on Mohammed's neck, if he caught him in the act of adoration.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

READ, in the name of thy Lord!
Who created man from congealed blood!
Read, for thy Lord is most generous!
Who taught the pen!
Taught man what he did not know!
Nay, verily, man is indeed outrageous at seeing himself get rich!
Verily, unto thy Lord is the return!
Hast thou considered him who forbids a servant when he prays?
Hast thou considered if he were in guidance or bade piety?
Hast thou considered if he said it was a lie, and turned his back?
Did he not know that God can see?
Nay, surely, if he do not desist we will drag him by the forelock!—the lying, sinful forelock!
So let him call his counsel: we will call the guards of hell!
Nay, obey him not, but adore and draw nigh!—*"Sacred Books of the East," Vol. IX., pp. 336-7.*

The Opening Chapter.—(This sura, No. 1, is the one most frequently recited, and perhaps the most famous.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Praise belongs to God, the Lord of the worlds, the merciful, the compassionate, the ruler of the day of judgment! Thee we serve and Thee we ask for aid. Guide us in the right path, the path of those Thou art gracious to; not of those Thou art wroth with; nor of those who err.—*Ibid, Vol. VI., p. 1.*

The Chapter of Unity.—(This sura, No. 112, declares God's unity.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

Say, "He is God alone!
God the Eternal!
He begets not and is not begotten!
Nor is there like unto Him anyone!"—*Ibid, Vol. IX., p. 314.*

The Chapter of the Koreish.—(This sura, No. 106, illustrates Mohammed's interest in his own family.)

In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.

For the uniting of the Koreish; uniting them for the caravan of winter and summer.
So let them serve the Lord of this house who feeds them against hunger and makes them safe against fear.—*Ibid, Vol. IX., p. 342.*

The Chapter of the Heifer.—(This selection from the 2d sura is one of the finest passages in the Korân.)

Verily, those who misbelieve, it is the same to them if ye warn them or if ye warn them not, they will not believe. God has set a seal upon their hearts and on their hearing; and on their eyes is dimness, and for them is grievous woe. And there are those among men who say, "We believe in God and in the last day;" but they do not believe. They would deceive God and those who do believe; but they deceive only themselves and they do not perceive. In their hearts is a sickness, and God has made them still more sick, and for them is grievous woe because they lied. And when it is said to them, "Do not evil in the earth," they say, "We do but what is right." Are not they the evildoers? and yet they do not perceive. And when it is said to them, "Believe as other men believe," they say, "Shall we believe as fools believe?" Are not they themselves the fools? and yet they do not know. And when they meet those who believe, they say, "We do believe;" but when they go aside with their devils, they say, "We are with you; we were but mocking!" God shall mock at them and let them go on in their rebellion, blindly wandering on.

Those who buy error for guidance, their traffic profits not, and they are not guided. Their likeness is as the likeness of one who kindles a fire; and when it lights up all around, God goes off with their light, and leaves them in darkness that they cannot see. Deafness, dumbness, blindness, and they shall not return! Or like a storm-cloud from the sky, wherein is darkness and thunder and lightning; they put their fingers in their ears at the thunder-clap, for fear of death, for God encompasses the misbelievers. The lightning well-nigh snatches off their sight, whenever it shines for them they walk therein; but when it is dark for them they halt; and if God willed He would go off with their hearing and their sight; verily, God is mighty over all.

O ye folk! serve your Lord who created you and those before you; haply ye may fear! who made the earth for you a bed and the heaven a dome; and sent down from heaven water, and brought forth therewith fruits as a sustenance for you; so make no peers for God, the while ye know!

And if ye are in doubt of what we have revealed unto our servant, then bring a chapter like it, and call your witnesses other than God if ye tell truth.—*Ibid, Vol. VI., pp. 2-3.*

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22. THE DOCTRINES OF ISLAMISM.

Mohammed himself suggested the name "Islâm" for the religion that he taught; and certainly no more beautiful name for a religion could have been chosen. An approximate translation of Islâm is peace-giving faith, Islâm involves the surrender of oneself into the hands of *Allah*, as the only means of obtaining perfect peace of soul. It is a term, therefore, that emphasizes above all the element of faith—faith in *Allah*. For Mohammed to have urged so persistently upon his hearers to "submit themselves to Allah," is a testimony to the depth of his own religious feelings; and it is equally significant of the deep impression that his personality must have made, that in the elaborate theology of Islâm the element of faith has remained the most conspicuous trait. Islamism is essentially a religion of faith.

Mohammed was, as we have seen, not a person who could formulate a system of thought. We must not, therefore, look for a logical statement of the doctrines of Islamism in the Korân. The task of deriving these doctrines from the sporadic sayings of the prophet was no easy one, and naturally differences of opinion arose soon after Mohammed's death, as to the views of the prophets. The most valuable aid to the theologians in perfecting their religious system on the basis of the Korân, was found in the large number of traditions that were current of the sayings and doings of the prophet. The collections and interpretations of these sayings and doings gave rise to a new science, known as Hadîth, which about corresponds to our term "tradition." The Korân and the Hadîth thus represent the written and the oral law of Islamism respectively. From the two together, the doctrines of the religion are derived. These doctrines are concerned with God, with the prophets, with the relationship of men to *Allah*, and with future rewards and punishments.

The cornerstone of Islamism is the unity of God. This doctrine was interpreted by all theologians of Islamism in an absolute sense. That there can be no divine being except *Allah* is the thought that took the most definite shape in Mohammed's mind. To associate anyone or anything with *Allah* is blasphemy and idolatry. In a less decisive manner, he protests against unworthy conceptions of *Allah* which might indicate a resemblance to human attributes. The eternity and omniscience of *Allah* follow as necessary corollaries. In their conceptions of *Allah*, both Mohammed and the theologians lay great stress upon his love and mercy. He forgives the transgressions of those who honestly and truly believe in him. He desires the happiness of his creatures, but he asks in return obedience to the moral laws and religious rites as laid down in the Koran. These laws and rites, though primarily intended (as were the revelations given to Mohammed) for the Koreish and the Arabs, are applicable to all mankind. Had Mohammed remained in Mecca, we might have had the development of a doctrine that would have made the Koreishites the special servators of *Allah*—a people "peculiar" to *Allah;* but Mohammed's removal to Medina and his success in attracting all the tribes of Arabia to his side before he died, prompted him to lay strong emphasis in his latter utterances upon the universality of Islâm. The Mohammedan theologians improve upon this example. Absolute as *Allah* is, he does not hesitate to employ human beings as his instruments. Indeed, but for certain persons to whom *Allah* chooses to reveal himself, mankind would be in ignorance of *Allah's* nature and of his will. These persons so singled out are the messengers of *Allah*, and Mohammed is fond of laying stress upon the fact that to every people *Allah* has sent, at some time or the other, a messenger. His knowledge of history being limited, Mohammed speaks only in the Korân of the characters in Jewish and Christian writings and of some prophets, otherwise unknown to us, who were sent to warn some of the tribes of Arabia. Mohammed freely acknowledges the claim of these men to having been divinely inspired messengers. He places himself in the company of Noah, Abraham, Moses,

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Jesus, and so forth, his only special claim being to the "last" of the prophets—the one who puts the "seal" on prophecy. Whether he really meant that no more messengers would be sent after his death is doubtful. The question probably did not present itself to his mind. Certainly, the doctrine that "Mohammed is the messenger of *Allah*" was never interpreted either by Mohammed or his followers as implying that Mohammed occupied a position entirely unique by virtue of being a prophet. The rank held by these prophets was not the same in all cases, but there were at least five* preceding Mohammed, who, like the latter, came with a special message from *Allah*.

Man owed obedience to *Allah*, and this obedience was to be as absolute, as the oriental ideal demanded in the case of subjects to an earthly king. In the doctrine of the relationship of mankind to *Allah*, Islamism reflects conditions still peculiar to the Orient. *Allah* was the sultan, inaccessible, seated behind a throne which only his chosen messengers could approach, concerned for the welfare of his subjects, merciful and forgiving, but exacting unquestioned obedience. Skepticism was a revolt against *Allah's* authority that would be most grievously punished; idolatry was one of the worst forms of disobedience to the divine fiat. The most glorious life, the highest type of obedience, was to serve *Allah* by fighting in his cause. There are frequent references to warfare in the Koran. Mohammed himself, we have seen, was chiefly concerned with only one struggle—to gain admission to Mecca; but once having gathered at his side the Arabic tribes, for whom warfare was almost synonymous with activity, Mohammed was prompted to favor a warfare upon all those who did not join his standard. He would hardly have countenanced the daring exploits of his lieutenants, organized on so large a scale after the prophet's death; but Omar and Othman, with whom the spread of Islâm beyond the confines of Arabia seriously begins, no doubt felt that they were acting in Mohammed's spirit when they raised the *Djihâd—i.e.*, the duty of fighting for Islâm—to the dignity almost of a doctrine. To those who died on the battle-field the highest rewards were in store. Accepting the animistic view that life once begun cannot come to an end, Mohammed's view of the future world was further colored by the distinctively Christian views of Paradise and Hell current at the time. In the Korân, the tortures of Hell and the joys of Paradise are painted in vivid colors. Those who were doomed to the former were to suffer from fire, hunger, and thirst, while in Paradise cooling streams would add to the pleasures of the abode in beautiful gardens, and beautiful maidens would be in attendance to cater to all wants. Paradise was open to all true believers who were obedient to *Allah*. The prophets and those who died for the sake of *Allah* would be sent direct to Paradise, without being subjected to any further probation; all the others must wait until the final day of judgment, when their actions will be weighed in a fine balance, and according as their good or bad deeds are the heavier, will be sent to Paradise or Hell. Much has been made of the so-called Mohammedan fatalism. It is hardly proper to call fatalism a doctrine of Islâm. The dilemma involved in assuming, on the one hand, the omniscience of *Allah*, which includes, necessarily, his fore-knowledge, and on the other, in asking man's obedience to *Allah*, which involves his freedom to disobey, never presented itself to Mohammed; and even when he told his followers that, whether they enter the battle-field or not, *Allah's* will with regard to them will be done, he was only conscious of using an argument that might heighten human courage in the face of danger. Naturally, the theologians of Islâm could not be satisfied with such vagueness; and accordingly, after generations of discussion and many wrangles between the various sects that arose, orthodox Islamism attached itself firmly to the doctrine that God ordains all that is to happen in this world, and permitted itself at the same time, the inconsistency of assuming that *Allah* grants man the freedom to choose between good and bad deeds.

*Adam, Noah, Moses, Abraham, Jesus.

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23. THE RITES OF ISLAMISM.

The theological system of Islâm aims at embracing the entire life of man. Islamism covers public and private duties, the functions of the state as well as the official cult. The Mohammedan thelogians are also the jurisconsults. In treating, therefore, of the chief obligations imposed by Islamism upon its followers, we must bear in mind that the observance of these obligations by no means exhausts the scope of the religion. All the theologians are agreed upon recognizing five primary duties—the confession of faith, prayer, the poor-tax, fasting during the sacred month, and the pilgrimage to Mecca. The formal confession of faith, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is the prophet of *Allah*," is, of course, nothing but a convenient summary of the two chief doctrines of Islâm. This declaration constitutes the initiation into Islâm, and, once made, one takes upon oneself all the duties incumbent upon a Moslem. Apostasy is punished with death.



The Postures taken during Prayer.

The most important innovation that Mohanmed introduced among the religious customs of the Arabs was daily prayer. Adopting, as it would seem, the Jewish division of the Day of Atonement into five parts and applying it for daily use, Mohammed expressly declares that the follower of Islâm should direct his thoughts to *Allah* at sunset, at night, at day-break, noon and afternoon. He does not specify any particular place where the prayers are to be said. In fact, he enjoins the daily prayer upon all, wherever one might be; but it was natural that, where places of assembly existed, they should be selected on certain occasions for the purpose; and as Islamism spreads, mosques—literally "prostration places"—were erected in large numbers. In these mosques, the prayer is led by the *Imâm*, "leader," who takes up a position at one end. Behind him is the congregation that follows his actions. At first Mohammed directed that in praying one should turn towards the holy house in Jerusalem, but subsequently changed this order in favor of the Kaaba, "the house of *Allah*," in Mecca. In every mosque there is a niche, known as the *Kiblâ*, "direction," which points towards Mecca. Exactly of what nature the form of prayer was that Mohammed instituted, we do not know. It no doubt consisted largely of ejaculations of praise, so that in this respect the ritual, as used at the present day, is a development along traditional lines. Accompanying certain formulas, all emphasizing the greatness of *Allah*, and the obligation to praise him, and to declare his

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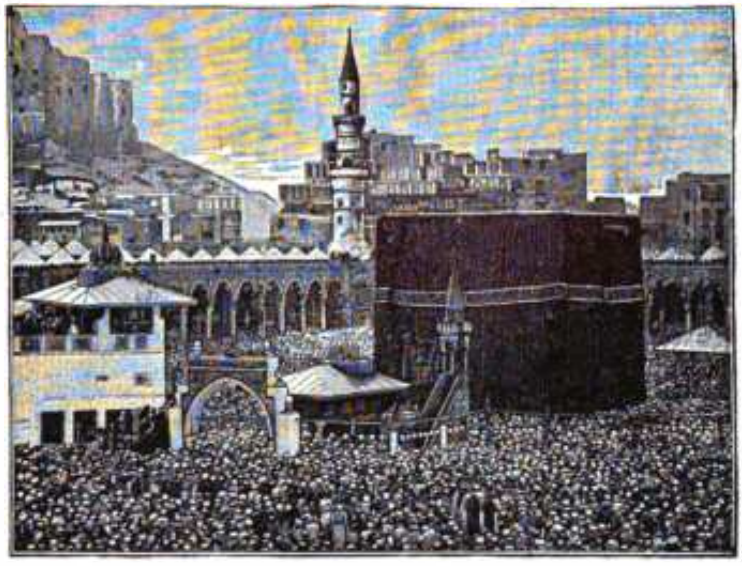
glory, the *Imâm* and congregation, or the private individual, go through a series of attitudes, beginning with an upright posture, bending forward, kneeling, prostration, and rising up again. A complete series of postures is known as a *rikâ*, and a service consists of a varying number of such *rikâs*. Supplementary to the prayers, it is the part of piety to add some verses from the Korân and to ejaculate over and over again some such phrases as "God is great," "Praise be to God." The petition to *Allah* occupies a minor place. As a usual thing, the daily prayers are said by the individual in his house or his shop or wherever he happens to be. The formal assembly in the mosque is restricted by the majority of Mohammedans to Friday, which Mohammed, as a distinguishing mark from the Jews and Christians, chose as a "day of assembly." The observance of Friday does not partake of the character of a Sabbath in the Jewish or Christian sense. The obligation to pray so often was most irksome to the Bedouins. Many rebelled against it, and to this day the rite is imperfectly carried out. Upon good authority one may state that there are comparatively few Mohammedans—except in Mecca—so pious as to pray five times every day. Previous to the prayer, a ceremonial washing of the hands with water or sand was prescribed by Mohammed. Next to prayer, a significant innovation, introduced by Mohammed, was fasting. Fasting was probably not entirely unknown among the Arabs before the advent of the Prophet, but the institution of a twenty-eight days' fast marked a new departure. In introducing this rite Mohammed shows Christian influence. The month of Ramadan, which was regarded as sacred by the Arabs from a very ancient period, must have suggested to Mohammed a resemblance to the Lenten season, the length of which varied among Christian communities during the first centuries of our era. In its developed form, the ordinances for Ramadan provide that for one month neither food nor water should pass the lips of the faithful between sunrise and sunset. Between sunset and sunrise, however, the fast may be broken. At the close of the fast—still generally observed—a festival is celebrated. Besides the long fast, a fast of one day is prescribed for certain transgressions, and Islamism also encourages voluntary fasting.

Mohammed's kindly disposition manifests itself in the frequent injunctions to remember the poor, the orphan, and the widow. He urges charity on all occasions, and his followers certainly acted in his spirit in instituting a regular poor-tax. In the consistently regulated Mohammedan state, the *zakât* constitutes an official tax, like the half shekel in the Jewish state, but changes in political conditions have converted the obligation into a charity-gift. So much, at least, of Mohammed's spirit survives, that every Mohammedan community feels keenly the duty of providing for the poor and helpless; but almsgiving has not solved the problem of pauperism in Mohammedan countries—as little as it has elsewhere.

Mohammed's attachment to the Kaaba furnishes the definite proof—if such were needed—that it never entered his mind to create a religious revolution among his people. All that he wanted was to "warn" people to be faithful to *Allah*, and to acknowledge none but *Allah;* he could not have recognized the profound changes that were to be wrought by such rites as daily prayers and fasting during Ramadan. The Kaaba was, as has been pointed out, a local sanctuary. It had acquired prominence through its proximity to Okas (where, it will be recalled, a great annual fair was held), and through the fact that in the valley of Mina, outside of Mecca, there were some sacred places, and that at the end of the valley there was a sacred mountain (Arafat) where an annual festival of three days was celebrated, for which Arabs gathered from all sides. The zeal of the Koreish for the Kaaba, the care that the family took of visitors, prompted many, on their way to Okas and to the sacred mountain, to pass through Mecca, and pay a visit to the black stone of the Kaaba. Mohammed set the example for all ages by combining, a few months before his death, a visit to the valley of Mina and Mount Arafat, with a circuit around the sacred edifice in Mecca, in a wall of which the black stone was in his days embedded. Through

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the influence of this example, the center of attraction was shifted from the valley and the mountain to the Kaaba, and the obligation was imposed upon every Moslem, at least once in his life, to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. The circuits around the Kaaba can be made at any time during the year; but pilgrims time their arrival in the sacred city so as to combine with their visit the celebration of the great annual festival—to which properly the term *Hadj* applies — connected with the passage through the valley of Mina and the ascent of Mount Arafat. The real Hadj is performed only during the first ten days of the month known as the Dsu-l-Hadj, *i.e.*, month of pilgrimage. No institution of Islâm has been so powerful as the Hadj in welding Mohammedans all the world over into a united religious community, fanatically opposed to all others. Islamism either sanctioned or indirectly encouraged the retention of many ancient Arabic notions, such as the belief in demons, omens, and dreams. The marriage and funeral rites of Islâm and the birth customs are similarly legacies of a distant past, but slightly modified by the introduction of Islam. The large proportion of the features which unite practical Islamism to the ancient Semitic world makes it easy to understand how much of the Semite has survived in the Mohammedan. The position of woman has not been changed by Islâm. Polygamy and slavery were sanctioned by Mohammed's example, though it is but proper to add that the current notions of Mohammed's sensualism do him an injustice. Polygamy was the rule in the ancient Semitic society, and Mohammed's adherence to the custom is but an illustration of the hold that ancient conditions had upon him.



The Kaaba under its black covering. The Pavilion on the left covers the well Zem-Zem.

23. THE RITES OF ISLAMISM.

The Chapter of Joseph.—(This sura, No. 12, affords a specimen of Mohammed's use of Biblical themes. *Cf.* from Lesson 21.

When Joseph said to his father, "O my sire! verily, I saw eleven stars, and the sun, and the moon—I saw them adoring me!"

He said, "O my boy! tell not thy vision to thy brethren, for they will plot a plot against thee; verily, the devil is to man an open foe."

When they said, "Surely, Joseph and his brother are dearer to our father than we, a band although we be; verily, our father is in obvious error.

"Slay Joseph, or cast him in some land; that your father's face may be free for you, and ye may be, after he is gone, a people who do right."

A speaker from amongst them spake, "Slay not Joseph, but throw him into the bottom of the pit; some of the travelers may pick him up, if so ye do."

Said they, "O our father! what ails thee that thou wilt not trust us with Joseph while we are unto him sincere? Send him with us tomorrow to revel and to play, and, verily, we over him will keep good guard."

Said he, "Verily, it grieves me that ye should go off with him, for I fear lest the wolf devour him while ye of him do take no heed."

Said they, "Why, if the wolf should devour him while we are (such) a band, verily, we then should deserve to lose!"

And when they had gone off with him and agreed to put him in the depths of the pit, and we inspired him, "Thou shalt surely inform them of this affair of theirs and they shall not perceive."

And they came to their father at eve and weeping said, "O our father! verily, we went forth to race and left Joseph by our goods, and the wolf devoured him—but thou wilt not believe us, truth tellers though we be."—*Ibid, Vol. VI., p. 219-20.*

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24. THE SECTS OF ISLAM.

The rapid spread of Islâm, so familiar and yet so astonishing to students of history, introduced a disturbing factor into the movement that served to check more effectively than the armies of Europe, the danger of a universal sway of Islâm. That factor was the introduction of Irak and Iran into the ranks of the faithful. The religion, as it had taken shape in the mind of Mohammed, was not adapted for becoming the faith of a population like that of Mesopotamia and Persia proper, which had been subjected to influences totally different from those prevailing in Arabia. Islamism pays the penalty for the ambition of securing political control over lands that had but little in common with one another by becoming divided against itself. The generation which knew Mohammed had not yet passed away before the cry of the Muezzin on the towers of the mosque, "Allah is great!" resounded from the Red Sea to the shores of the Caspian, and the echoes could be heard along the lands of the Mediterranean; but, corresponding to the expansion of dominion, various phases of Islam had also arisen.

The differences among the followers of the Prophet at first assumed a purely political aspect. Everything seemed to hinge upon the question of the proper successor to Mohammed, but even here essential differences between Arabic and extra-Arabic conceptions became apparent. The Arabs, unaccustomed to any other idea of rulership except that recognized by the popular will, favored the appointment of the Caliph, *i.e.* successor to Mohammed, by election. To the population of Irak and Iran, long accustomed to the more stable conditions, represented by priestly castes and social distinctions, heredity appeared to be the more legitimate principle. The first three caliphs following upon Mohammed represent the triumph of the Arabic view, but with the advent of Ali, the son-in-law who succeeded Othman, the outlook for the advocates of the hereditary principle seemed brighter. Ali possessed neither the power nor the gift of healing the breach, so that even before his death, the permanency of the schism was apparent to all who grasped the situation.

Muawiya, the governor of Syria, succeeded in establishing himself in control after the death of Ali. The adherents of the latter recognized Husain, Ali's second son, since the elder had yielded his prerogatives in favor of Muawiya, and the long struggle—bitter and bloody—began. The followers of Ali became a party, and are henceforth known as the *Shiites.**

They refused to recognize the legitimacy of the first three caliphs, Abu-Bekr, Omar, and Othman, and after Ali, they accept none of the caliphs recognized by the rest of the Mohammedan world. By way of contrast, the opponents of the Shiites, claiming that they were following the example of the Prophet, called themselves Sunnites—a term equivalent to our word "normal." To this day, the Mohammedan world is divided into these two branches, though both among Sunnites and Shiites, various and indeed numerous subdivisions arose in the course of time.

Behind and beyond the political dissensions, however, which culminated in the great schism, there lay other differences in which the interpretation of the Islamic doctrines was involved. The impulse to the theological elaboration of Mohammed's religion naturally came from those regions in which culture, learning, and intellectual activity centered. Iran was one of those regions, and Irak was but an extension of Iran, while in Syria, the existence of various Christian sects actively engaged in reconciling and combining Christian theology with Greek philosophy may be taken as an index of the intellectual activity that prevailed there.

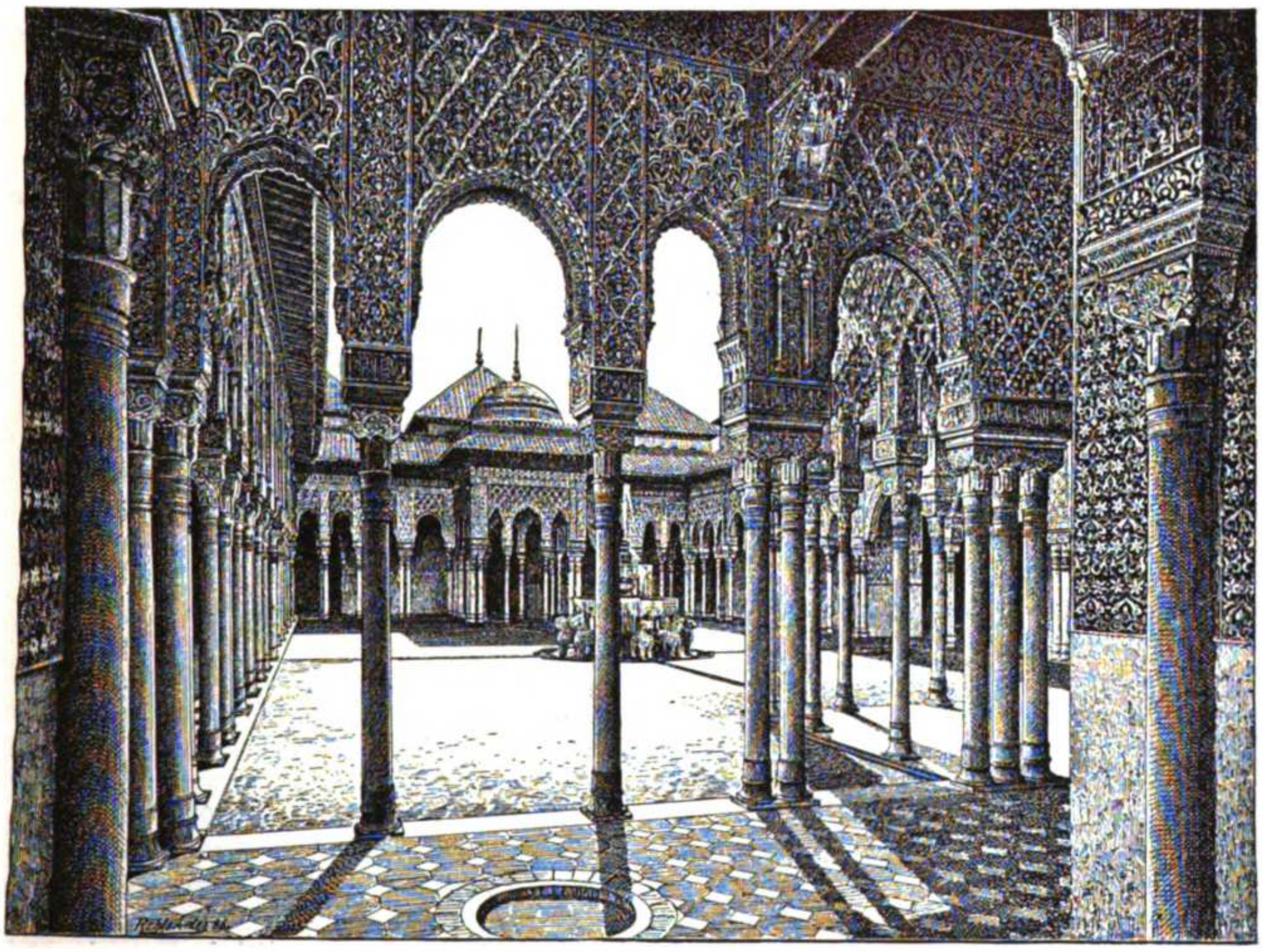
Islamic theology is thus the product of non-Arabian centers. The first results of theological inquiry within Mohammedan circles were in the direction of "free thought." The influence of Greek philosophy is clearly apparent in a powerful school that arose, with its center in Mesopotamia, and known as the Mu'tazilites, *i.e.*,

* *I.e.*, "the one la", *scic*, by *Allah*.

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Separatists, who denied the eternity of the attributes assigned to *Allah*, inasmuch as such a view involved the existence of beings by the side of *Allah*, boldly proclaimed the freedom of the human will, denied the absolute authority of the Koran as well as the doctrine of predestination. For a time, this party by virtue of intellectual preëminence enjoyed great power. They succeeded in gaining the adherence of the Caliph Al-Ma'mun (813-833 A.D.), and under the influence of the Mu'tazilites there arose a spirit of skepticism which threatened seriously to upset the orthodox faith. This skepticism affected chiefly Persia and countries in which Persian influence was strong, but Arabia itself did not escape.

The famous Omar Khayyam (eleventh century), the type of Islamic skepticism in Persia, has his counterpart in Abu-l- Alâ al-Ma'arri in Arabia. Islam was begin-



The Lion-Court in the Alhambra at Granada, Spain.

ning to lose its hold upon its votaries when the reaction set in. The Mu'tazilites were persecuted, freedom of thought was suppressed, and by the beginning of the eleventh century the orthodox party had gained almost complete sway. Al-Ash'ari (874-935), who started out as a Mu'tazilite, became the founder of the Sunnitic system of theology, while the final details of Mohammedan orthodoxy were added by al-Ghazzâli (1059-1111). This system, which well merits admiration for its thoroughness and its encylopædic character, sets up seven eternal attributes of *Allah*, and accepts the belief in angels as creations of *Allah*. *Allah* has at all times revealed himself through prophets. The Koran has always existed with *Allah*, until it was revealed to Mohammed through the angel Gabriel. Man, though entirely in the hands of *Allah*, is yet free to give to his actions, a moral or immoral character. On the final day of judgment, all men will arise to be judged. Their deeds will be

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weighed in the balance. All will pass over the bridge known as *Sirât*. Those whose good deeds outweigh the bad will pass safely across and enter Paradise; the others will fall through the bridge into Hell. The faithful will be assisted by the intercession of Mohammed, while all prophets and martyrs pass directly into Paradise without a trial, and immediately upon their death.

This system, powerful as its influence was, did not crush out the Shiitic movement, nor did it prevent the rise of numerous sects and religious uprisings at various times. Within the orthodox party itself four subdivisions arose. The strictest of these is the Hanbalite sect, which carried the worship of the Koran to the uttermost extreme and opposed all investigations into the religious doctrines. Its adherents at present are limited to the interior of Arabia. The majority of the Turks belong to the party that takes its name of Hanafite from Abu Hanifa—a native of Irak—and which may be designated as the left wing of orthodoxy. Somewhat stricter is the party of the Malikites. Egypt and Syria are the strongholds of the Shafite sect. These four subdivisions, while agreeing in their main tenets, differ considerably from one another in ritualistic details.

But it was among the Shiites that the process leading to the rise of new sects went on with special vigor. From the Shiites have generally come the religious agitations that stirred the Islamic world, as also among them the intellectual movements had their origin.

The Messianic idea, that plays so significant a role in Jewish and Christian theology, affected Mohammed but slightly, and, as a consequence, there are but small traces of it in the Sunnite system. Among the Shiites, however, it is the active source of various religious movements. The view arose that Ali had not died. In the thunder, his voice was heard, in the lightning his rebuke of mankind. In due time, it is believed, he will come back to earth and establish justice. Upon the death of Husain (Ali's second son), the majority of the Shiites recognized the claims of the immediate descendants of Hasan and Husain, as the grandsons of Mohammed, through the prophet's daughter Fatima, while others attached themselves to a third son of Ali, Mohammed, born to him by another wife. Of this Mohammed, likewise, the belief was current that he had not died, but was hidden in a mountain to the west of Medina and would return. Such a belief naturally encouraged the rise of false Messiahs, and the supply was always equal to the demand. One party among the Shiites recognized twelve legitimate successors to Mohammed, beginning with Ali, and known as Imâms, *i. e.*, "leaders." The twelfth disappears mysteriously in the year 941 and the doctrine rises among this party, known as Imâmites, of the "hidden Imâm," to whom access could be had only through a special servitor. This doctrine likewise opened the door to deceivers and fanatics, who claimed to be the medium through whom the hidden Imâm communicated his desires. Others of the Shiites broke off the succession at the fifth Imâm, known as Mohammed, and recognized his brother Zeid. The Zeidites, as they were called, curiously enough recognized the legitimacy of AbuBekr and Omar and inclined towards Mu'tazilitic doctrines. Again, with the eighth Imâm, Ali al-Ridha, who makes an attempt to secure the caliphate of Bagdad, a break is made by a party which recognizes Ismael as the successor of Ali al-Ridha instead of his brother Mohammed. Ismael loses his life in the turmoil, and again the belief arises that he has not died, but is hidden. Under the lead of Abdallah ibn Maimun, the sect of the Ismaelites, takes its rise, and Abdallah lays claim to being the one to whom the hidden Imâm was pleased to communicate his orders. A branch of the Ismaelites is represented by the Karmalians. Led by Hamdân Karmat, they succeeded in capturing Mecca in 930, and carried the black stone of the Kaaba with them. Twenty years later the fetish was restored. After the death of Abdallah and of his son, a certain Obaidallah appears among the Berbers of Northern Africa, and, claiming to be the incarnation of the last Ismael, establishes the dynasty of the Fatimites in Egypt in 969 A.D. In this

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dynasty, the Messianic idea runs riot, one member known as Hâkim claiming to be the incarnation of the deity himself. Under the name of Druses, so called from ad-Darâzi, a follower of Hâkim, adherents of this belief still exist in the Lebanon districts. These two impersonations, (*a*) that of the hidden Imâm, or the Mahdi, as he was termed at times, and in some districts, and (*b*) that of the deity himself form the regular features of the religious movements among the Shiites. A curious feature of these movements is the opposition against the sacred spots of Arabian Islamism—the Kaaba, the graves of the first caliphs, and even the grave of the Prophet. The violent reaction of the Shiites against all forms of fetishism constitutes, indeed, their redeeming feature. On the other hand, the methods pursued by some of those sects to accomplish their ends were most revolting. In the eleventh century a kind of religious order was organized by Hassan ibn Sabbâh. From their use of an intoxicating draught in their ritual, known as *hashish*, the members became known as assassins; and this term acquired distasteful associations from the means adopted by the assassins to rid themselves of their enemies—secret murder. Another development of the Shiitic aberrations is the rise of secret orders and of mystic sects.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the orders of the Dervishes start up. They represent the culmination of the movement towards mysticism. From the word *sufa* which designates a coarse, woolen garment worn by those who devoted themselves to a life of piety and ascetism, the term *sufi* became the general designation of the Islamic mystic. It was in Persia again that Sufism found its chief votaries, and so most of the orders of the Dervishes are to be found among the Shiites of Persia. New orders of Dervishes were established in almost every century, and the present one forms no exception. Each order has its ritual, a code of morals that each claims can be traced directly to Mohammed. Many of the orders have cloisters, and all have places of religious assembly. In some, religious excitement forms the purpose of their meetings. By whirling and shouting, the members lash themselves into a state, bordering on religious frenzy. These are the so-called howling and dancing Dervishes. In others, asceticism is the chief ideal.

Anti-Islamic tendencies form a feature of Sufism, as of some of the orders of Dervishes. In the latter half of the last century, a sect arose under the leadership of Abd al-Wahhab to purify Islamism in Arabia of all traces of idolatry. They included, under this term, the homage paid to saints, and did not hesitate to lay hands on the tomb of Mohammed. At the same time, they protested against all innovations into Islam, and preached a vigorous crusade against luxury and social vices. The movement, although originating within the Sunnite party, shows the influence of Shiitic ideas. It found little favor in the religious centers of Islam and gradually went to pieces. Scarcely fifty years have passed since there was shot in Persia a man, Mirza Ali Mohammed, who claimed to be the "gate of communication with the hidden Imâm." This movement known as Babism has not yet run its course, although strong efforts were made to suppress it by the Persian government. The appearance of a "Mahdi" a few years ago in the Soudan is a piece of recent history well-known to every one, and serves as an illustration of the persistency of ancient doctrines, as well as of the continued activity of Islam.

In forming a general estimate of Islamism, the intellectual movement, which follows in the wake of the conquests of the Arabs, must not be overlooked. While the so-called Arabic science is to be traced to Persian sources, and is, indeed, largely a continuation of Persian culture, still it is an integral part of Islamism.

For the Christian world to imagine that Islamism is on the decline is to cradle a strange delusion. Islamic thought and science have run their course, but the religion of Mohammed is still spreading in Africa, and more than holds its own throughout the Turkish empire, in Egypt, northern Africa, and in Persia, as well as in distant India, China, and Java. The present number of Mohammedans is estimated at one hundred and seventy-five millions.

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If Islam is destined to disappear, it will not be by conquest at the hands of European armies, nor by the control of European states. It will survive even the destruction of the Turkish empire—an event, by the way, that is far from being imminent. The presence of Christian missionaries in the east will not drive it out. Should Islam ever disappear, it will be through a disintegrating process, due to the presence of elements that cannot be assimilated. Arabia and Persia represent two such hostile factors. The fermentation produced by the constant conflicts between Sunnites and Shiites, hitherto encouraging only sectarianism, may eventually lead to a dissolution of the entire mass.

FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **ARABIAN RELIGION BEFORE MOHAMMED.**—Yemen, Immigration, Northern Arabs, Various clans, Mutual independence, Islamism, Fairs, Stones, Trees, Tribal deities, Mecca, Foreign influence.
20. **MOHAMMED.**—Birth, Koreish, Marriage, Commerce, Hanif, Prophet of Allah, Education, Sincerity, Monotheism, Opposition, Flight, Army formed, Meccans subdued, Arabs united, Pilgrimage to the Kaaba.
21. **THE KORAN.**—Preacher, Early utterances, Content of message, Later utterances, Political elements, Confusion of Biblical events, Koran, Recitations, Order of suras, Dullness of the Koran.
22. **THE DOCTRINES OF ISLAM.**—Islam, Scripture and tradition, Unity of Allah, Eternity, Love and mercy, Universality, Messenger to every people, Mohammed the last, Allah a sultan, Warfare, Hell and Heaven, Fatalism.
23. **THE RITES OF ISLAM.**—Confession of faith, Prayer, Poor-tax, Fasting, Pilgrimage, Prostration, Mosque, Friday, Praise, Prayer, Kaaba, Pilgrimage of Mohammed, Omens, Polygamy, Slavery.
24. **THE SECTS OF ISLAM.**—Persian influence, Politics influence ecclesiastics, Shiites, Sunnites, Theologic activity, Free-thought and orthodoxy, Messianic movements, Dervishes, Expansion of Islam, Its future.

QUESTIONS.

19. *What two classes composed the Arabs? Describe the Sabaean empire. What happened in the fifth century A.D.? What was the political relation between the various clans? How did Islamism profit by this? What part had the fairs played? Describe the early religion of Arabia. What special cult flourished at Mecca?*

20. *When was Mohammed born? Describe his family, and early history. Why did he belong to the hanifs? How was his prophecy received by his compatriots? What education had Mohammed? Was he sincere? How does the influence of Judaism and Christianity appear? What aroused opposition to Mohammed? What was the flight of Mohammed? Sketch his life from this time until its close.*

21. *Characterize the early utterances of Mohammed. What was the tenor of his utterances at Medina? How correctly does he relate Biblical incidents? Why was the Koran so called? How do the Meccan speeches differ from those made later? What order does the Koran observe? Describe the two styles in the Koran.*

22. *How may Islam be rendered? What is the most conspicuous element in Islam? On what two sources has Islamic theology been based? What is the chief doctrine of Islamism? What are the chief traits of Allah? What did Mohammed think of other prophets? What political condition does the conception of Allah reflect? What was the highest service to Allah? State the notions of Hell and Heaven. How far was fatalism taught?*

23. *Name the five primary duties. State the confession of faith. What was Mohammed's chief innovation? What were the times for prayer? What was the purpose of the mosque? When does the assembly take place? State the proportion of praise and prayer. Is the prayer obligation generally recognized? What is Ramadan? Describe Mohammed's attitude to the Kaaba, and its implication. What does the perpetuation of polygamy and slavery imply?*

24. *What checked the progress of Islam? How did political conditions influence the choice of a successor to Mohammed? Who were the Shiites? Who were the Sunnites? Where was the theological elaboration done? What tendency does Omar Khayyam represent? But what does Mohammedan orthodoxy teach? Describe some Messianic movements. What are Dervishes? To what order did the recent Mahdi belong?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Comparison of the origin of Islamism with others already noticed will show how historic religions grow out of prehistoric ones. The absolutely primitive is never reached.*
2. *Compare Mohammed with the founders of religions previously described.*
3. *Contrast the very different conditions under which the Buddhist Suttas were composed.*
4. *Compare Allah with Tien.*
5. *Compare these five duties with the precepts of Buddhism.*
6. *Compare the Mohammedan with the Buddhist church histories.*

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GAZETTEER AND GLOSSARY.

KEY TO PRONUNCIATION.

a as in fat.	**i** as in pin.	**û** as in tube.
ā as in fate.	**ī** as in pine.	**ü** Place the lips for **oo**, but **say ee.**
ä as in father.	**o** as in not.	**oi** as in joint.
a when obscure.	**ō** as in note.	**ou** as in proud.
e as in met.	**ö** as in move.	**g** as in get.
ē as in mete.	**u** as in tub.	**ñ** French nasal **n.**

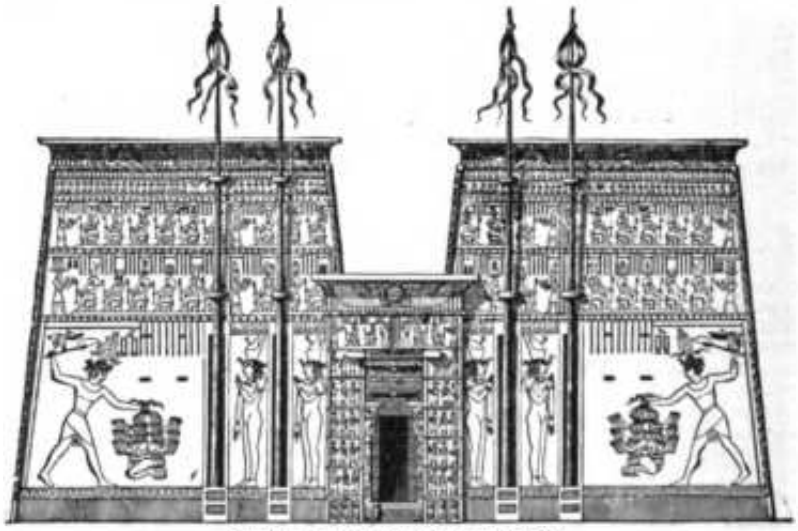
N. B.—The pronunciation of the names commonly known has been Anglicized.

Allah (äl-läḥ' ; the *ḥ* is is guttural.)—An Arabic god.
Alon (ā'lon).—A Phoenecian god.
Amen (*am*'en).—An Egyptian god.
Anu (ā'nö).—A Babylonian god.
Anubis (*a*-nö'bis).—An Egyptian god.
Anunnaki (ä-nön'nä-kē).—Babylonian spirits.
Apis (ā'pis).—A bull.
Ashur (ä'shör).—An Assyrian god.
Astarte (as-tär't*a*) —A Syrian goddess.
Atmu (ät'mö).—An Egyptian god.
Baal (bā'*a*l).—A Syrian god.
Baalat (bā'*a*l-*a*t).—A Phoenician goddess.
Baalhammon (bā'*a*l-häm'mon).—A Phoenician god.
Baalshamen (bā'*a*l-shā'men).—A Phoenician god.
Bakis (bā'kis).—A bull.
Bast (bäst).—An Egyptian goddess.
Bel (bāl).—A Babylonian god.
Bes (bās).—An Egyptian god.
Chemosh (khā'mosh).—A Moabite god.
Duzu (dö'zö).—A Babylonian god.
Ea (ā'ä).—A Babylonian god.
Eabani (ā'ä-bä'ne).—A Babylonian hero.
El (āl).—A Hebrew god.
Eshmun (āsh'mön).—A Phoenician god.
Gilgamesh (gēl-gä'mesh).— A Babylonian hero.
Hajj (hāj).—The pilgrimage to Mecca.
Hanif (hä'nif).—A heretic.
Hathor (hä'thor).—An Egyptian goddess.
Hijra (hēj'rä) —The flight of Mohammed.
Horus (hō'rus).—An Egyptian god.
Il (ēl).—The Strong One.
Ilu (ē'lö).—An Assyrian god.
Ishtar (ēsh'tär).—A Babylonian goddess.
Islam (ēs-läm'). Mohammedanism.
Islamism (ēs'läm-ism).—Mohammedanism.
Isis (ī'sis).—An Egyptian goddess.
Jehovah (jē-hō'vä).—The Hebrew god.
Kaaba (kā'ä-b*a*).—Temple in Mecca.
Kabiri (kä-bī'rē).—Dwarf gods.
Khnumu (khnö'mö).—An Egyptian god.
Khonsu (khōn'sö).—An Egyptian god.
Koran (ko-rän').—The scripture of Islamism.
Maat (mä'*a*t).—An Egyptian goddess.
Mahdi (mäh'dē).—An Islamic messiah.
Maruduk (mä'rö-duk).—A Babylonian hero god.
Melek (mē'lek).—A Phoenician title.
Melkarth (māl'kärth).—A Syrian god.
Mesha (mā'shä).—A Moabite king.
Milk (mīlk).—A Phoenician title.
Min (mēn).—An Egyptian god.
Mnevis (mnē'vis).—A bull.
Mohammed (mō-häm'med; the second *m* must be sounded as well as the first).—The Arab prophet.
Nabu (nä'bö).—A Babylonian god.
Nebo (nā'bō).—A Babylonian god.
Nephthys (nef'this).—An Egyptian goddess.
Nergal (nār'g*a*l).—A Babylonian god.
Neit (nīt).—A Libyan goddess.
Nusku (nö'skö).—A Babylonian god.
Nut (nöt).—The sky.
Onuphis (o-nö'fis).—A bull.
Osiris (ō-sī'ris).—An Egyptian god.
Ptah (ptä).—An Egyptian god.
Ra (rā).—An Egyptian god.
Ramman (räm'män).—A Babylonian god.
Seb (sāb).—The earth.
Semites (sē'mites).—A historic race.
Set (set).—An Egyptian god.
Serapis (se-rā'pis).—An Egyptian god.
Shamash (shä'mash).—A Babylonian god.
Shu (shö).—Space.
Sin (sēn).—A Babylonian god.
Sura (sö'r*a*).—Chapter in the Koran.
Tammuz (täm'möz).—A Babylonian god.
Tiamat (tē'ä-mät).—A Babylonian demoness.
Yemen (yā'men).—A province in Arabia.
Ziggurat (zĕg'gö-r*a*t).—A Babylonian temple.

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SIDE LIGHTS.

The Evolution of Religion in Egypt.—Were it possible to describe the life of the ancient Egyptians without touching upon a subject of such moment to them as their religion, I would gladly do so, for it is not possible as yet to give a satisfactory scientific account of the faith of this ancient nation. In spite of the enormous amount of material that we possess in the shape of religious texts and pictures, our knowledge of the subject is still very elementary, and in the following sketch much must still be considered as hypothetical. It is most probable that originally the whole country did not profess a common religion. It is true that there are certain representations which continually recur, and which seem common to all parts of Egypt, as for instance, that of Rê', the sun-god, passing through the heavens in his bark, or of heaven as a goddess bending over the earth, but these representations have little to do with religion itself. He who needed superhuman help turned rather to a god more akin to himself, the *god of his town*. Each town, and indeed each village, possessed its own particular divinity, adored by the respective inhabitants, and by them alone. Thus the later town of Memphis was faithful to Ptah, of whom they said, that as a potter on his wheel he had turned the egg from which the world was hatched. The god Atum was the "town god" of Heliopolis; in Chnum we find Thoth, in Abydos Osiris, in Thebes Amon, in Hermonthis Mont, and so on. The goddess Hathôr was revered in Denderah, Bastet in the town later called Bubastis, while in Sais the people adored the warlike Neit, who was probably of Libyan origin. The names of many of these deities show them to be purely local gods, many being originally called after the towns, as, "him of Ombos," "him of Edfu," "her of Bast"; they are really merely the genii of the towns. Many were supposed to show themselves to their worshipers in the form of some object in which they dwelt, *e.g.*, the god of the town Dedu in the Delta (the later Busiris) in the shape of the wooden pillar. . . . The form chosen was generally that of some animal: Ptah manifested himself in the Apis bull, Amon in the ram, Sobk of the Feyum in a crocodile, and so on. The Egyptians believed that each place was inhabited by a great number of spirits, and that the lesser ones were subject to the chief spirit; in some instances they formed his suite, his divine cycle; sometimes they were considered as his family; thus Amon of Thebes had the goddess Mut for his consort, and the god Chons for his son.



Sculptured Façade of the Temple of Edfu.

The religious conditions described above exist *mutatis mutandis* everywhere amongst nations in a low state of development; with the progress of Egyptian civilization they changed in many essential points. As the Egyptian peasants of the different nomes began to feel that they belonged to one nation, and as the intercourse increased between the individual parts of this long country, the old religion gradually lost its disconnected character. It was natural that families traveling from one nome to another should take the gods they had hitherto served to their new homes, and that, like every novelty, these divinities should win prestige with the inhabitants. It is conceivable that the god of a particularly great and mighty town should be believed to exercise a sort of patronage, either politically or agriculturally, over that part of the country dependent upon that center. When any god had attained this prominent position, and had become a *great god*, his worship would spread still farther. He had more opportunities than the other gods of giving help and working miracles; he therefore won more renown than they did. If the fame of a god spread through the whole country, and if pilgrims came from afar to his sanctuary, still greater results ensued. The worshipers of other less celebrated deities then discovered that their divinity was really the same as the more famous god. It was no obstacle that the names were utterly different; *e.g.*, in far distant ages the worship of Osiris, belonging originally to Abydos, spread over the whole of Egypt, and gods as distinct from him as Sokar of Memphis and the pillar of Dedu were identified with him.

The consequence was that with the progress of

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Ka Statues of Memnon at the time of High Nile.

civilization the religion underwent a process of simplification. The small local gods shrank into the background by the side of their more fortunate colleagues, who tended more and more to merge into each other. Thus the cruel Sechmet and the gracious Bastet were almost considered as special forms and names of the more famous goddess Hathôr; and in later times we may also add of Mut of Thebes. At length Hathôr herself had to suffer identification with Isis. In the same way, as the reputation of the sun-god increased, other gods grew more like him. Few Egyptian gods escaped identification with Rê', not even the water god Sobk, in spite of his crocodile form.

The development of a common mythology advanced hand in hand with the process described above. At the period when each individual place revered its special divinity, the respective inhabitants had woven for their god a history of special actions and destinies which had little or no connection with the stories of the divinities worshiped in other localities. When, however, the local cults were fused into a national religion, the legends of the gods were united to form a mythology which, in its most important particulars, became the common property of the nation.

The evolution of Egyptian religion described above took place in prehistoric times. In the oldest records we possess, the so-called pyramid texts, the development was complete, and the religion had essentially the same character as in all after ages. We find a very considerable number of divinities of each rank, the greater with their sanctuaries in various towns, one being always acknowledged as pre-eminent; individual gods are sometimes expressly distinguished the one from the other, sometimes considered as identical; we find a mythology with myths which are absolutely irreconcilable existing peacefully side by side; in short, an unparalleled confusion. This chaos was never afterwards reduced to order; on the contrary, we might almost say that the confusion became even more hopeless during the 3,000 years that, according to the pyramid texts, the Egyptian religion "flourished"

From century to century progress was made, at any rate in one direction, viz., in the amalgamation of the divinities to one type. More especially the sun-god Rê' formed a central point for this kind of union; Amon of Thebes, Horus of the East, Horus of Edfu, Chnum of Elephantine, Atum of Heliopolis, and it may be many others, were considered under the New Empire as *one* god. This course would gradually lead to the abolition of polytheism, and in fact this tendency is very apparent. Thus, *e.g.*, in the phraseology of the hymn to the sun-god, the divine amalgam, composed of Amon, Rê', Harmachis, Atum, is called the "only god, in truth, the living one." At the same time, the existence of the various sanctuaries proves that these were but empty phrases; as long as Atum, Chnum, and Horus still possessed their individual sanctuaries and priesthood, the fusion of these gods could not be complete, notwithstand-

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ing these beautiful words. Above all, the priests of those gods naturally withstood these anti-polytheistic theories of the New Empire, especially those who, being the richest, had most to lose by them—the priests of Amon. It is no accident that the only practical attempt that we know of in this direction turned, in the time of momentary triumph, with rage against Amon, as if it had experienced most resistance from that god. This attempt was undertaken by the son of Amenhôtep III., the last king of any importance of the eighteenth dynasty, and consisted in no less a change than the substitution of all the gods of past times by one single deity, the "great living sun-disk," or, according to his official title, "the sun ruling the two horizons, he who rejoices in the horizon in his name: splendor abiding in the sun-disk."

It is probable that this religious revolution was borne along by an undercurrent of support in the nation, or at least in the educated classes; finally, however, it was carried out by the zeal of a monarch. King Amenhôtep IV. (or as he was called after the reformation, Chuen'eten, splendor of the sun-disk) established the *doctrine*; this is evidently the official term for the new religion, for a number of years as the state religion. The above title, referring to the sun-disk, shows that from the first, the new faith was formulated dogmatically; nevertheless, we can only judge of this teaching by the hymns, in which adoration is paid to "the living sun-disk, besides whom there is no other." He created all things, "the far-off heavens, mankind, the animals, the birds; our eyes are strengthened by his beams, and when he shows himself all flowers grow and live; at his rising the pastures bring forth, they are intoxicated before his face, all the cattle skip on their feet, and the birds in the marshes flutter with joy." It is he "who brings in the years, creates the months, makes the days, reckons the hours; he is the lord of time, according to whom men reckon."

Yet, in spite of the fact that the new faith was founded on the old teaching, it stood really in absolute opposition to the latter. The fury with which the former persecuted the old gods, especially the Theban god, finds it parallel only in the history of fanaticism. The name and figure of Amon were erased everywhere, and to accomplish this act of vengeance against the god whom they detested, Chuen'eten's people even penetrated into the interior of the private tombs. The goddess Mut, the consort of Amon, fared no better. The king would no longer live in the town, which had been the residence of his ancestors, but built a new town in Middle Egypt to be the seat of government in place of the impure Thebes. He thought it necessary, also, to change his name of Amenhôtep, because the name Amon belonged to the old faith; he also decreed a change of orthography in order to remove a sign, to which there was the same objection. The word *maut* (mother) had hitherto been written . ; it was now changed to . , because, in the old fashion of spelling, the word signified also the name of the goddess Mut.

It is evident that a reformer who went so rashly to work as to try to set aside the whole history of a people with one stroke, could create nothing permanent. The results of the work of Chuen'eten were ruined after a few years, and in the reaction his buildings were razed to the ground. The old faith was re-established unchanged, and there was never any more question of the *doctrine* of the heretic.—*A. Erman, "Life in Ancient Egypt," pp. 259-63.*

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BALANCE SHEET, JANUARY 1, 1898.

ASSETS.

U. S. Bonds ($4,323,000) and State, City, County and other Bonds ($103,850,803), cost of both, $103,584,694, market value	$108,173,803
Bonds and Mortgages (900 first liens)	41,082,422
Real Estate (74 pieces, including twelve office buildings	16,901,000
Deposits in Trust Companies and Banks, at interest	10,243,084
Loans to Policy-Holders on their policies as security (legal reserve thereon, $13,747,893)	7,900,096
Stocks of Banks, Trust Companies, etc. (4,047,817 cost value), market value Dec. 31, 1897	5,065,948
Loans on Stocks and Bonds (market value, $5,629,655)	4,507,367
Premiums in transit, reserve charged in Liabilities	2,164,297
Quarterly and Semi-Annual Premiums not yet due, reserve charged in Liabilities	1,889,174
Interest and Rents due and accrued	1,486,648
Premium Notes on Policies in force (reserve charged in Liabilities (2,700,000)	1,189,401
TOTAL	$200,694,440

LIABILITIES.

Policy Reserve (per attached certificate of New York Insurance Department)	$164,956,079
All other Liabilities: Policy Claims, Annuities, Endowments, etc., awaiting presentment for payment	2,366,330
Surplus Reserved Fund voluntarily set aside by the Company	16,195,926
Net Surplus (per attached certificate Insurance Superintendent) Dec. 31, 1897	17,176,105
TOTAL	$200,694,440

CASH INCOME, 1897.

New Premiums	$ 6,659,815	
Renewal Premiums	26,321,145	
TOTAL PREMIUMS		$32,980,960
Interest, Rents, etc		8,812,124
TOTAL		$41,793,084

EXPENDITURES, 1897.

Paid for Losses, Endowments and Annuities	$14,052,908
Paid for Dividends and Surrender Values,	3,356,541
Commissions ($1,220,964) on New Business of $135,555,794 Medical Examiners' Fees, and Inspection of Risks ($291,135)	3,631,099
Home and Branch Office Expenses, Taxes, Advertising, Equipment Account, Telegraph, Postage, Commissions on $741,-465,131 of Old Business, and Miscellaneous Expenditures	4,750,391
Balance—Excess of Income over Expenditures for year	13,982,145
TOTAL	$41,793,084

INSURANCE ACCOUNT.

ON THE BASIS OF PAID-FOR BUSINESS ONLY.

	No. of Policies.	Amount.
In Force December 31, 1896	299,585	$826,816,648
New Insurance Paid for, 1897	62,708	135,555,794
Old Insurances Revived and Increased, 1897	699	2,007,825
TOTALS	364,192	$964,380,267
DEDUCT TERMINATIONS: By Death, Maturity, Surrender, Expiry, etc	31,234	$ 87,359,342
IN FORCE DEC. 31, 1897	332,958	$877,020,925
Gain in 1897	33,173	$ 50,204,277
New Applications Declined in '97	9,310	25,050,936

COMPARISON FOR SIX YEARS.

(1891-1897.)

	Dec. 31, '91.	Dec. 31, '97.	Gain 6 yrs
Assets	$125,947,290	$200,694,440	$ 74,747,150
Income	31,854,194	41,793,084	9,938,890
Dividends of Yr. to Policy Holders	1,260,340	2,434,981	1,174,641
Number of Policy Holders	182,803	332,958	150,155
Ins. in force (premiums paid)	$575,689,649	$877,020,925	$301,331,276

CERTIFICATE OF SUPERINTENDENT OF STATE OF NEW YORK INSURANCE DEPARTMENT.

[ALBANY, January 6, 1898.]

I, LOUIS F. PAYN, Superintendent of Insurance of the State of New York, do hereby certify that the NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, of the City of New York, in the State of New York, is duly authorized to transact the business of Life Insurance in this State.

I FURTHER CERTIFY that, in accordance with the provisions of Section Eighty-four of the Insurance Law of the State of New York, I have caused the policy obligations of the said Company outstanding on the 31st day of December, 1897, to be valued as per the combined Experience Table of Mortality, at 4 per cent. interest, and I certify the same to be $164,956,079.

I FURTHER CERTIFY that the admitted assets are **$200,694,440.80**

The general liabilities, $2,366,330.49. The Net Policy Reserve, as calculated by this Dep't.. **164,956,079.00**

The Surplus Reserved Fund voluntarily set aside by the Company, which, added to the Department Policy Valuation, provides a liability equivalent to a three per cent. reserve on all policies **16,195,926.00**

The Net Surplus (excluding the Surplus Reserved Fund of $16,195,926) **17,176,105.40**

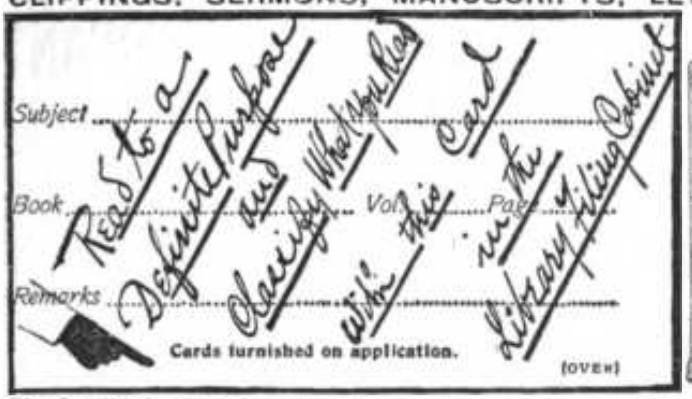
IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto subscribed my name and caused my official seal to be affixed at the City of Albany, the day and year first above written.

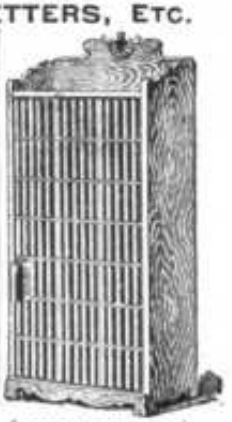
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BY

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS, Ph.D., Lic. Th., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Literature, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago, Ill.

1. INTRODUCTION—JEWISH INTERPRETATION.

A.—INTRODUCTION.

THE science of the interpretation of Scripture has passed through as long and tortuous a course as Chemistry or Astronomy. As Alchemy and Astrology led up to these sciences, so the efforts of Jews and Christians to explain the Scriptures have prepared the way for the modern system of interpretation now current in the study of any ancient literature. This consists in giving the plain and obvious meaning of the text, as understood by the men for whom it was first written.

The belief that the Bible was a divine book almost completely closed the eyes of ancient interpreters to its human elements. If they sometimes theoretically admitted them, they practically ignored them. Its literary character, its poetry, its history were overlooked. It was regarded as an arsenal of divine sayings. Hence, both Jews and Christians sought to find their theories and speculations confirmed by it. They did not ask what the writers intended, but rather what meaning the language would bear. The result of this abuse of Scripture was that the Bible, which we regard as a book for the common people, was sealed; so that among the Jews none but a Rabbi was capable of setting forth the sense of the Old Testament, and among the Christians only the Church could determine the significance of the Bible.

B.—ANCIENT JEWISH INTERPRETATION.

Among the Jews there were two schools of interpreters: the Palestinian, which used the Hebrew consonantal text, and the Alexandrian, which used the Septuagint translation.

The Palestinian School.—The character of Palestinian exegesis may be best observed in the Talmud, including the Mishna, or development of the Law; the Gemara, or expansion of the Mishna, and its further modification in the Baraitha. The Jerusalem Talmud was edited 390 A.D.; the Babylonian, 365-427 A.D. The Talmudic commentary is called Midrash, investigation, embracing the Halacha, legal enactment, and the Haggada, or illustrations by tales, parables, or allegories. While the Rabbis have reduced their mode of interpretation to rules, nothing could seem more lawless, more casuistical, more fantastic than some of the interpretations in the writings named. In the same connection should be mentioned the Qabbala, which regards each letter of Scripture as the source of the greatest mysteries.

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The Alexandrian School.—The most prominent figure in this school is that of Philo, born about 20 B.C. at Alexandria. Though he found the allegorical method employed in the exegesis of Homer and other Greek writers, as well as in that of the Old Testament, he is worthy of special prominence, because of his pre-eminent ability, his effort to reduce the allegorical interpretation to a system of rules, and on account of his influence, more or less immediately, on the interpretation of the Church Fathers. While retaining the literal sense for the instruction of the common people, he adopted the allegorical for those who were capable, as he thought, of a higher conception of the Scriptures, and turned the plainest narratives into metaphysical abstractions, since it was his belief that the Greek philosophy, of which he was an ardent admirer, could be found in the Old Testament.



Title Page of the Treatise Baba Bathra, "last door," of the Babylonian Talmud, published in eighteen quarto volumes, 1644-1647, in Amsterdam by Immanuel Benvenieste. This is considered one of the finest editions, as it contains the anti-Christian passages usually expunged by the censor. It is from the library of Prof. S. I. Curtiss.

The New Testament Writers.—As might be expected, Palestinian, and traces of Alexandrian, exegesis are found in the New Testament, both in the Gospels and the Epistles. Paul was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel (Acts xxii. 3). He was saturated with Jewish learning and schooled in Jewish modes of thought. When he became a new creature in Christ, he did not cease to think and reason like a Jew; hence, his mode of interpretation is essentially Jewish, but the guiding power of the Divine Spirit has at all times kept him from such extravagances as we find in the Talmud. Now, while we must admit that the human method of interpretation employed was incorrect in form, it was used by Divine Wisdom as the only suitable means of conveying truth in New Testament times. An age accustomed to the Jewish mode of interpretation could not make any more use of the modern method than a boy, who has studied only primary arithmetic, could make of a treatise on conic sections. Hence, a New Testament interpretation of the Old is abundantly justified as a necessity of Divine Providence.

C.—MEDIEVAL JEWISH INTERPRETATION.

The Middle Ages, which brought no light from the Bible to the Christian church, were marked by distinct progress among the Jews in the interpretation of

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the Old Testament. Under the inspiration and example of the Arabs, whose language the Spanish Jews spoke, the study of Hebrew grammar at first flourished several hundred years in Spain, beginnning with Jehudah Ibn Daud, or Chayuj, and closing with David Kimchi (d. 1235), who wrote in Hebrew. Elias Levita (d. 1549), a celebrated grammarian, belongs to the period of the Renaissance. Even Rashi (d. 1105) shows the influence of the new learning, although abiding by traditional interpretations; and Ibn Ezra (d. 1167), who was in some respects a forerunner of the modern critics, is perhaps the most grammatical and historical of the medieval Jewish interpreters. David Kimchi, while subject to philosophical presuppositions, also marks a distinct advance in the history of interpretation.

1. INTRODUCTION.—JEWISH INTERPRETATION.

The Palestinian School. — (a) From the Mishna.—Man is bound to bless God for evil, as he is bound to bless him for good. For it is said, "And thou shalt love the lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might" (Deut. vi. 5). "With all thy heart" means with both thy inclinations, the evil as well as the good "With all thy soul" means even should he deprive thee of thy life; and "With all thy might" means with all thy wealth.—*Barclay, "The Talmud," London, 1878, p. 61.*

(b) From the Gemara.—Rab Jehudah said in the name of Rab: "Adam's stature reached from one end of the world to the other," as it is said (Deut. iv. 32), "That God created man (Adam) upon the earth, and from one side of the heaven to the other;" but when he sinned, he laid his hand upon him and diminished (his stature), as it is said: "Thou hast laid thy hand upon me." Are not the two opposed to each other? No! both are the same measure.—*Sanhedrin 38b. Hershon, "Genesis with a Talmudical Commentary," London, 1883, p. 63.* Rabbi Jehoshua, the son of Korkhah, used to say, "Job lived in the days of Ahasuerus," as it is said, "And there were no women found," etc. (Job xlii. 14). What was the generation in which they sought for fair women? He saith it was the generation of Ahasuerus. . . . And there are some who say, "Job was in the days of Jacob, and Dinah, Jacob's daughter, was his wife;" for it is written in one place, "Thou speakest as one of the foolish women speaketh" (Job ii. 10), and in another place, "Because he wrought folly in Israel."—*Baba Bathra, 15b.*

The Alexandrian School.—Philo's effort was by means of an allegorical method to show that the contents of the Greek Philosophy were contained in the Old Testament. . . . In order to understand the system aright we must remember that Philo as well as the rest of later Judaism considered the Old Testament as the source and norm, not only of religious truth, but of every truth. . . . The allegorical meaning according to Philo is the real Scriptural meaning; the literal is only an accommodation to human needs; it is the body which encompasses the allegorical meaning or soul. . . . According to the literal meaning Simeon is especially cruel among Joseph's brethren; in the allegory, on the contrary, one who is spiritually aspiring. . . . According to the literal meaning Joseph is cruelly persecuted and mistreated; in the allegory, on the contrary, he is turned to sensuousness; therefore the brothers do right to hate it and oppress it.—*Siegfried, "Philo von Alexandria," Jena, 1875, pp. 160-164.*

The New Testament Writers. — Interpretation is as really a human and modern a science as astronomy or chemistry; and to demand of the New Testament writers that they should practice the historical method of our day is to wish to tear them from their surroundings, and strip them of their human naturalness.—*Toy, "Quotations in the New Testament," New York, 1884, p. xxv.*

Neither individuality, nor education, nor style, nor speech, nor logic is changed when the Holy Spirit takes possession of the human heart. . . . Hence it is absurd to claim that what God worked in his servants through providential leading, education, birth in definite circles, namely, individuality of a certain stamp, he annulled, by a violent act of his spirit, into uniformity. . . . Neither the deity of the Lord nor the inspiration of the apostles gives occasion to believe that they were inwardly called to a change in the existing interpretation of the Old Testament.—*Hermann Schultz on the Double Meaning of Scripture in "Studien und Kritiken," Gotha, 1866, pp. 22, 50, note.*

In these and similar instances Jesus interprets Scripture as a Jewish Rabbin, after the *Halacha* method, with which the Pharisees were familiar, and to which they were accustomed in discussion and argument.

Jesus also employs the *Haggada* method. This is indeed his favorite method of teaching, inasmuch as his discourses were in the main addressed to the people. . . . In the interpretation of prophecy and history Jesus comes into connection with the *allegorical* method of interpretation, and it has been claimed he applies it with the freedom of a Hellenist. . . . Jesus Christ . . . uses the four kinds of biblical interpretation, in accordance with the usage of the various classes of men in his times, in those ways that were familiar to the Rabbinical school, the synagogue instruction, the popular audience, and the esoteric training of the disciples, . . . but never employs any of the casuistry or hair-splitting Halacha of the scribes; or any of the idle tales and absurd legends of the Haggada; or any of the strange combinations of the *Sodh* of the Alexandrians. His use of Scripture is simple, beautiful, profound, and sublime. One sees through the Divine Master that the written Word is the mirror of the mind of God; and the eternal Word interprets the former from the latter.—*Briggs, "Biblical Study," New York, 1884, pp. 310-315.*

Peter, James, and Jude, Matthew and Mark incline to use the Haggada method; Stephen, Paul, and Luke, to the more learned Halacha method; John and the epistle to the Hebrews, to the *Sodh* or allegorical method; but in them all, the methods of the Lord Jesus prevail over the other methods and ennoble them.—*Ibid, p. 315.*

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2. INTERPRETATION BY THE CHURCH FATHERS.

The process begun among the Jewish interpreters of putting their own ideas and speculations into the Old Testament, instead of drawing out the meaning of the original writers, was continued by the Church down to the Reformation.

The effort made was to transform the Old Testament into a treasury of New Testament teaching; the instrument used was allegory. In this respect the Church Fathers were following in the footsteps of New Testament writers, especially of Paul and of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Clement of Rome (96 A.D.) sees in the scarlet cord, which Rahab was instructed to bind in her window, a symbol of the atoning blood of Jesus Christ. Barnabas (Epistle between 119 and 126 A.D.) finds in the three hundred and eighteen servants of Abraham a symbol of the name of Jesus and the cross. Indeed, there is scarcely an allusion to wood, or anything which can be tortured into a reminder of the cross, which is not seized upon by Barnabas and other Fathers as a symbol. Justin Martyr's dialogue with Trypho, the Jew (142-148), rests mostly on an use of the Old Testament, which we must consider invalid and superficial, and of which the Jew rightly complained. Such was the uncertainty and subjective character of interpretation in the ancient Church that Tertullian (b. about 150) maintained that argument with heretics was useless, because the issue was uncertain. He claims that Apostolic tradition is to be the test of the meaning of Scripture, thus foreshadowing the action of the Council of Trent. Nor did the labors of Origen (b. 185, d. 254), wonderful as they may be considered, produce sounder methods of interpretation. He sought, as the result of immense labor, through the preparation of his hexaplar text of the Old Testament, by placing the Hebrew text with the various Greek translations in parallel columns, to advance the knowledge of the true text of the Old Testament. Through the errors of subsequent transcribers, in disregarding the critical signs, the ancient text of the Septuagint fell into great confusion. Besides, Origen, who may be considered the leading representative of the Alexandrian school, and a great admirer of Philo, sought to systematize the allegorical mode of interpretation. He considered that Scripture had a threefold sense, consisting of body, or literal; soul, or moral; spirit, or mystical. The literal sense was useful for the most simple Christians. Through the allegorical interpretation he found an easy refuge from all difficulties in the Old Testament. The influence of Origen was permanent in the Church, although the Fathers who succeeded him did not go to as great lengths.

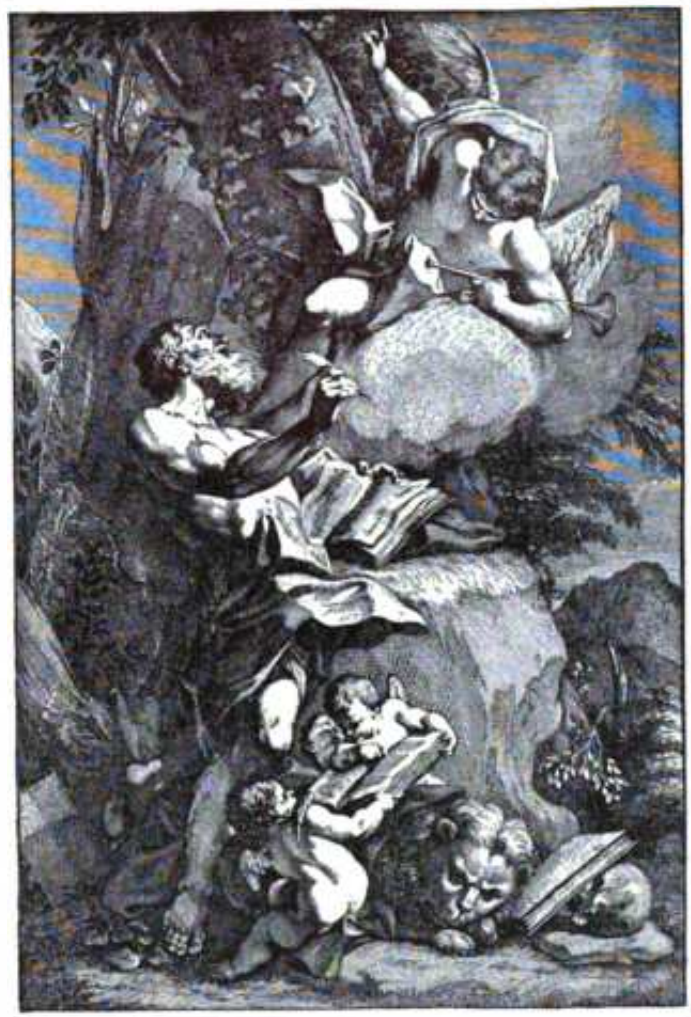
There were glimmerings of right principles of interpretation, as appears from the writings of Augustine (b. 354, d. 430), the great theologian, and Jerome (b. 346, d. 420), the great Biblical scholar of the ancient Church; but these principles, while recognized, had no controling effect. Augustine adopted the seven exegetical rules of Tichonius, which were mostly harmful to right interpretation. While his exegetical works contain good comments on Old Testament passages, they are largely composed of fanciful interpretations of Scripture. Among the Church Fathers, Jerome was the only Hebrew scholar worthy of the name. Besides him, with the exception of Origen, none could go back of translations of the Old Testament. Jerome enjoyed the best advantages for the study of the Old Testament that the time afforded. He spared neither pains nor expense to master the Hebrew language. His Latin trnaslation of the Bible was a work of great merit, which, after a test of centuries, displaced its older rivals, and became the Vulgate of the Romish Church. While Jerome had much of the freedom and insight of the modern critic, he was not an original interpreter, and could not break loose from the faults of his time.

Only one of the Fathers earned the title of "the exegete," Theodore of Mopsuestia (b. about 350, d. 429), the intimate friend and companion, from boyhood, of Chrysostom, to whom in early manhood he owed his conversion. He was the most conspicuous representative of the School of Antioch, which stood for the historical

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and natural interpretation of Scripture. While he had no knowledge of Hebrew, he had a remarkable intuition of the historical and grammatical mode of exegesis. He was a strong opponent of the methods of Origen. But he was really a thousand years in advance of his time. His works were brought under the suspicion of Nestorianism, and were condemned one hundred and twenty-five years after his death.

The allegorical method, against which Theodore had stoutly contended, continued dominant, and was current among the schoolmen. Nicholas De Lyra (b. 1270, d. 1340), who was a Hebrew scholar, and who had enjoyed the benefit of the studies of the Spanish Jews of the Middle Ages, does indeed "make the first beginnings of a school of natural exegesis . . . by ascertaining the literal meaning," and, through his influence on Luther, paves the way for the following period; but, on the whole, the period from the Apostolic Fathers to the Reformation, in the history of exegesis, might be characterized as that of "the misinterpretation of the Old Testament."



THE VISION OF ST. JEROME.

"After many tears, after my eyes had long searched heaven, sometimes I saw angelic hosts attending me." *Epist. xxii.*

2. INTERPRETATION BY THE CHURCH FATHERS.

Clement of Rome.—On account of her faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot was saved. For when the spies were sent by Joshua, the son of Nun, to Jericho . . . they gave her a sign to this effect, that she should hang forth from her house a scarlet thread. And thus they made it manifest that redemption should flow through the blood of the Lord to all them that believe and hope in God. Ye see, beloved, there was not only faith but prophecy in this woman.—"*The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers*," *Edinburgh, 1863, pp. 15, 16.*

Barnabas.—Learn then, my children, concerning all things richly, that Abraham, the first who enjoined circumcision, looking forward in spirit to Jesus, practiced that rite, having received the mystery of the three letters. For [the Scripture] saith, "And Abraham circumcised ten, and eight, and three hundred men of his household." [Not found in Scripture, but comp. Gen. 17:26, 27; 14:14]. What, then, was the knowledge given to him in this? . . . The ten and the eight are thus denoted—Ten by I, and Eight by H. You have the [initials of the name of] Jesus. And, because the cross was to express the grace [of our redemption] by the letter T, he says also, "Three Hundred." He signifies, therefore, Jesus by two letters, and the cross by one.—*Ibid. pp. 116, 117.*

Justin Martyr.—For consider all the things in the world, whether without this form [*i.e.*, that of the cross], they could be administered, or have any community. For the sea is not traversed, except that trophy, which is called a sail, abide safe in the ship, and the earth is not ploughed without it; diggers and mechanics do not their work, except with tools which have this shape. And the

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human form differs from that of irrational animals in nothing else than in its being erect and having the hands extended. . . . His crucifixion was symbolized both by the tree of life . . . and by those events which should happen to all the just. Moses was sent with a rod to effect the redemption of his people. . . . Jacob, by putting rods in the water-troughs, caused the sheep of his uncle to conceive, so that he should obtain their young. With his rod Jacob boasts that he had crossed the river. . . . David affirms that God comforted him with a rod and a staff. Elisha, by casting a stick into the Jordan, recovered the iron part of the axe. . . . Moreover, it was a rod that pointed out Judah to be the father of Tamar's sons, by a great mystery, etc., etc.—"*The Writings of Justin Martyr*," *Edinburgh, 1874, pp. 55, 207-209.*

Tertullian.—But with respect to the man for whose sake you enter on the discussion of the Scriptures, with the view of strengthening him, when afflicted with doubts [let me ask], will it be to the truth, or rather to heretical opinions, that he will lean? . . . It is, indeed, a necessary consequence that they should go so far as to say that there are adulterations of the Scriptures, and false expositions thereof, are rather introduced by ourselves, inasmuch as they, no less than we, maintain that truth is on their side. Our appeal, therefore, must not be made to the Scriptures; nor must controversy be admitted on points in which victory will be impossible, or uncertain, or not certain enough.—"*The Writings of Q. S. F. Tertullianus*," *Vol. II., Edinburgh, 1874, pp. 21, 22.*

Origen.—By Solomon, in the Proverbs, we find some such rule as this enjoined respecting the divine doctrines of Scripture (Prov. 22:20, 21): "And do thou portray them in a threefold manner, in counsel and knowledge, to answer words of truth to them who propose them to thee." The individual, then, ought to portray the ideas of Holy Scripture in a threefold manner upon his soul, in order that the simple man may be edified by the "flesh," as it were, of the Scripture, for so we name the obvious sense, while he who has ascended a certain way [may be edified] by the "soul," as it were. The perfect man, again . . . [may receive edification] from the spiritual law, which has a shadow of good things to come. For, as man consists of body, and soul, and spirit, so in the same way does Scripture, which has been arranged to be given by God for the salvation of men.—"*The Writings of Origen*," *Vol. I., Edinburgh, 1871, pp. 299-301.*

Augustine.—Nothing, indeed, can be theoretically better than some of the rules which he lays down. He dwells on the desirability of multifarious knowledge. He insists that allegory should be based on the historic sense. . . . He perceived that there is in revelation a progressive element, and that there is an inferiority in the degree of revelation furnished by the Old Testament. But when we read his actual comments these principles are forgotten.—*Farrar*, "*History of Interpretation*," *New York, 1886, p. 234.*

Jerome.—In my youth, when the desert walled me in with its solitude, I was still unable to endure the promptings of sin and the natural heat of my blood. . . . To subdue its turbulence I betook myself to a brother, that before his conversion had been a Jew, and asked him to teach me Hebrew. . . . What labor I spent on this task, what difficulties I went through, how often I despaired, how often I gave over, and then in my eagerness to learn commenced again, can be attested both by myself, the subject of this misery, and by those who then lived with me. . . . Once more I came to Jerusalem and Bethlehem. What trouble and expense it cost me to get Baraninas to teach me under cover of night. For, by fear of the Jews, he presented in his own person a second edition of Nicodemus. . . . I remember that in order to understand this volume [Job], I paid a not inconsiderable sum for the services of a teacher, a native of Lydda, who was amongst Hebrews reckoned to be in the front rank.—*St. Jerome*, "*Letters and Select Works*," *New York, 1893, pp. 248, 176, 491.*

Theodore of Mopsuestia.—As the scholar and successor of Diodore . . . Theodore inherited the Antiochian system of grammatical and historical interpretation, and denounced the license of the Alexandrian allegorizers. . . . In his own interpretation of both the historical and prophetical Scriptures, it was a first principle with Theodore to ascertain the intention of the writer, and to refuse to admit a secondary and more subtle meaning, when the words were capable of a literal and practical sense. . . . Excepting some few passages, in which he recognizes direct prophecies of the Messiah and his times, Theodore holds that the language of the Old Testament is applied to Christ and the Christian dispensation only by way of accommodation. . . . This accommodation is, however, amply justified by the fact, that in the Divine foreknowledge the earlier cycle of events was designed to be typical of the later.—*Smith & Wace*, "*A Dictionary of Christian Biography*," *Vol. IV., London, 1887, p. 956.*

Venerable Bede.—What is it to us monks, to be told Elkanah had two wives? If we draw only such "old things" as the literal sense out of Scripture, we get no spiritual doctrine; but when we understand it allegorically, Elkanah is our Lord, and his two wives are the Synagogue and the Church. —*Farrar, Op. Cit., p. 240.*

Nicolaus De Lyra.—It [his commentary on the Bible] may be said to mark the first beginning of a school of natural exegesis; for, though recognizing the old doctrine of a fourfold sense . . . Lyra explicitly maintained and sought to give effect to the principle that the foundation of every mystical interpretation must first be firmly laid by ascertaining the literal meaning. His qualities as an interpreter of Scripture included, besides comparative freedom from dogmatic prepossession, a good knowledge of Hebrew and a fair acquaintance with Greek. Luther was acquainted with his commentaries, and it is through the influence of Rashi upon Lyra that so many traces of the exegesis of that Rabbi are found in Luther; hence the oft-quoted saying:

"Si lyra non lyrasset,
Lutherus non saltasset."

—*The Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. XV., p. 113.*

NOTE TRANSFERRED FROM LESSON 4.

Use of Scripture by the Unlearned.—All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some places of Scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them.—"*The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, Confession of Faith*," *Sect. 7.*

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3. INTERPRETATION FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Two things are characteristic of the period introduced by the Reformation in the interpretation of the Old Testament: the freeing of Scripture from the bondage of the Church tradition, and the study of it in the original languages. Both were of the greatest importance. Until the Reformation, the Bible for the few who used it could mean to the loyal Romanist only what the Church decreed it should mean; hence the motive was wanting to go behind the official text of the Romish Church as found in the Vulgate. This attitude was entirely changed by the Reformation. The Bible became the source of authority; hence the Reformers did not care for the interpretations of the Fathers. Their sole question was what the Scriptures themselves taught. This rendered necessary a careful study of the Bible in the original languages, for which the way had been prepared by Reuchlin's translation of Kimchi's grammar. Hence we may trace the Bible of Luther and the other reformers back to the studies of Spanish Jews in the Middle Ages, under the tuition of the Arabs. Neither Luther (b. 1483, d. 1546) nor Calvin (b. 1509, d. 1564) were profound Hebrew scholars, but they marked an infinite advance over the barren waste of scholastic exegesis. They manifested a free attitude in their judgment of the binding authority of certain parts of the Old Testament, while yielding loyal and unquestioning obedience to Scripture as a whole. Their position in this respect was in sharp contrast to that of the theologians of the Post-Reformation period, who sought after the manner of an orthodox Jewish scholar of the second century to make a hedge about the Scriptures. The effort was made by these theologians to find the same infallibility in the Bible which the Fathers had found in the church as the custodian of Apostolic tradition. This effort extended to defining the limits of the Scripture to claiming, with reference to the vowel points, that they had been supernaturally communicated that the Old Testament was of equal authority with the New; that the rule of faith was to be found in the clear passages of Scripture, and that the obscure passages were to be interpreted by them. Thus the theologians of the Post-Reformation period brought the Scriptures once more under a yoke of bondage, the rule of faith which was really a barrier to free interpretation. But there were critical tendencies at work, both among Protestants and Catholics. Even Carlstadt (b. about 1483, d. 1541) had maintained that the Pentateuch could not have been written by Moses, and Luther had asked what difference it would make if he were not the author of it. Yet the main current among Jews, Catholics, and Protestants, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was to suppress free inquiry about the origin and composition of the Scriptures. But such investigations on the part of individuals could not be kept back.

Spinoza (b. 1632, d. 1667) may be regarded the father of modern criticism. He was a learned Jew of acute mind who lived in Amsterdam, and who was excommunicated by the Jews because of his critical theories. The principles of interpretation enunciated by him are essentially in accord with those held by the modern critical school.

A little later two French Catholics made important contributions to Old Testament criticism. One, a priest, Richard Simon (b. 1638, d. 1712) who is sometimes called the father of Biblical introduction, was the author of a Critical History of the Old Testament.

Astruc (b. 1684, d. 1766), a Catholic layman, was the founder of the literary analysis of the Pentateuch in his "Conjectures upon the original Memoirs which Moses seems to have used in composing the Book of Genesis."

The condition of the text, which has an important bearing on interpretation, also received great attention in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. After a hard fought battle between the Buxtorfs, father (b. 1564, d. 1629) and son (b. 1599,

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d. 1664), on the one hand, and Capellus on the other, it was proved conclusively that the vowel points used in reading Hebrew, far from being original with Moses, were an invention of the Massoretes (after 600 A.D.), the guardians of Jewish text criticism. Kennicott, an English, and De Rossi, an Italian, scholar, devoted great attention to the comparison of Old Testament Hebrew MSS., leading to the negative result, that none of those in existence originated before the Middle Ages, and that the variations in their readings were so slight as to be of no account.

Lowth and Herder were eminent as exegetes, but no scholar arose who effected a general change in the principles of interpretation as introduced by the theologians succeeding the Reformation. They went to the Bible for proof texts to establish the doctrines of the church; and since they sought these by sound, rather than through a historical, interpretation, they found them in the Old Testament as well as the New. Human agency in the production of Scripture was lost sight of, and God was considered the author of Scripture in such a sense that the writers were hardly more than amanuenses of the Divine Spirit.

3. INTERPRETATION FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Luther.—I admonish every pious Christian that he take not offence at the plain, unvarnished manner of speech of the Bible. . . . In it thou findest the swaddling-clothes and the manger whither the angels directed the poor, simple shepherds; they seem poor and mean, but dear and precious is the treasure that lies therein.—"*Table Talk*," *London, 1890, p. 26.*

Calvin.—The chief merit of an interpreter consists in conspicuous brevity. And, indeed, when his only duty is to reveal the mind of the writer, whom he seeks to interpret, he diverts his readers from this in proportion as he wanders from the object he has in view.—"*Joannis Calvini, magni theologi, Commentarii in omnes Epistolas S. Pauli*," *Amstelodami, 1667, p. 2.*

Carlstadt.—Furthermore, he affirms that the Pentateuch could not have been written by Moses, because the portions which refer to the death of Moses are written in the same style as those which precede.—*S. I. Curtiss*, "*Bibliotheca Sacra*," *1884, p. 10.*

Post-Reformation.—The outlines of the orthodox view in this period remain the same, almost word for word. Revelation and the Scriptures contain only truth: as such there can be no contradictions; the pan-harmony of the Scriptures is a dominant axiom. It follows from inspiration, for the Spirit of truth is the real author. There was always only one salvation, and hence only way of salvation. . . . This content of Scripture is the norm for exegesis, but it is also a fact, so far as it represents itself in a kernel gathered from clear passages, and the Scriptures can only interpret themselves. This kernel of Scripture is the rule of faith, not a Church ordinance, but only the contents of the dogmas contained in the clear passages. . . . The proof that precisely the clear passages contain this kernel, and that the obscure passages necessarily could not have any other meaning, is not given.—"*Diestel*," *op. cit., pp. 367, 368.*

Spinoza.—When people declare, as all are ready to do, that the Bible is the Word of God, teaching men true blessedness and the way of salvation, they evidently do not mean what they say; for the masses take no pains at all to live according to Scripture, and we see most people endeavoring to hawk about their own commentaries as the word of God, and giving their best efforts, under the guise of religion, to compelling others to think as they do; we generally see, I say, theologians anxious to learn how to wring their inventions and sayings out of the sacred text, and to fortify them with Divine authority. Such persons never display less scruple or more zeal than when they are interpreting Scripture or the mind of the Holy Ghost; if we ever see them perturbed, it is not that they fear to attribute some errors to the Holy Spirit, and to stray from the right path, but they are afraid to be convicted of error by others, and thus to overthrow and bring into contempt their own authority.—"*The Chief Works of Benedict De Spinoza*," *Vol. I., London, 1891, p. 98.*

Simon.—I know that replies can be made respecting the most of these passages (adduced against the Mosaic authorship) and certain others which it would be useless to adduce; but a little reflection will show that these replies are more subtile than true.—"*Histoire Critique*," *Amsterdam, Dest., 1685, p. 32.*

Astruc.—Moses had in his hands ancient memoirs containg the history of his ancestors from the creation of the world; in order to lose nothing of these memoirs he has separated them into bits, following the facts which are there related; he has inserted these bits entire, one after another, and the Book of Genesis has been formed through this combination.—"*Conjectures sur la Genese*," *Brouxelles, 1753, p. 9.*

Lowth.—The first and principal business of a translator is to give the plain literal and grammatical sense of his author; the obvious meaning of his words, phrases and sentences, and to express them in the language into which he translates, as far as may be, in equivalent words, phrases and sentences. . . . For whatever senses are supposed to be included in the prophet's words, spiritual, mystical, allegorical, analogical, or the like, they must all entirely depend on the literal sense. This is the only foundation upon which such interpretations can be securely raised; and if this is not firmly and well established, all that is built upon it will fall to the ground.—"*Isaiah: A New Translation*," *London, 1779, p. lii.*

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4. INTERPRETATION DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

The last hundred years has marked an epoch in the history of Old Testament interpretation. Ecclesiastical and theological fetters are being struck off from the Old Testament, so that the ancient writers can deliver their message to us in some such way as they sought to deliver it to their contemporaries. Up to the present century, with a few exceptions, the Church was inclined to regard the Old Testament purely as a divine book. Now the critics are teaching the Church that the Old Testament is best understood when we give the human element in Scripture its due place; that, as we draw nearer the Master by dwelling on his humanity, so we see God's infinite wisdom in his dealings with Israel more clearly when we recognize the human and dispensational limitations of the Old Testament messengers and those to whom they were sent. Higher criticism cannot disprove the fact of a divine revelation; indeed, it does not seek to do so; it simply deals with the temporal and natural peculiarities of those who bore it, and to whom it was given through many centuries. While such critics as Kuenen may claim that prophecy in ancient Israel was the product of mere naturalism, the history of ancient religions does not furnish a parallel to any such naturalistic development, as is sometimes claimed for the Old Testament. The results of prophetism demand a supernatural cause. The origin of the Old Testament, in its relation to the New, cannot be explained merely as a human production. No higher critic, so far as he is a careful and conscientious investigator, is to be regarded an enemy of revealed religion on account of his investigations. Whatever his personal attitude may be to the religion of Israel, his investigations, so far as they are conducted in a scientific spirit, with an honest effort to know the truth, are to be hailed with satisfaction. This may serve to explain a seeming inconsistency in the attitude of evangelical higher critics to results which are sometimes called "destructive." They are not destructive of the authority of the Old Testament, as tested by the New, but of traditional views with respect to its origin and composition. Hence, they do not affect the fact of a divine revelation, but rather the manner of it.

The Old Testament interpreter, in the closing years of the nineteenth century, has entered into possession of the following most important helps for interpretation, which are mainly the fruit of studies during the last hundred years: 1. With reference to the text. At least some progress has been made in seeking to determine the original text of the Old Testament. Many of the suggestions in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament edited by Haupt, from which the translation of the polychrome Bible is being prepared, are doubtless arbitrary and subjective, but it is a step in the right direction which must be followed by others until scholars shall settle with reasonable unanimity on a critical text of the Old Testament.

2. The discovery of the meaning of words found in the Old Testament is of the utmost importance. Most of these are clear, because they often occur; many are very obscure, because they are found only once. To determine their signification it is not only necessary to compare the different ancient versions, but also to trace them in cognate languages like Arabic, Aramaic, and Assyrian. In some of these respects, Gesenius introduced a new era through his lexicon, which has passed through many editions since his death, and is now being reproduced in this country with all the appliances of modern scholarship.

3. Not less important is a study of the structure and connection of sentences. In this regard, Gesenius did a conspicuous service, but it was Ewald who unlocked the treasuries of Hebrew syntax, and who has been the inspiration of all subsequent Hebrew grammarians and interpreters through his insight and commanding genius.

4. It is also of the utmost importance to know the manners and customs and the geography of the country where the Old Testament was produced. The present century has been characterized by the most interesting antiquarian and geographical

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researches, not only in Palestine itself, but in the seat of the great world powers with which Israel had to do, and in whose domain at different times they found a home, Egypt and Assyria. The value of these researches as aids to interpretation cannot be overestimated.

5. But as exegesis is a historical science, as well as grammatical and critical, it is especially dependent on the researches of the higher critics, because these determine the relative age and succession of documents, and no right interpretation of these documents can be given, as a whole, out of their proper historical setting. No truthful history of Israel's religion or development of it, as a state, can be given without using the results of higher criticism.. Its most important discoveries have been made in the Hexateuch (Pentateuch and Joshua), in Psalms, Isaiah, Zechariah, and Daniel. But none are comparable to those brought to light in the Hexateuch. It has been found that the laws of ancient Israel, both civil and religious, as therein detailed, resting on foundations laid by Moses, and all ultimately gathered in a law book known by his name, were of slow growth, and did not attain their final form until the reorganization of the Jewish state under Nehemiah and Ezra (445-444 B.C.). Reading the Old Testament in the light of this reconstruction of the Pentateuch, there is not a religious or legal institution which does not show traces of development. The critics discovered long ago that the Hexateuch was composed of three main documents. With reference to this there is now almost unanimous agreement among German Old Testament scholars, and the number of those who give their assent to this view in Great Britain and America is constantly increasing. These documents, known as the Jehovistic, 640 B.C., made up of the Yarwistic, written in Judah 850 B.C., and the Elohistic, written in Ephraim 750 B.C.; the Deuteronomic, 621 B.C., including Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic portions of Joshua; and the Priests' Code, were all welded together by some unknown editors,



H. Ewald.



J. Wellhausen.



A. Kuenen.



W. Robertson Smith.

and were published by Ezra 444 B.C. Even these documents contain others of still greater antiquity. The mode of composition employed is sometimes called "patchwork." It preserves the component parts. It is characteristic of Orientals, and can be easily traced in many places in Chronicles by means of an English reference Bible. Let any one examine the component parts of 1 Chron. xvi., cutting out the original passages from an English Bible and pasting them on cardboard by the side of the corresponding passages of the Chronicles. There is much divergence among critics in details as to the age of the documents named and the editions through which they have passed, but very little as to their literary, legal, and theological characteristics.

The present dominant school of criticism, which considers the Priests' Code the youngest part of the Pentateuch, was founded by Graf, who published in 1866 his "Historical Books of the Old Testament." But it was the further analysis of Wellhausen (b. 1844) and his lucid statement of critical results which won the day in Germany. In Holland the most conspicuous critic of the same school was Kuenen (b. 1828, d. 1891); in Great Britain, the lamented W. Robertson Smith (b. 1846, d. 1894), a brilliant scholar and devout Christian, who made a gallant fight for

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liberty; and in America, C. A. Briggs (b. 1841), who has sought a like result, and to whom all Old Testament interpreters in this country are greatly indebted for freedom of investigation. The best summary of the modern critical views of the Old Testament is found in Driver's "Literature of the Old Testament."

While the Old Testament, in its general teaching, is level to the comprehension of plain, unlettered people, a large proportion of its literature, especially that which is legal and prophetic, gains immeasurably in interest and instructiveness when interpreted in historic light, and with the instruments afforded by modern criticism. The Old Testament, which was primarily designed to be a light to the feet and a lamp to the path of the Jewish congregation, loses nothing in real power or authority through the most searching investigation.

4. INTERPRETATION DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Karl Heinrich Graf.—While Protestant science, in respect to the primitive history of the Christian Church, has made itself free from Catholic tradition, and has accustomed itself in the investigation and evaluation of the sources of this history in the New Testament to draw its conclusions only in accordance with scientific reasons, in respect to the examination of like sources of the Old Testament, it is still, in many respects, held in the fetters of Jewish tradition.—"*Die Geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments*," *1866, p. v.*

A. Kuenen.—Wellhausen's treatment of our theme . . . was so cogent, so original, and so brilliant, that its publication may be regarded as the "crowning fight" in the long campaign. Since 1878 the question has been more and more seriously considered in Germany—and in most cases to consider it seriously has meant to decide it in our sense. . . . In setting forth in this treatise for the first time its complete and systematic critical justification, I am no longer advocating a heresy, but am expounding the received view of European critical scholarship.—"*An Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch*," *1866, pp xxxix., xl., 462.*

W. Robertson Smith.—In the Bible God and man meet together, and hold such converse as is the abiding rule and pattern of all religious experience. In this simple fact lies the key to all those puzzles about the divine and human side of the Bible with which people are so much exercised. . . . Of course, as long as you hold that the whole worth of Revelation lies in abstract doctrines, supernaturally communicated to the intellect and not to the heart, the idea that there is a human life in the Bible is purely disturbing. But if the Bible sets forth the personal converse of God with man, it is absolutely essential to look at the human side. . . . To try to suppress the human side of the Bible, in the interest of the purity of the Divine Word, is as great a folly as to think a father's talk with his child can be best reported by leaving out everything which the child said, thought, and felt. . . . The first condition of a sound understanding of Scripture is to give full recognition to the human side, to master the whole situation and character and feelings of each human interlocutor who has a part in the drama of Revelation. *Nay, the whole business of scholarly exegesis lies with this human side.* All that earthly study and research can do for the reader of Scripture is to put him in the position of the man to whose heart God first spoke. What is more than this lies beyond our wisdom. It is only the Spirit of God that can make the Word a living word to our hearts, as it was a living word to him who first received it.—"*The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*," *1892, pp. 12, 13.*

C. A. Briggs.—On what other subject (than critical analysis of the Hexateuch) can you find such agreement among specialists the world over? Where are the professors in the Old Testament department in the universities and colleges in Europe, who hold a different view? They cannot be found. Is it credible that all these specialists should be in error in their own departments, and that a few American Hebrew professors should have the right of it? Even in our country we may point to Toy and Lyon of Harvard, Ladd and Curtis of Yale, Peters and Jastrow of the University of Pennsylvania, W. R. Harper, Hirsch and S. Ives Curtiss of Chicago, Haupt of Johns Hopkins, George Moore of Andover, Gast of Lancaster, Henry P. Smith of Lane, Francis Brown of Union, Bartlett, Batten and Kellner of the Episcopal Divinity schools, Schmidt and Brown of the Baptist schools, and many others who agree with them, but who have not yet published their conclusions. Such men, sustained as they are by the unanimous voice of the Hebrew scholars of Europe, cannot be overcome by such appeals to popular prejudice as have thus far constituted the staple of all the arguments against them. In the field of scholarship the question is settled. It only remains for the ministry and people to accept it and adapt themselves to it.

The evidence sustaining the analysis of the Hexateuch and the late date of the composition of some of its documents, and the weight of scholarly authority which accepts it, are so great that it is difficult to see how any candid mind can resist them. That there are a few professional Hebrew scholars who still resist them, is due, as it appears, solely and alone to *a priori* dogmatic consideration.—"*The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*," *pp. 144, 145.*

S.R. Driver.—Criticism in the hands of Christian scholars does not banish or destroy the inspiration of the Old Testament; it *presupposes* it; it seeks only to determine the conditions under which it operates, and the literary forms through which it manifests itself; and it thus helps us to frame truer conceptions of the methods it has pleased God to employ in revealing himself to his ancient people of Israel, and in preparing the way for the fuller manifestation of himself in Christ Jesus.—"*An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*," *1897, p. xiii.*

Use of Scripture by the Unlearned.—*Cf. p. 444, last note.*

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THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

BY

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5. THE RELIGION OF THE PATRIARCHS.

STANDPOINT.—The religion of the Old Testament may be interpreted from two different points of view: either it may be assumed that the *Biblical* historians were right in ascribing a belief in one God to the earliest representatives of the people of Israel; or, on the other hand, it is possible to conceive that Jewish writers overdrew the pictures we have of Abraham, Moses, and David, and that the religion of Israel, like other religions of the world, passed through four marked stages of natural development, viz., fetishism, polytheism, monolatry (each people having a national god), and monotheism. The latter is the opinion of many modern writers, who, reconstructing the Old Testament on the basis of evolution, maintain that there is no specific difference between Israel's religion and the other great religions of the world; the former view regards Israel as the organ of a special, divine revelation. The writer of this sketch, while fully conscious of the obvious bias in certain Old Testament writings, is still inclined to interpret Israel's religion from the standpoint of the Biblical historians, all of whom agree that, from the days of the Patriarchs on, Israel stood in covenant relation with God. (1)

The Earliest Recorded Instances of Worship in the Old Testament.—The first is that of Cain and Abel, who in process of time brought their respective offerings unto the Lord, one of which was accepted, the other rejected (Gen. 4:3-5). The cause of the Divine discrimination, we are told in the New Testament, was "faith" (*cf.* Hebrews 11:4, 1 John 3:12). The other instance, to be noticed here, is the case of Noah, who, upon leaving the Ark, built an altar unto *Jehovah* and offered sacrifices of thanksgiving, whereupon the Lord made a covenant with him promising that, "while the earth remaineth, seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night, should not cease" (Gen. 8:22). Thus from the earliest beginnings of revelation *covenant* and *sacrifice* are fundamental elements in the religion of the Old Testament.

The Call of Abram.—The call of Abram is the true starting-point for the history of Israel. God bade Abram to leave his Chaldean home in Ur of the far East and journey to a strange country, Canaan, promising him that he should become the father of a great nation and the medium of a world-wide blessing (Gen. 12:1-3). Abram obeyed (vs. 4-6). Twenty-four years later God established Abram, making with him an "everlasting covenant" (Gen. 17). He changed his name to Abraham. He gave unto him a son. He sealed the covenant by the rite of circumcision

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He afterwards proved Abraham, commanding him to offer up Isaac, the child of his affection and the heir of Divine promise. To this, as to all his other trials, Abraham rose superior "by faith" (Hebs. 11:19), becoming thereby not only the father, but the ideal, of the Hebrew people.

Now, Abraham's call wears a double aspect—a human and a divine. Looked at from the human point of view, it was a mere family migration; looked at from the divine side, however, it marks a turning point in the history of religion. Abraham is the first historical witness of faith in one God. His contemporaries worshiped a multitude of Gods. His own ancestors, "who dwelt beyond the flood, served other gods" (Josh. 24:2, 14, Judith 5:7-8). But to Abraham were revealed at least the rudiments of monotheism. He is called "the father of the faithful" (Rom. 4:13), "the chosen of God" (Neh. 9:7), "the friend of God" (Jos. 2:23), and the father of all believers in God (Gal. 4:21-31). Faith in God, more or less impure, was likewise the religion of Abraham's descendants, Isaac and Jacob. (2) and (3)

Outline.—The three great periods of Israel's religious growth are: The *Mosaic* (cir. 1300-1000 B.C.), the *Prophetic* (cir. 1000-500 B.C.), and the *Judaic* (cir. 500 B.C.–70 A.D.). With the downfall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D., Israel lost its nationality.

5. THE RELIGION OF THE PATRIARCHS.

(1) **The Two Theories of Inspiration.** — In a general way we may contrast the two theories thus: The modern theory undertakes to trace the development of the religion from the lowest stages of animistic worship up to ethic monotheism, and from custom up to authorized divine law, and this, too, within the period distinctively embraced in the history of Israel as a people. The Biblical theory also posits a development; but the essential things which were finally reached—a belief in a moral deity, the one ruler of the world, and a law divinely given—are there in germ and substance to start with at the threshold of the nation's life. There are low stages of belief, there are customs rising into laws, on both theories. The difference lies in the place assigned to them.—*J. Robertson, "The Early Religion of Israel," pp. 38-9.*

(2) **Monotheism Traceable Back to Abraham.**—How is the fact to be explained that the three great religions of the world in which the Unity of the Deity forms the keynote are of Semitic origin? . . . Mohammedanism, no doubt, is a Semitic religion, and its very core is Monotheism. But did Mohammed invent Monotheism? Did he invent even a new name of God? Not at all . . . And how is it with Christianity? Did Christ come to preach faith in a new God? Did He or His disciples invent a new name of God? No. Christ came not to destroy, but to fulfill, and the God whom he preached was the God of Abraham. And who is the God of Jeremiah, of Elijah, and of Moses? We answer again, "The God of Abraham." Thus the faith in the One Living God, which seemed to require the admission of a monotheistic instinct, grafted in every member of the Semitic family, is traced back to one man, to him "in whom all the families of the earth shall be blessed."—And if from our earliest childhood we have looked upon Abraham, the Friend of God, with love and veneration . . . his venerable figure will assume still more majestic proportions, when we see in him the life-spring of that faith which was to unite all the nations of the earth, and the author of that blessing which was to come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ. And if we are asked how this one Abraham passed through the denial of all other gods, to the knowledge of the one God, we are content to answer that it was by a special Divine revelation . . . granted to that one man, and handed down by him to Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans . . . to all who believe in the God of Abraham. . . . We want to know more of that man than we do; but even with the little we know of him, he stands before us as a figure second only to One in the whole history of the world.—*F. Max Müller, "Essay on Semitic Monotheism," in "Chips from a German Workshop," Vol. I., pp. 371-3 (quoted by A. P. Stanley, "History of the Jewish Church," Vol. I., pp. 13, 14, n.).*

(3) **Abraham a Worshiper of the True God.** —For had Abraham been nothing more than even the greatest of the leaders in that national migration, his name would at most have been handed down as bare and lifeless as those of other once renowned heroes of those times. But assuredly there began with him a new and great epoch in the history of the development of religion: he first domesticated in his house and race the worship of that "God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob," who, as personating the fundamental idea of a true God, was never forgotten even after the lapse of centuries, until by the prophetic spirit of Moses he was placed in a yet higher light, and became the eternal light of all true religion.—*H. Ewald, "The History of Israel," 4th Edit., Vol. I., p. 317.*

NOTE TRANSFERRED FROM LESSON 7.

The Part of Samuel.—Of the information imparted by Samuel, or by the fathers of the school of the Prophets, we know hardly anything. We see only that there was a contagion of goodness, of enthusiasm, of energy, which even those who came with hostile or indifferent minds, such as Saul and the messengers of Saul, found it almost impossible to resist; they, too, were rapt into the vortex of inspiration, and the bystanders exclaimed with astonishment, "Is Saul also among the prophets?"—*A. P. Stanley, "History of the Jewish Church," Vol. I., p. 355.*

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6. MOSAISM (CIR. 1300-1000 B.C.).

The Divine Name Yahveh.—The religion of Moses cannot be cut off from the religion of the Patriarchs. The Hebrews in Egypt must have retained to some extent a knowledge of Abraham's God, else how account for their ready response to Moses' offer of deliverance? Mosaism, however, was a great advance over the religion of the Patriarchs. To them God was known by the name of *El-Shaddai* (the Mighty One); to Moses He revealed himself as *Yahveh*, a name implying the more spiritual attributes of his character. This name was unknown to the Patriarchs. "And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob as *El-Shaddai;* but by my name *Yahveh* was I not known to them" (Ex. 6:3; *cf.* 3:14,15). This revelation was made to Moses in the Burning-Bush.

Deliverance from the Bondage of Egypt.—The Exodus was an event of great significance to Israel, not only because through it Moses was able to weld the different tribes together into a *nation*, but because it afforded him an opportunity of inaugurating a new epoch in the religious development of Israel. (1) Moses was both the Founder and Lawgiver of the Hebrew nation. He gave Israel both their nationality and their religion. Their very deliverance from Egypt was based upon a religious motive, and accomplished by means of a religious act—the Passover—an act which afterwards came to possess the highest significance in Israel's religion and worship.



General View of Sinai.

Sinai and the Law. — Moses was prevented from his original purpose of leading Israel by the most direct route into Canaan; he was directed, however, to lead them to Horeb. The purpose of God in doing this is obvious. It gave the Almighty an opportunity to reveal himself to *Israel* as *Yahveh*, their national God, as he had before done to Moses. This he did at Sinai. He makes Moses Mediator between himself and Israel. Out of the cloud and thunderings he causes the people to hear his voice. He writes on two tables the Ten Commandments. Through Moses civil and religious statutes are given for Israel's guidance and good as a nation (*cf.* Ex. 21:23). The tribes enter into covenant with *Yahveh* and make him their god; he chooses them for his people, for his "peculiar people," his "son," a "kingdom of priests and a holy nation" (Ex. 4:22, 19:6).

A tabernacle is made for *Jehovah.* An ark, prepared to receive the law, and called the Ark of the Covenant, is placed within the tabernacle in the Holy of Holies, which becomes the dwelling place of the unseen but ever present spiritual *Jehovah.* Only the Sons of Aaron are allowed to act as priests and offer sacrifices for Israel. The tribe of Levi are set apart to serve as servants of the sanctuary. Three annual feasts are enjoined—in part agrarian, in part historical—Passover or Feast of Unleavened Bread, Pentecost or Feast of Weeks, and Tabernacles or Feast of Ingathering. On these three occasions (April, May, and October), all males in Israel are required to appear before *Jehovah* at the central sanctuary or tabernacle. No one might come with empty hand. The sense of sin, which since the days of Paradise had caused a blush of shame, demanded sacrificial blood. Israel must be holy, as *Yahveh*, Israel's God, is holy. Of him no image or likeness of any kind could be allowed, for he is Spirit.

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The Covenant of Sinai Renewed.—The forty years of wandering converted a hoard of *slaves* into a nation of Desert *nomads.* The Covenant made with the former at Sinai was renewed with the latter in Moab. An account of this is contained in the book of Deuteronomy. Thus Moses, through the revelations at Sinai, in the desert and on the plains of Moab, and through his acquaintance with the ancient religion of the Egyptians, moulded Israel into a spiritual church, a theocracy, and prepared the new nation for entrance into Caanan. (2) and 3)

6. MOSAISM (CIR. 1300–1000 B.C.).

(1) **The New Religious Creation in Israel.**—There remains still a class of facts which are even less capable than the successes already mentioned of being explained apart from a specially inspired prophetic personality. I mean the new religious creation in Israel; the new revelation of God and of law, which is so closely connected with the stay in the Desert. Nothing is less likely to arise spontaneously out of the depths of a people's life than those new creations which make epochs in the history of religion and morals.—*R. Kittel, "History of the Hebrews," Vol. I., p. 240.*

In word and deed Moses showed himself an instrument of the Lord, unapproached by any other. He was the prophet without rival in respect of his intercourse with God and of what the Lord did and revealed by him. Of Moses it is said more frequently than of all other prophets together: "God talked with him," or "God spake to him." He is not only called 'Ebed Yahveh, "Servant of the Lord,"—and, indeed, most frequently of all the men of God in the Old Testament—and 'Ebed Elohim, "Servant of God," a designation used of him exclusively; but he is also called Nabi' by preëminence, the greatest among the prophets on account of the intimacy and familiarity of the intercourse he enjoyed with God, and on account of the clear directness which, in consequence, distinguished the revelation given to him. Moreover, his mission consisted, not merely in being a channel of the divine word, but in a unique, creative work—it was Moses who, through the divine word, introduced the divine rule in Israel.—*C. von Orelli, "The Old Testament Prophecy," pp. 125-6.*

(2) **The Personality of Moses.**—But there is also a general consideration which fully evinces the historical existence of Moses. If the events of that period are, as a whole, beyond dispute, they demand for their explanation such a personality as the sources give us in Moses. Everything shows that Israel in Egypt had no pretension to be a nation: its nationality had yet to be created. The spirit of national unity and self-assertion had yet to be breathed into the oppressed and enslaved masses which were in danger of losing their individuality. Such a work does not accomplish itself. It is only wrought when there is a personality behind the masses, towering above them, urging them on, setting on fire with its own holy enthusiasm the consciousness of nationality. Israel became a nation at the Exodus. Moses created it. Without him Israel would have remained what it was before.—*R. Kittel, "History of the Hebrews," Vol. I., p 240.*

(3) **The Work of Moses.**—The position of Moses is almost—if not entirely—unique in the history of the nations. An abjectly enslaved people owed to him the glorious reawakening of their race and the inauguration of their national independence. He found them in dire bondage, and he made them free; he found them broken hearted and in "anguish of spirit," and he breathed into them new and fresh courage; he found their great and ancient traditions almost forgotten amongst them, and he revived the glory of their past before their eyes with a view to the opening out of greater glories in the years to come; he found the original Yahveh worship of their bondage, and he breathed into their souls the inspiration of the true God with which he had been filled himself.—*G. Margoliouth in "The Expositor" for 1897, p. 122.*



Moses, the Man of God.

NOTE TRANSFERRED FROM LESSON 7.

The Character of the Sons of the Proph-ets.—All this is very different from the habits of the Seer, who had hitherto represented prophecy. He was solitary, but these went about in bands. They were filled with an infectious enthusiasm, by which they excited each other and all sensitive persons whom they touched. They stirred up this enthusiasm by singing, playing upon instruments, and dancing: its results were frenzy, the tearing of their clothes, and prostration. The same phenomena have appeared in every religion—in Paganism often, and several times within Christianity. They may be watched today among the dervishes of Islam.—*G. A. Smith, "Book of the Twelve Prophets," Vol. I., p. 21.*

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FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **INTRODUCTION—JEWISH INTERPRETATION.**—Chemistry and Astronomy, Divine and human book, The Rabbi and the Church, The two Jewish schools, Fantastic Rabbis, Philo's allegory, Church Fathers, Saint Paul.
2. **INTERPRETATION BY THE CHURCH FATHERS AND THE SCHOOLMEN.**—Clement, Justin Martyr and Trypho, Tertullian and Apostolic tradition, Origen's body soul and spirit of Scripture, Jerome's freedom and bondage, Theodore of Mopsuestia opposes Origen, DeLyra and the Jews.
3. **INTERPRETATATION FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.**—Church tradition and original language, The Vulgate and the Fathers, Luther indebted to Jews and they to Arabs, The infallible book, Scripture limits, Vowel-points, Old and New Testaments, Clear and obscure passages, Spinoza, Simon, Astruc, The Hebrew text not ancient, Man only an amanuensis.
4. **INTERPRETATION DURING THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.**—Ecclesiastical and theological freedom, Naturalism and supernaturalism, Destructive criticism, Text, Vocabulary, Syntax, Manners, etc., Historical setting, Jehovistic, Deuteronomic, and Priest's Codes, Graf, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Smith, Briggs, Driver.
5. **THE RELIGION OF THE PATRIARCHS.**—Different standpoints from which to view the religious developments of Israel, Worship before the time of the flood, Fundamental elements in the religion of the Old Testament, The significance of Abram's call, The three great periods of Israel's religious growth.
6. **MOSAISM.**—The origin of the sacred name *Jahveh*, The significance of the Exodus, The giving of the law, The three annual feasts in the Israelitish worship, The covenant renewed in Moab.

QUESTIONS.

1. *With what other sciences may interpretation be compared? What aspects of the Bible were overlooked? Why? With what result? Characterize the Palestinian School? What influence had Philo? What method of interpretation was used by the Apostle Paul?*

2. *What method was dominant among the Fathers and the Schoolmen? How was Rahab's scarlet cord interpreted? How did Trypho criticize Justin Martyr? What did Tertullian claim to be the test of Scripture-interpretation? What three senses did Origen attribute to Scripture? What qualifications did Jerome, the translator of the Vulgate, possess? What methods did Theodore of Mopsuestia favor? To what method did the Schoolmen conform? Characterize the entire period.*

3. *What two traits distinguished the interpretation of the Reformers? What became of the Vulgate? and of the Fathers? What part had Arabs and Jews played? How did Post-Reformation theologians resemble the Fathers? Who was the father of modern criticism? How old are existing Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament? Define the part of man and of God in the composition of Scripture as conceived in this period.*

4. *How may the Old Testament now be understood? What view of its origin did Kuenen hold? What may be urged to the contrary? Of what are critical views really destructive? Explain what progress has been made in (1) the text (2) the vocabulary, (3) the syntax, (4) the manners, customs, and geography, and (5) the historical setting of the Old Testament. Of how many elements is the Hexateuch composed? Name some eminent Biblical scholars.*

5. *What are the two main positions taken by the interpreters of Israel's religion? Have the sacrifices offered by the Antedeluvians special significance? What is the relation of Abraham to Israel? to Israel's religion? What are the three main divisions of Israel's religious history?*

6. *By what name was God known to the Patriarchs? What was its meaning? What was the name by which He was known to Israel? For what two things were the Israelites indebted to Moses? What took place at Sinai? in Moab?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

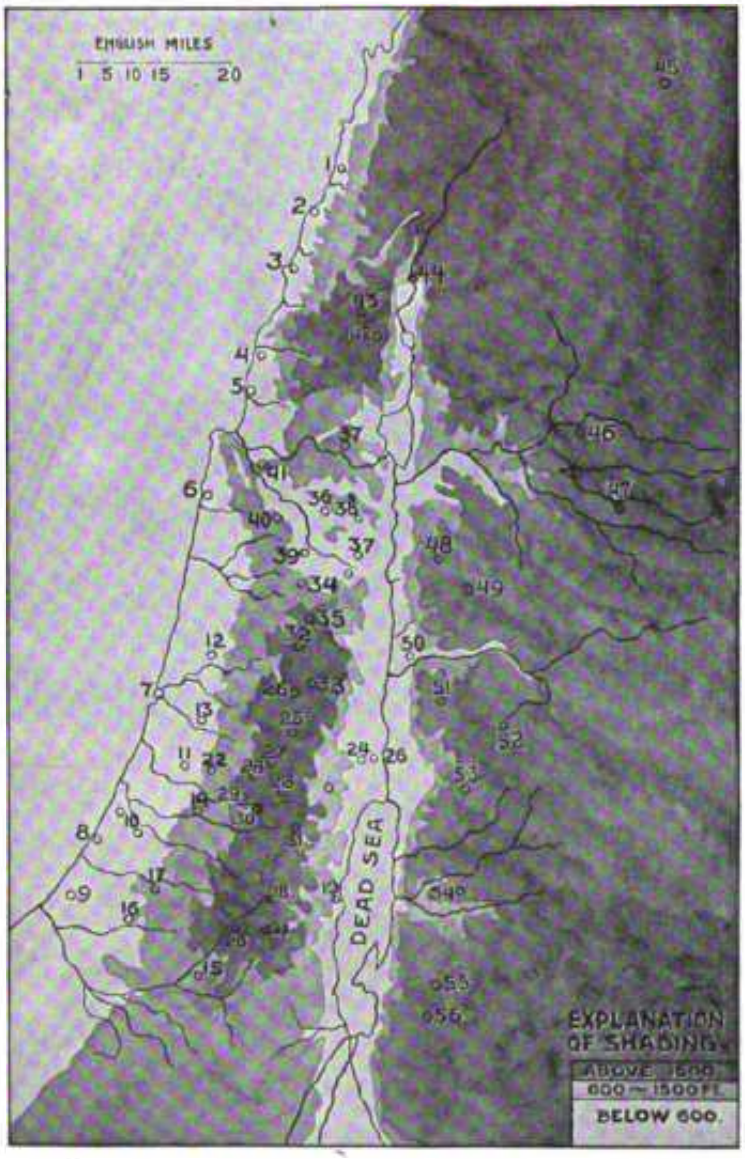
1. *Consider how the spirituality and nobility of the New Testament writers preserved them from current foibles in interpretation.*
2. *Find parallels in modern sermons to the Patristic errors of interpretation.*
3. *Find examples in recent sermons of faulty seventeenth and eighteenth century methods.*
4. *Consult the recent commentaries on the Bible for the results of modern methods on passages heretofore obscure to you.*
5. *The first beginnings of Monotheism. The historical character of Abraham as an actual personage.*
6. *The journeyings of Israel in the wilderness; but especially (a) the appropriateness of the laws contained in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, if given to Israel just about to enter Canaan from the south (as Moses doubtless supposed); (b) the fitting character of the laws in Deuteronomy if adopted thirty-eight years later by Moses to the new generation which had grown up in the desert.*

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7. THE PERIOD OF CONQUEST AND THE JUDGES.

War and Religion.—Joshua, the successor of Moses, was pre-eminently a warrior. War was necessary if Israel were to expel the Aborigines and take possession of Canaan. The period of Joshua, consequently, was naturally demoralizing for religion. War and religion do not usually (Islam excepted) go hand in hand. The history of Israel's settlement, therefore, is much more secular than sacred. It was the formative period of the nation. Peoples, with civilizations superior to their own, had to be conquered and assimilated. Too often the tribes showed the lack of national unity, by placing their own tribal interests before those of the nation. Too often, also, their defeat in battle caused certain of them to forsake *Jehovah*, their national God, and worship *Baal*. This accounts for the apparent syncretism of *Jahveh* and *Baal* worship in the times of the Judges.

The Tabernacle Set Up at Shiloh. — One event in the period under discussion was of supreme importance—the selection of a place for a central sanctuary. The tabernacle, containing the Ark of the Covenant, was carefully set up by Joshua in Shiloh (Josh. 18:1*f*). This act was in strict keeping with the commands of Moses, as given in Deuteronomy (*cf.* especially ch. 12:1*f*).



Physiographic Map of Palestine.

1 Sidon.
2 Sarepta.
3 Tyre
4 Achzib.
5 Accho.
6 Dor.
7 Joppa.
8 Ashkelon.
9 Gaza.
10 Ashdod.
11 Ekron.
12 Gilgal.
13 Lod.
14 Gath. (?)
15 Beer sheba.
16 Sharuhen.
17 Lachish.
18 Hebron.
19 En-gedi.
20 Debir.
21 Carmel.
22 Gezer.
23 Jerusalem.
24 Jericho.
25 Beth el.
26 Gilgal.
27 Gibeon.
28 Aijalon.
29 Zorah.
30 Kirjath-jearim.
31 Beth-lehem.
32 Shechem.
33 Shiloh.
34 Dothan.
35 Thebez
36 Shunem.
37 Beth-shean.
38 Ibleam.
39 Taanach.
40 Megiddo.
41 Harosheth
42 Hazor.
43 Beth Anath.
44 Dan.
45 Damascus.
46 Ashteroth-karnaim.
47 Edrei.
48 Jabesh Gilead. (?)
49 Mahanaim.
50 Succoth.
51 Penuel. (?)
52 Rabbath of Ammon.
53
54 Dibon.
55 Rabbath Moab. (?)
56 Kir of Moab

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Shiloh remained the center of Israel's worship for more than two centuries. During the period of the Judges there was, undeniably, religious declension on the part of some, but this was never true of the nation as a whole. There was never a time when the worship of *Jehovah* was wholly abandoned. The best of the nation were never guilty of *Baal* worship.

The Loss of the Ark to the Philistines.—In a moment of weakness, however, the leaders of Israel made a mistake, which cost them their ark—the sacred palladium of the nation (1 Sam. 4), and with it, logically, their central tabernacle, which, without the ark, remained no longer the dwelling-place of *Jahveh* (*cf.* Ps. 78:60). At this crisis a prophet was raised up who stayed Israel's complete political ruin as a people of *Jahveh*. That prophet was Samuel, next to Moses the most conspicuous personage in Israel's early religious history. To accuse Samuel of defection from the Mosaic law in the exercise of priestly prerogatives, in sacrificing elsewhere than at Shiloh, or in acquiescing in Israel's choice of a king, is to misunderstand the true character of Samuel's age, and the elastic provision of the law in Deut. 17:14-20. Samuel lived at a critical period in Israel's religious history—in some respects the most crucial through which the nation passed. The wisest counsel was needed in order to escape complete shipwreck. For nearly half a century Israel had been subservient to the Philistines; the ark remained in Kirjath-jearim. To the pious in Israel these events implied the withdrawal of *Jehovah's* presence from his people. Humanly speaking, Israel's only course lay in choosing a king. Such an act was in full harmony with the Deuteronomic law, as everybody well knew. Samuel's objection was in no sense directed against the idea of having a king *per se*, but rather against the people's *motive* in asking for such a king as Saul (1 Sam. 8:7); and the only excuse given in the story for his acquiescence was the divine command to let the stiff-necked people have their way. By doing so Samuel practically established the monarchy.

The Sons of the Prophets.—Samuel was Israel's last Judge. He was likewise the first of Israel's regular succession of Prophets. (1) He was the leader, perhaps also the founder, of the so-called "Schools of the Prophets" (1 Sam. 19:20). (2) In the schools at Ramah, Bethel, Gilgal, Jericho, Carmel, and Samaria, the prophetic gift was cultivated. Men formed themselves into guilds or companies, called the "Sons of the Prophets," were intense in their enthusiasm for *Jehovah* and love of country, and became the forerunners of the later prophets by going forth as teachers in Israel. Thus, religion began to take a firmer hold on the leaders of Israel. (3)

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7. THE PERIOD OF CONQUEST AND THE JUDGES.

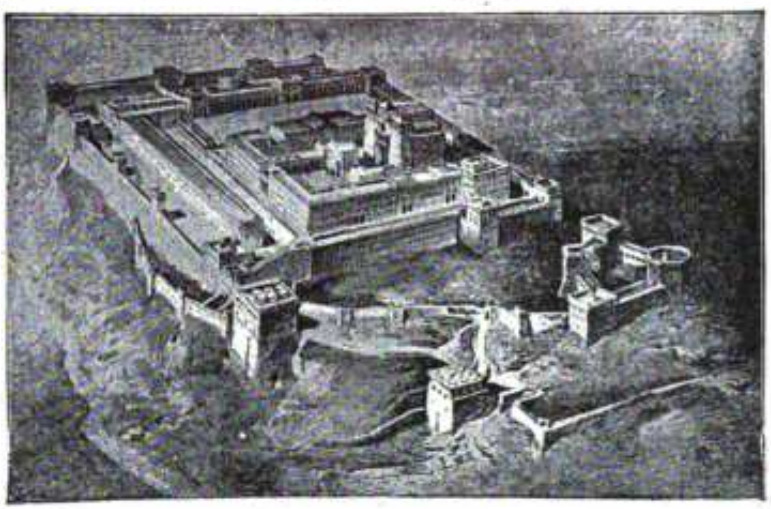
(1) **Early Prophecy in Israel.**—Among the Hebrews the *man of God*, to use his widest designation, is at first called *Seer*, or *Gazer*, the word which Balaam uses of himself. In consulting the Divine will he employs the same external means, he offers the people for their evidence the same signs, as do the seers or soothsayers of other Semitic tribes. He gains influence by the miracles, *the wonderful things*, which he does. Moses himself is represented after this fashion. He meets the magicians of Egypt on their own level. His use of *rods;* the holding up of his hands, that Israel may prevail against Amaleq; Joshua's casting of lots to discover a criminal; Samuel's dream in the sanctuary; his discovery for a fee of the lost asses of Saul; David and the images in his house, the ephod he consulted; the sign to go to battle *what time thou hearest the sound of a going in the tops of the mulberry trees;* Solomon's inducement of dreams by sleeping in the sanctuary at Gibeah—these are a few of the many proofs that early prophecy in Israel employed not only the methods but even much of the furniture of the kindred Semitic religions. But then those tools and methods were at the same time accompanied by the noble opportunities of the prophetic office to which I have just alluded—opportunities of religious and social ministry—and, still more, these opportunities were at the disposal of moral influences which, it is a matter of history, were not found in any other Semitic religion than Israel's. However you will explain it, that Divine Spirit, which we have felt unable to conceive as absent from any Semitic prophet who truly sought after God, that Light which lighteth every man who cometh into the world, was present to an unparalleled degree with the early prophets of Israel. He came to individuals, and to the nation as a whole, in events and in influences which may be summed up as the impression of the character of their national God, Jehovah: to use Biblical language, as *Jehovah's spirit* and *power*. — *G. A. Smith, "Book of the Twelve Prophets," Vol. I., pp. 16-18.*

(2)—*Cf. p. 451 last note.* (3)—*Cf. p. 453 last note.*

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8. DAVID AND SOLOMON.

The Ark Recovered by David.—Two events in particular render the period of David and Solomon religiously significant; the one accomplished by David was the fixing upon Jerusalem as the capital and the recovery of the ark from Kirjath-jearim. David was the first real king of Israel ("Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life," cf. 1 Sam. 7:15), because he was a man after God's own heart. Under Saul the nation had become somewhat unified, but he had died without subduing the Philistines or recovering the lost ark. This was accomplished by David. He repulsed the Philistines, extended the empire, recovered the ark, and centralized the national and religious life of Israel at Jerusalem. Through David, the city of the Jebusites became the city of God, of which the poets and prophets in Israel never tired to sing. He himself was the first great poet in Israel, for it is difficult to think that none of the seventy-three psalms ascribed to him is his. Like the beautiful and pathetic elegy on Saul and Jonathan (2 Sam. 1:19-27), his psalms express the deepest emotions of the heart. He was a man of deep piety and heartfelt religion. (1)



The Temple of Solomon.

The Temple Constructed by Solomon.—The other religious event of this period was the erection of the Temple by Solomon. David had planned to build a house for *Jehovah*, but was prevented by having been so continually engrossed in war. His son and successor, Solomon, was a man of peace. He inherited and maintained the empire of his father. He also enriched himself and his people through foreign commerce. But his greatest work was the erection of a House for *Jehovah*—a marvel of cost and beauty (1 Kings, 6:7). Into it the Ark of the Covenant was brought from the tabernacle which David had temporarily erected for it in the City of David. Here it once more found a home, until the downfall of the kingdom and the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar in 536 B.C.

Whether now Solomon erected the temple merely to adorn the capital, or from purely religious motives, is difficult to state. His motives may have been mixed; we cannot say. Solomon was a wise executive, but his wisdom was not alone that which cometh down from above. If, as is probably true, his chief reason for building the temple was to centralize the religion of his people, which during the loss of the ark had in point of ritual become demoralized, it is strange that he should have been induced so easily to indulge the religious fancies of his ever-growing *harem*, even building for them high places of worship upon the mountains about the capital (1 Kings, 11:7, 8). (2) By such flagrant violations of the law, he lost influence as a king, and sowed the seeds of schism and idolatry which ripened shortly after his death. Still, Solomon taught many wise precepts. It is, indeed, highly probable that many of the Proverbs ascribed to him came from his pen.

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The Priesthood.—It is difficult to think that there was no Levitical or Aaronic priesthood in Solomon's day. In Egypt, Israel must have become acquainted with priestly caste and ceremonies. Moses married a daughter of the priest of Midian. The history of the wanderings associates the establishment of the sacerdotal system in Israel with the covenant of Horeb. In the book of Joshua, priests are frequently described as bearers of the sacred ark; and Eleazar occupies a position similar to that accorded to Aaron in the Pentateuch (Josh. 14:1; 17:4; 19:51; 21:1). Phinehas, his son, is also mentioned with special emphasis (12:13, 30, 31); while Eleazar's death and burial are recorded as of peculiar importance (24:33). In the book of Judges the high priest inquires of God by Urim and Shummim (20:28). Micah secures a Levite to be his priest (ch. 17). In Samuel, the priesthood is identified with the house of Eli, and Abimelech is pictured as the head and representative (1 Sam. 22:11). Under David and Solomon, Zadok and Abiathar occupy the priestly office (2 Sam. 8:17), the former gaining the pre-eminence (1 Kings 1:19; 2:22-35) when the latter is thrust out by Solomon (1 Kings 2:27-35). (3) Hence, from this and similar evidence it is not required to suppose that the priesthood, with the high priest at its head, was the creation of later Judaism.

8. DAVID AND SOLOMON.

(1) **The Empire of David.**—The erection of the new capital at Jerusalem introduces us to a new era, not only in the inward hopes of the Prophet King, but in the external history of the monarchy. Up to this time he had been a chief, such as Saul had been before him, or as the kings of the neighboring tribes, each ruling over his territory, unconcerned with any foreign relations except so far as was necessary to defend his own nation or tribe. But David, and through him the Israelitish monarchy, now took a wider range. He became a King on the scale of the great Oriental sovereigns of Egypt and Persia, with a regular administration and organization of court and camp; and he also founded an imperial dominion which for the first time realized the Patriarchal description of the bounds of the chosen people. This imperial dominion was but of short duration, continuing only through the reigns of David and his successor Solomon. But, for the period of its existence, it lent a peculiar character to the sacred history. For once, the Kings of Israel were on a level with the great potentates of the world. David was an imperial conqueror, if not of the same magnitude, yet of the same kind, as Rameses or Sennacherib. "I have made thee a great name like unto the name of the great men that are in the earth." "Thou hast shed blood abundantly and made great wars." And as, on the one hand, the external relations of life, and the great incidents of war and conquest receive an elevation by their contact with the religious history, so the religious history swells into larger and broader dimensions from its contact with the course of the outer world. The enlargement of territory, the amplification of power and state, lead to a corresponding enlargement and amplification of ideas, of imagery, of sympathies; and thus (humanly speaking) the magnificent forebodings of a wider dispensation in the Prophetic writings first became possible through the court and empire of David.—*A. P. Stanley, "History of the Jewish Church," Vol. II., pp. 75-76.*

(2) **Solomon's Attitude Towards Religion.**—But amid the growing jealousy springing up from below, the inability of the monarchy salutarily to remove antiquated limitations which broke out as fresh evils, is most clearly visible in the treatment of one great principle connected with the predominant religion of that time. A greater freedom in religion was a necessity of the age. It can indeed by no means be shown from ancient authorities that Solomon, even in advanced life, ever left the religion of Jahveh, and with his own hand sacrificed to heathen gods. All traces of contemporary history extant testify to the contrary; and we still find an express statement that upon the altar which he erected to Jahveh he sacrificed thrice during the year (at the three great festivals) with all solemnity, as was indeed only becoming in a king such as he. But we must reflect that under him the kingdom of Israel had the strongest tendency to become an imperial power, and emancipate itself completely from all its ancient limitations. But in a prosperous empire, and especially in one which seeks its well-being in peace and commerce, the toleration of diverse religions is absolutely indispensable, for a government of this nature cannot desire any sudden change in the various tendencies and views of the people. Still less will it desire to destroy them with violence; and thus every form of religion was without doubt tolerated within the wide circumference of Solomon's kingdom. This is the true explanation why, in later life, as this tendency became more developed in his kingdom, he caused altars to Astarte, Chemosh, and Milcom for his Sidonian, Moabite, and Ammonite wives to be built on the mountain southeast of Jerusalem, below the Mount of Olives. This innovation was due neither to any desire to gratify a taste for building nor from any weak tenderness towards his foreign wives; but, from the position which the nation assumed, especially during the latter half of his reign, he could have no reason for not building such altars, nor could he give a better token that in his kingdom there was a universal religious tolerance, than by permitting his own wives to sacrifice to their national deities.—*H. Ewald, "History of Israel," 2d Edit., Vol. III., pp. 296-8.*

(3) **The Priesthood Under Solomon.**—Solomon, like his father David, certainly retained in his own hands the supervision of the Israelite priesthood, and, as we have seen, on suitable occasions probably acted himself as High Priest of his people. —*Ibid, p. 299.*

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9. PROPHECY IN ISRAEL (CIR. 1000-500 B.C.).

Schism under Rehoboam.—The Monarchy was of short duration. Scarcely had the nation become unified under David and Solomon before the processes of disintegration set in. Freedom in religion bred democracy in politics. Schism was the result. Rehoboam was more shortsighted than his father, and by making a single mistake found himself bereft of ten of the twelve tribes. With the exception of Judah and Benjamin, the people preferred the leadership and government of Jeroboam. They were also willing to accept of his state religion, for, in order to maintain his strength against the religious influence of the capital, he set up two steers in honor of *Yahveh* in Bethel and Dan, places already famous for religious associations (*cf.* 1 Kings 12). He also made priests of the people who were not of the Sons of Levi, and ordained a feast in the *eighth* month like unto the feast which his people had been accustomed to observe at Jerusalem in the *seventh* month (1 Kings 12:31, 32). From this time on, religion, throughout the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, but especially among the ten tribes of the northern kingdom, degenerated into formalism and idolatory. (1) and (2)



Group of Christian Children in Palestine.

Elijah.—But it was not God's purpose to be left without a witness. Israel might turn their backs upon *Jehovah's* dwelling-place; they might shut their eyes to the written law, but they could not close their ears to the warnings of an oral messenger who dared rebuke them face to face. The prophetic voice of Elijah is heard breaking the stillnes of Israel's night. He even warns the Monarch Ahab upon his throne, and rebukes his wicked Queen within the royal palace. Yet Israel persists in idolatory and sin. Elijah becomes hopeless of success. He feels himself alone on the side of *Jehovah*. Threatened by Jezebel, he flees to Horeb in the desert. He raises his complaint to God, and in that cry he gives a picture of the religious condition of his times. He sobs as he cries: "I have been very jealous for the Lord God of Hosts; for the children of Israel have forsaken thy covenant, thrown down thine altars, and slain thy prophets with the sword: and I, even I, only am left, and they seek my life to take it away." To whose melancholy complaint the Lord replies: "Yet I have left me seven thousand in Israel, all the knees which have not bowed unto *Baal*, and every mouth which hath not kissed him" (1 Kings 19:10, 18). Nothing could better reflect the religious condition of the ninth century B.C.

Amos and Hosea.—Baal worship in the northern kingdom was more and more substituted for the worship of *Yahveh*. Dynasties rose, flourished, and passed away. Under Jeroboam II. (783-743 B.C.) the northern kingdom achieved its greatest

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prosperity. Still Israel persisted in apostasy from *Jehovah*. The Assyrians were sent to rebuke them; yet they followed idols. At this juncture Amos and Hosea were sent—both to the kingdom of the ten tribes—to warn Israel of their approaching doom, and bring them back, if possible, to the worship of *Jehovah*. Amos cries, "Seek *Jehovah* and live" (5:4.6, 14); Hosea, "Return unto the Lord thy God. He will heal thy backsliding and love thee freely" (14:1, 4). But Israel was too deeply sunken into sin to be recovered. Her fate was drawing nigh. Finally, in 722 B.C., the ten tribes were carried captive to Assyria.

Isaiah and Micah.—The religious state of the southern kingdom was not quite so discouraging. Instead of a mixture of *Jahveh* and *Baal* worship, as in Israel, the religion of Judah was rather an empty and heartless ceremonialism in honor of *Yahveh*. Hosea had exclaimed as he saw the gravity of Israel's apostasy, "Though thou Israel play the harlot, yet let not Judah offend" (4:15); whereas, Isaiah rebukes the people of Judah by asking, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me?" (1:11). The one was desertion, the other empty ceremonialism. Under Jotham and Ahaz there was little hope of reform; but Hezekiah was more susceptible to the influence of Isaiah, and became a faithful worshiper of *Jehovah*. He even undertook to reform the cultus of Judah. "He removed the high-places, and broke the images, and cut down the groves, and broke in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made: for unto these days the children of Israel did burn incense to it, and he called it Nehushtan. He trusted in the Lord God of Israel: so that after him was none like him among all the kings of Judah, nor any that were before him" (2 Kings 18:4, 5). By this reformation he postponed the fate of his kingdom. Unfortunately its effect was not permanent; but Isaiah, and his younger contemporary, Micah, never ceased to urge Judah to repent. The voice of the one cried, "Come now, let us reason together" (Isa. 1:18); the voice of the other, "What doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" (Micah 6:8).

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9. PROPHECY IN ISRAEL (CIR. 1000-500 B.C.).

(1) **The Religious Life of the Northern Kingdom.**—The split in the kingdom divided the religious Israel, as it did the political, into two camps. In the Northern Kingdom Jeroboam could appeal to the fact that the divine worship which he gave to his kingdom was, both as regards locality and the form in which it was celebrated, in harmony with the past traditions of a considerable part of Israel. Bethel and Dan were, as sanctuaries of Yahvé, far older than Jerusalem; and though He had not necessarily been worshiped hitherto under the symbol of bulls, still the worship of images had not been anything particularly rare. Thus the cry, "These are thy gods which have brought thee out of Egypt," was intended to remind Israel that what Jeroboam offered them did not pretend to be anything new, but was a return to something widely practiced long ago in Israel.

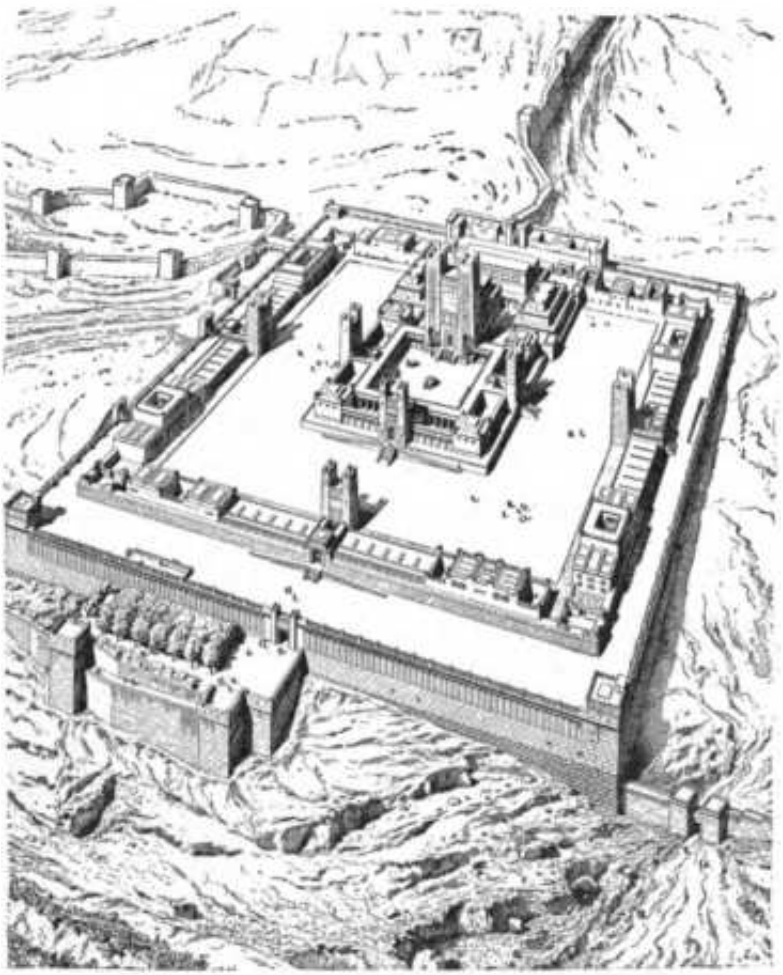
We can therefore scarcely go wrong in supposing that the worship of the kingdom of Ephraim occupied the same level as *the worship on the high-places and the "serving" of images* in the age before the kings, and in the early years of the period of the kings. The brief and very general terms in which our Book of Kings refers to religious matters in the Northern Kingdom makes it difficult for us to form a definite picture of them. Still it is possible to fix some of its features. Bethel and Dan are merely the principal, but not the only sanctuaries of the Northern Kingdom; the former possesses a splendid temple which is under the special patronage of the king. The same was probably the case with Samaria. Besides these, the sanctuaries of Gilgal, Beersheba, Mizpah, and those on Mount Tabor and Mount Carmel are held in special veneration, and, very probable, too, places such as Shechem, Penuel, and Succoth. So far as its priesthood was concerned, Levitical descent is not considered an absolutely necessary qualification for office. There is no want of sacrifices and crowded festivals. Sabbaths and new moons are strictly celebrated; the tithe is dutifully rendered to Yahvé.—*R. Kittel, "History of the Hebrews," Vol. II, pp. 304-5.*

(2) **Religion in Judah.**—We are little better informed regarding the Kingdom of Judah at this period than we are regarding that of Israel. It was its good fortune to have the Temple and its worship of Yahvé without any image, which it continued to preserve, although, perhaps, not without some curtailment, after the separation from Ephraim. Its priesthood is in the hands of the family of Zadok, who retained it until the time of the Exile. As Solomon did himself, his successors claimed the right to offer sacrifices without the intervention of the priesthood. At a latter period great offence was taken at this, but is very questionable if their contemporaries, too, objected to it. Besides Jerusalem, there are here and there in the country local sanctuaries, called Bamôth, where Yahvé is worshiped without protest.—*Ibid, p. 308.*

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10. RELIGIOUS DECLENSION IN JUDAH FROM 722 TO 586 B.C.

Comparative Exile.—The whole period between the downfall of Samaria in 722, and the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., was one of gradual dissolution. During these 136 years Judah dragged out a most miserable religious existence. Politically, too, she was a vassal state, first to Assyria, and then, after the overthrow of Nineveh in 606, to Babylon. She lived merely by the grace of her eastern enemies. In 701 Judah lost everything but her capital. This fact has an important bearing upon one's interpretation of the much-disputed prophecies of Isaiah, viz., chaps. 13-23, 24-27, 34-39, but especially chaps. 40-66. In the present opinion of the writer these prophecies do not show a background of *absolute* exile, but of *comparative* exile—such, *e.g.*, as Judah experienced in the closing years of the eighth century. By promising the people of Jerusalem that God would not cast off his people, and that those already in banishment should return, the prophet Isaiah stayed the imminent fate of a despairing people on the very verge of surrender. Read, therefore, in the light of Judah's *comparative* exile, the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah were of the most practical character for Judah in the trying circumstances of vassalage to the cruel Assyrian.



The Temple of Jerusalem, according to Ezekiel.

The Reformation of Josiah (621 B.C.)—The successors of Hezekiah, *viz.*, Manasseh and Ammon were both disloyal to the worship of *Jehovah*. Through them the influences of Assyrian idolatry preyed more and more upon the vitals of the nation's quivering religious life. But the pious in Judah still remained faithful to *Jehovah*. Josiah became king when he was but eight years of age (640 B.C.). Two prophetic voices were raised in the early years of his reign against Assyria, by Zephaniah and Nahum. A little later (626) Jeremiah was called to the prophetic office. These, together prepared the way for Josiah's reformation. It is difficult to say what gave

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the king his first impulse to reform the religion of Judah, but it is evident that he had already begun before the book of the law was found by Hilkiah in the temple (*cf.* 2 Kings 22:5; 2 Chron. 34:3). The discovery of this *ancient* (2 Kings 18:13) roll, however, had a mighty effect upon the young king, causing him to destroy the high-places and put away all idolatry from the land. Moreover, he attempted to restrict all worship of *Jahveh* to Jerusalem, as Hezekiah, a century before, had tried to do, but without lasting effect; for, as soon as Josiah was dead, the people relapsed as before into the sins of idolatry. (1)

Jeremiah and Ezekiel.—Jeremiah had been preaching already five years when the book of the law was found, yet he never alludes to the discovery by Hilkiah (except it be in 15:16), nor hints that a reformation had taken place. He was pre-eminently a prophet of judgment. He pled with Judah as long as there remained any apparent hope of salvation for the nation (3:13, 22); but when he saw the storm-cloud gathering and every chance of deliverance cut off, he gave them over to their doom, but, at the same time, promised that they should return from captivity and be partakers of the *new covenant* (12:15, 29:14, 30:3, 31:31-37).

Habakkuk and Ezekiel were contemporaries of Jeremiah. The former prophesied against the Chaldeans in the closing years of the seventh century; the latter after the first captivity (597), on the banks of the river of Chebar, in Babylonia. Ezekiel's mission was twofold: (1) to pacify his fellow exiles, who were eager to return to the dissolving Judean state, and its tottering capital; and (2), when all was over, to outline for Israel the worship of their future church (Ezek. 40-48). For, in the year 586 B.C., Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, took Jerusalem; the temple was burned, the Ark of the Covenant was destroyed, and the land of Judah became a desolation.

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10. RELIGIOUS DECLENSION IN JUDAH FROM 722 TO 586 B.C.

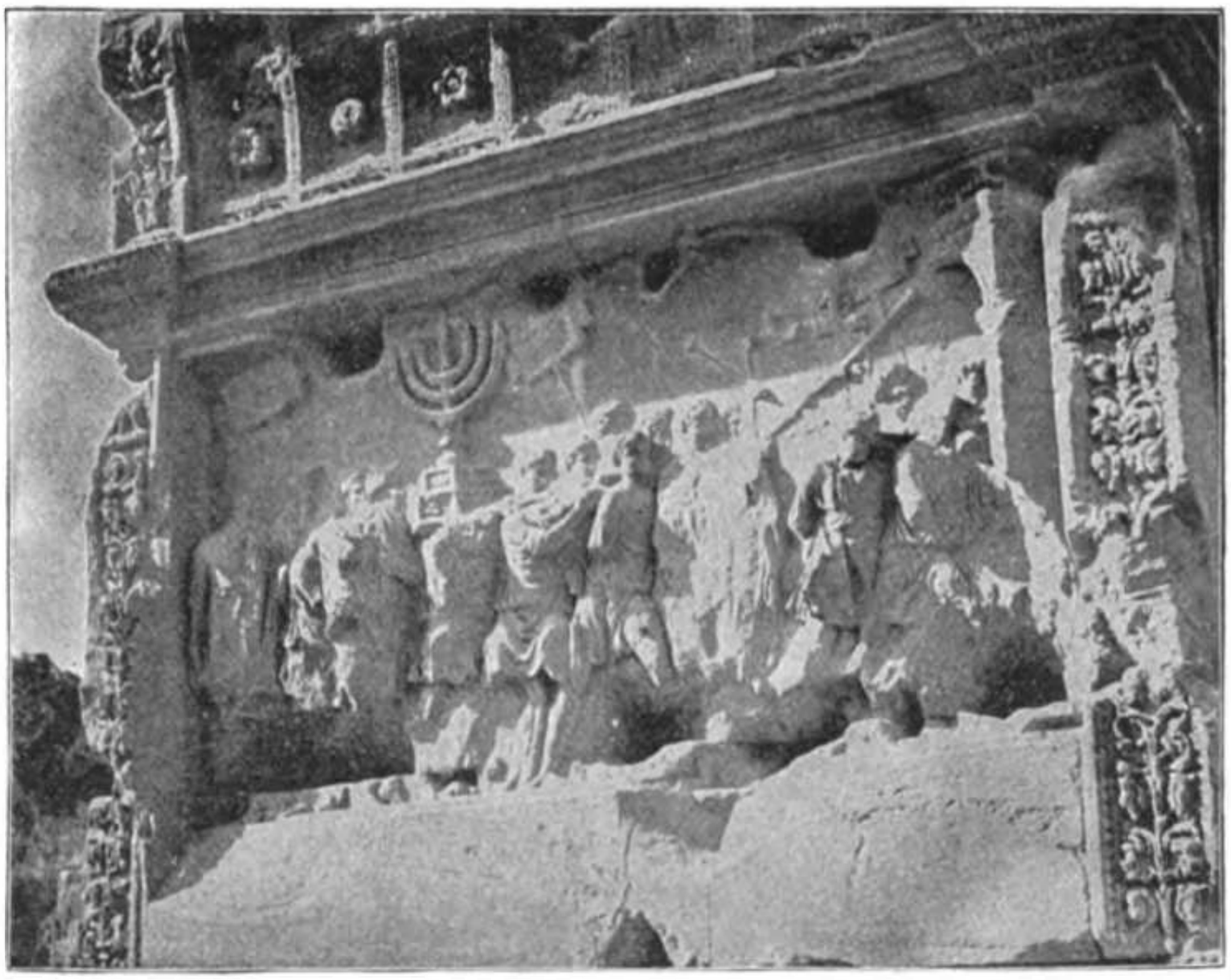
(1) **Two Religions of Jehovah.** — It is not quite easy to gain a just conception of the religious condition of this time, or, indeed, of any time in the history of Israel. The traditional idea that Israel was perpetually falling into the worship of other gods than Jehovah is hardly correct. To understand the condition of religious thought among the people, we must go back to the beginning of the nation's history. The people, on entering Palestine, did not drive out the Canaanites or exterminate them; they settled down beside them in many places (Judges i. 27-36), and virtually absorbed them. The Canaanites became Israelites. But in becoming Israelites the native populations could not but carry over into the life and thought of Israel much of their own debased religion and morals. Further, the tribes of Israel, in their isolation from one another and distance from the central sanctuary, found places of worship ready to their hand in the native *high-places*. These they adopted as sanctuaries of Jehovah worship. It is proof of the vigor of the Jehovah religion that it did not succumb before the worship of the native Baals. The Israelites, except in isolated localities, did not become worshipers of Baal; the Canaanites became worshippers of Jehovah. It could not but be that a religion of Jehovah would thus arise which was debased by many Canaanitish elements. Two religions of Jehovah thus existed side by side, a higher and a lower: the pure religion of Mosaic Israel, and the debased religion arising through amalgamation with the native population. In the latter there was an assimilation of the worship of Jehovah to the native worship, and consequently an obscuration of the lofty ethical conception of the God of Israel, who sank down nearly to the level of a nature-god, whose office was to give the people "their bread and water, their wool and flax, their oil and their drinks" (Hos. ii. 5). The conception which masses of the people had of Jehovah was one which He could not recognize as the conception of *Him;* hence He says in Amos v. 5: "Seek Me, and seek not unto Bethel." Ostensibly and in name the people worshiped Jehovah, but the conception they had of Him and the service they rendered Him were proper rather to Baal. Nevertheless, the ancient Mosaic conception of the God of Israel and knowledge of him still lived. It animated the prophets, and no doubt many more in all ages. The prophets, in seeking to inspire men with a purer idea of God, are all conscious that they are no innovators. They stand on the old paths. Jehovah as they conceive Him is the historical God of Israel (Hos. xiii 4). It is the people who have changed (Is. i. 4; Jer. ii. 5-8).

Thus a conscious antagonism between two parties pervades the history of Israel, and fills the pages of all the prophets. It is an antagonism between two conceptions of Jehovah, and two ways of serving Him. . . . In religion they (kings of the house of Josiah) pursued the policy of *laissez-faire*, under which every man did that which was right in his own eyes. They were, however, all worshipers of Jehovah, God of Israel, the names they bore or assumed are all compounded with His name. No doubt it was the old traditional service of Him that they favored, as it had been practiced by Israel on the high places from time immemorial. — *A. B. Davidson, "The Exile and the Restoration," pp. 14-16.*

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11. THE EXILE AND THE RESTORATION (586-516 B.C.).

The Religious Discipline of Israel.—The history of Israel is one constant illustration of the Divine method of instruction. Thus, the slavery of Egypt, in which the Israelites were conscious of a common ancestry, but had no institutions expressive of national unity or organization, gave birth to the spirit of nationality. The desert wanderings, by which God chastened Israel as a man chasteneth his son (Deut. 8:5), feeding them with manna, that he might humble them, and that he might prove them, *to do them good in their latter end* (Deut. 8:16), was the discipline for their reluctance and unbelief at Kadesh-barnea; through it Israel was prepared for the successful conquest of Canaan. The loss of the Ark to the Philistines, though it estranged many from the true worship of *Jehovah* and deprived the pious in Israel of a central sanctuary, tended, nevertheless, to purify their religion of a persistent superstition which regarded the Ark as a kind of fetish and the temple as an asylum from the enemy, and so paved the way for that broad catholicity of later prophecy which allowed that incense and sacrifices might be offered *in every place* unto the name of *Jehovah* (*cf.* with Jer. 3:16 and 7:4, Mal. 1:11). It required, however, the actual destruction of Jerusalem to shatter the vain faith of those who trusted in the inviolability of the Temple and rid them of false views of worship and of God. For, "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth" (John 4:21, *cf.* Deut. 4:15, 23, 24). The Exile accomplished the Divine purpose. The nation, being now removed from home and sanctuary, began to study the true meaning of the religion of their fathers. It is possible also that some of the pious in Israel began to write in this period, though it is doubtful that the age was especially productive of literature. (1)



Candelabrum and Table of Shewbread, as represented on the Arch of Titus at Rome.

Zerubbabel and Joshua.—The half century between the downfall of Jerusalem (586) and the edict of Cyrus (536) witnessed the overthrow of Babylon by the Medes and Persians (539), but as far as we know the age produced no great religious leaders. When, however, Israel's discipline was over, and the edict of Cyrus went forth that the Jews dispersed throughout Babylon might return to their own land, forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty, under Zerubbabel and Joshua, set out for Jerusalem. Zerubbabel was the civil head of the new community, and Joshua the ecclesiastical (Ezra 1 and 2).

The Temple Rebuilt.—The purpose of the new colony was to rebuild the city

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and the temple. They cleared away the rubbish and builded the altar of the God of Israel (Ezr. 3), planning to go forward with the reconstruction of the temple. But they were opposed by the Samaritans, who, offended because they were denied the right of assisting in building the sacred edifice, in order to retaliate sent letters to the king of Persia, and accused the new colonists of disloyalty to the central government (Ezra 4). This delayed the work for about sixteen years. Meanwhile the new congregation in Jerusalem became so engrossed in self-aggrandizement and personal gain that they cared no longer for temple building. About this time (520 B.C.) two prophets arose, the aged Haggai, and his younger contemporary, Zechariah, whose mission was to inspire the new colony to complete the sanctuary of Jehovah. (2) For four and a half years the work went steadily forward, without further opposition from the throne, and in the year 516 the house, inferior as a building to the temple of Solomon, yet filled with heavenly glory (Hag. 2:3, Zech. 2:5), was dedicated to the worship of *Jehovah.* With the completion of the temple the "seventy years" predicted by Jeremiah (29:10*f*) were fulfilled (586-516). The movement had been national, as well as religious, and gave rise to the so-called post-exilic hierarchy.

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11. THE EXILE AND THE RESTORATION (586-516 B.C.).

(1) **Meaning of the Fall of the State.**—The fall of Judah was the triumph of Jehovah. If when other peoples perished their gods sank with them, Jehovah rose the higher over the ruins of Jerusalem. He was seen to be the God of Righteousness, the moral Ruler of the world—

> Jehovah of Hosts was exalted in judgment,
> And the Holy God sanctified in righteousness
> (Is. v. 16).

This was the Jehovah of the prophets. As for the Jehovah of the masses and the false prophets, the mere national Deity of Israel, he had succumbed before the gods of Babylon. And possibly many of the less instructed of the people fell, for a time at least, into such perplexity that all faith in the name of "Jehovah" was extinguished. And naturally, if to the prophets and those of like mind with them Jehovah had triumphed, in the eyes of the nations He had suffered a defeat. The idea of a God exercising a moral rule over His own people would not occur to the heathen, and they judged that Jehovah was weak and unable to protect His people—"These are the people of Jehovah, and they are gone forth out of his land" into exile (Ezek. xxxvi. 20). The revelation of Jehovah to the nations had suffered an eclipse. His star had sunk with that of His people. This was felt by prophets like Ezekiel. Yet the obscuration was but temporary. The Lord would build up Zion and appear in His glory (Ps. cii. 16). When He restored His repentant people His glory would be revealed, and all flesh would see it together (Is. xl. 5). Then both His power and His moral rule would be made manifest to the eyes of the nations (Ezek. xxxix. 25 29).

These are prophetic ideas. History suggests a third. Though the destruction of the state might appear the greatest calamity that could befall the Kingdom of God, it was in its effects the greatest step towards Christianity taken since the Exodus. For first, it divorced, for a time and in idea at least, religion from ritual and sensuous worship and made it a thing altogether of the mind. The life of prophets and people become one of faith absolutely (John xvi. 7); and the religious mind, no more hampered by local limitations and traditions, was free to pursue its ideals and project them upon the screen of the future; and to this is due the purity and spiritual elevation of the religious aspirations that belong to the period of the Exile. Again, the idea of a mere God of the nation had been buried in the ruins of the state. The idea, necessary to begin with, must give place to ideas more advanced, at once wider and more inward. Though the people had perished the individuals remained, and Jehovah remained, and thus religion became a thing of the individual mind. The old covenant made with the people in a mass gave place to the new covenant, the tables of stone to a law written on the heart of each (Jer. xxxi. 31). The individual rose to the consciousness of the worth of his own personal spirit, and the joy of a personal relation to God. And religious individualism is religious universalism. The death of the people was the birth of the individual, and the ruin of the State the rise of the Church.—*A. B. Davidson,* "*The Exile and the Restoration,*" *pp. 38-40.*

(2) **The Prophets Haggai and Zechariah.**—First of all, on the first day of the sixth month in the second year of the reign of Darius, arose Haggai. He was to all appearance a prophet already far advanced in years, and one of the very few who had seen the Temple of Solomon and still survived. He regarded the very disasters which the people had experienced for many years in the cultivation of the soil as a proof of the divine displeasure already incurred by the growth and spread of selfishness. He therefore exhorted them all, but especially the two leaders, Zerubbabel and Joshua, to take up the building of the Temple once more with greater zeal; and when the simple words of his admonition took effect, he promised the immediate advent of better times. In the beginning of the eighth month of the same year appeared Zechariah, with similar exhortations. He was certainly a much younger man than Haggai, not born before the Babylonian period, and of priestly family. He is the first in whom we can distinctly trace any powerful influence of the civilization of Eastern Asia, in the representations and figures in which he has no hesitation in allowing his imagination to clothe itself on suitable occasions. —*H. Ewald,* "*History of Israel.*" *Vol. V., p. 109.*

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12. JUDAISM (CIR. 500 B.C.—70 A.D.).

The Post-Exilic Congregation.—The devout enthusiasm kindled at the time of the temple-building by Haggai and Zechariah was unfortunately effervescent. The theocratic spirit steadily declined, and consequently the whole community slowly degenerated. The colony grew, however, it is true, by means of the numerous accessions of escaped Israelites who came in from various directions. Many may never have left Palestine at all; for there seems to be some truth in the theory of Kosters, viz., that the temple was built by the people whom Nebuchadnezzar had left behind in the land (*cf.* "Het Herstel van Israël," W. H. Kosters, Leiden, 1894).

Reformation Necessary.—Little is related in the Old Testament of the period between the completion of the temple (516) and the arrival of Ezra with fifteen hundred volunteers, who came to Jerusalem to reinforce the new religious community (458). We can only conjecture what must have been the religious life of those fifty-eight years from the conditions which emerge in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah. That the colony did not appreciate the greatness of its mission is clear from their intermarriage with the natives — Ammonites, Arabians, etc., — their adoption of foreign customs and religion, and the worldliness of the priesthood.



Mount Gerizim.

Ezra and Nehemiah.—Ezra, a priest of the family of Zadok, came to Jerusalem in order to bring gifts to the temple, regulate its services, and instruct the people in the Law of Moses (Ezr. 7:25, 26). But he was temporarily diverted from his purpose by what appeared to him to be a menace to the community—intermarriage with the heathen. The idea of religious exclusiveness seemed to him to be fundamental. He, therefore, commanded that the guilty should put away their foreign wives, and so respect one of the most important statutes of Mosaism. This injunction naturally caused dissatisfaction; but, for the time at least, Ezra succeeded. It was next resolved, in order to secure religious exclusiveness, to build a wall about the city (Ezr. 4:12). But the protracted wars between Persia and Greece rendered it quite impossible to construct anything in the West which had the appearance of a fortification. (1) Later, however, in the year 445 B.C., with the permission of the king, it became a fact. Nehemiah, the cup-bearer to Artaxerxes, obtained authority to perform the work. His mission was political. He proceeded with the utmost caution. When, however, he had once made a begin-

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ning, he prosecuted his task in spite of opposition. In fifty-two days the walls were up and the work complete (*cf.* Neh. 6 and 12). In the autumn of the following year (444) an event of even greater importance took place—the introduction of the Law (*cf.* Neh. 8 and 9). Ezra read the law from a pulpit temporarily constructed in the open streets of Jerusalem, in the hearing of all the people; and when he had finished, it was ratified by them in solemn covenant. Nehemiah returned subsequently to the court of Persia. (2) and (3)

The Prophet Malachi.—Prophecy was nearly exhausted. Nehemiah's stay in the East was brief. He hastened to return to Jerusalem in order to assist Malachi and Ezra in their reformation of the religious practices of Jerusalem. It was also a reformation of religious indifference, which, having arisen first in loss of faith and zeal on the part of the priests, had percolated every stratum of society. Such a reformation required the greatest courage and demanded the strongest personalities. Malachi, the prophet, and Nehemiah, the cup-bearer, were of this type, and their purpose was accomplished.

The Samaritan Sect.—One important result of this reformation was the expulsion of a priest (*cf.* Neh. 13: 28) guilty of intermarriage with the heathen, who betook himself to Samaria and organized (it is supposed) the Samaritans into an independent religious community. This sect accepted of the Jewish Law, built a temple on Mount Gerizim, and have remained ever since an independent and exclusive religious community, numbering to-day about three-hundred souls.

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12. JUDAISM (CIR. 500 B.C.—70 A.D.).

(1) **The Movement Under Ezra.**—We must consider the movement under Ezra as much a national one as that under Zerubbabel. The families from which Ezra's one thousand five hundred men were drawn were the same as those which furnished contingents to the first return. The gifts entrusted to Ezra for the Temple were of such value that the whole eastern Dispersion must have contributed to them. The negotiations between Artaxerxes and Ezra, and the Firman authorizing him to introduce the Law (vii. 13, 14), show that the king regarded the movement as an act of the Jewish nationality. The Persian rulers took almost as much interest in the religions of the nationalities subject to their sway as in their political behavior. They not only protected these religions, but subsidized them out of the provincial revenues, and bestowed rich personal gifts upon the temples. They desired to secure the favor of all the gods worshiped in their dominions (Ezra vii. 23). The monotheism of that age was not yet logical.—*A. B. Davidson, "The Exile and the Restoration," p. 91.*

(2) **Nehemiah's Personality and Work.**—Nehemiah is one of the most engaging personalities in the Old Testament, and the naive self-consciousness with which he dwells on his own characteristics and doings greatly adds to his attractiveness. He was self-contained and self-reliant, prompt in forming his resolutions, and determined and masterful in carrying them out. The moment he heard from his brother Hanani the deplorable condition of Jerusalem, his resolution was formed to seek leave from the king, though he had to wait several months for the opportunity (i. 1, ii. 1). On his arrival at Jerusalem he took a nocturnal ride round the city to see its condition for himself: "Neither told I any man what my God had put it into my heart to do" (ii. 12). Characteristic are the phrases he uses—"I consulted with myself" (v. 7); "I contended with the rulers" (xiii. 11, 17); and equally characteristic were his dramatic gestures when heated with altercation—"I shook out my lap, and said, So God shake out every man from his house and from his labor that performeth not his promise" (v. 13). The Tyrian fishmongers, who exposed their wares on the Sabbath, he threatened, saying, "Why lodge ye about the wall? If ye do so again, I will lay hands on you" (xiii. 21). And the threat was not an idle one. Finding in the country places some rustics who had married women of Ashdod, he thrashed them and plucked off their hair (xiii. 25). It has been said by some one that Ezra, when driven to extremities, plucked his beard, while Nehemiah in like circumstances plucked other people's beards. He was certainly as vigorous in action as he was resolute in temper.—*Ibid, pp. 98-99.*

(3) **The Effect of Introducing the Laws.**—In the position then occupied by Israel, one of the first and most significant consequences of the establishment of the hagiocracy was the final extinction of all the better prophecy. We have, indeed, already seen that even before the destruction of Jerusalem prophecy had attained the highest point within its reach in the course of the history of this people; for it was one of those elements of the life of Israel which could not rest until they had realized their own inner perfection. Nevertheless, the exceptional nature of the days of Israel's great trial, followed by its approaching release, roused it once again to powerful expression, as we have previously described; and then in the new Jerusalem prophecy strove to rise again quite after the ancient type, and on the sacred hearth of Zion itself its lightning flashed forth with considerable power yet once again in Haggai and Zechariah. But it could no longer flourish in its purest sphere of action as the creative source of the life and spirit of revealed religion where a sacred book already contained this revelation with sufficient detail and precision, and was regarded as the final authority.—*H. Ewald, "History of Israel," Vol. V., p. 175.*

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SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **THE PERIOD OF CONQUEST AND THE JUDGES.**—Religion in the time of Joshua, Shiloh the center of worship, The loss of the Ark, The creation of the monarchy by Samuel, The Sons of the Prophets.
8. **DAVID AND SOLOMON.**—The Ark established in Jerusalem, The erection of the Temple, The character of Solomon, The priesthood.
9. **PROPHECY IN ISRAEL.**—The schism under Jeroboam, Elijah, The religious condition of Israel in the time of Ahab, The mission of Amos and Hosea, The messages of Isaish and Micah.
10. **RELIGIOUS DECLENSION IN JUDAH FROM 722-586 B.C.**—The relation of Judah to Assyria, The reformation of Josiah, The influence of Jeremiah, Of Habakkuk, Of Ezekiel.
11. **THE EXILE AND THE RESTORATION.**—Examples of God's discipline of Israel, The lesson of the Exile, The mission of Zerubbabel and Joshua, The second Temple.
12. **JUDAISM.**—The character of the post-exilic colony, The reform of Ezra, Nehemiah's work, The Prophet Malachi, The origin of the Samaritan sect.

QUESTIONS.

7. *Was the period of Joshua favorable to religion? What was the significance of Joshua's setting up the tabernacle at Shiloh? Of the loss of the Ark? The character of the Sons of the Prophets?*

8. *What was David's contribution (a) to the political strength of Israel, (b) to their religious life? What was Solomon's share in the glory of Israel? Was it altogether for Israel's best religious welfare? The condition of the priesthood in the time of the Monarchy.*

9. *The immediate cause of schism between the tribes. Wherein did Elijah show courage? Cowardice? Which prophets labored in the Northern Kingdom? What were their respective messages? The effect of their preaching? Who were their prophetic contemporaries in Judah?*



Tomb of Joseph.

10. *On what grounds is the expression "comparative exile" to be justified? What bearing does it have upon our interpretation of Isaish 40:66? When did the reformation of Josiah find place? Its cause? Its effect? Who prophesied in the declining years of Judah's career? To what effect?*

11. *Illustrate how Jehovah disciplined Israel. Show the parts taken by Zerubbabel and Joshua in the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Which two prophets encouraged the people to rebuild the temple?*

12. *What was the tendency among the Jews after the restoration? Causes of growth? What is Koster's view? Who were the reformers of the fifth century B.C.? What was each one's share in the work? What was the origin of the sect called "Samaritans"?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Study especially the period just subsequent to the loss of the Ark, and its natural effect on Israel; also the similarities and differences between the "Sons of the Prophets" and modern Dervishes.*
2. *The age of David and Solomon compared with the period of the Judges. Observe carefully the importance of the temple as a conserving influence. Also the character of the priesthood.*
3. *Study the rise of prophecy. Compare it with heathen soothsaying.*
4. *Compare the records left by Sargon and Sennacherib with the Old Testament in order to get a true conception of the weakness of Judah in Isaiah's later years. Estimate with greatest care, also, the causes and effects of Josiah's reformation.*
5. *Study the conditions of the Exile as a period of literary production. Test the value of Koster's view that the temple was built by Israelites left in the land.*
6. *Point out Ezra's importance as scribe and reformer.*

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13. JUDAISM IN GRAECO-ROMAN TIMES (B.C. 333-70 A.D.).

The Diaspora.—Already in Persian times the Jews had begun to scatter; but under the influence of Greek culture and religion, their dispersion was far wider. Commercial interests attracted them into Asia Minor, Arabia, and Lower Egypt, especially to the city of Alexandria. The great significance of their dispersion becomes obvious when we remember that all these Jewish communities became later so many mission stations of Christianity. (1) and (2)

The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament.—The Jews who emigrated to Egypt learned to speak Greek (hence called *Hellenists* in Acts 6:1, 9:29, in distinction from the *Hebrews* who remained in Palestine); consequently, they felt the want of a Greek translation of the Mosaic law. This was begun in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (285-247 B.C.), and was the first translation ever made, not only of the Scriptures, but of any book.



Ruins of a Synagogue at Kefr Bir' Im.

Synagogues and Scribes.—In the development of Judaism, synagogues (though not intended to detract from the temple's rights) sprang up and became the chief centers of Jewish life and religion. "They that feared the Lord spake one with another" (Mal. 3:16). Regular instruction was provided by them at the hands of the Scribes, who now took the place of the prophets as the religious leaders of the nation. The result of this new system tended, on the one hand, to make religion an *individual* matter, but, on the other, caused it to degenerate into lifeless form and ceremony.

The Maccabean Age.—The history of the Jews from Nehemiah's time (cir. 445) down to the beginning of the second century B.C. is almost a perfect blank. Little is known of the real state of the Jewish religion during this period, except that the high-priest stood at the head of the state and gradually acquired more and more political power. Early in the beginning of the second century B.C. Palestine, which, from the time of the breaking up of Alexander's empire, had been under the rule of the Ptolemies of Egypt, became the possession of the kings of

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Syria and Babylonia. Antiochus Epiphanes began to rule in Syria 175 B.C. The priesthood in his time was exceptionally corrupt. The office was given to the highest bidder. Some even dared put their rivals out of the way in order to gain the position. Trouble and confusion ensued. The Jews became a burden to the state. Promised tribute failed to be paid to the king. Matters grew worse and worse. At last Antiochus determined to get rid of the difficulties by compelling the Jews to abandon their religion, and sacrifice to Pagan gods. Merciless persecutions were perpetrated in order to overcome persistent opposition. He introduced Greek customs and manners. He desecrated the altar of Jerusalem by causing sacrifices to be offered to Jupiter. He also caused the temple to be polluted. At length there was an uprising among the pious in Israel. Matthias, a priest of the Asmonean family, rallied the faithful of the people about him, overthrew the altars of the heathen, and then fled to the mountains and raised the standard of liberty. Bitter struggles ensued, in which Matthias' son Judas, called afterwards Maccabeus, from the initials of their Hebrew war-cry, "Mi-Ka-moka-Baelim-Ihovah=Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the Gods?" (Ex. 15:11), gained signal victory. The temple was purified, and the worship of *Jehovah* restored. The patriotic resistance of the Jews during this period against the Hellenizing tendencies of the king, furnishes one of the most heroic chapters in Jewish history (*cf.* I. and II. Maccabees).

The Roman Conquest (37 B.C.) was practically the continuation of Greek rule. Paganism still remained the Jews' religious foe. Herod the Great, an Idumean by birth, ruled as king of the Jews (B.C. 37–A.D. 4). He repaired the temple at lavish cost, making it gorgeously magnificent. But his love for the Jews' religion was only external. Even the Jews themselves were becoming stereotyped and formal, at least one party among them. The cleavage which had taken place long before between the conservative *Hebrews* on the one hand and the liberal *Hellenists* on the other was continued under the opposition of Pharisees and Sadducees. These, together with the Scribes, and an ascetic sect called Essenes, were the principal parties in Judaism in the time of our Lord. (3)

13. JUDAISM IN GRAECO-ROMAN TIMES (B.C. 333-70 A.D.).

(1) **The Dispersion.**—It is true, men usually took no account of the peculiarity of the Jewish faith and attached more value to the rites than to the ideas; it is true that Judaism became thus mixed, often in a very strange manner, with other forms of religion, to which it was diametrically opposed—but still the worship of the God of the Jews found warm friends and adherents on all sides. The number of those who were wholly or half converted gradually increased. As the patriotism of the Jews detached itself from its native soil without losing on that account its warmth and heartiness, so—and now in the most real sense—"from the rising of the sun even unto its going down, the name of Jahveh" became "great among the heathen," while at the same time the close relation between him and the people who for centuries had called themselves after him remained undisturbed.—*A. Kuenen, "Religion of Israel," Vol. III., pp. 167-8.*

(2) **The Multiplication of Synagogues.**—At Alexandria, at Rome, at Babylon there was no Temple. But in every one of those cities, and by many a tank or river-side in Egypt, Greece, or Italy, there was the same familiar building, the same independent organization, the same house for the mingled worship and business of every Jewish community. And thus, inasmuch as the synagogue existed where the Temple was unknown, and remained when the Temple fell, it followed that from its order and worship, and not from that of the Temple, were copied, if not in all their details, yet in their general features, the government, the institutions, and the devotions of those Christian communities which, springing directly from the Jewish, were in the first instance known as "synagogues," or "meeting-houses," and afterwards, by the adoption of an almost identical word, "Ecclesia," "assembly-house."—*A. P. Stanley, "History of the Jewish Church," Vol. III., p. 109.*

(3) **The Rise of Parties in the Maccabean Age.**—It will be remembered that the form of government of the Jews underwent no real change by the transfer of the supreme power from the Persians to the Greeks. Both before and after this the executive power was in the hands of the High-priest, who exercised it, at all events from the third century B.C., in conjunction with the *Gerousia* (=Council of Elders). The high priestly and other families of distinction formed together *the* ruling *aristocracy*. Opposed to it, among the Jews as elsewhere, there were the *people*.—*A. Kuenen, "Religion of Israel," Vol. III., p. 118.*

So the germs of faction were already in existence among the Jews before the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. Or rather, the priestly aristocracy and the commoners, the latter led by the Scribes, already stood opposed to each other.—*Ibid., p. 119.*

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14. JESUS THE PREDICTED MESSIAH.

The Religion of the Old Testament Unique Among the Religions of the World. —By means of its predictions of Hope, Prophecy prepared the way for a new dispensation. No other religion ever predicted the coming of its central Figure. Zoroaster, Buddha, Confucius, Mohammed appeared suddenly; Jesus Christ, on the contrary, was predicted centuries before he came. To the pious Israelite the hope of a coming Deliverer was constantly before his mind, increasing in clearness as age succeeded age. At length the Messiah came, as we believe, in the person of Jesus Christ.

Messianic Prophecy —To follow the course of Messianic prediction in the Old Testament is like stepping from hill-top to hill-top, and from one mountain peak to another. The *protevangelium* of all prediction is found in Gen. 3:15, which assured the Antedeluvians that the seed of the woman would bruise the head of the serpent. Redemption would come through the seed of the *race*. This was only generic. After the flood Noah blessed Shem, saying: that God should "dwell in the tents of Shem" (Gen. 9:26, 27)—a *family* selection, the *Shemites*. When God called Abraham out of Ur, he blessed him, and promised to make him a blessing to others (Gen. 12:1, 2)—a *national* selection, the *Hebrews*. Jacob blessed Judah, declaring that the sceptre should not depart from Judah until Shiloh came (Gen. 49:10)—a *tribal* selection, the tribe of *Judah*. These were the first dim gleams of hope as seen from the Patriarchial hill-top.

The vision of Moses was clearer. He confirms the promises made to the Patriarchs of God's selection of Israel in Ex. 4:22, 19:6, but goes farther. For the first time in the history of revelation, Moses sees the Messiah as a *Person*: "I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren like unto me" (Dt. 18:18). This describes his individuality.

David's picture is composite. His vantage-ground is higher than that on which Moses stood. First, he sees him as King seated on the right hand of God (Ps. 110:1); then as Priest after the order of Melchizedek (Ps. 110:4); as the Son of God (Ps. 2:7); as wedded to the nations, bringing grace to all (Ps. 45:12), and as ruling peacefully from sea to sea (Ps. 72:1*f*).

The Prophets stood not on hill-tops, but mountain-peaks. Amos and Hosea promised a restoration of all things. Isaiah furnishes a marvelous portrait of the Messiah. He names him Immanuel (Isa. 7:14); Wonderful Counsellor (9:6, 7), and clothes him with attributes of wisdom and understanding (11:1, 2). Micah designates the place of his birth—"But thou Bethlehem Ephratah" (5:1). These were the visions of eighth century prophets.

On the second mountain-peak the visions are those of prophets who lived either in comparative or actual exile. Thus, when the nation was being lacerated by the Assyrian, Isaiah saw the Messiah wounded for our transgressions and bruised for our iniquities (Isa. 53:1*f*). A century later, when the kingdom of Judah was rapidly sinking into decay and the flower of the nation were being carried away to Babylon, Jeremiah beholds the Messiah as a Branch of Righteousness growing up out of the stump of the dying House of David (Jer. 23:5, 33:15); finally, Ezekiel, who labored among the dispersed of Israel, pictures Him as a Good Shepherd gathering his scattered sheep (Ezek. 34:11, 12). All these portraits reflect admirably the circumstances of their times.

On the last and highest mountain-height stood Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. Haggai emphasized the catholicity of divine grace (Hag. 2:7). Zechariah reaches the climax of Messianic promise. He takes the "foundation" stone of Isa. 28:16, and makes Him the cap-stone of God's spiritual temple (Zech. 4:7). The Kingly "Branch" of Isa. 11:1 and Jer. 23:5, 33:15, he enthrones as Priest—a thought foreign to earlier writers (Zech. 3:8, 9, 6:12, 13). The "King of Peace" (Psa. 72:1*f*)

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he sees riding humbly into Jerusalem upon an ass (Zech. 9:9, 10). Ezekiel's "Shepherd" he beholds betrayed for thirty pieces of silver (Zech. 11:12, 13), pierced also by his nation (12:10), smitten by the sword of the Almighty (13:7), but in him a fountain opened for sin and for uncleanness (13:1). And then just before the voice of prophecy is forever hushed, Malachi, the last of the prophets, declares the coming of Elijah as the forerunner of the Angel of the Covenant, who should suddenly come to his temple (Mal. 3:1-3, 4:5). With this the book of Messianic prediction is closed.

Turning to the New Testament, prophecy becomes history. Jesus Christ is the predicted Messiah. Born of the seed of the woman, a Semite, a Hebrew, "the Lion of the tribe of Judah"; a Prophet like unto Moses; Priest, King, the Son of God; Immanuel, Wonderful, clothed with wisdom; born in Bethlehem, an obedient and suffering servant, a Branch of the decaying House of David; the Good Shepherd, betrayed by Judas, pierced by his nation, smitten with the divine permission, but in him a fountain opened for sin and for uncleanness. What an apologetic for Christianity! (1) and (2)

The Downfall of the Jewish Nation.—The birth of Christianity was the death of the Jewish State. The nation rejected Jesus. Roman law and Jewish faith repeatedly collided. Judaism was too proud to yield her national and religious freedom. Rome was too strong to tolerate their retention of it. Struggle was inevitable. Finally, in the year 70 A.D., the Romans under Titus besieged and took Jerusalem, and with it destroyed the Jewish *nation;* but they could not destroy Judaism. The Jewish *nation* succumbed: the Jewish religion survived. (3)

14. JESUS THE PREDICTED MESSIAH.

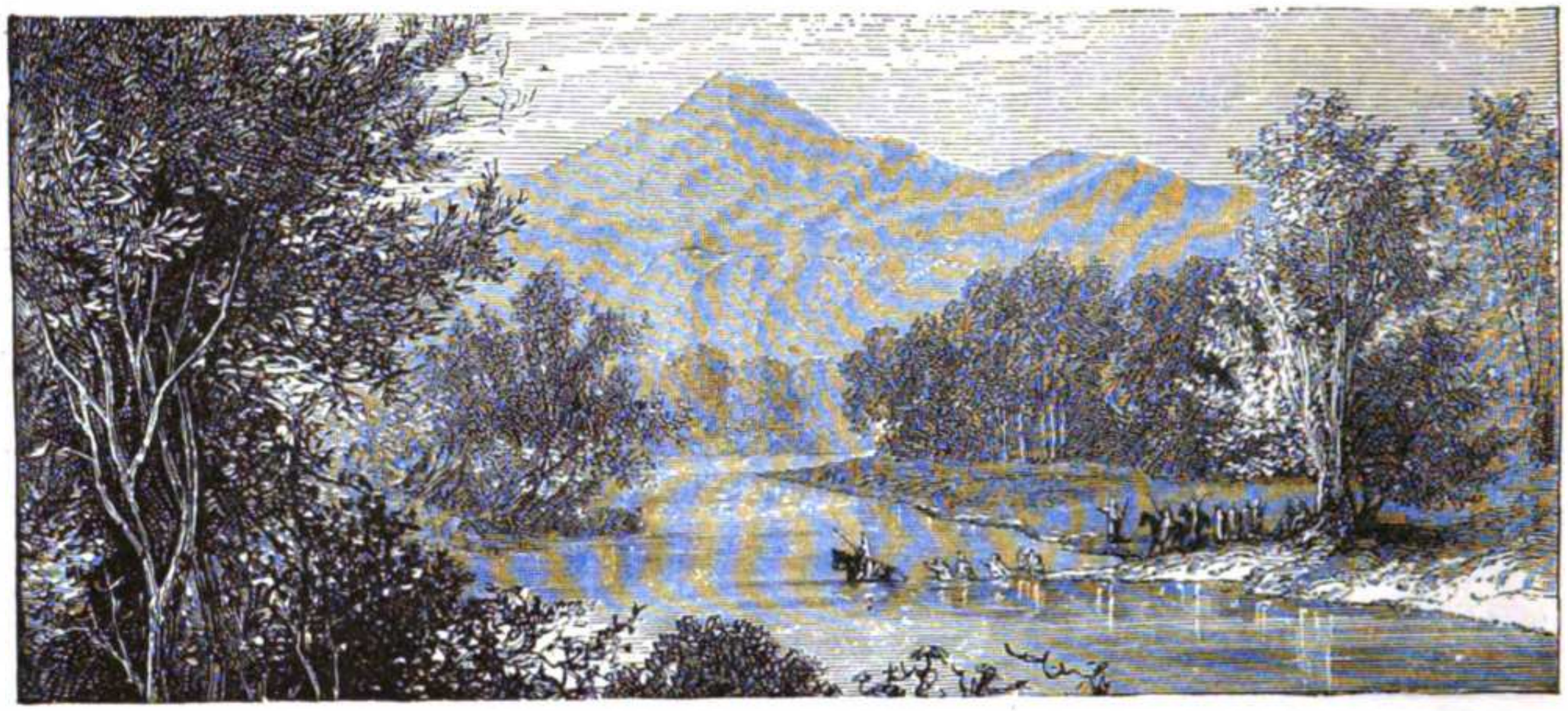
(1) **The Goal of Old Testament Prophecy.**—Prophecy was no premature unrolling of the history of the future to gratify an idle curiosity; it was never separated from its ethical end. But from first to last it pointed forward to a great divine purpose slowly being evolved in the course of ages, to "some far-off divine event," towards which the history of Israel and the history of the world were moving. At one time that event seemed close at hand, as though the clouds might break at any instant and reveal the splendor of the divine presence; and then the hope was disappointed only to be reaffirmed with fresh confidence. Some partial accomplishment of promise served as an earnest of greater things to come, and gave assurance that it must yet find a more complete fulfillment. But who could rise from the study of the Old Testament prophets if the history of their hopes had finally ended there, without a keen sense of disappointment and failure? as one who might find in some lonely desert the foundations of a vast building laid, and costly materials prepared in abundance, with plans and sketches suggestive of majestic perfection, but all abandoned, unused, forgotten.—*A. F. Kirkpatrick, "The Doctrine of the Prophets," 1 Edit., p. 515.*

Then in the fullness of the times, the Christ came, gathering up into Himself and uniting in His own Person all those lines of prophecy which had seemed so strangely inconsistent and irreconcilable, filling them with a new meaning, vivifying them with a new energy. Here was the answer to all men's hopes; nay, vastly more; a combination, unique, unthought of, beyond the boldest venture of faith and hope to anticipate, needing the humblest teachableness to receive when offered for acceptance.—*Ibid., p. 517.*

(2) **No Phenomenon Analogous to Biblical Prophecy.**—We come to the conclusion that no phenomenon analogous to Biblical prophecy, even in form, is anywhere to be found in the world of nations. It is true, all nations sought after special divine revelations beyond what reason and conscience taught them of the working of the Deity in nature and history, and expected to succeed by the intensifying of human susceptibility and by immersion in the unconscious nature-power. But such means of becoming acquainted with the divine, such morbid *self-enhancing* of the human spirit, artificially *enfeebling* it up to the point of unconscious surrender to the dominion of nature, is opposed to the true nature of God, and can only lead farther away from Him; whereas His Spirit reveals Himself in Israel by clear speech in keeping with His dignity.—*C. von Orelli, "Old Testament Prophecy," p. 24.*

(3) **Israel and Rome.**—The tragic end of the struggle between Israel and Rome now surprises us less than before. Christians have much too long, in spite of history, regarded the fall of Jerusalem as a divine retribution for the murder of the Messiah. It is time that the last remnants of that view should disappear. But even then the student of history will still see a connection between the rejection of the prophet of Nazareth and the last conflict with Rome. Judaism—too great, too proud for a national religion—was and remained a fruitful source of contest between the Jewish nation and its conquerors. Had the majority of the people been able to take the road indicated by Jesus, perhaps the struggle of life and death would have been prevented. But the condemnation of Jesus was a powerful protest against universalism, the energetic assertion of the legal and strictly national principle. From that moment Israel's fate was decided. Her religion was to kill her. But when the temple burst into flames, that religion had already spread its wings and gone out to conquer an entire world.—*A. Kuenen, "The Religion of Israel," Vol. III., p. 281.*

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View on the River Jordan.

THE RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

BY

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15. THE PRE-MOSAIC PERIOD.

The ancient Hebrews belonged to the Semitic group of nations, having its original home in northern Arabia, from which region migrations into the Mesopotamian valley formed the eastern branch, including the Babylonians and Assyrians. From Mesopotamia came the northern Semites or Arameans, and the western Semites, including the Phœnicians, Canaanites and Hebrews. Of these westward migrations, that of the Hebrews, was among the latest, including, as it did, clans that later broke off into separate nations, such as Moab, Ammon, and Edom. The memorials of Hebrew history and religion that have been preserved are found in the Old Testament. The books composing that collection are of varying dates, from the eighth to the second centuries B.C. But several of them contain documents much older. Traditions and legends of the past are incorporated, and the effort is made by later writers to reconstruct the origins of the nation, as well as the early history of the world. But the purpose of these narratives is rather religious than historical. The materials are chosen seemingly with the object of illustrating the growth of the religion, and not of giving a connected recital of the national experiences. It therefore becomes a matter of difficulty to discover the religious character of the earliest period, colored as it is by the ideas of the later days when the narratives received their present form. But this material deals with the earliest traditions of the race in a spirit marked by an earnestness and sobriety in striking contrast with similar accounts produced by other nations. (1) The Hebrew people brought with them from their earlier home in the east the religious conceptions common to the Semitic races, and these appear to some extent in the narratives of the early period, though modified and given other meanings by later writers. Yet from the first a new force was operating in this national history. That peculiar factor which distinguished Israel from other nations appeared early, even before the days of Moses. Those Semitic elements which this people had in common with its neighbors were used, modified, or eliminated in the development of that particular type of religion which the Old Testament alone discloses. Two processes were at work: the natural growth of religious ideas, as among other nations, and the providential evo-

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lution of those unique elements whose fuller disclosure appears in Christianity. (2) Studied in the light of their heredity and environment, the Hebrews exhibit religious characteristics in striking contrast to those of their ancestors or the kindred tribes about them. But those peculiar forces make their appearance but slowly, and under the leadership of rare men. These men gave to the national life its chief significance. There is always a temptation, however, to observe only the unique features of Israel's religious life and to forget the thorough Semitism of this people and the features of its earliest cult, which is possessed in common with the other races of the Semitic family. These nations were polytheists, offered sacrifices, even human sacrifices, practiced circumcision, to some extent at least, erected sanctuaries for their gods, believed that certain places were sacred to the gods, had religious festivals like the Sabbath and other sacred seasons, used images in worship or as family terephim, and believed in a dim underworld into which the dead descended. Many, perhaps it may be said all, of these features are exhibited by the earliest Hebrew religion, and some continue and are developed, while others fall quite out of sight. But even from the earliest beginnings of the national life there is a difference between Israel and the rest. This is most strikingly illustrated in the conceptions of deity held by this people. From this the higher ethical character of the nation arose. The earliest ideas may have been polytheistic, as the plural form of the word *Elohim* (God) hints, and there may appear rare indicatious of such an idea (Gen. 3:22), but they are slight. There are no traces of a Hebrew pantheon. This is the more surprising when it is observed that the neighboring and kindred tribes of Edom, Ammon, and Moab, descended indeed from the traditional ancestors of the Hebrews, were polytheists. In the case of Moab, the evidence is found in the mention of at least two gods on the celebrated "Moabite Stone" of King Mesha. But while the worship of more than one god is not traceable in the religion of Israel, that religion is not, in its earlier stages, a pure monotheism, but rather monolatry, *i.e.*, the worship of a national God for Israel, (3) while admitting the existence of other gods for other nations (Jud. 11:24, 1 Sam. 26:19). There are certain interesting characteristics of the Hebrew idea of God which mark the being they worshiped as quite different from the gods of the nations about them. He had no goddess or consort, nor was his worship attended by any of those degrading rites connected so largely with the worship of goddesses. Fire was his symbol (Ex. 3:4, Jud. 13:20, 2 Kings 1:10). He could be seen only with peril to the beholder (Jud. 13:22), and sacred places and objects could be approached only with danger (1 Sam. 6:19, 2 Sam. 6:6*f*, Ex. 19:21*f*). He led his people in war (Ex. 15:3), and their achievements in battle were his own (Num. 21:14), while cities taken in his name and devoted to him were destroyed. In these and other elements of the faith are discerned the harsher and fiercer characteristics of the age. Righteousness was, however, the dominant feature of his nature, and to this belief much of the high ethical tone of the Hebrew religion is to be traced.

Abraham is the traditional ancestor of this people, and the one to whom the earliest disclosures of the divine character are made. Whatever the legendary nature of the traditions regarding this man, there can be little doubt of his reality and impress upon the national life. Faith in God is his motive. He comes westward to a new land in obedience to a divine impulse (Gen. 12:1*f*). He erects altars wherever he stops (Gen. 12:8, 13:4), and constantly lives in communion with God. He is even willing to offer his son in sacrifice (Gen. 22) according to the custom of his day, but is forbidden to carry out his purpose, and thus the ban is placed on the practice, though it does not disappear. (4) The patriarchs whom the early traditions introduce to us are not demi-gods, but men—men of very imperfect character, like Abraham and Jacob, and typical sheiks of the orient, whose counterparts might be found there to this day, but, withal, men with a moral purpose, if we may trust the outlines of their lives, a purpose never obscured in Abraham's case, gradually

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attained in that of Jacob, and preparing for a fuller disclosure of the divine purpose in later days.

In this period, many of the elements of Semitic religion are discovered. Altars were built on hills and under trees, sacrificial meals and sacred festivals were celebrated, (5) circumcision was introduced, and probably abstinence from blood and the taboo of certain kinds of food were practiced. With these went the customs of blood revenge, polygamy, concubinage, and slavery. Images for worship, called terephim, were not unknown, even in the families of the patriarchs (Gen. 31:19), and sacred stones were set up and anointed with oil (Gen. 35:14, 15, Josh. 4:20), while certain places were deemed especially sacred, as Hebron, Shechem, the Oak of Moreh, and Beersheba.

15. THE PRE-MOSAIC PERIOD.

(1) **Character of Hebrew Writings.** — These accounts of primitive and primeval times, if we place them, simply as ancient documents, side by side with the early traditions and cosmogonies of other nations, are, as has been universally admitted, characterized by a sobriety, purity, and loftiness of conception which render them altogether unique. If we should set them down as merely the attempts on the part of the Hebrew writers to give an account of origins of which no historical record was in their hands, merely the consolidated form of legends and myths handed on from prehistoric times, we cannot but recognize the singular line that myth-making took in this particular case, as distinguished from the cases of polytheistic Semitic and non-Semitic races. — *J. Robertson, "The Early Religion of Israel," p. 486.*

(2) **The Peculiar Function of Israel.**—The Old Testament religion, like the Christian, did not come forth out of humanity according to the mere law of spiritual development, but as a result of the working, upon Israel's spiritual life, of that divine, self-communicating spirit which aims at establishing the kingdom of God among men. This religion rightly regards itself as called into existence by God, as called into existence by the clear separation of this one people from the life of the other peoples of the world. . . . As an experience of forces which lie outside the world of sense, it has its roots in the communication of the spirit, through the love and mercy of God, to such members of the human family as are privileged to become interpreters to their brethren of the heavenly life, that is to say, in a divine revelation. Israel's religious teachers are prophets, not philosophers, priests or poets. Hence the Old Testament religion can be explained only by revelation; that is, by the fact that God raised up for this people men whose natural susceptibility to moral and religious truths, developed by the course of their inner and outer lives, enabled them to understand intuitively the will of the self-communicating, redeeming God regarding men; that is, to possess the religious truth which maketh free, not as a result of human wisdom and intellectual labor, but as a power pressing in upon the soul with irresistible might. Only those who frankly acknowledge this can be historically just to the Old Testament. . . . The religion of Israel undoubtedly grew up on the natural soil of the religion of the Semites. But its full growth is only to be understood as due to the equipment, through God's creative power, of human spirits, and to the revelation of the divine life in the hearts of individual prophets.—*H. Schultz, "Old Testament Theology," Vol. I., pp. 53, 54, 111.*

(3) **Monolatry.**—Monolatry must be here understood to imply a faith, the primal law of which is, that only one particular God must be worshiped by its adherents, but which does not deny the existence of other gods beyond its own pale. Monolatry is the worship of one god; monotheism, of the one and only God.—*Montefiore, "Religion of the Ancient Hebrews," p. 11.*

(4) **Human Sacrifice.**—To Abraham, not unfamiliar with various ways in which among his heathen ancestors the deity was propitiated, the testing question comes, "Art thou prepared to obey thy God as fully as the people about thee obey their gods?" and in the putting forth of his faith in the act of obedience, he learns that the nature of his God is different.—*J. Robertson, "The Early Religion of Israel," p. 254.*

(5) **Sacrificial Meals.**—The sacrificial meal was an appropriate expression of the antique ideal of religious life, not merely because it was a social act and an act in which the god and his worshipers were conceived as partaking together, but because, as has already been said, the very act of eating and drinking with a man was a symbol and a confirmation of fellowship and mutual social obligations. The one thing directly expressed in the sacrificial meal is that the god and his worshipers are *commensals*, but every other point in their mutual relations is included in what this involves. Those who sit at meat together are united for all social effects; those who do not eat together are aliens to one another, without fellowship in religion and without reciprocal social duties. . . . We may now take it as made out that, throughout the Semitic field, the fundamental idea of sacrifice is not that of a sacred tribute, but of communion between the god and his worshipers by joint participation in the flesh of a sacred victim. — *W. Robertson Smith, "The Religion of the Semites," pp. 269, 345.*

NOTE TRANSFERRED FROM LESSON 17.

(3) **Power of the Religion of Israel.**—I recognize in the fact that the small number of the Israelites was not absorbed by the Canaanites, who were by far their superiors in all matters of external culture, a convincing proof of the ethical power of the Yahvistic religion. But this superiority consisted in the nature of that Yahveh whom Moses proclaimed, not in a dogmatic assertion of Semitic exclusiveness.—*Kamphausen, "Theologische Studien und Kritiken," 1890, p. 201, n. 1*

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16. THE RELIGION OF MOSES.

After an indefinite period of residence in Canaan, the Hebrew clans moved southward into Egypt, following the leadership of the tribe of Joseph. The monuments mention many migrations of this character into a country that was the granary of the world at the time, but no certain identification of the Hebrews in any inscriptions can be made. A period of prosperity in which the Joseph clan came to prominence was followed by a reversal of policy toward foreigners, and the hardships of servitude were experienced. After a stay of about four centuries, the emancipation of the Hebrews was wrought by a leader named Moses. His first attempt to rouse the nation to action was unsuccessful, and he was compelled to quit the country (Ex. 2:11-15; Acts 7:23-25). He betook himself to the territory of Midian, and entered into alliance with that tribe. After a time the divine impulse came upon him to renew his effort in behalf of his oppressed countrymen. Mt. Sinai was the mountain of God, the reputed home of deity (Ex. 3:1-5; 19:2; Jud. 5:5), and here Moses was commissioned to undertake the difficult task. He returned to Egypt, and at last succeeded in the plan of deliverance, which was greatly aided by a series of disasters that fell upon Egypt at that time, and which were ever believed by the Hebrews to mark the wrath of God against their oppressors. The departing host made its way toward the friendly land of Midian, and, crossing an arm of the Gulf of Suez at low water, the Egyptian army sent in pursuit was overthrown and destroyed. This deliverance was celebrated in perhaps the oldest fragment of Hebrew literature (Ex. 15), and was forever regarded as the decisive sign of the divine care of the nation. Moving on to the sacred mountain Sinai, Moses, whose place as a leader had been firmly established by the remarkable experiences of the past, seized the opportunity to lay the foundations of national life by the promulgation of certain institutes of political and religious character suited to the people he was leading. (1) No attempt was made to break with the past (Ex. 3:6; 4:5; 6:2, 3; 7:16). The Hebrews already possessed a religion which differed in no small degree from that of other nations, but in the centuries of serfdom in Egypt much of the patriarchal practice, simple as it was, may have been forgotten. But the people were passing from clan life to nationality. The purpose of Moses was to prepare for a future such as had been foreseen by none of his ancestors. Looking at the work which Moses accomplished for this people, taking them at a time of such utter lack of organization and of such elementary religious ideas; witnessing the lofty character of the ideals which he lifted before them, however little they were realized for centuries, the question naturally rises, What is the explanation of his unique personality and his conceptions of God and righteousness, so greatly in contrast with the philosophy of the Egyptian priesthood and the barbarism and immorality of the common life in his day? The response is to be found alone in that divine choice of this nation, not for its own sake, but for the disclosure it might make through its history of the divine purposes regarding men. This disclosure could only be made through chosen men intrusted with leadership, and among these one of the most conspicuous is Moses (2).

Our sources tell us that a new name for God sprung up in this period. The indefinite *Elohim* no longer sufficed to represent the covenant God of the Hebrew people, who had made himself known to their fathers. The new name is *Jehovah*, or more correctly *Jahveh* (also written *Yahva* or *Yahway*, and pronounced in accordance with the latter form) the living, self-existent (Ex. 6:1-4). Whether this name originated with Moses, or was used in Midian and brought back by him, or was used in his family, as the name of his mother might suggest (Ex. 6:20), or in the tribe of Joseph, as Joshua (Je-Hoshua) might argue, in any case the name first appears at the time of Moses' return from Midian, and was connected in Hebrew traditions with an epiphany at Sinai. The name continued to be employed to the

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close of the Old Testament literature. It is not claimed as yet that *Jahveh* is the only God, but that he alone must be worshiped by Israel. Other nations may have their deities, but the Hebrews must have no god beside *Jahveh*. It will be seen that it is a far cry from this idea of monolatry to the pure monotheism of the post-exilic period; but the religious education of Israel was a long and painful process, and one thing had to be learned at a time. The code of laws promulgated by Moses (Ex. 20-23, 34) dealt with the situation in which Israel found itself in the period of its unsettled life, and served as the basis of all the legislation that grew up in later times. So largely was the Mosaic spirit preserved and continued in all the legislative material ever produced by Israel, that the phrase "The Law of Moses" was never felt to be a misnomer in describing the body of statutes, the most of which as a matter of fact came into existence centuries subsequent to the time of Moses. The first code, called the Book of the Covenant (Ex. 20-23, 34), and including the Decalogue in its primitive form, (3) is a striking interpretation of the character of *Jahveh*, the national God. There is little in common with either the nature-worship of the times, or the speculative character of the Egyptian religion, from which it might be supposed leading elements would be drawn. *Jahveh* is righteous and holy, and he demands these characteristics in his people. There is an utter lack of the sensuous elements of other religions. No images are to be employed. Altars of earth at places selected furnish a sufficient means of worship. But *Jahveh* alone must be the object of this service. The element of sternness, not to say fierceness, which the Hebrews associated with the character of God, appears. *Jahveh* is capable of fierce wrath when his will is not honored (Ex. 22:23, 24; 34:7), and he will not lightly overlook transgression (23:21). His jealousy of other gods who may receive the affection of his people is carried to the extent of forbidding any covenant with other nations, and of commanding the total destruction of all symbols of worship not connected with the national cult (Ex. 34:12-16). The nations are to be driven out before Israel (Ex. 23:22-24). This stern spirit appears in certain of the laws regulating social life. The *lex talionis* is to be enforced (Ex. 21:24). The man who kills another, or smites or curses his father or mother, is to be put to death. Yet there is a note of great tenderness in the laws of this primitive code. Care for the life and honor of servants, mitigation of the severities of the blood feud, care for the property and welfare of all the community, kind treatment of strangers, even help to an enemy in distress, are enforced. The seventh day and year are made sacred, and three annual religious feasts are instituted. The standard of morality and worship is high for the age. Indeed, it was the first serious attempt to unite morality with religion. Justice and purity, as elements in the divine character, were demanded of the people; and if there was a sternness and harshness in the character of *Jahveh* which seems incompatible with a moralized idea of deity, they might easily be found to co-exist in the mind of a teacher like Moses, with the profound conviction that God is sternly just and demands justice and holiness in his followers.

In providing for the future of the nation, Moses made use of those ancestral religious elements which commended themselves to his divinely illumined judgment. Circumcision, altar sacrifice, the sabbatic periods, the fundamental laws of morality were all accepted as sanctioned by *Jahveh*. With them certain features in the Egyptian and Midianitish religions were incorporated, such as the idea of the sanctuary and sacred palladium or ark, the priesthood, and the Urim and Thummim. Moses established a tent of meeting at Kadesh, and the function of priestly service he assigned to his own tribe of Levi. This office of priest and that of judge he probably derived from the practice he had observed in Midian (Ex. 18:1, 17-25). The priesthood was much more than a mere order of sacrificers. The latter function was not confined to them till a much later period. Kings, prophets, and common citizens had the right of sacrifice (Jud. 6:24-26; 13:19; 1 Sam. 14:34, 35; 2 Sam. 6:17, 18; 1 Kings 18). The priests were the spiritual teachers and leaders of the nation, and

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the interpreters of the will of God. (4) They had a Torah, or law, which grew up around the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant given by Moses. This Torah grew as experience widened the application of the primitive code. Moses' actual contribution to the literature of Israel was probably small. (5) Jesus, the founder of Christianity, wrote nothing. Nevertheless, Moses stands as the most striking figure of the early history, a figure so important and lofty that his influence is plainly traced throughout all the subsequent history as the great prophet and spiritual leader, the organizer of Israel's national life.

16. THE RELIGION OF MOSES.

(1) **Moses a Necessity.**—But there is also a general consideration which fully evinces the historical existence of Moses. If the events of that period are, as a whole, beyond dispute, they demand for their explanation such a personality as the sources give us in Moses. Everything shows that Israel in Egypt had no pretension to be a nation; its nationality had yet to be created. The spirit of national unity and self-assertion had yet to be breathed into the oppressed and enslaved masses which were in danger of losing their individuality. Such a work does not accomplish itself. It is only wrought when there is a personality behind the mass, towering above them, urging them on, setting on fire with its own holy enthusiasm the consciousness of nationality. Israel became a nation at the Exodus. Moses created it. Without him Israel would have remained what it was before.—*Kittel, "History of the Hebrews," Vol. I., p. 239.*

Moses stamped an impress upon the people of Israel which was never effaced, and planted seeds in the mind of the nation which the crop of thorns that sprang up after his death could not altogether choke. Of course, even he did not create a nation or a religious consciousness in the sense of making it out of nothing. When he appealed to the people in Egypt in the name of Jehovah their God, he did not confuse them with an abstraction or a novelty. The people had some knowledge of Jehovah, some faith in Him, or His name would not have awakened to a religious or national life. In matters like this we never can get at the beginning. The patriarchal age, with its knowledge of God, is not altogether a shadow, otherwise the history of the Exodus would be a riddle. Moses found materials, but he passed a new fire through them, and welded them into a unity; he breathed a spirit into the people which animated it for all time to come, and this spirit can have been no other than the spirit that animated himself.—*A. B. Davidson, "The Expositor," Third Series, Vol. V., p. 42.*

(2) **The Inspiration of Moses.**—Nothing but an immediate contact of God Himself with man can produce the true knowledge of God, or bring man a real step nearer thereto. For in himself man finds only the world and his own individuality. Neither the one nor the other of these leads beyond heathenism; that to a power, this to a higher form. When the thought flashed across the mind of Moses that God was neither the world nor an idealized image of man, but that he was the Lord of life, the author of the moral law, enthroned above the manifold and the world of sense, ennobling and not depressing man, that knowledge came neither from his age nor from himself: it came to him from the immediate revelation of this God in his heart.—*Kittel, "History of the Hebrews," Vol. I., p. 252.*

Thus, Moses is represented as doubly prepared for his work. As regards the contents of that work, the religion of his nation furnished him with the necessary historical basis; while, as regards its form, he was fully equipped by his contact with the highest culture of the then existing world. Still, both these facts do not explain how Moses came to be what he was. Here also the really determining factor is the revelation of God. Having chosen him as His instrument, God endowed him with religious and moral gifts of singular power. By special dealings with him, God subjected him to a special preparation both inward and outward. The spirit which he had thus carefully trained, God illumined at the proper time with the certainty of the divine will and of the divine thoughts and ways regarding him. It was neither as philosopher nor as poet, but as prophet, that Moses became the founder of his people's religion. He received it; he adopted it in a religious spirit; he did not by his own thought create it.—*H. Schultz, "Old Testament Theology," Vol. I., p. 129.*

(3) **The Primitive Decalogue.**—The Decalogue as we now have it is provided with many explanatory additions and enlargements. The Ten Words which were inscribed on the tables of stone may have run as follows:

1.

I am Yahve, thy God (who brought thee out of the land of Egypt).

I. Thou shalt have no other gods before me.

II. Make to thyself no image.

III. Thou shalt not use the name of Yahve, thy God, to deceive.

IV. Remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy.

V. Honor thy father and mother.

2.

VI. Do not murder.

VII. Do not commit adultery.

VIII. Do not steal.

IX. Do not bear false witness against thy neighbor.

X. Do not covet thy neighbor's house.—*R. Kittel, "History of the Hebrews," Vol I., p. 244.*

(5) **What Moses Wrote.**—The Christian Church, in accepting the canonical books of the Old Testament, accepted also without question and without reflection the current traditions as to their authorship. In point of fact, however, the books of the Pentateuch, like the historical books which follow them, are anonymous. The book of Genesis gives no hint of its authorship, neither does the book of Leviticus; and the few passages found in the other books which speak of Moses writing such and such things "in a book," will be discovered on examination to refer to certain specific things. Indeed, the very fact of such expressions occuring within the books may even be taken as a presumption that it was not he who wrote the whole.—*J. Robertson, "The Early Religion of Israel," p. 44.*

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17. THE CONQUEST AND THE JUDGES.

About the year 1250 B.C. the Hebrew nation, having spent some time in the less desirable regions to the south and east of the Dead Sea, began their entrance and conquest of Canaan. The experiences of the desert had developed the qualities of national life, and prepared a generation of warriors. After the conquest of the east-Jordan districts, the river was crossed and the serious business of occupying the rich lands to the west was undertaken. Canaan was ever the coveted goal of the desert tribes, and Israel was neither the first nor last of the nations that attempted its possession. The inhabitants already represented a variety of elements, the result of successive inroads, and against these older and higher civilizations Israel prepared to do battle. The success with which this purpose was attained was the result, in no small degree, of the hardships of the desert which had toughened the national fiber, and of the personality and work of Moses, who had given something of form and national spirit to the band of refugees who had so recently escaped Egyptian serfdom. In a series of rapid and aggressive campaigns under the leadership of Joshua, some of the most important cities were taken and the united opposition of the Canaanites was broken (Josh. 6:12-27; 8:10-29; 10,11), while a portion of the population succeeded in making terms with the invaders (Josh. 9, 11-19). It is evident, however, that scarcely more than a foothold was secured at the time, and that the only thing needed to inspire the native population to renewed hostilities was the removal of Joshua and the decay of the strong military force organized under his hand. Much of the land was not really conquered (Josh. 13:1-6). The best that could be done was to secure a possession in the land, and wait for greater strength. But this period was yet far ahead. The strong cities were in Canaanite hands, and for the most part the Israelites were obliged to content themselves with the smaller towns and open country. War was carried on for many years, but with varying success (Jud. 1.), and not infrequently the people were reduced to desperate straits (Jud. 4:3 6:3 *f.*). The tribes were not united. Each was seeking to hold its own ground. Moreover, between the northern tribes, at whose head, in the days when any united action was attempted, stood the strong tribe of Ephraim, and the southern tribes, the most powerful of which was Judah, there was little common interest, and neither section gave much heed to the welfare of the other. These sectional jealousies often appeared, and culminated in the rupture of the nation at the close of Solomon's reign.



Wilderness of the Wanderings.

In all this series of national experiences the belief in *Jahveh* as the God of the people is never obscured. It was he who brought them into the land, after the wanderings in the desert (Josh. 3:5-7); he gave directions for the campaigns (Josh. 1:1-9), and under his leadership cities were taken and battles won. Even the laws of nature were believed to have been set aside in answer to appeals to him on one memorable occasion (Josh. 10:12-14), and the inhabitants of conquered places were devoted to destruction in his honor by the imposition of the *herem* or ban (Josh. 6:18-21; 8:21-29), the breaking of which, even by one individual, might cause disaster to the army and bring upon the offender and his family the ban itself (Josh. 7). Soon after the arrival in Canaan Gilgal was selected as a sacred camp, and there circumcision and the keeping of the passover feast were enjoined (Josh. 4:19; 5:12).

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The period that followed the first tide of warfare was one of retrogression and decline, both in organization and religion. The excitement of the events connected with the last years of Moses and the leadership of Joshua was followed by a reaction. The age of these two leaders was full of stirring experiences that kept the people measurably united and keyed up to high enthusiasm for their national honor and their God. The loosing of ties incident to the removal of competent leadership permitted much disorder that would have been impossible before. The people, unable to conquer the inhabitants of the country, settled down on friendly terms with them, and soon, as a matter of course, adopted from them many of their religious and social customs, and a fairly close intimacy was preserved for generations. (1) The worship of *Baal* and his consort *Astarte*, Phœnician deities, was more or less prevalent in Canaan, and soon the Israelites were tainted with this practice. *Baal* was the god of fire, and his worship was attended with fire offerings, in which the sacrifice of children had a frequent part. Each town where the worship prevailed had its sanctuary and image of *Baal*, and these local *Baals* or *Baalim* were a constant temptation to Israel. In connection with the *Baal* sanctuary there was usually a grove, tree, pillar, or obelisk sacred to *Astarte* or *Ashera* (plural *Ashtaroth*), whose seductive and licentious cult proved the most debasing influence of the age.



Hebron.

(2) That the Israelites were often led away into this worship and that of other gods there is abundant evidence, as well as that later writers saw in this fact ample explanation of the frequent calamities which overtook the nation (Jud. 2:11-19; 3:7, 8; 6:1-28; 8:33; 10:6,7, etc.). Moreover, even where the worship of *Jahveh* was retained, the elements of the *Baal* worship were mixed with it. High places like Bethel, Beersheba, Shechem, Hebron, Gilgal, Penuel, Ramah, and Mizpeh were resorted to as sacred. Children were named for *Baal* even in families where *Jahveh* was worshipped (*cf.* Jerubbaal), and it is not unlikely that the word *Baal*, *i.e.*, "lord," may have been applied to *Jahveh* through custom. Micah the Danite, a worshiper of *Jahveh*, uses an ephod and a tereph which the writer of the narrative explains as images, the one graven and the other molten, representing probably *Jahveh* and the dead ancestor of the family, as was usually the case with terephim (Jud. 17:1-6). Gideon is reproached for making an image (ephod) with the golden spoil of battle, which was used as an object of worship (Jud. 8:24-27). The Danites carried off these same images and set up one in their new sanctuary at upper Dan (Jud. 18:14-31). At the same time it must be noted that the pure

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imageless worship of *Jahveh* was carried on at Shiloh, where the tent of meeting, with its ancient ark and its Levitical priesthood, was established after their removal from Gilgal (Josh. 18:1 *f;* 1 Sam. 1:3). The leadership of *Jahveh* was recognized, and this was especially the case in times of war. In peace there might be relapses into the seductive cult of their neighbors, but when war was to be waged *Jahveh* alone was the God of Israel (Jud. 1:19, 22; 4:6, 15). The Song of Deborah, one of the oldest fragments of the national literature (Jud. 5), bears witness to the lofty religious enthusiasm of the people on occasion. Indeed such enthusiasm reveals the power of the true religion manifesting itself in the midst of such unfavorable conditions; and in its power to inspire high ideals, not alone of heroism, but of moral conduct, lay the supremacy of this faith. (3)

The principle of monolatry is recognized. *Jahveh* is the God of Israel, and should alone be worshiped by his people; but outside of this nation other gods have sway, and bring their people into possession of their territories, as in the case of *Chemosh* and the Ammonites (Jud. 11:24).

It was an age of contradictions. Cruelty, violence, feuds, license in conduct, polygamy, and deceit were permitted or applauded. Yet along with these go hospitality, even at the risk of life, and vengeance taken on an inhospitable city; gentleness toward neighbors and friends, a forgiving spirit toward a runaway wife, love for the customs and ideas of Israel. It is, in a word, an age in which the normal characteristics of simple and joyous life appear. However late the Book of Ruth may be, the picture which it gives of these times seems truthful and lifelike, and it is like a charming glimpse into the inner life of the people, whose career at first glance seems to be marked at this time only by the elements of storm and struggle.

It has been said that it was a period of retrogression; yet it was also a period of progress. While the enthusiastic spirit of the days of Moses and Joshua had passed away, there were influences at work preparing for better things. The work of the Judges, disconnected and transient as it seemed, prepared the people for the closer organization of the monarchy. The character and ideals of *Jahveh* as the true God were more firmly fixed in the heart of the people. It was one of those periods of silence when energies are maturing for a larger activity ahead. Such times are ever the birth-hours of great forces. With much that was barbarous and debased there was also much that was noble and inspiring. Taken all in all, it may be said that real progress was made under the Judges, and this progress came to its full disclosure under the ministry of Samuel, the last of the Judges.

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17 THE CONQUEST AND THE JUDGES.

(1) **Relation of Israel to Canaanites.**—Gibeon, which Saul in his zeal for God and Israel wished utterly to destroy, Jerusalem, and Shechem were inhabited by a Canaanite population. And the policy adopted toward them, as well as towards the surrounding peoples, was by no means one of isolation, as the laws of the later age represent. Notably, the tribe of Judah had such intimate relations with foreign elements that, for example, the powerful family of Caleb may, with equal propriety, be reckoned either to Judah or to the Kenizzites. Even among David's heroes there are Ammonites and Hittites. In his own family there is an Ishmaelite. One of his female ancestors is a Moabitess. He takes his parents to the Moabites, and lives himself among the Philistines. Intermarriages with Philistine women are not represented as very desirable, but they are not forbidden. David and Solomon enter without hesitation into alliance with the Phœnicians. Now, as the Canaanites were unquestionably far superior to the Israelites in matters of secular culture, such intercourse could not but result in a toning down of the simplicity and stern severity of Israel's religion and morals.—*H. Schultz, "Old Testament Theology," Vol. I., p. 144.*

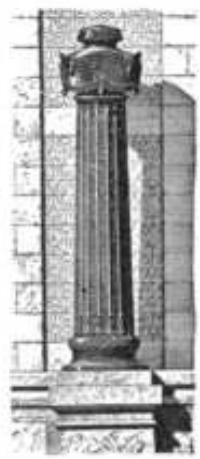
(2) **Canaanite Worship.**—We can infer with tolerable certainty that the Israelites borrowed from the Canaanites their habit of building altars upon the tops of hills and under the shade of trees. To the Canaanites was also familiar the practice of erecting sacred pillars at consecrated spots, as well as of placing wooden poles with a sensual connotation near the altars of the gods. Their festivals were mainly agricultural, connected, like those of the Israelites, with the first fruits, the harvests, the wool shearing and the vintage. Sacred prostitution of both sexes was one of the ways by which the sensual element in their faith found its most corrupt and terrible expression. Human sacrifices, culminating, as we have seen, in the offerings of first-born children, cannot have been uncommon.—*C. G. Montefiore, "Religion of Ancient Hebrews," p. 62.*

(3) **Power of the Religion of Israel.**—*Cf. p. 474, last note.*

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18. SAMUEL, DAVID, AND SOLOMON.

Under the leadership of Samuel the nation passed from the anarchy and confusion of the period of the Judges to the organization and order of the days of David. Samuel was as prophet a worthy successor to Moses, and in him it seems that the promise of a line of prophets which may be as early as the time of Moses, was beginning to be fulfilled (Deut. 18:15). The picture of worship at the time he first appears is simple and natural, yet corrupted by the vicious practices of the priests in office. The tent in which the ark was kept at Shiloh was lighted at night by a lamp, and in it slept the priest and his attendants (1 Sam. 3:1-3). Samuel, though not of the tribe of Levi, but of Ephraim (1 Sam. 1:1), was taken into the tabernacle service and ministered often throughout his life in priestly offices, as did others of non-Levitical families (Jud. 17:1, 5; 2 Sam. 8:18, R. V.). After the death of Eli, the priest in office, and the temporary loss of the ark, Samuel undertook the leadership of Israel, and for a score of years worked silently toward the realization of national ideas. Little appreciated at first, and regarded as a mere clairvoyant whose advice might be sought by those in trouble (1 Sam. 9: 6-9), he came at length to be regarded as the real leader of the people. Perhaps the sincerest compliment ever paid him was the popular demand for a king, which indicated the sense of unity, solidarity, and national pride fostered by him, so foreign to the days of the Judges. Whatever may have been the reluctance felt by Samuel, as set down in one of our sources (1 Sam. 8:6), the step was a wise one, and Saul, whatever his limitations, served to set the type of royalty, tried unsuccessfully and for but a brief period in the days of Gideon and his son Abimelech (Jud. 8:22, 23; 9:6).



Bronze Column of Temple, from Biblical descriptions. (Restored by Ch. Chipiez.)

It was a period of transition. The old and the new were meeting, and Saul was not equal to the emergency. Probably few men would have been. But above the tall figure of the king towers evermore Samuel, the prophet of the Lord. His work is no mere political revolution. It was far more a religious reformation. From his home in Ramah he went on visits, almost pastoral in their character, to places of ancestral sacredness, like Gilgal, Mizpeh, Bethlehem, and Bethel, where sacrificial feasts were held and the sanctions of the true faith laid upon the hearts of the people (1 Sam. 7:5, 9; 10:8; 16:4, 5). No use was made of the ark in this time. It remained quietly at Kirjath Jearim. The members of the tribe of Levi found livings wherever they might, some as private or tribal priests, as in the case of the grandson of Moses (Jud. 18:30, R. V.). In connection with the work of Samuel we first learn of the schools of the prophets. These companies of men present little that is attractive at first. They seem to have been dervish-like groups of men devoted to the national God, but closely resembling the similar order of men in the service of Baal, of whom we catch a glimpse at a later time (1 Kings 17: 22-29). In Israel the bands of prophets in the early days of Samuel were of this character, made up of enthusiasts who went about the country rousing themselves to a high pitch of ecstasy by means of the wild music of the time, and no doubt preaching the religion of *Jahveh* in the fierce spirit of the age. In the circle of such "prophesying" the bystander might be seized with the same enthusiasm, utter similar words, and fall unconscious on the ground; and these manifestations were believed to be divinely induced (1 Sam 10:5-13; 19:18-24). (1) Nothing speaks more eloquently for the wisdom of Samuel than the fact that with all his loftiness of purpose he did not despise the good these bands of men might accomplish, repulsive as might be their practices. He even identified himself with them in a measure, and by assuming their leadership (1 Sam. 19:20) he gradually made of them organizations

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effective in the propagation of the saner and loftier conceptions of *Jahveh* and his religion which appeared in his own work and that of his successors. Such prophets as Elijah and Elisha in later days made large use of the Schools of the Prophets. There was, to be sure, an element of fanaticism and fierce zeal in Samuel's character, as is shown by his command to Saul to exterminate the Amalekites (1 Sam. 15:1-3), and his killing of Agag, their king, with his own hands (1 Sam. 15:32, 33), in both of which acts he believed himself fulfilling the divine will. But these are rare blemishes in a splendid career of many years, in one of the most critical periods of the history. No loftier prophetic note was ever struck than that uttered in his famous words, "To obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams" (1 Sam. 15:22).

Under divine direction he raised up Saul, and then rejected him from the kingship, and the dark close of the gigantic king's career only makes the character of the great prophet more impressive by contrast. (2) His reforms underlay the throne of David. New disclosures of divine truth had come through him, and the vision of God and righteousness was enlarged.

David's contribution to the religious thought of his times is somewhat problematical, and the solution of the problem depends upon the amount of Psalm material we may assign him. Depending alone on the records of his life, however embellished by later writers, we discover him to have been a man marked by strikingly variant qualities. His unfavorable traits are in ample evidence. Among them are found duplicity (1 Sam. 21:2), a spirit of revenge and cruelty in war (1 Sam. 30:17; 2 Sam. 8:2; 12:29-31), and his sin with Bathsheba (2 Sam. 11) which wrought such havoc in his family. These were the faults of his age, and he must be judged by its standards, not those of our own day. Yet he was brave, generous (1 Sam. 24:1-16; 26:5-9), and intent upon the establishment of religion in his capital. He brought up the ark, which had lain in obscurity through the reign of Saul, and established it in Jerusalem (2 Sam. 6). Moreover, he honored Nathan the prophet, and made instant confession of his sin upon that prophet's rebuke (2 Sam. 12:1-10). If the fifty-first Psalm may be considered Davidic, we have in that beautiful utterance, which has become the world's confessional, another proof of his repentance.

There is abundant proof of superstition and imperfect religious ideas in this time. Saul gave to his children names compounded with *Baal*. A tereph was owned by Michal, his daughter, David's wife (1 Sam. 19:13). Saul, though he had rigorously enforced the law against witchcraft, consulted a necromancer in his last distress (1 Sam. 28). An accident on the journey of the ark to Jerusalem was intepreted as a sign of divine wrath (2 Sam. 6:6, 7). In a time of continued drought David was informed that the reason lay in an injustice done the city of Gibeon by Saul, and the king, in response to a demand made by the citizens of that place, hung seven of Saul's descendants (2 Sam. 21:1-14). The belief that the divine sanction could be given to such an atrocity marks a degree of superstition above which even David did not rise. (3)

David was a devoted follower of *Jahveh*. There could be no suspicion of idolatry in his nature. The reverence paid to the prophet Nathan shows that his office was held in higher honor than even the kingship. Levitical priests were established by the king at the sanctuary in Jerusalem, though he performed their functions at times and made his sons priests (2 Sam. 6:12-14; 2 Sam. 8:18, R. V.). David's sincere love for God and desire to promote religious ideals cannot be questioned. If he as a prophet misjudged in some degree the divine character, it is only an added proof of the gradual disclosure of God's nature through the centuries. The fiercer and darker elements inherited from the past were slow to disappear. But little by little the larger vision came. David's ambition to build a costly temple to *Jahveh* was not gratified. Approved at first by Nathan, it was

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later discouraged with reasons that must have satisfied the king, but back of which there could hardly fail to lie the fear in the prophet's mind that the inauguration of the more costly ritual of such a building as David had in mind would work disaster to the simpler faith of which Samuel had been the exponent.

Solomon had no such scruples. The work committed to him by his father was pushed with vigor, and soon the temple was complete in all its beauty, and its ritual inaugurated upon a most elaborate scale. One need not question the sincerity of the king. A most favorable view is given us of his early years and the happy choice he made (1 Kings 3:4, 14). Yet it is easy to see that the result of the temple cult was the secularization of religion. (4) The building and its surroundings became one of the sights of the kingdom. The enormous sacrifices (1 Kings 8:5) emphasized the external elements of the religion, but the essentials were too largely disregarded. Very soon the same spirit of ostentation led him to erect shrines to other gods in his capital, under the influence of his foreign wives, and the prophets who saw deepest into the situation perceived that drastic measures alone could remedy the evil case. The prophets were neglected and the priests were elevated in Solomon's reign. There must be a change, or the true faith would suffer beyond remedy. The older sanctuaries were being forgotten. The tendency was to substitute an expensive ritual in one place for righteousness everywhere. Samuel's words were being forgotten, "To obey is better than sacrifice." If nothing else could avail, the pride of king and people must be humbled, and the secularization of the nation by commerce and conquest must cease. The only question was, when the decisive blow should be struck. The death of Solomon and the elevation of his son Rehoboam furnished the occasion.



Capital of Bronze Column, from Biblical descriptions. (Restored by Ch. Chipiez.)

18. SAMUEL, DAVID, AND SOLOMON.

(1) **The Bands of Prophets.**—Bands of ecstatic men, singing and dancing, carrying all before them in wild frenzy, rush like madmen through the land. They are religious fanatics, filled with holy ardor for their God; but it is certainly not only religious fanaticism that impels them; religion and patriotism are united. For Israel is Yahve's people. God, people, and land are inseparably bound together. The weight of the Philistine yoke that rests on Yahve's land and people has called forth these madmen, and in holy zeal for Yahve and His cause they roam over the land. We meet here in Israel with a character something like the Eastern dervish of today, who, in times of religious and political excitement, unfurls the banner of the prophet and preaches a holy war. Bands of wild, excited dervishes scoured the land, enlisting recruits everywhere for Yahve and the liberation of his land.—*R. Kittel*, "*History of the Hebrews*," *Vol. II., p. 110.*

(2) **Saul.**—With all his patriotic zeal, Saul was yet deficient in the deeper understanding of Israel's peculiar religious character and special task. An estrangement between him and Samuel was thus inevitable. But even did we know more facts than the imperfect tradition has preserved for us, the fate of Saul would not lose for us its deep mysteriousness. The veil which envelops every genuinely tragical form in human history would still obscure his inner being and the cause of his fate. From the very beginning there slumbered in his nature, so rich in noble capacities, darker as well as brighter influences and tendencies. With a noble enthusiasm and a mysterious capacity of prophetic ecstasy there were associated in him, even in happier days, blind zeal, wild fanaticism, and terrifying superstition. His temperament, half-sanguine, half-choleric, was precisely that which is so apt to lead on to a dangerous melancholy. But all these germs and indications are insufficient really to explain the calamitous crisis in his inner consciousness and in his fortunes. The tragedy in his life consisted in this, that a dark, overpowering fate, the cause of which we do not clearly understand, compelled the infatuated man to ruin himself by fatal broodings, all his energy paralyzed, himself alienated from his duty, and sinking deeper and deeper in mental gloom. It is very significant that Saul

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fell finally by his own hand. Ever since his star began to decline, it was his fate to consume his own energies through suspicion and blind passion and, in his delusion, to be the artificer of his own ruin. That, in spite of all this, Saul's noble nature, and the place he occupied in Israel in his better days, and his achievements for his country were not forgotten, is shown by the generous deed of the citizens of Jabesh, and by the elegy that David sang over him (2 Sam. 1:17-27), speaking as he did for the mourning hearts of Israel.—*Ibid, p. 136.*

(3) **David's Character.**—It is not necessary to ignore David's weaknesses and despotic moods, or to make the primitive hero into a tender-hearted saint, in order to be able to appreciate his deep religious character and his importance for the religion of Israel. As Moses sheds a luster on Israel's past, so does David on Israel's future; and in troublous days it was his name that revived Israel's dying hope and its faith in God. Yahve, the God of Israel, became through him at once the supreme dweller in Jerusalem; the neighbor, almost the fellow-inmate, nay, the host and father, of Israel's king. Jerusalem, the city of the king, became at the same time the city of God, the holy city. David's family was Yahve's dynasty and its members Yahve's sons. And even the hero of the latter age, who shall deliver Israel and the world from all troubles, could soon be hardly otherwise thought of than as a second David, as the counterpart, the great son of the glorious founder of the holy city.—*Ibid, p. 158.*

(4) **Dangers of Prosperity.** — Although the sudden prosperity which Israel enjoyed under David and Solomon had thus a tendency to promote religion, still such prosperity was not only very far from producing that elevation of thought which the great prophets show us, but it brought in its train dangers of every sort. This warlike people ran the risk of having its simple constitution remodeled on the lines of a centralized military state, and of being thus assimilated also in religion and morals to those conquering peoples whose organization was purely secular. Increasing riches must have done away with the strict simplicity of the Israelitish mode of life. There was, especially in the chief towns, a growing earnestness both to make money and to enjoy life, while honest and fair dealing in business were becoming less common.—*H. Schultz, "Old Testament Theology," Vol. I., p. 154.*

THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **JUDAISM IN GRACEO-ROMAN TIMES.**—The Jews scattered, or the Diaspora, The Greek translation of the Old Testament, The introduction of synagogue worship, The Scribes, The Maccabean uprising, The Roman conquest of Palestine.
14. **JESUS THE PREDICTED MESSIAH.**—The Messianic vision of the Patriarchs, of Moses, of David, of the eighth century prophets, of the prophets who lived in comparative and actual exile, of those who lived after the exile, The downfall of the nation.
15. **THE PRE-MOSAIC PERIOD.**—Relation of Hebrews to other Semitic races, The Hebrew Scriptures, Two processes at work in the Hebrew religion, Conceptions of deity, Monolatry.
16. **THE RELIGION OF MOSES.**—The Hebrews in Egypt, Deliverance, The name Jahveh, Law of Moses, Elements of sternness and kindness, Elements from other religions, Priests.
17. **THE CONQUEST AND THE JUDGES.**—Entrance into Canaan, Joshua, Leadership of Jahveh, Retrogression after Joshua, Worship of Phœnician gods, Mixed conditions in Israel.
18. **SAMUEL, DAVID, AND SOLOMON** —Elements of worship, Character of prophet, Schools of prophets, Work of Samuel, Character of Saul, Traits of David, Solomon and the Temple.

QUESTIONS.

13. *What effect did the dispersion of the Jews have upon Christianity? Cause of the translation of the Old Testament into Greek? Who took the place of the prophets in Grecian times? Wherein did the worship of the Jews differ from that of earlier times? Describe the Maccabean Age; the rise of parties.*
14. *Wherein consists the uniqueness of the religion of Israel? Trace the development of the Messianic idea, (a) in the book of Genesis; (b) in the time of Moses; (c) of David; (d) in the prophecies of Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah; (e) in those of Isaiah 40:66, Jeremiah and Ezekiel; and (f) in the prophets after the exile. Have these predictions warrantable fulfillment in the New Testament?*
15. *Between what dates do the most of the Hebrew writings lie? What two factors enter into the Hebrew religion? How did it differ from other neighboring faiths? What were the characteristics of Jahveh? Describe the characters of Abraham and Jacob.*
16. *What was Moses' training for his work? What is to be said of his inspiration? What is monolatry? What was the character of the Book of the Covenant?*
17. *To what extent was the conquest successful? What was the conception of Jahveh in this period? What elements of reaction in the time of the Judges? What were the elements of progress?*
18. *Point out the simplicity of the sanctuary in Samuel's time. What were the Schools of the Prophets? What were the good and bad elements respectively in the character of David? What dangers confronted the true religion in the reign of Solomon?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Study the history of the Maccabees.*
2. *Compare the predictions concerning the Messiah with the events recorded by the evangelists.*
3. *General characteristics of Semitic religions.*
4. *The growth of religious ideas as illustrated in names applied to deity in successive periods.*
5. *Influence of the provincial sanctuaries on religious life.*
6. *The Schools of the Prophets.*

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19. RELIGION IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

Ahijah of Shiloh was at the moment of Rehoboam's coronation the leader of the prophetic party. He had already set himself to the work of fomenting rebellion, and had opened his plans to a young officer of Solomon's building force—Jeroboam, the son of Nebat of the tribe of Ephraim. Promising him success in his efforts, Ahijah had induced him to take up arms against the king (1 Kings 11:26-40); but the first attempt was not successful, and Jeroboam was obliged to take refuge in Egypt. Returning, however, in answer to the summons of his friends at the death of Solomon, he placed himself at the head of the malcontents from the northern tribes who demanded lighter taxation (1 Kings 12:1-20). The request was refused, and the breach between the two sections, which had always been apparent, was now widened into a chasm that was never closed, by the election of Jeroboam to the kingship of the northern tribes. Much was naturally expected of the new king by the prophets who had been his advisors in the important steps already taken. But statecraft was stronger than religion in Jeroboam's character, and the prophets were bitterly disappointed. Fearing that the old sanctuaries would not be attractive enough to keep his people away from the new temple at the capital of his rival, he organized two sanctuaries at the extremes of his kingdom, Bethel and Dan, and, instead of the imageless worship which had been the only officially recognized order of things hitherto, he set up two images of *Jahveh* in the form of bulls (1 Kings 12:26-33). The representation of deity in this manner was not new. As the symbol of strength and creative power the bull was regarded as sacred in Egypt and among other nations; and perhaps in remembrance of Egyptian customs, the Israelites once before fell into the practice (Ex. 32:1-6). It is to be noticed that in neither case was *Jahveh* set aside as the national God. It was simply an effort to gratify the craving for a visible symbol of deity, a craving which had manifested itself in the use of images in previous periods, but against which the purer idealism of prophets like Moses and Samuel had set itself like a flint. With this reversion to a lower type of religion came other departures from the form of worship recognized in the period, such as the appointment of non-Levitical priests and the designation of other feasts than those already celebrated.

The prophets were always the advocates of the policy of national seclusion. All that tended to bring Israel into contact with other nations, whether war or commerce, met with their disapproval. The secret of this feeling was their fear of foreign religious ideas gaining a foothold by such means. To kings like Solomon, intent upon the enrichment of his realm, this seemed a narrow policy. National prosperity was to be attained only through friendly relations with other peoples, and to this end alliances by marriage were secured with foreign courts. But the purity of the religion of *Jahveh* was dependent on insulation until it should have time to take firmer hold on the people. The two principles are admirably represented by Ahab and Elijah. The former reigned over Israel from 875 to 853 B.C. He entered into alliance with Ethbaal of Zidon, and married his daughter Jezebel, giving her religion, the worship of *Baal* and *Astarte*, official sanction beside the religion of *Jahveh*, in his capital Samaria (1 Kings 16:29-34), the prophets of *Astarte* being supported by the queen (1 Kings 18:19). While it is improbable that Ahab went so far as to renounce the faith of his nation, yet the worshipers, and especially the prophets, of *Jahveh* were subjected to ill-treatment and, perhaps, actual persecution (1 Kings 18:3, 4). Under the favor of the court the foreign cult made rapid progress, till it might have seemed that the whole nation had been swept away by the seductive Phœnician worship (1 Kings 19:14). But the counter movement came. Its center was in the prophetic circle, and its leader was Elijah. His first effort at reformation was only partially successful (1 Kings 18:19), and he learned that abrupt and bloody methods were not always wisest (1 Kings 19:11, 12). The

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prophets of *Baal* had been slaughtered, but the queen remained. His next plan was a change of rulers (1 Kings 19:15, 16), and this was accomplished shortly after (2 Kings 9:1), though not till after the close of Elijah's career. This prophet represents the rugged, inflexible character of the prophets of Samuel's type, with the fierce zeal for their faith that would sanction any deed of blood in its behalf (1 Kings 18:40). His relation and that of his friend Elisha to the prophetic bands is marked (1 Kings 20:35-43; 2 Kings 2:3, 5; 6:1-7; 9:1), and probably these groups of men were capable of great service in behalf of the religion of Israel, which was, as a matter of fact, never so near extirpation as the despondent Elijah at one time thought (1 Kings 19:18). Its vitality was greater than he knew. But doubtless in a very true sense he stood for that reaction which weakened the worship of *Baal* in the land, and left its final overthrow as an officially recognized worship to the violent and bloody measures of Jehu, who soon came to the throne (2 Kings 9:10). In a true sense, therefore, Elijah, as the champion of justice (1 Kings 21) and the defender of the faith, was the guardian of Israel, its "chariots and horsemen" (2 Kings 2:12). (1) It is noticeable, however, that he is not reported as protesting against the bull worship of Bethel and Dan; and Jehu, who might be supposed to stand as the royal patron of the prophetic party, is upbraided by the later prophets for following to that extent in the path of Jeroboam (2 Kings 10:29-31). Perhaps it was considered a sufficient step to preserve the worship of *Jahveh* as against that of *Baal* without so much regard to its character. It was in the reign of Jeroboam II., 781-840 B.C., that the period of greatest importance for religion in the northern kingdom began. This reign witnessed the work of Amos, and the first part of that of Hosea, the earliest prophets who have left writings. This new phase of prophecy may almost be called a new beginning, for here we are able for the first time to study the materials that reveal the true condition of the kingdom, and exhibit the new tone of the prophetic work. Amos and Hosea are not a new order of men. They recognize the fact that they are continuing the work of others before them (Amos 2:11; 3:7), but the tone of the prophetic ministry is higher and the vision of the divine nature and purpose wider. The Schools of the Prophets remain, but the fierce enthusiasm of the past has given way to a professionalism, which makes preaching a mere source of revenue, and causes a true prophet to shrink from being classed with such men (Amos 7:14). Social and religious conditions are reflected in their writings. There is a growing separation between rich and poor, and the sins that grow out of such conditions are set down (Amos 2:78; 3:12, 15; 5:7, 10, 11; 6:4-6). The popular religion is of a low and formal character, and it is hard to tell at times whether the description is that of degraded *Jahveh* worship, or the heathen customs that have crept in (Amos 2:12; 4:4*f*; 5:21; 8:5). Amos was a native of the Southern Kingdom, and came to Bethel for only a short time (Amos 1:1; 7:14). Hosea was a resident of the north. The one speaks a message of warning and denunciation of coming judgment; the other, of the love and mercy of God. This lesson has come to him through a tragic experience in his own life which he has come to feel was providential (Hos. 1:3). To Amos, Israel is a chosen nation, selected by *Jahveh*, the universal ruler of the world. But this cannot be ground of pride, but rather strict accountability (2:11; 3:2, 7). Monotheism is distinctly recognized. Heathen nations are under the government of *Jahveh*, (2) and are condemned for cruelties that were freely committed by David, while Israel is held even to a higher law than they (1:3, 6, 9, 11, 13; 2:1, 4, 6, 12). Nothing could more plainly mark the growth of prophetic ideals. In a similar manner Hosea denounces the slaughter wrought by Jehu the reformer at Jezreel (1:4). The worthlessness of religious ritual without righteousness is emphasized (Amos 5:21-24). The doctrine of divine love preached by Hosea is an immeasurable advance over any previous prophetic message and shows the clearer vision of God now enjoyed. Such ideals were found nowhere else in this period save in this chosen nation.

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Natural development will not produce an Amos or a Hosea, much less an Isaiah. The divine purpose is the only explanation. Slowly disclosing itself in the lives of men as they were prepared to understand and embody it, the centuries witnessed among the Hebrew people the most remarkable manifestation of moral and spiritual development which history records, a development whose end was not the elevation of one nation alone, but of all the world. After the days of Amos and Hosea, the Northern Kingdom hastened to its fall, and the work of the prophets centered wholly in Jerusalem. (3)

19. RELIGION IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.

(1) **Character of Elijah.**—One of these masters of the prophets—the most powerful perhaps of all Old Testament prophets, because the most original—now crosses Ahab's path, Elijah of Tishbe in Gilead. In him is embodied the protest of the national will which was raising itself in such powerful opposition against the insult which was about to be done to Yahve. With a clear consciousness of the real point at issue, he takes the field for Yahve against Baal, does battle for the moral rights of the human spirit as against the tendency to abandon them in the religion of nature, which was demoralizing and debasing to man; and in this he is the genuine counterpart of Moses, with whom the New Testament ranges him. Elijah introduced into prophecy that species of categorical imperative which distinguishes him as well as the later prophets, that brazen inflexibility, that diamond-like hardness of character which bids them hold fast by their moral demand, even should the nation be dashed to pieces against it. For him the demand means to stand by Yahve as against Baal.—*R. Kittel, "History of the Hebrews," Vol. II., pp. 266, 267.*

(2) **Monotheism.**—In the first place, then, the prophets of the eighth century seem to have made a distinct advance in the direction of monotheism. Before their time, men appear to have more fully recognized the existence of other independent divinities outside and beyond Israel. The very fact that Israel's God was addressed by a proper name shows that he was thereby contra-distinguished from the gods of other peoples and lands. It is not said in the Decalogue, There is no God but Yahveh, but, Beside Yahveh there shall be for the Israelite no other God. As Israel is the people of Yahveh, so is Moab the people of Chemosh, and this parallelism must have at least arisen and been established while some considerable measure of reality was ascribed to the Moabite god.—*Ibid, p. 35.*

When in the consciousness of the prophets the central place was taken, not by the might, but by the holiness of Yahveh, the conception of God was carried up into another and higher sphere. From that moment it ceased to be a question of "more" or "less" between Yahveh and the other gods, for he stood not only above them, but in very distinct opposition to them. If Yahveh, the Holy One, was God, if he was God as the Holy One, then the others were not. In a word, the belief that Yahveh was the only God sprang out of the ethical conception of his being. Monotheism was the gradual, not the sudden, result of this conception.—*A. Kuenen, "Hibbert Lectures," p. 119.*

(3) **Character of the Prophets.**—So unique a phenomenon as Israelite prophecy had not unnaturally been interpreted and illustrated in many ways. We have advanced beyond the antiquated view which, neglecting the human elements in prophecy almost entirely, regarded the prophets as mere foretellers of the future, entrusted with a fixed, precise, and pre-arranged message from God, and repeating without flaw or change a lesson which had been verbally dictated to them by an automatic inspiration. . . . We are thus driven back, more and more exclusively, upon a purely religious interpretation of the prophetical work. We must regard the prophets as they regarded themselves—as religious teachers, as messengers of Yahveh, commissioned to explain to their people the immediate purposes and mandates of their God. In the discharge of this, their embassy, they now warned, now threatened, and now comforted. They read the gradual fulfillment of Yahveh's will in the events of their age, set forth the history, and interpreted the lesson. But the less they were prophets by habit and profession, the more were their utterances stimulated by special crises. They prophesied because, and when, they had a definite message to deliver. Yes it may well be surmised that in the intervals between these higher moments, their lives were devoted as religious teachers, in a modern sense of the word, to the more constant and normal duty of a gradual religious enlightenment. Isaiah gathered round him disciples, and the very fact that the prophets of the eighth century began to publish and circulate their utterances shows that they no longer confined themselves to the exigencies of the moment, but attempted a more continuous method of teaching, and a steadier and less fitful influence. . . . It was the prophets, men few in number, but great in power, who gave to the religion of Israel its specific character and direction. The seed was sown by Moses, the Founder; the ground was watered by Samuel, by Nathan and God, by Elijah and Micaiah; but the harvest was gathered, or rather it was ripened, by the prophets of the eighth century. It was they who definitely connected the worship of Yahveh with the practice of morality, and conceived the idea of a holy nation, divinely chosen and divinely trained. They were the first to show how the triumph of a nation's God—his veritable "day" of glory—might be signalized by his people's punishment and defeat. It was the prophets who purified the conception of Yahveh as a God of righteousness and naught besides, and who began the transformation of the only God of a single nation into the only God of the entire world. And, lastly, it was the prophets of the eighth century who began to teach the doctrine—so strange to antiquity—that a single God of one people might become the One God of all.—*C. G. Montefiore, "Religion of the Ancient Hebrews," pp. 150, 153, 156.*

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20. JUDAH BEFORE THE EXILE.

The religion of *Jahveh* had always the advantage in Judah after the disruption, for the temple without an image was there, and the regular order of services under the Levitical priesthood went on without interruption, though probably on a much diminished scale, owing to the narrower resources of the state. But the temple never displaced the high places in popular affection till late in this period, and sacrifices were offered to *Jahveh* both at Jerusalem and at these ancestral sanctuaries. But along with this legitimate worship of the high places, which fell under the ban of disapproval only at a later time, there were darker features of a heathenish character mingled with the provincial worship, such as the use of obelisks, and even sacred prostitution. This was the condition in the reign of Rehoboam, 937-920 B.C. (1 Kings 14:21-24). Asa (917-876 B.C.) abolished the more objectionable features, and destroyed an image of *Astarte*, which the queen-mother had set up (1 Kings 15:9-14). With the accession of Jehoram (851-843 B.C.) there came the introduction of the *Baal* worship from Samaria, through the influence of the queen, Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab and Jezebel. A temple was built to *Baal*, and his images and shrines were set up in many places. A check was given to this cult by the zeal of Jehoidah the priest, who organized a movement centering at the temple of *Jahveh*, and by the overthrow and death of Athaliah swept away for a time the danger that threatened the true faith (2 Kings 11). The temple was repaired by Joash (856-796 B.C.), directed by Jehoidah (2 Kings 12). In this instance it was the priests, not the prophets, who organized resistance to the foreign cult.



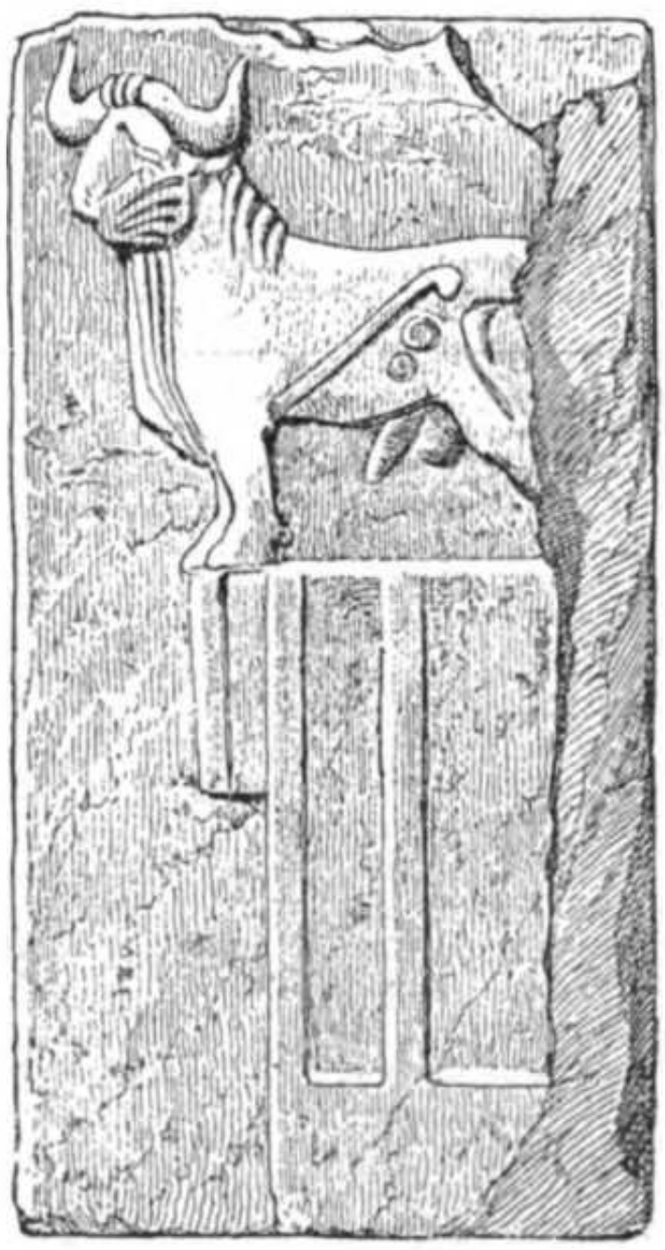
Probably a Jewish Idol of Ashtoreth (Astarte) imported from a Phœnician city.

With Ahaz, however, other foreign elements appear (735-715 B.C.). The horrible rite of human sacrifice is enforced by royal example, and an altar of foreign fashion is introduced into the temple (2 Kings 16:1-4, 10-18). The custom of human sacrifice seems not to have been unknown in earlier periods (Gen. 22; Jud. 11:30, 31; R. V., margin), and was practiced among neighboring nations, the Israelites sharing in the opinion that it was effective (2 Kings 3:27). It also made its appearance in the northern kingdom, probably under the influence of the worship of *Baal* (2 Kings 17:17). But at Jerusalem and in the royal family the practice is suggestive of the inroad of heathen ideas. With Hezekiah (715-686 B.C.) a new era of reform was ushered in, suggested, no doubt, by the preaching of the prophets Isaiah and Micah. The obelisks and images were overthrown and the brazen serpent, now become an object of veneration, was destroyed (2 Kings 18:1-5). Hezekiah is reported to have abolished the high places as well, though these had remained undisturbed and seemingly approved through all the past, including the most strenuous periods of reform (1 Kings 15:14; 22:43; 2 Kings 12:3; 15:4, 35; 16:4). It was only later writers, occupying the standpoint of the law of Josiah's time, who disapproved of the country sanctuaries. Perhaps their evil effects had begun already to manifest themselves to the prophets.

The work of Isaiah and Micah brings a new influence to bear on the life of Judah. The former belonged to the higher circles in Jerusalem, and for forty years (737-701 B.C.) was prominent in the religious and political life of the people. Micah, as a countryman, was not so closely identified with the life of the court. With these preachers prophecy reaches its highest level, as an effort to save the nation from the consequences of its misdeeds. The picture of the times is graphic. Foreign relations have caused the bringing in of manners and customs unsuitable for the people of God. Jerusalem is full of luxury and idols (Isa. 2:5-11). Monopolists, skeptics, perverters, and corrupt judges abound (5:8-24). The images to

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which the prophet refers, not so much in wrath as in contempt, seem not to have been the representations of other deities, but the means by which the worship of *Jahveh* was reduced to a mere superstition. The service of the temple was kept up carefully, but it could not be accepted as a substitute for righteousness (Isa. 1:10-17). The vision by which Isaiah had been called to his prophetic work (Isa. 6) gave him the keynote of his message—the holiness of God. *Jahveh* is for him henceforth the "Holy One of Israel," not in the later sense of mere ceremonial separation, but of moral purity and spiritual grandeur. The rising power of Assyria, he predicted, would be permitted to come against Judah as a chastisement of her offences. The Assyrian king, as an instrument of God, would be used to humble the pride of the nation and bring it to repentance (10:5*f*; 5:26-30). Throughout the period of Assyrian activity in the western lands, the prophet made his sermons revolve about the one theme of judgment, emphasizing the four points — the people have sinned, they shall be punished, a good remnant shall remain, and the future will be prosperous and glorious under Messianic rule (8:19-22;;11:1; 12:6). The character of God was disclosed by the preaching of Isaiah as never before. What he felt and saw of the divine life he gave to the nation, and it became an inestimably precious spiritual inheritance for the future. The long reign of Manasseh (686-641 B.C.) was a time of disheartening reaction. The king was the patron of every foreign religious fad. Altars were erected for *Baal* and *Astarte*, the Babylonian planet worship was brought in and even given a place in the temple, bronze horses and chariots in honor of the sun were set up, and every form of divination was encouraged; the king himself offered his son in sacrifice, and a bitter persecution of the faithful began (2 Kings 21:1-16). In such a period little could be done, and prophecy was silent. The inroad of the Scythians through the coast-lands in 627 B.C. gave occasion for the denunciation by Zephaniah of more terrible judgments to come. Presently Josiah (639-609 B.C.) came to the throne, and gave promise of better things. The work of repairing the temple was undertaken, and during the process discovery was made of a book of law. This code is now recognized to have been the Deuteronomic law, which, based upon the Book of the Covenant, had gradually grown up in the period of the kingship, and being put into final form by some priest or priests, and perhaps also prophets, was laid away until the dark days, which the reigns of Manasseh and Amon brought, should pass away. (1) The most radical element in the new code was the centralization of worship at Jerusalem. Idolatry in its worst forms was creeping in. Isaiah had only alluded to idols with the contempt of one who saw in them a minor source of evil as compared with the prevailing immorality and corruption of his day. But the days of Manasseh had revealed the full horror of the worship of false gods, and the reformers set themselves to meet the evil. The temple could easily be controlled with a pious king on the throne. Even the desecrations introduced by Manasseh could be removed and forgotten. But the local sanctuaries throughout the land, which had hitherto been viewed as quite legitimate, were less easily supervised, and had shown themselves to be the elements of danger. The remedy was drastic. The local sanctuaries, with all their ancestral memories, were abolished at a stroke, and the temple alone made the center of all religious service (Deut. 12:1-28). Other portions of the code



Bull-Idol from the Hittite Palace at Eyuk, in Asia Minor.

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that appear to hint especially at existing conditions were those referring to pillars and obelisks (16:21 *f*), the "host of heaven" (17:2-7), *Moloch* worship (18:10), and religious prostitution (23:17*f*). Laws already uttered in the legislation of the Mosaic age, others growing out of traditions concerning the great lawgiver and his work, and still others recent and dealing with the present situation, were included in the collection, and were set into a framework of Mosaic exhortation. The effect of this discovery could be nothing less than startling to a man of Josiah's nature (2 Kings 22:11). The work of reformation into conformity with the new law was begun at once, and in this thoroughgoing process (2 Kings 23) he was ably assisted by the priests, to whose order Jeremiah, the great prophet of Judah's decline and fall, belonged (Jer. 1:1). If Josiah could have lived till his reforms were thoroughly understood and established, the sequel might have been different. But his untimely death in a needless battle left the reforming party without assistance, filled the questioning with doubt, and gave the advocates of the old regime a strength that the better leaders of the nation could not overcome. The end came on apace. Jeremiah, the saddest of the prophets, faced the coming darkness, and gave the people the only divine message that could come in such an hour: "Too late! The nation must die that it may be reborn. Captivity in Babylon is inevitable." (2)

20. JUDAH BEFORE THE EXILE.

(1) **Deuteronomy.**—The book is stated to have been found while some repairs were being carried on in the Temple; and there is force in the argument that it could hardly have been lost during the early years of Josiah (who appears to have been throughout devoted to the service of Jehovah); but this might easily have happened during the heathen reaction under Manasseh. Hence it is probable that its composition is not later than the reign of Manasseh. . . . When once Deuteronomy is viewed in the light of the age which gave it birth, its true significance appears. It was a great manifesto against the dominant tendencies of the time. It laid down the lines of a great religious reform. Whether written in the dark days of Manasseh, or during the brighter years which followed the accession of Josiah, it was a nobly-conceived endeavor to provide in anticipation a spiritual rallying point, round which, when circumstances favored, the disorganized forces of the national religion might range themselves again. It was an emphatic reaffirmation of the fundamental principles which Moses had long ago insisted on, loyalty to Jehovah and repudiation of all false gods: it was an endeavor to realize in practice the ideals of the prophets, especially of Hosea and Isaiah, to transform the Judah demoralized by Manasseh into the "holy nation" pictured in Isaiah's vision, and to awaken in it that devotion to God, and love for man, which Hosea had declared to be the first of human duties —*S. R. Driver, "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament," pp. 87, 89.*

That inspired prophet and priest (so great in their self-effacing humility) who composed the main part of the book of Deuteronomy, re-created Moses for their own age. They adapted older laws with the utmost freedom, but, in the spirit of Moses and his equally inspired successors, "bringing forth out of their treasury things new and old." . . . The object of the Deuteronomist was to keep up the historic continuity of the "Mosaic" school of legalists—the orthodox school, one may call it, in opposition to those "lying pens" of which Jeremiah speaks (Jer. 8:8). The object of Hilkiah was to terminate the painful hesitancy of the believers in a spiritual religion by producing the joint work of some well-trained priest and prophet as the only suitable and divinely appointed law of the state. To abolish polytheism and the dangerous local shrines, a new prophecy and a new law book, of a more efficacious character than any which had yet been seen, were clearly necessary. These were provided in the originial Book of Deuteronomy.—*T. K. Cheyne, "Jeremiah: His Life and Times," pp. 63, 80.*

(2) **Jeremiah.**—As the Kingdom of Israel on its downfall bore in Hosea its noblest prophetic fruit, so in the time immediately preceding the destruction of Judah we find the sublime figure of Jeremiah. Mentally, also, these two men were closely related. Sentiment is the predominant characteristic of each. Both have the same tender and sympathetic heart; both have the same elegiac bent of mind; both were pre-eminently devout men. The religious element preponderates entirely over the ethical. It can be proved that Jeremiah was powerfully influenced by Hosea, and that he looked upon him as his prototype. . . . Jeremiah is the scion of a martyred church. He was born at a time when Manasseh persecuted the prophets with fire and sword, and raged against their whole party. Persecution, however, only serves to fan religion into a more intense flame. With what fervor do men then pray; with what strength do they believe and confide, wait and hope. Under such circumstances Jeremiah was born. Under such impressions he grew up. Truly, he was a predestined personality. . . . Jeremiah was the first to set religion consciously free from all extraneous and material elements, and to establish it on a purely spiritual basis. God himself will destroy His temple in Jerusalem, and at the time of the final salvation it shall not be built up again; and the Holiest of Holies, the ark of the covenant, will not be missed and none new made. What God requires of man is something different: man shall break up his fallow ground and not sow among thorns; he shall circumcise his heart. God considers only the purity of the heart, its prevalent disposition.—*C. H. Cornill, "The Prophets of Israel," pp. 91, 94, 96.*

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21. THE EXILE.

In 597 B.C. Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon, came westward and laid siege to Jerusalem. Jehoiachin, the king, a grandson of Josiah, gave himself into the hand of the Babylonian, who took him, together with some ten thousand captives from the better classes of Jerusalem, and, plundering the treasures of the palace and the temple, returned with the spoil, leaving Zedekiah (597-586 B.C.), a son of Josiah, on the throne. In the ninth year of his reign, Nebuchadrezzar returned and beseiged the city, reducing it at last and destroying the temple, and ended the existence of the city for half a century, taking another company of the people to Babylon. A wretched remnant was left in the land, and a company of refugees made their way into Egypt, taking with them the unwilling Jeremiah. During these eventful years, he had stood constantly as the champion of God and righteousness in the midst of a vicious court and a worldly people, and more than once his life had been in danger. There is a deep pathos in the life and writings of this prophet, whose unhappy lot it was to be placed at a time when the tide of disaster could not be turned, and only the experiences of the exile could avail. His life came to its close among the refugees in Egypt. Among the exiles who went out to Babylonia in the first deportation was a young man named Ezekiel, a priest. He was taken to Tel-Abib, on the river Chebar, where presently the divine call came to him to be the mouthpiece of *Jahveh* among his brethren (Ezek. 1:3). Both Jeremiah and Ezekiel express the conviction that no other prophets of the true faith are to be found, though both in Jerusalem and Babylon the professional prophets were numerous (Jer. 23). It is noticeable that both these prophets are from the priestly order.



Vegetable Dealers in Palestine.

The problems which the destruction of the city and the transportation of the people brought were perplexing. Few could appreciate the high spiritual plane occupied by Jeremiah, or his doctrine that purification was to be wrought by suffering. To those who had sunk into idolatry it was a seeming proof that *Jahveh* was not as powerful as the gods of Babylon, or he would have saved his city. To the faithful it was a paralyzing shock, for did it not mean that God had abandoned his people? And then the monolatristic idea, so largely prevalent, prevented hope that, now the people were removed from the land, they could be longer under the protection or within the hearing of *Jahveh*, for was he not localized at Jerusalem, above the ruins of the dismantled city? To such troubled questions the vision by which Ezekiel was called addressed itself. The chariot of God, moving about on the wings of the storm, with the dreadful wheels full of eyes, was a symbol to show prophet and people that their God was no mere local deity, but the Lord of the world, and that in Babylon they were as near him as in Jerusalem. During all the years between the first deportation and the final fall of the city, the two prophets, Jeremiah in Jerusalem, and Ezekiel upon the Chebar, labored to convince the mis-

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guided people that the city must fall and the exile be prolonged. Jeremiah wrote a letter to the exiles, assuring them that their hopes of early return were delusive, and advising preparations for a permanent stay (Jer. 29:1*f*). Ezekiel had labored with his fellow exiles to the same end, assuring them that as long as Jerusalem was the scene of such practices as defiled the true faith she could not avert the coming doom (Ezek. 8). It was not till a refugee from Palestine brought him the tidings of the actual fall of the city (Ezek. 33:21) that the tone of the prophet changed. From that time on, he devoted himself to the kindling of hope for a final return and future for the nation, in which the reconstructed temple, to which he devoted the closing chapters of his book, plays an important part.

Another voice, even more clear than Ezekiel's, was raised during the latter portion of the exile, speaking of the coming redemption. The Evangelical Prophet, whose message is contained in the last chapters of the book of Isaiah (Isa. 40-66), brought a much needed encouragement to the people. When the days were growing very long, and the voices of Jeremiah and Ezekiel had both been long hushed, the promise comes that the nation shall soon go back to Jerusalem, for *Jahveh*, who is the only God, the Creator of the ends of the earth, is concerned for his own sake as well as for his people's sake, to bring them back to national life in Jerusalem (Isa. 40). This prophet was not a preacher, as his predecessors had been, but only a writer, who, probably from the necessities of the case, sent out his exhortations and promises in the form of fly leaves or tractates. It would hardly be possible to boldly preach such treasonable doctrines as these chapters contain, and perhaps the anonymity of the material is thus to be accounted for. But a new philosophy of history is set forth. Cyrus is already on the frontier. Through him, as an instrument in God's hands, deliverance is to come to the nation (Isa. 41:25; 44:27, 28; 45:1*f*; 46:11). But deliverance is not enough. The nation is a chosen order of people for a particular purpose. It is the Servant of *Jahveh* (Isa. 41:8; 42:1*f*; 42:18*f*; 43:1-10; 44:1, 21; 45:4). But the nation as a whole is unable to accomplish the work of bringing redemption to the world. They cannot even save themselves, and gradually a select portion is seen to represent the idea rather than the full nation. This remnant, or nucleus, is not only to save the remainder, but the world as well (Isa. 49:1-6). Then, just as gradually, there emerges from this remnant the figure of a Messianic Servant, the representative of the nation and the remnant, who, personified as the nation, despised, rejected, misunderstood, is still successful in the redemptive work to which God had called him (Isa. 52:13; 53:12). (1) In this section, and one or two later which describe the breadth and character of the Servant's work (Isa. 55 and 61), prophecy reaches its very highest levels. Israel's sufferings are not for its own sins so much as for the world. All



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redemption is through suffering, and thus a philosophy of history was fashioned which included not one nation alone, but all, and the Servant of *Jahveh*, Israel, remnant and Messiah successively, as the messenger of a world-wide ministry of divine love. The possibility, nay, the certainty, of return to Jerusalem; the national programme which makes such a return necessary; and the purification of the people, by which preparation for the return may be accomplished—these are the great themes of this prophet.

The exile was a period of great importance to the people. Deprived of the temple and law, the literary spirit in the nation turned back upon the past and produced history, such as Samuel-Kings, and recast other narratives of former days; revised the law on the basis of the existing codes and the praxis that had grown up since Deuteronomy, and codified the so-called Priest Code contained in the latter portion of Exodus and in Leviticus and Numbers; (2) turned in upon its own spirit and tried to answer doubts, as in Job, or give expression to praise and longing, as in the Psalms. There must have been a strong grasp upon the fundamentals of the faith by large classes of the people to explain the firmness with which they clung to it in the midst of the taunts of their masters and the ridicule of apostate countrymen. Though many lost faith and hope, and others were led away into forbidden practices (Ezek. 20:30), yet the core of the nation remained sound, and there may even be said to have been decided progress in some directions. Monolatry gave way finally to monotheism, and idolatry was eradicated. Sabbath observances and circumcision became more binding, prayer and fasting were recognized as never before as aids in the religious life, and the doctrine of individual accountability was emphasized. At the same time, a growing tendency towards particularism and legalism manifested itself, the fruit of which appeared later.

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21. THE EXILE.

(1) **The Nation as the Servant of Jahveh.**—It cannot be doubted that, as Christendom from the beginning has seen, the character thus delineated by the prophet with such genius and power was realized by Jesus of Nazareth. As has been explained, the figure itself is constructed upon the basis of the historic Israel, and exhibits, in their ideal delicacy and completeness, the most characteristic attributes of the nation. But it is just these attributes which were also realized in their fullness and perfection by Jesus Christ. If, for example, it was the function of Israel to be the organ and channel of revelation, to manifest the character and purposes of God to the world, to perpetuate and exemplify the practice of religion and holiness of life, to be a witness to the truth, even (in the persons of its individual members) to the endurance of persecution and death, it is evident how in all these aspects the mission of Israel was far more effectively and completely realized by Christ. In Christ the genius of Israel found its fullest and most intense expression: the character imperfectly realized either by the nation as a whole, or by the best of its individual members, was exhibited in its completeness by Him. The work and office of Christ, as Teacher, as Prophet, as Example, as Sacrifice, exhibits the consummation of what was achieved imperfectly and partially by Israel. —*S. R. Driver*, "*Isaiah, His Life and Times*," *p. 180.*

(2) **The so-called Priest Code.** — The principles by which the priesthood was to be guided were laid down, it may be supposed, in outline by Moses. In process of time, however, as national life grew more complex, and fresh cases requiring to be dealt with arose, these principles would be found no longer to suffice, and their extension would become a necessity. Especially in matters of ceremonial observance, which would remain naturally within the control of the priests, regulations such as those enjoined in Ex. 20:24-26; 22:29-31; 23:14-19 would not long continue in the same rudimentary state; fresh definitions and distinctions would be introduced, more precise rules would be prescribed for the method of sacrifice, the ritual to be observed by the priests, the dues which they were authorized to receive from the people, and other similar matters. After the priesthood had acquired, through the foundation of Solomon's Temple, a permanent center, it is probable that the process of development and systematization advanced more rapidly than before. And thus the allusions in "Dt." imply the existence of usages beyond those which fall directly within the scope of the book, and belonging specially to the jurisdiction of the priests (*e.g.*, 17:11; 24:8). Ezekiel, being a priest himself, alludes to such usages more distinctly. Although, therefore, there are reasons for supposing that the Priest's Code assumed finally the shape in which we have it in the age subsequent to Ezekiel, it rests ultimately upon an ancient traditional basis; and many of the institutions prominent in it are recognized in various stages of their growth, by the earlier pre-exilic literature, by "Dt.," and by Ezekiel The laws of "P," even when they included later elements, were still referred to Moses—no doubt because in its basis and origin Hebrew legislation was actually derived from him, and was only modified gradually.—*S. R. Driver*, "*Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*," *pp. 152, 153, 154.*

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22. THE RESTORATION.

The predictions of the prophets regarding the termination of the exile came to fulfillment in 538 B.C. In that year Cyrus, having conquered Media and Lydia, entered Babylon, and the map of the world was again transformed. It is not necessary to suppose that Cyrus was influenced by a special admiration for the religion of that small fragment of people held captive in his capital province. His motive in permitting the exiles to return to Jerusalem is amply explained by the desire to provide a strong and friendly base of operations in any future trouble with Egypt, and such an opportunity was offered by the situation of Jerusalem. The royal permission was accordingly given, a company of Jews numbering nearly fifty thousand was gathered for the journey, and the remaining vessels, brought from the temple at Jerusalem, were placed in their hands (Ezra 1:2). By no means all the exiles came back. Many had grown up in their eastern home and preferred to remain, and among these not a few even of the priestly class. The company was placed in charge of a Persian officer named Sheshbazzar, but with him was associated a council of leading men, chief among whom were Zerrubbabel, the grandson of Jehoiachin, and Joshua, the grandson of the last priest in Jerusalem, who lost his life at the sack of the city. As soon as the caravan reached Jerusalem, an altar was set up on the site of the temple, and the feasts resumed (Ezra 3:2-4). As soon as preparations could be made the foundations of the new temple were laid (534 B.C.) amid the mingled shouts of the more hopeful and lamentations of those who contrasted the meager present with the glorious past of the city (Ezra 3:7-12). The work of building was, however, soon interrupted. The descendants of the old Israelites on the north desired a share in the work. But the exclusive spirit prevailed, and the waiting help was rejected, which fostered a bitterness that hindered the building of the temple for many years. Two tendencies must have manifested themselves among the people. There was the broader, more tolerant attitude, which looked on other nations with friendliness and would welcome relations with foreigners, for the sake of the ministry of redemption for the world with which Israel was charged. Then there was the more narrow and exclusive spirit, that made Jewish particularism the fundamental article in its creed, and was unconscious of any duty to others. The latter attitude could claim the sanction of Ezekiel; the former, of the Evangelical Prophecy. In the end the narrow party won. Perhaps this was a necessary phase of the movement. The narrowing of the channel compelled the deepening of the stream, but the ungracious features of the more conservative and exclusive Judaism were the outcome of this tendency.

After nearly twenty years, the work was resumed under the exhortation of two prophets, Haggai and Zechariah, and, after royal aid had been given, brought to completion in 515 B.C. (Ezra 5:6). But it is evident that conditions were far from satisfactory. The hopes raised by the prophets were not being fulfilled. The city was small and poor, and the prospects were disheartening. It could not be that this meager situation was all that God intended for his people. The belief seems to have gained ground that a political crisis was imminent, a breaking up of the empire, by which Judah would profit. The horizon was anxiously scanned for signs of the coming upheaval (Zech. 1:10-12). But no crisis came, and in the sinking of heart that hope deferred produced many grew indifferent to all religious obligations. The worship at the temple, while still carried on, was not made the first concern, and poor offerings were presented. It is this situation which is set before us in the anonymous prophecy named from its most suggestive word, "My Messenger" (Malachi, *cf.* 3:1). There was danger of a still deeper pessimism and despair. The chief comfort lay in the company of the faithful who continued in the service of God amid all discouragements (Mal. 3:16-18). The appeal of this prophet, like that of Haggai and Zechariah, is to a renewed

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devotion to the law and the ritual. No longer are the great sanctions of righteousness and morality made the first concern, but the Toreh and the temple are the chief consideration. Thus the tone of prophecy has changed since the days of Isaiah and the great prophet of the exile, and who could say for the better?

It is evident that a new factor had been introduced into the national life just previous to the date of "Malachi," from which assistance was hoped by the religious leaders in Jerusalem. And this is found to have been the case. There had been from the time of the first return a bond of sympathy between the Jews in Jerusalem and those who remained in Babylonia. Meantime a company of the latter had been carrying forward the work of expanding the divine law in the spirit of Ezekiel, and now, when tidings reached them that affairs had approached a serious crisis in the little community in Judea, another company was organized to swell the population of Jerusalem, and under the leadership of Ezra, a scribe, the first named of that important order which had so much to do with the enlargement, teaching, and enforcement of the law in the later days, they left Babylon in 459 B.C. to the number of seventeen hundred. Their leader brought with him the new law (Ezra 7:14, 25, 26), prepared to put it into operation. On arrival in Judea, Ezra found the work of reform difficult, for the people did not take readily to the legal regulations insisted upon, so much more exacting in some directions than any known before. Ezra was compelled, indeed, to give up the effort for a time, and it was not till the arrival of Nehemiah, a Babylonian Jew, who, having obtained a position in the Persian court, requested the vacant governorship of Judea, that the work of reform could be prosecuted with a zeal that was backed up by the royal authority, and that overcame all opposition. The city was repaired, the walls built, and then at a great gathering of the people, the law was promulgated by Ezra (Ezra 8) to an audience that requested the reading, and that was profoundly impressed by the regulations set forth in the code. The religious education implied in the popular feeling of sin, as compared with the strict demands of the law now proclaimed, is profoundly interesting (Ezra 9:8-12). The law that was brought by Ezra from Babylon, and read to the people was the Priest Code, of which mention has already been made as the work of priests in Babylon during and after the exile. The particulars in which it most vitally differed from the earlier codes, the Book of the Covenant and Deuteronomy, were its separation of priests from other Levites and its emphasis upon the rules of "holiness," *i.e.*, ceremonial, not moral, purity. (1) The business of this law is to make a holy community in which God may dwell. God is honored by such institutions as secure a regulation of the external religious life of man. The community has a purely religious end. The nation, disappointed in its political hopes, turns now to a purely religious ideal within itself, and seeks there its satisfaction. The temple became, in a new and deeper sense, the center of Jewish thought and life. Its services and its offices were the most important concerns of the people. Under the direction of Ezra and Nehemiah the exclusive particularism of the more conservative party became triumphant, and the community was started on the narrow path toward the later Judaism.

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22. THE RESTORATION.

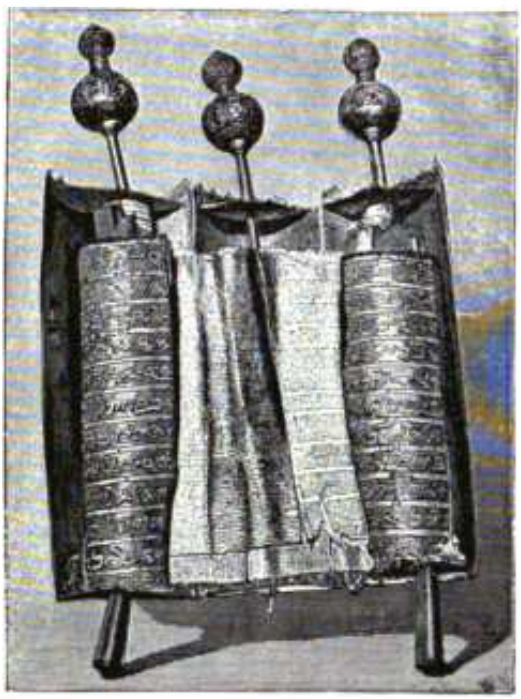
(1) **Holiness in the Priest Code.**—The distinction between what is *holy* and what is *common* is one of the most important things in ancient religion, but also one which it is very difficult to grasp precisely, because its interpretation varied from age to age with the general progress of religious thought. To us holiness is an ethical idea. God, the perfect being, is the type of holiness; men are holy in proportion as their lives and character are godlike; places and things can be called holy only by figure on account of their association with spiritual things. This conception of holiness goes back to the Hebrew prophets, especially to Isaiah; but it is not the ordinary conception of antique religion, nor does it correspond to the original sense of the Semitic words that we translate by "holy." While it is not easy to fix the exact idea of holiness in ancient Semitic religion, it is quite certain that it has nothing to do with morality and purity of life. Holy persons were such, not in virtue of their character, but in virtue of their race, function, or mere material consecration.—*W. Robertson Smith*, "*The Religion of the Semites*," *p. 140.*

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23. THE RISE OF JUDAISM.

The history of the Old Testament closes with the return from Babylon, but fortunately the literature which it comprises gives us some light on the period from the exile to the advent. The movement which Ezra had started went on with increased force. Gradually the literature of the nation was gathered into a collection, to which, however, additions were made up to within a century and a half of the Christian era. The love of the Scriptures, and especially the law which had now been put into one collection, the Pentateuch, grew in the hearts of the people, as salvation was more and more believed to be found in its possession. One finds expression of this feeling in the psalms of the period (*e.g.*, 119).

Closely related to the pride in the Scriptures was that inspired by the temple and its services. No other nation had such possessions as these, and all the world might well envy the Jew these divine gifts. Thus Judaism came to be more and more the religion of a book and a building. The Toreh and the Temple were the visible symbols of the faith. Nor must it be forgotten that a high order both of religious conduct and of happiness resulted from this twofold culture.



Ancient Scroll of the Pentateuch.

Absolute monotheism had now been attained. There could be no remnant of a belief in other gods. But if *Jahveh* was the God of Israel and also of all the world, what was the relation of Israel to that world, and how was God himself disposed toward these other nations? From the time of the exile there had been two tempers of mind regarding other nations, as has been already stated. Both find expression in post-exilic days. The date of the books of Joel and Jonah is still an open question, but both may be confidently placed within the limits of this period. The former voices the conservative view. The nations exist only for the sake of Zion. When trouble visits the land, *Jahveh* is called into activity by a solemn fast, and at once promises to take vengeance on the nations for their treatment of the chosen people. What are all these nations compared with Judah and Jerusalem? War is declared against them; Egypt and Edom shall be desolated, and all Zion's foes shall perish. Even the beautiful promise of the outpouring of the divine spirit refers to Israel alone as its recipient. In striking contrast with this attitude is that of the author of Jonah, a book much misunderstood and ridiculed, but one of the most precious in the Old Testament. Jonah represents the narrow and ungracious spirit of those Jews who have no desire to give a message of salvation to other nations. In contrast with the noble-minded mariners and the repentant Ninevites, he plays but a sorry part. The book is a forceful protest against the narrower phases of post-exilic Judaism. (1)

But this very conception of God compelled the Jew to adjust the heathen to the divine and all-ruling law in some manner. Two methods were open. The one was that of proselyting, *i.e.*, admitting the heathen to covenant privileges under the

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law, through compliance with certain prescribed forms, viz., circumcision, baptism, and the offering of sacrifices. The opening of this door gave rise to an earnest missionary propaganda, especially in the century before Christ. But there were those who looked with disfavor on any efforts to widen the embrace of the national faith, and, while proselytism did not absolutely cease, it lost its force after a time. The second view as to the heathen, or gentiles, was that they should be conquered and brought into subjugation at the period of messianic supremacy yet ahead. Probably this was the more prevalent view, growing naturally out of the lofty ideas regarding the law and the temple, and the privileges they conferred on the chosen people.

At what period the synagogue came into being, or when Pharisees and Sadducees first arose, remain uncertain; at some time before the Maccabean movement, at any rate. Perhaps as important was the influence of Hellenism upon Jewish thought. Alexander's conquests produced a wide diffusion of Greek ideas, and perhaps no people were more profoundly affected by them than the Jews. This was especially true outside of Palestine. The Dispersion, *i.e.*, those Jews who lived in other parts of the world, Persia, Asia Minor, and Europe, were less under the influence of the conservative party than the Jews of the Holy Land. But even in Jerusalem the liberalizing tendency manifested itself in a decided manner, and it is impossible to say to what lengths it might have gone had not another force interposed. Antiochus IV., called Epiphanes, the overlord of Palestine, whose capital was at Antioch, impatient of Jewish customs and religious services in Jerusalem, attempted to force the process of Hellenizing upon the people, and by his profanation of the temple drove the people to a frantic uprising under the leadership of the Maccabees. In this struggle the older conservatism asserted itself, and a decisive break with Hellenism occurred. That reaction persisted as perhaps the most effective force which the Judaism of the period presents, viz., the Pharisees. The most interesting souvenir of that struggle is the book of Daniel, written about 165 B.C., and intended as an encouragement to the warriors in the struggle, by its portrayals of heroism and deliverance gathered around the character of Daniel in the captivity, and the prophecies of eventual victory put into his mouth.

This period is also marked by the appearance of Chronicles, a work which reconstructs the history from the priestly point of view, reading back into remote times conditions and ideals which, as a matter of fact, were post-exilic. (2) Other books of the time were Ecclesiastes, Sirach, Judith, Tobit, Enoch, 1 Maccabees, etc.

In this period the belief in a future life took form, with the doctrine of rewards and punishments, the belief in a being called the adversary, or Satan, and the more definite forms of the Messianic hope.

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23. THE RISE OF JUDAISM.

(1) **Jonah.**—I have read the Book of Jonah at least a hundred times, and I will publicly avow, for I am not ashamed of my weakness, that I cannot even now take up this marvelous book, nay, nor even speak of it, without the tears rising to my eyes, and my heart beating higher. This apparently trivial book is one of the deepest and grandest that was ever written, and I should like to say to every one who approaches it, "Take off thy shoes, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground." In this book Israelitic prophecy quits the scene of battle as victor, and as victor in its severest struggle—that against self. In it the prophecy of Israel succeeded, as Jeremiah expressed it in a remarkable and well-known passage, in freeing the precious from the vile, and in finding its better self again.—*C. A. Cornill, "Prophets of Israel," p. 170.*

(2) **The Idealizing of the Past.**—It is in itself a legitimate supposition that the writers of the Old Testament books, living and moving in a narrow world of their own, took a circumscribed view of their national history, and in a simple, unscientific age saw marvels where modern writers would see only natural occurrences. It is also quite conceivable that Hebrew writers of history, like other historians, had their views of past occurrences colored by the medium of their own time through which they regarded them, and at a comparatively late time framed a theory of their past history, in accordance with what succeeding events led them to believe it must have been. And finally, it is conceivable that such late writers should for the first time have set themselves to put down an account of early events from their own standpoint, or have touched up older documents in order to make them square with their own conceptions.—*J. Robertson, "The Early Religion of Israel," p. 31.*

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24. THE MESSIANIC HOPE.

Israel was a nation of hope and promise. Unlike other peoples, its Golden Age was in the future, not in the past. From the earliest beginning of national consciousness it was a gradually developing belief that Israel had a special mission, separate from the rest of the world, yet in some important degree connected with the spiritual life of the world. The divine purpose for humanity was believed to lie implicit in the unfolding history of this people. The Hebrew records preserved the first promise made to the race (Gen. 3:15), a promise that, though the struggle between good and evil should be long and bitter, yet in the end the good should triumph. This divine purpose manifested itself in the selection of certain individuals or tribes through whose life the disclosure of the plans of God was to be made. Such men were Noah (Gen. 6:8; 9:8-17); Shem (Gen. 9:26, 27), and through him the Semites as a race; Abraham (Gen. 12:1*f*) and his descendants, the Hebrews; Jacob (Gen. 28:10-16) and his descendants, called after him Israel; and Judah, as the royal tribe, and the one which should stand as the representative of the nation (Gen. 49:8-10). This process of selecting men for the special purpose of leadership in this nation continued throughout its history. It was the application of the universal principle of selection. But it was not a selection for favor, but rather for service. Israel was the chosen people of God, but not for its own sake. It had a ministry for the world. Its leaders were prophets, priests, and kings, and these men, especially the prophets, were unique in their character and work. Their counterpart is not to be found in any other history. But in the last analysis the nation as a whole was regarded as royal, as priestly, as prophetic (Ex. 19:6). What these special men did as leaders for the nation, Israel as a unit was to do for the world. Herein lay its unique office.

But from the time of Amos and Hosea it was seen that the nation as a whole was unprepared for such a ministry. The religion of Jahveh was set aside too often for that of other gods, or was mixed with unworthy elements that robbed it of its effectiveness. A purgation was seen to be necessary. A cleansing process alone could purify the people and make them worthy of their high ministry; and the power through which this regeneration was to be wrought was recognized by all the prophets of that period as being Assyria, and later Babylonia. Only such a purification as should come through national disaster and suffering could avail to prepare Israel for its true mission. But after this period of suffering had passed, the remnant would be worthy, and a glorious future would be expected. That future would be the Messianic age, holy and marked by the presence of God. The consecration of kings and priests was signified by their anointing with the holy oil. From this word "Anointed," or "Messiah," grew up the idea of the future glorious time as "Anointed," or "Messianic." The conception of a *person*, who stands as the common denominator of the new period of national salvation and purification, is first presented by Isaiah. In his rebuke of King Ahaz for presumptuous disregard of God and an attempted defense of his capital by resort to arms and alliance with Assyria, the prophet announces the birth of a child, in whose day, soon to dawn (Isa. 7:14), and under whose leadership as a conqueror, and yet a Prince of Peace (Isa. 9:6, 7), the national deliverance was to be achieved; after which there would come the period of happiness and peace (Isa. 11:1*f*). That Isaiah expected this child-king of the house of David in his own day seems certain, otherwise the predictions of deliverance from Assyrian oppression would have been meaningless, and herein is disclosed one of the interesting factors of prophecy. The outlines of the coming order of things were apparent to the eyes of the prophet, but the hour of arrival was not so clear. The drama of redemption was contracted into a single scene, but its larger meaning lay implicit in the slowly unfolding movements upon which they looked. Deliverance from Assyria came, but not through the rise at

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that time of the Messianic King. Yet the vision was true, for the larger outlines of the Messianic time yet ahead fitted in no small degree the local distress and the certainly foreseen deliverance. (1)

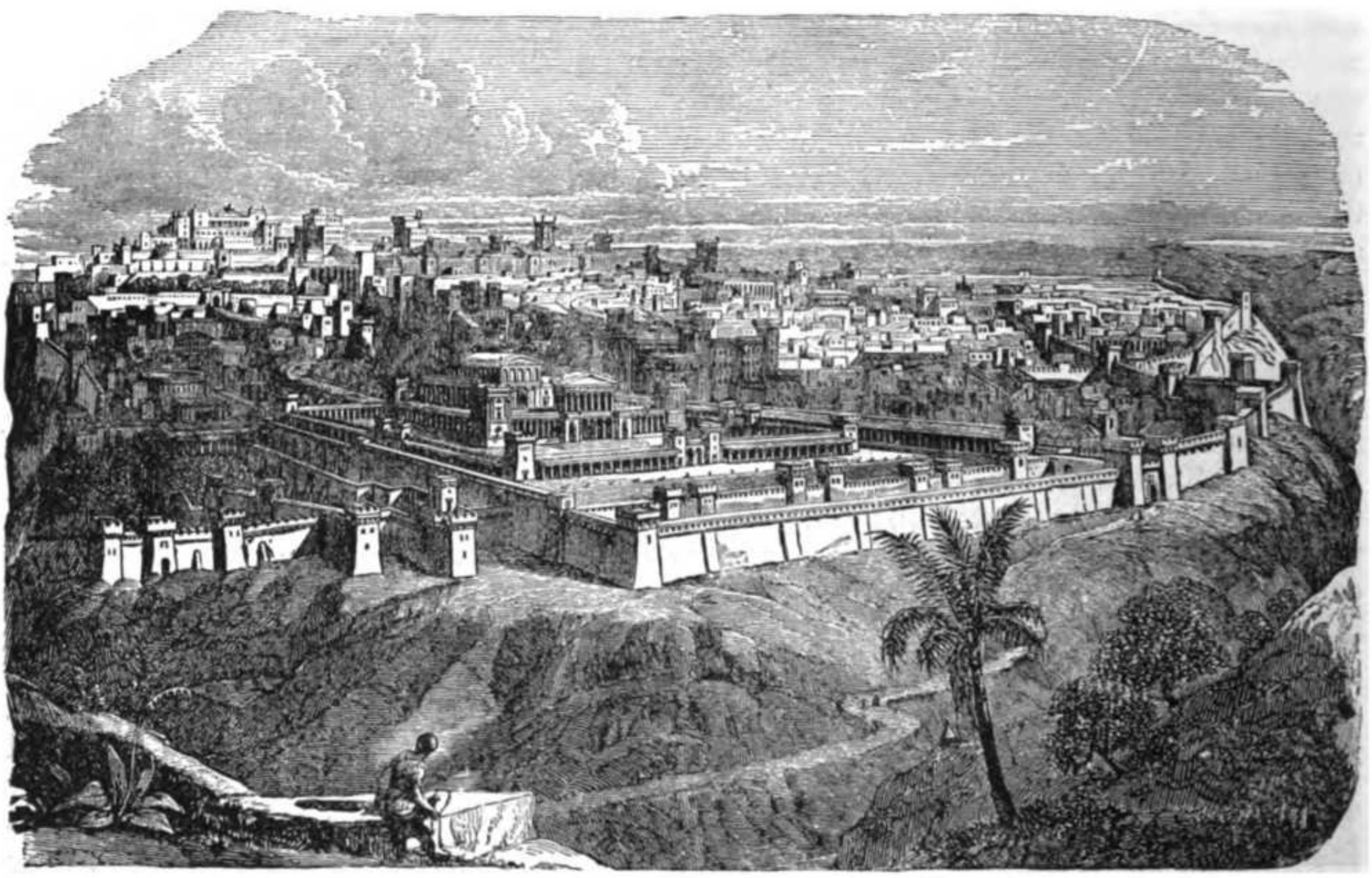
It remained for a later prophet to see with yet clearer vision the true character of the Messianic work and outlines of the Messianic figure. The Evangelical Prophet sets forth the Messianic hope in its fullest light, and he does this under the figure of the Suffering Servant of God. To him at first Israel as a whole is the Servant (Isa. 41:8; 44:1*f*). Though fallen upon unhappy days, yet this very time is one of purification; and now that the process of purgation is reaching its completion, it is time to prepare for larger things to come. Redemption is not to be wrought by war and strife, as was the earlier view, but by peaceful methods (Isa. 42:1-4), and therefore the figure of the King no longer appears, but the Servant in a humble and yet successful work. Presently, however, the idea that the nation as a whole can do the great work appears to be abandoned. Too many are indifferent. The remnant, the best part of the nation is all that can be counted upon in such an enterprise. This remnant will save not only the apostate part of the nation, but the world at large (Isa. 49:5-7). But even the remnant was weak and unable to accomplish the divine work; and at last One rises from the remnant, a representative of both it and the whole nation, able to do that which both had failed to accomplish, the Divine Servant, the Messiah. From Isaiah 52:13 to 53:12 the success of the Servant's mission is set forth in terms that show the blending of the personal and national ideas about the Messianic figure. That this conception of the Messiah finds its fulfillment in the historic work of Jesus Christ is the teaching of the New Testament.

The most fundamental misapprehension of the nature of Messianic prophecy is witnessed in the common teaching that it consists in certain so-called predictions of events in the life of Christ, a list of which may usually be found among the helps in Oxford Bibles. But the real student is perplexed to find that many of these passages had reference when first uttered only to the Hebrew nation, or some individual of the writer's own time, and that he seems to have in mind no thought of the Messiah, much less the historic Jesus. The study of the context will reveal many such instances. The situation is still further complicated by the use the New Testament writers make of some of these passages, in stating that they came to fulfillment in the events in the life of Jesus. This use is to be explained in a very simple manner, by the recognition of the fact that the connection between Old Testament events and the life of Christ was seen to be very intimate, and thus many incidents or utterances that in their time had possessed only a local and temporary interest were seen to coincide with episodes in the life of the Messiah, in whom all the past found its new expression. Thus they came to have a new significance, *i.e.*, to be "fulfilled" in him. But it is not in this list of passages that the true Messianic prophecy is to be found. It moves upon a much higher plane. There are, indeed, some predictions, direct and specific, regarding the personality and surroundings of the Christ, but these predictions are far less numerous than it is customary to claim. They rather gain than lose in value, however, by this fact.

Thus the Messianic hope is seen to have had its rise out of national distress. As long as Israel prospered it was in no need of other stimulus. But when trouble came, the mind of the nation, under the inspiring promises of prophets, turned to the future, and expected deliverance in a better time to come. That time would be characterized by justice, order, and righteousness, and the nation would be respected by the world. But the later views changed somewhat in reference to this future. The vision was expanded to the world, all of which was to be embraced in a wide-stretching Kingdom under Israel and the Messiah as the representatives of God. This development was rapid in the two or three centuries preceding the Christian era. The hopes of the Maccabean patriots included little more than victory to the

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saints. There was here revealed, as shown in the book of Daniel, the idea of the nation rather than the personal Messiah as victor. In Ecclesiasticus, Judith, 2 Maccabees, and Tobit the heathen are to be judged, Israel delivered and gathered again into a national life which is to last forever under a Davidic king. Jerusalem will be rebuilt in glory, and the heathen converted to the true faith. In the Sibyllines the picture is that of a great king fighting a battle with the kings of the world, who will perish. God's people will be blessed, and other nations shall serve them, bringing gifts. Jerusalem will be the center and capital of the world. In Enoch there is expected an attack of heathen. But God will be victorious, and then judgment will be pronounced on fallen angels and apostate Jews. The New



Jerusalem in the Time of Herod the Great.

Jerusalem will be built, and the Messiah will appear as ruler. Thus the hope took on later and more fantastic phases, till it is not strange that in the time of Jesus the popular idea was that of a temporal king who should wage war on the national enemies, and restore political liberty to Israel. But the true picture of the Messianic King and Servant is found on the pages of the Old Testament, painted as on a canvas.

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24. THE MESSIANIC HOPE.

(1) Often hopes were entertained of reaching this new state of things even yet by conversion and true repentance. But this hope is soon seen to be deceptive. The state, the whole present order of society, the present perverted practice of religion itself, must first pass away. Yahvé Himself, as sure as he is Israel's God, will effect the needed renewal through the king of the future, the Messiah. Under him Israel will be a kingdom of God, a holy nation, well pleasing to God. Justice and morality will be in accordance with the demands of God; the practice of religion will be in accordance with his will.

Did the prophets attain what they here desire? In the eyes of their own nation and age they often enough occupied the position of betrayers of the Fatherland to the enemy. In the light of history they appear as the patriots to whom Israel owes it that she came forth from the storms which swept over the land—weakened, indeed, and humiliated, but not broken. Into the hand of their nation, which was too weak to fight with the sword against the world powers, they pressed the banner of faith and hope. With it Israel has gained the victory. It has not only outlasted the world-powers; it has inwardly, spiritually, laid them at its feet.—"*Kittel*" *II., p. 319.*

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FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **RELIGION IN THE KINGDOM OF ISRAEL.**—Ahijah and the disruption, Jeroboam's bull-worship, Ahab and Elijah, Violent reformation of Jehu, Amos and Hosea.
20. **JUDAH BEFORE THE EXILE.**—Advantage of Judah over Israel, Incoming of Baal-worship, Reforms, Isaiah and Micah, Reformation of Josiah, Work of Jeremiah.
21. **THE EXILE.**—Fall of Jerusalem, Ezekiel, The evangelical prophet, The servant of Jehovah,
22. **THE RESTORATION.**—First return to Jerusalem, The second temple, Haggai and Zachariah, "Malachi," Ezra and Nehemiah, The Priest Code.
23. **RISE OF JUDAISM.**—The Scriptures, Monotheism, Two tendencies, The heathen, Synagogues, Hellenizing influences, Literary work.
24. **THE MESSIANIC HOPE.**—Selective process through Hebrew history, Purification necessary, Conception of Messiah, Misapprehension of Messianic prophecy, Later Messianic idea.

QUESTIONS.

19. *What causes led to the disruption? How was religion involved? What was the policy of Elijah? Characterize Amos and Hosea respectively.*



Mount Hermon.

20. *Under what kings were reforms accomplished in Judah, and what was the character of these reforms? What were Isaiah's leading ideas? What was the basis of Josiah's reforms?*
21. *What were some of the problems of the exile? What are some of the characteristics of the evangelical prophecy? What were some of the important literary works of the exile?*
22. *What political circumstances brought about the return of the exiles? What were the two attitudes of mind toward other nations? To what work did Haggai and Zachariah devote themselves? How did Ezra's arrival bring assistance? What were the characteristics of the Priest Code?*
23. *What two factors regulated the life of the Jews in this period? What may be said regarding monotheism? What was the dominant attitude regarding Gentiles?*
24. *How is the selective process illustrated in Israel's life? What was the purpose of the choice of Israel? Why was the future era of blessedness called Messianic? In what prophecies do the figures of king and servant appear as relating to the Messiah? What are current misconceptions regarding Messianic prophecy? What were the features of the Messianic hope in the later books?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The wisdom of national seclusion, from the standpoint of politics; from that of religion.*
2. *Effects of the Deuteronomic law in centralization of worship and changes in the priestly order.*
3. *The permanent results of the exile upon the national life.*
4. *The difference between "holiness" as set forth in the Priest Code and by prophets like Isaish.*
5. *The Jewish missionary propaganda.*
6. *The future of the people of Israel, and their relation to Christianity.*

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GAZETTEER AND GLOSSARY.

N. B.—The pronunciation of the names commonly known has been Anglicized. For key cf. p. 435.

Ahijah (a-hī'ja).—A prophet of Israel.
Antiochus Epiphanes (an-tī'o-kus ē-pif'a-nēz).—A king of Commagone.
Ashera (ash'ē-ra).—The tree or stake representing Ashtoreth.
Ashtaroth (ash'to-roth).—Collective name for the images of Ashera.
Ashtoreth (ash'to-reth).—The goddess of love and fertility.
Athaliah (ath-a-lī'a).—The daughter of King Ahab.
Astarte (as-tar'ta).—The Greek equivalent for Ashtoreth.
Baraitha (ba-rī'tha).—
Beersheba (bē'er-shē'ba).—A town in Palestine.
Chebar (kē-bär).—A river in Babylonia.
Chemosh (khē'mosh).—The god proper to the Moabites.
Elohim (el-ō-hēm').—Gods.
Ephod (ef'od).—(1) An image of deity. (2) A ceremonial tunic for a priest.
Gemara (gā-mä'-ra). Commentary to the Mishna.
Haggai (hag'ī).—A Hebrew prophet.
Haggada (hag-gä'da).—Illustrations to the Midrash.
Halacha (ha-lak'ä).—Legal enactment in the Midrash.
Hezekiah (hez-hē-kī'a).—A king of Judah.
Hosea (hō-zē'a).—A prophet of Israel.
Ibn Ezra ('b'n ez'ra).—A Spanish Jew.
Isaiah (ī-zā'ya).—A Hebrew prophet.
Israel (iz'rā-el).—Another name for Jacob, and subsequently given to his descendants.
Jahveh (yäh-vā'. The h is gutteral, and the accent properly on the last syllable, though commonly laid on the first). The proper reading for Jehovah.
Jehovah (je-hō'va).—The god proper to Israel.
Jehoiachin (jē-hoi'a-kin).—A king of Judah.
Jehoiadah (jē-hoi'da).—A high priest of Judah.
Jeroboam (jer-o-bō'am).—A king of Israel.
Jerubbaal (jer-ub-bā'al).—A name given to the Judge Gideon.
Kirjath Jearim (kir'jath-jē'a-rim).—A town near Jerusalem.
Maccabees (mak'a-bēz.)—A family of Jewish heroes.
Malachi (mal'a-kī).—The last prophet of Judah.
Manasseh (ma-nas'e).—A king of Judah.
Midrash (mid'rash).—The Talmudic commentary.
Mishna (mish'na).—Rabbinical discussions on the Mosaic Law.
Nebuchadrezzar (neb'ū-kad-rez'är).—A king of Babylonia.
Penuel (pen'ū-el).—A town in Gilead.
Qabbala or **Kabbala** (kab'a-lä).—Mystic philosophy of the Jews after the tenth century A D.
Semites (sē'mites).—The great historic race to which the Hebrews belonged.
Talmud (tal'mud).—Jewish book supplementary to the Pentateuch.
Tel-Abib (tel-ä'bēb).—A city in Babylonia.
Tereph, plural terephim (ter'ef).—probably the image of an ancestor, and used in divination.
Torah (tō'ra).—The Jewish name for the Pentateuch.
Urim and Thummin (ū'rim and Thum'mim).—Literally "lights" and "perfectnesses," qualities believed to be resident in a sacred stone used for divination by the priests.
Zechariah (zek-a-rī'a).—The title of one of the books in the Old Testament.
Zedekiah (zed-ē-kī'a).—The last king of Judah.
Zerubbabel (ze-rub'a-bel).—A leader of the Jews.

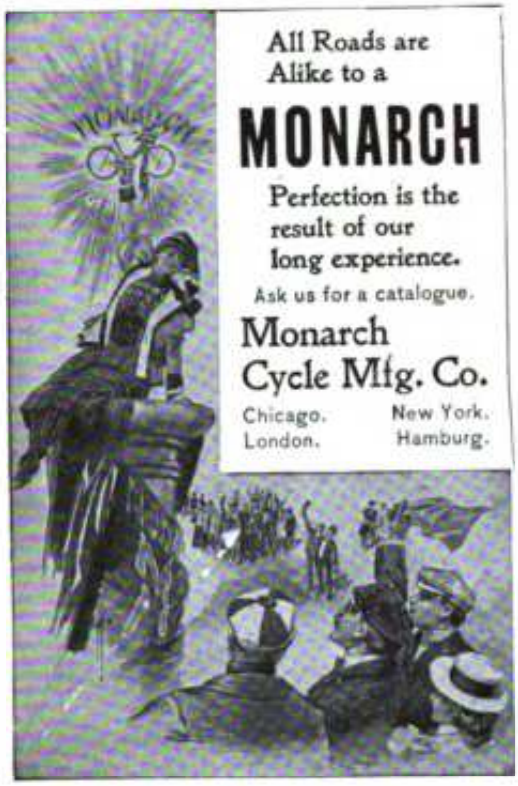
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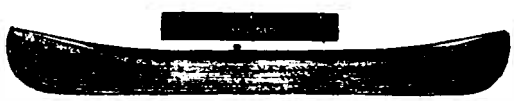
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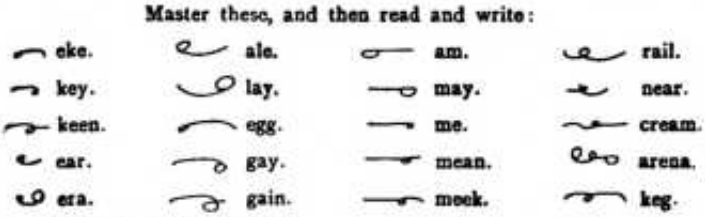
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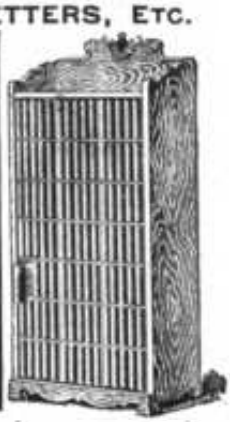
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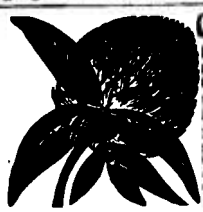
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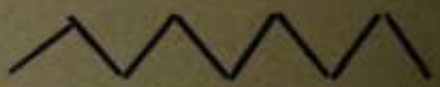
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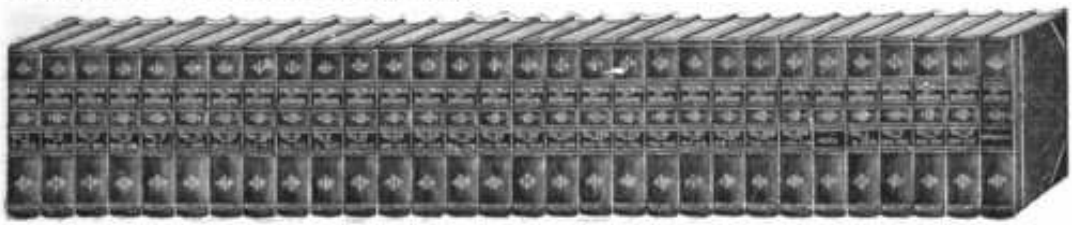
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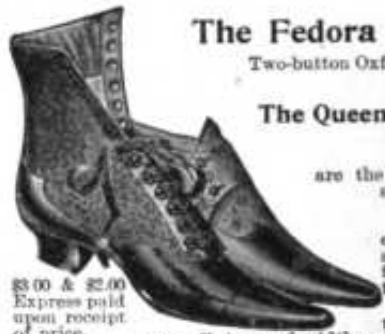
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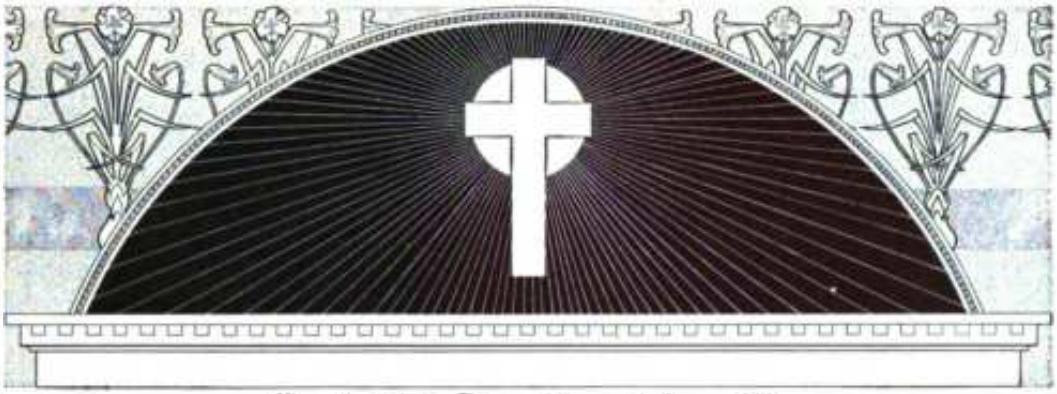
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BY

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PALESTINE was a small country on the far eastern edge of the great Roman Empire. The Jewish people were despised and ignored because they were a small oriental nation, bigoted and exclusive in spirit, austere in morals, and fanatical in religion. The career of Jesus, brief, uneventful and obscure to the general observer of his day, attracted almost no attention outside of his own land. It was nearly thirty-five years after Jesus' death before the Empire came to regard his followers as anything more than a particular Jewish sect. We need not, therefore, expect, nor do we in fact find, much reference to Jesus in the Roman history of this period. The only clear statement about him is contained in Tacitus' "Annals," xv. 44: "They called them Christians. Christ, from whom the name was given, had been put to death in the reign of Tiberius by the procurator Pontius Pilate." There are also some corroborating allusions to Jesus and his followers in other Roman writings. The great Jewish writers of the century, Philo and Josephus, give us practically nothing. Philo nowhere mentions Jesus, perhaps from ignorance of him, although Philo lived until after 40 A.D. Josephus barely mentions "the Christ" in *Antiquities* XX.ix.1 (unless some portion of the famous passage XVIII.iii.3 can be called genuine). His silence is intentional, due to Jewish hatred of Jesus. Small, therefore, but very valuable, is the extra-biblical record of Jesus' life.

Within the New Testament, the earliest record is contained in certain epistles of Paul, written not later than the years 53-63 A.D., and whose authorship and historicity is unquestioned. From these letters we learn of his Davidic descent, his unique personality, his exalted character, his preaching of the Kingdom of God, his appointment of apostles, his Messiahship, his betrayal, crucifixion and resurrection. From James, Peter and Hebrews also can be gathered facts about Jesus' life.

But the Gospels have explicitly recorded for us Jesus' life. They contain memorabilia of Jesus. Fragmentary accounts of what Jesus did and said have been brought together for use and preservation. From a time even before his death, the important events, the significant acts, and the weighty teachings of Jesus, were reported among his followers, taught to the new converts (Acts 2:42), and circulated wherever the Gospel was carried. The words and acts of Jesus were the substance of

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Christianity throughout the apostolic age. For many years this historical material was transmitted orally, according to the Jewish custom of the time. Gradually the records passed from Aramaic, their original language, into Greek, that they might be given also to the Gentiles and to the Jews of the Dispersion. After a time some of the material was committed to writing, and oral and written tradition went along hand in hand. The first attempt to gather up these fragmentary records was probably made by the apostle Matthew, who collected many of Jesus' sayings in their Aramaic dress, perhaps as early as 50 A.D. This collection is known as the "Logia." Some years later, Mark supplemented Matthew's work by making a collection of the records of the events and deeds of Jesus' public ministry.

And as the generation of eye and ear witnesses of what Jesus had done and said was now passing away, many attempts were made (Lk. 1:1-4) to collect the floating material into a more complete and durable form. Our four canonical gospels are such final collections. They came into existence at four different centers of Christian teaching and activity in the apostolic age, and grew out of the cycle of tradition which each center had in its possession. The Gospel of Mark (about 66 A.D.) is the earliest of the four. The Gospel of Matthew is not the "Logia" of the apostle, but an original work in Greek (about 70-80 A.D.) by an unnamed author, who used a Greek form of the earlier "Logia" as a source of his material, and drew also from the Gospel of Mark, and from various other sources of oral and written tradition. The Gospel of Luke was also compiled (about 70-80 A.D.) from a Greek edition of the "Logia," from Mark's Gospel, and from other sources of oral and written tradition. The fourth Gospel comes from the apostle John, and contains a cycle of tradition not often parallel to that of the synoptic gospels, but of a peculiar type which John seems to have cherished. This gospel is either directly from the apostle (about 80-96 A.D.), or indirectly, through some disciple of his who, after his master's death, collected certain characteristic material from the apostle's teaching and put it forth under John's name (about 100-130 A.D.).

Our gospels are therefore compilations. The events, the deeds and the sayings of Jesus which they contain are those which circulated among the Christians from the first. They survived, a few out of a great number, because they most clearly revealed and perpetuated the life, work and teaching of Jesus. The material has passed through a process of wise selection by the disciples, and of practical sifting by time, until we have the choicest and most useful portion, the essence of the history. It must, however, be remembered that the incidents and sayings have, by this process of transmission, lost for the most part their historical setting and their chronological position. This material, when brought together in our gospels, is often grouped topically or illustratively. The arrangement cannot be depended upon in detail. For example, in Matthew the Sermon on the Mount, the Charge to the Twelve, the Parables by the Sea, the Denunciation of the Pharisees, the Eschatological Discourse, and in Luke the long section Chap. 10-19 are all collections of material spoken on various occasions, whose detailed historical setting has been lost, and which are brought together in a topical or literary unity. The same thing can often be seen in the grouping of the incidents as transmitted to us. This feature of the gospels is becoming increasingly clear to all thoughtful scholars, and the recognition of it is essential to a true use of the Gospel histories. (1) and (2)

The chronology of Jesus' life is in general certain, but in detail very uncertain. We know that Jesus' death fell in the reign of Tiberius and the procuratorship of Pilate, *i.e.*, somewhere between 26 and 36 A.D. This can probably be narrowed down to 28-33 A.D., but within this range we cannot tell what year. The year 30 A.D. is the date to which it is now commonly assigned, but of this we cannot be at all sure. The beginning of Jesus' public ministry was, presumably, not until after the fifteenth year of Tiberius (Lk. 3:1-3), *i.e.*, late in 28 or in 29 A.D. Jesus being then "about thirty years of age" (Lk. 3:23), his birth goes back a few years into the

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B.C. period. About the year 6 B.C. is the date toward which we seem now to be trending. Even supposing these data given by Luke to be accurate, there remains an uncertainty of years. We would seem to have a public ministry of Jesus but one full year in length, if he began early in 29 and was crucified in the spring of 30 A.D. Current chronological schemes of the public ministry give it something over three years, on the basis of Jno. 2:13; 5:1; 6:4; 13:1. But 5:1 is not a passover, and 6:4 as a passover is somewhat doubtful (see Westcott and Hort, "New Testament in Greek," Vol. II., Appx. 77-81; and Turner, art. Chronology of the New Testament in "New Bible Dictionary," Vol. I, pp. 403-415, the best single article on the whole problem); while the passover in connection with the cleansing of the temple may be the last one, as the synoptic gospels indicate. John's supposed chronological framework is therefore quite questionable. The synoptists mention but one passover, that in connection with Jesus' death. It is sometimes held that they indicate, though they do not name, two others (Mk. 2:23 suggests a time of year soon after a passover, and Mk. 6:39 is supposed from its reference to "green grass" to indicate a time not long before a passover). But from what we know of the way in which the material of the gospels is put together, we cannot build chronology on such suggestions. Professor Sanday ("Expositor," IV., v. 16) says: "The simple fact is, that the synoptic gospels are only a series of incidents loosely strung together, with no chronology at all worthy of the name." The exact dates of Jesus' life cannot at present be known, neither can we know the duration of his public ministry; it was probably either one or two full years, with some portion of a second or third. After all, this matters little; exact chronology is a modern passion, but it is comparatively unimportant. The ethical and religious teaching of Jesus' life is quite independent of precise years, months and days.

1. RECORDS AND CHRONOLOGY OF JESUS' LIFE.

(1) **Harmony of the Gospels.**—The study of the Life of Christ is primarily the historical study of the four gospels, which implies the tracing of the events they narrate in their chronological sequence and in their organic connection. For this purpose a constant comparison of the four narratives is necessary, and a synopsis or harmony becomes in the very nature of the case indispensable.

Whatever discrepancies the four narratives contain, we have preferred to let the printed page display them equally with the agreements, rather than adopt an arrangement or a dissection which should withdraw them from view. Wherein the four writers differ, and how they differ, is precisely what the intelligent reader wishes to know; eventually he comes to value their writings even more for their differences than for their agreements.

Still it is not to be forgotten that thus far every effort to accentuate their disagreement has only strengthened the impression of their concord as historical documents. The most powerful of all arguments for the substantial truthfulness of the witnessing evangelists is to be found in the self-consistency and verisimilitude of the history, when exhibited in a harmony constructed according to the principles indicated in this preface. If, after a century of modern criticism of the gospels, it is found that, despite all differences, the four mutually supplement and mutually interpret one another, so that from their complex combination there emerges *one* narrative, outlining a distinct historical figure, and producing upon the mind an irresistible impression of reality, it is difficult to imagine a more convincing attestation of the records on which the Christian church bases its faith in the person and work of its Founder than is furnished by this very fact.—*Stevens and Burton, "Harmony of the Gospels," pp. iii, iv.*

(2) **The Life of Jesus in the Epistles of Paul.**—It is not the Gospels alone on which we have to depend. We have four works of which the authenticity has never even been assailed by any serious writer, namely, St. Paul's four epistles to the Galatians, Romans, and Corinthians. These may truly be regarded as a fifth Gospel, of which the testimony is all the more valuable because it is undesigned and incidental. It is also earlier than that of any Gospel, and is the testimony of one whose personality stands forth with absolute clearness in the light of history. Further than this, it is the testimony of a man of commanding intellect, and of the highest Jewish culture, who, after the death of Christ, was converted from the most bitter hostility to the most intense devotion, and who bears his witness within twenty-five years of the events respecting which he speaks. And yet, if we had the epistles of St. Paul alone, we could find a contemporary testimony to almost every single fact of primary importance in the life of Christ—His birth of the seed of David, His poverty, His Messiahship, His moral teaching, His proclamation of the kingdom of God, His calling of the apostles, His supernatural power, His divine claims, His betrayal, His founding of the Last Supper, His passion, crucifixion, burial, resurrection, and repeated appearances. If we add the testimony of the other epistles, we have further testimonies to almost every fact of importance in the Gospels, as we have also in the catholic epistles and in the Revelation of St. John.—*F. W. Farrar, "Jesus" in "Encyclopædia Britannica," 9th. Ed., Vol. XIII., p. 659.*

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2. PREPARATION OF JESUS FOR HIS WORK.

The Hebrew nation had a genius for morals and religion, as Greece had a genius for science and literature, and Rome a genius for law and administration. Each nation made its essential contribution to the progress of mankind. Naturally, therefore, the greatest religious teacher of the world arose from the Hebrew race, and perfected his people's contribution to human history. Jesus was born of Jewish parents in Palestine. But not at Jerusalem nor in Judea did the Jewish Messiah arise—that honor fell to Galilee. For in Judea, Pharisaism was at its worst. Emphasis upon the letter had crushed out the spirit of religion, righteousness had become a superficial and punctilious observance of formal rules of conduct and empty ceremonies instead of the outworking of a pure heart and a right purpose. The rabbinical schools at Jerusalem were dreary storehouses of Jewish legal lore and factories of casuistical disputations upon the minutiæ of legal obligation. Out of this no good thing could come, least of all the Messiah.

So, in God's providence, Jesus' home was at Nazareth. Galilee breathed a freer, purer religious atmosphere. In fact, was there so favorable a place as Galilee in all the empire for the development of the world's greatest teacher? For there he escaped the hollow and hypocritical Pharisaism, and at the same time the gross immorality and barren speculations of the Gentile nations. Jesus' parents were devoted adherents of Judaism in the best prophetic type, genuinely religious. They were simple, quiet, hard-working people of one of the larger Galilean villages. The education which Jesus received was an excellent one for the times. It began in the home, where the greatest care was taken by the best Jewish families to train their children religiously. Then came the assistance also of the synagogue school, where the fundamentals of education were taught. The Old Testament history was thoroughly taught, and then the Old Testament law with its later elaborations, until the child became familiar with the whole canon of Jewish Scriptures. How completely Jesus entered into the spirit of all this appears on his first visit to Jerusalem, at the age of his legal majority, when he eagerly seized the opportunity to ask the rabbis the many great questions of religion and life to which he had found no answers. Jesus probably learned to read the Old Testament Scriptures in Hebrew, and the Aramaic he was of course familiar with, for it was the Jewish vernacular of his day. In addition he knew more or less Greek, for this was the language of commerce with the Gentile world, which had entered largely into Galilee. (1)

Jesus seems never to have gone beyond Syria out into the great Roman Empire, nor to have become familiar with the Gentile type of life, nor to have read the history or literature of any nation besides his own. But for the purposes of his work, since his mission was a moral and religious one, such wider knowledge and experience were unnecessary. In morals and religion Judaism was to be the teacher, not the taught. Out of Hebrew history and teaching Jesus drew the truth of God, and it was upon the Old Testament foundation as laid by the greatest of the prophets that he built the everlasting Gospel. That which was good in the religious thought and practice of his day he recognized and cherished, that which was false and harmful he rejected with true spiritual vision. Discrimination of essentials from non-essentials, the fixing of a scale of real values, was characteristic of Jesus. And in addition to all, he loved the world of nature about him, finding everywhere God's workmanship and God's love. No one has seen so much in nature that is beautiful and helpful as Jesus saw. God's own spirit of wisdom, truth and love grew in him to perfect him for his mission. Jesus must have come early to a consciousness of special nearness to God. It was this constraining power which led him safely through the maze of human experience to a complete control over his acts and choices, and to the ultimate approval of God for the Messianic work. He was

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the normal man, others were abnormal. And yet so unostentatious was Jesus' life during the thirty years at Nazareth that his townsmen would not believe him extraordinary (Mk. 3:20, 21; 6:1-6; Lk. 4:16-30). (2)

But however close Jesus felt himself to God, he probably was not yet conscious that he was to be the Messiah. The thirty years was a period of probation for him. When John the Baptist appeared in the district of the Jordan heralding the approach of the Kingdom of God, and calling upon men to prepare therefor, Jesus eagerly responded to the summons. Now was to appear he who should restore pure religion to Israel, and lead men to the glorious realization of their ideal hopes. Jesus would, with the others, receive the symbol of conformity to God's will and of preparation for the kingdom at hand. But with the administering of water baptism to Jesus came God's approval of his Son, and a unique impartation of God's spirit, which was to him at once the announcement of his Messiahship and the endowment for his Messianic work.



The Temptation.—Cornicelius.

The experience which followed upon this, the so-called temptation, was Jesus' self-adjustment to his new office and life. The gospel accounts of this experience came from Jesus himself. In this parabolic language he endeavored to show to his disciples what was the true conception of the Kingdom of God and of the Messiah, as he had determined these at the outset of his ministry. The problem as to what sort of a Messiah he should be, and what methods he should use in the performance of his Messianic mission, was a vital one to Jesus, and the mental anguish of decision was real. God was with him in the choice. He determined to sacrifice himself wholly to the cause, to forego the comforts of life and subject himself to the privations and labors of a traveling ministry. He determined that he would not employ spectacular methods, but quietly and simply would do the work of a preacher of righteousness. And that, however great might be the pressure upon him to become the temporal Messiah of current Jewish expectation, he would insist only and always upon a spiritual kingdom, founded on spiritual truth, composed of

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spiritual members, and seeking spiritual ends. Then Jesus was ready to begin his public work as Messiah. (3)

2. PREPARATION OF JESUS FOR HIS WORK.

(1) **The Education of Jesus.**—Temple and Synagogue both made their important influence felt by the young; but the daily use of verses from the Sacred Writings, the manifold symbolical actions which were always taking place in family life, and the whole atmosphere in which the people lived, educated the child unconsciously in the religious views of his race. And, above all, every father regarded it as his most important duty to make his child, whether son or daughter, familiar from infancy with the history of the Jewish people and with their Law; to explain all existing customs and usages; and to awaken and nourish an interest and love for the religion of the father-land. As soon as he was twelve years old, the Jewish boy especially was held to a stricter observance of the Law, and participation in worship, since he was now a "son of the Law;" and diligent attendance at the Temple in Jerusalem and at the Synagogues was impressed upon him as a duty and a privilege. The history of Jesus shows that this custom was observed in his case (Luke ii. 41-43).

If, however, the earliest instruction was that which was thus given in the family, there were not wanting also, even at the time of Jesus, public schools, whose object it was likewise to spread and increase religious knowledge.'

The Law was always the subject of the lessons given, and it was a high object of ambition with any child to be able to read the Sacred Writings, and a higher still to be able to write the language of the original. The first school in which Jesus was trained was undoubtedly the home of his parents (Luke ii. 40). There he may have obtained his first knowledge of Jewish history and Biblical lore, and possibly acquired his facility in quoting from the Hebrew Scriptures. And that which was begun in the home was developed afterwards by the Synagogue at Nazareth, while the visits to the great feasts at Jerusalem would still further enlarge his knowledge. Above all, he must have taken good heed for himself not merely to the Sacred Writings, but to the books of Nature and the world of men which lay open before him: so that he made evident intellectual and religious progress.—*M. Seidel*, "*In the Time of Jesus*," *pp. 124-5*.

(2) **The Preparation of Jesus.**—There He was preparing Himself for His career. His mind was busy grasping the vast proportions of the task before Him, as the prophecies of the past and the facts of the case determined it; His eyes were looking forth on the country, and His heart smarting with the sense of its sin and shame. In Himself He felt moving the gigantic powers necessary to cope with the vast design; and the desire was gradually growing to an irresistible passion, to go forth and utter the thought within Him, and do the work which had been given Him to do.

It is generally allowed that Jesus appeared as a public man with a mind whose ideas were completely developed and arranged, with a character sharpened over its whole surface into perfect definiteness, and with designs that marched forward to their ends without hesitation. No deflexion took place during the three years from the lines on which at the beginning of them He was moving. The reason of this must have been, that, during the thirty years before His public work began, His ideas, His character and designs went through all the stages of a thorough development. Unpretentious as the external aspects of His life at Nazareth were, it was, below the surface a life of intensity, variety and grandeur. Beneath its silence and obscurity there went on all the processes of growth which issued in the magnificent flower and fruit to which all ages now look back with wonder. His preparation lasted long. For one with His powers at command, thirty years of complete reticence and reserve were a long time. Nothing was greater in Him afterwards than the majestic reserve in both speech and action which characterised Him. This, too, was learned in Nazareth. There He waited till the hour of the completion of His preparation struck. Nothing could tempt Him forth before the time—not the burning desire to interfere with indignant protest amidst the crying corruptions and mistakes of the age, not even the swellings of the passion to do His fellow-men good.

At last, however, He threw down the carpenter's tools, laid aside the workman's dress, and bade His home and the beloved valley of Nazareth farewell. Still, however, all was not ready. His manhood, though it had waxed in secret to such noble proportions, still required a peculiar endowment for the work He had to do; and His ideas and designs, mature as they were, required to be hardened in the fire of a momentous trial. The two final incidents of His preparation—the Baptism and the Temptation—had still to take place.—*J. Stalker*, "*The Life of Jesus Christ*," *pp. 37-8*.

(3) **The Messiah.**—In a Messiah of the type therein (Isa. 42:1-4 cf. Matt. 12:18-21) sketched Jesus could earnestly believe. No other type of Messiah could have any attractions for Him: not the political Messiah of the Zealots, whose one desire was national independence: not the Messiah of common expectation, who should flatter popular prejudices and make himself an idol by becoming a slave; not the Messiah of the Pharisees, himself a Pharisee, regarding it as his vocation to deliver Israel from Pagan impurity; not even the austere Messiah of the Baptist, who was to separate the good from the evil by a process of judicial severity, and so usher in a kingdom of righteousness. The Messiah devoutly to be longed for, and cordially to be welcomed when He came, in his view, was one who should conquer by the might of love and truth; who should meet the deepest wants of man, not merely gratify the wishes of Jews, and prove a light and a saviour to the whole world; who should be conspicuous by patience and hopefulness rather than by inexorable sternness,—a humane, universal, spiritual Messiah, answering to a divine kingdom of kindred character,—the desire of all nations, the fulfilment of humanity's deepest longings, therefore not destined to be superseded, but to remain an Eternal Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.—*A. B. Bruce*, "*The Kingdom of God*," *p. 152*.

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3. PLAN AND METHOD OF JESUS' MINISTRY.

The decision as to what needed to be done, and how it was to be accomplished, was reached by Jesus before he entered upon his public work. The Kingdom of God, a spiritual and moral kingdom, was to be established upon the earth. It was the nature of this kingdom, first, to transform the individual, second, to dominate and purify the world. Such a kingdom could not be founded from without. All true and effective means must be of an invisible and spiritual kind. There could be no alliance with the political parties and forces already established in Judea, for the Kingdom of God was to take no external, temporal, or local form. It was not to be set up or maintained by any of those instrumentalities upon which human kingdoms depended. "My kingdom is not of this world," said Jesus (Jno. 18:36). It was to have no officers, no headquarters, no political features, no wordly associations. It was not to be established nor defended by physical force, neither was it to exist in the interest of selfish ends. Nor was it possible for Jesus to carry out the current Messianic programme. The Messiah of the popular hope must establish a temporal kingdom, visible to men, which should give the Jewish nation political supremacy of the world, and so glorify and avenge the down-trodden Israel. This was not the character of the Kingdom of God, as God gave Jesus to see it. "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation," said he, "the kingdom of God is within you" (Luke 17:20,21). It was impossible, therefore, for Jesus to co-operate with any of the religious parties which governed the lives and thoughts of his nation. The only means of establishing such a kingdom as he had been commissioned to found was to win to its support individuals who felt its truth and power, waiting patiently until those adherents should attain such numbers and strength as would leaven humanity entire, and transform the whole into the ideal society of perfected individuals. (1)

This plan of Jesus is the most remarkable ever conceived. Rome had united the Mediterranean world by an all-conquering idea of universal political dominion, and men had marveled at the accomplishment of the impossible. Yet how much greater was Jesus' idea of uniting the whole world by the ties of religion into a universal spiritual brotherhood, a union not external, political and selfish, but internal, religious, humanitarian. An invisible kingdom which, planted in a small and obscure country, should expand till it embraced all countries, all men, all time. Such was Jesus' idea of the Kingdom of God. So original was this plan, so independent of all existing thought, that it could have come only from God himself. No other than Jesus could have conceived it, no other than Jesus would have attempted it. Yet Jesus determined upon this plan with full confidence that it was God's will, and with full assurance of its ultimate success. The accomplishment of it he set about with a resolution which carried him through hardship, isolation, reproach, opposition, martyrdom.

The evidence does not seem to justify the view that the plan of Jesus underwent modification during his ministry. His methods, of course, changed with the changing circumstances, his presentation of his message progressed with the developing capacity of his hearers, and his attitude toward the various classes adjusted itself to the attitude which they assumed toward him. It is true that Jesus did not publicly proclaim his Messiahship until the very close of his ministry, and that even to his most intimate disciples he did not make that claim until the latter portion of his work. But this was not because he was not himself certain of his Messiahship. It was due to the fact that if he had at the outset asserted himself as the Messiah, the perverse popular expectation would have demanded its perverse realization, and Jesus would have received no hearing at all for his purely spiritual conception of the kingdom. In every possible way Jesus avoided raising false hopes. He preached the kingdom so that it might appeal to the hearts of men and transform their expectations to accord with the reality. Even this method of superlative wisdom did not

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succeed with the Jews as a whole, for when they found Jesus would not fulfill their demands, all but a handful of followers deserted him (Jno. 6:14, 15, 66). But Jesus' failure to win the nation to an acceptance of the real kingdom could not have been a surprise to himself. It did not need a superhuman knowledge to foresee, at the outset of Jesus' public ministry, that a kingdom and a Messiah such as he contemplated would ultimately fail of acceptance by the Jews. It must have seemed quite clear to Jesus at the start that the preaching of such a message would end in its rejection and his own death. The Jewish people had conspicuously stained their history with the blood of their great prophets (Matt. 23:29-37), and could their greatest prophet fail to meet a like fate? But even with this probability before him, Jesus went calmly and earnestly about his work of delivering the message and founding the kingdom which God had given into his hands. (2)

His method of procedure was to go about in Galilee, proclaiming the presence of the Kingdom of God, and teaching what were its characteristics, its demands, and its future. In the synagogues he taught upon the Sabbath, but still more every day in the homes, upon the streets, in the fields, by the seaside, wherever and whenever receptive listeners might be found. He gathered about himself disciples whom he trained to carry his message. By his own efforts, which they supplemented. Palestine was made to ring with the Gospel.

And Jesus' teaching was commended to the attention of men, and impressed upon their minds, by the mighty works which God gave him to do. Extraordinary operations in the physical world were made to illustrate the powers and blessings of the spiritual world. The divine power manifest in Jesus could heal physical disease, much more could it remove moral disease; it could restore physical sight and hearing, how much more could it open the spirit of man to the eternal truths and beauties of God and his universe; it could supply the physical necessities to man, how much more could it give that spiritual sustenance, that righteousness, which the hungering soul craves; it could remove the physical effects of sin, how much more could it purify the soul; it could quiet the raging waves of the sea, how much more could it soothe the troubled heart; it could restore the dead to life, how much more could it renew the moral and spiritual being. These great works were signs to the people that God was with Jesus, that he was the accredited messenger of the Most High. They were the token of God's -resence among them, and the outflowing of his beneficence to humanity. (3)

Then, too, Jesus' own life was the embodiment of his conception of the kingdom, an ideal realization of God's perfect will for men, and so a concrete and living illustration of his teaching. Here, as in all Jesus' teaching, it is the internal, not the external, which has permanent significance. Jesus became for us an example in the spirit of his life. His perfect trust in God, his absolute performance of duty, his unswerving adherence to truth, his serious view of life, his indifference to petty things, his vision into the depths of existence, his complete devotion to a great cause, his willing sacrifice of himself to serve his fellowmen, his patience in privation, adversity and suffering, his purity of character and motive—in all these and many other respects, Jesus was the personification of his own teaching, the pattern of the ideal man, the living example for every sincere soul. (4)

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3. PLAN AND METHOD OF JESUS' MINISTRY.

(1) **The Kingdom of God.**—In the teaching of our Lord the kingdom of God is not an external, earthly dominion. It is the rule of God in the hearts of His people. It is going too far to say that Jesus held this rule to be solely individualistic. The very idea of a kingdom implies a society, and our Lord expended much of His teaching on the social relations of His disciples. Still, even in these social relations He represented them as governed from within—not by law and force of magistrates, but by affections and principles and interior motives. This is the most important feature of our Lord's teaching concerning the kingdom. It occasioned much perplexity and disappointment among His disciples even to the last (*e.g.*, Luke xxiv. 21; Acts i. 6); and it led to His utter rejection by the Jews. Yet He persisted

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in it when He stood almost alone, without wavering for a moment. Such a conception of the kingdom involves certain important consequences. Its privileges must depend on moral and spiritual conditions. Only they can be citizens of the kingdom who are in the right spiritual state to receive it (Mark x. 15). Its limits cannot be territorial. It may have adherents anywhere; even in the most favored localities many may be excluded from it (Matt. viii. 11, 12). It will not strike the eyes of the world by an appearance in any external form, will not come "with observation" (Luke xvii. 20). Its blessings will be chiefly internal—not power, wealth, luxury, but rest (Matt. xi. 28), and the vision of God (v. 8); although it will also confer temporal advantages, and its meek citizens will inherit the earth (ver. 5).—*W. F. Adeney, "Theology of the New Testament," pp. 21, 22.*

(2) **The Messiahship.**— . . . it is especially important to consider that He did not proceed from the assertion of His own Messiahship and the chief realization of the kingdom of God in His own person as Messiah, and upon that basis found His teaching in regard to the kind of salvation and the nature of the righteousness to be found in the kingdom which He was to establish. On the contrary, He first sought to make clear the special kind of deliverance and the nature of the righteousness of that kingdom, as well as the conditions of membership, whilst He purposely kept His own Messiahship in the background.

Jesus, at the beginning of His ministry, was recognized neither by the Baptist nor by His own disciples as the Messiah, nor did He refer to Himself as such. He suppressed the premature announcement of His Messiahship by the demons. Only at a comparatively advanced stage of His ministry, and in the inmost circle of His disciples, did He begin to be recognized as the Messiah; and even then He expressly forbade the general publication of that truth. At length, just at the close of His ministry, and in view of the impending catastrophe, He openly claimed to be the Messiah, and, as such, openly accepted the homage of His disciples. . . . He did not, from the outset, directly proclaim that truth; but gradually paved the way for its being understood by teaching the nature and coming of the kingdom in general. He thus sought to call forth, wherever possible, a spontaneous recognition of the truth on the part of others, not by their mere acceptance of authoritative assertions, but from an enlightened understanding of its grounds. Had Jesus declared Himself quite plainly to be the Messiah, there would have been associated with His person, in accordance with the prevailing Jewish ideas of the nature of the Messianic kingdom, expectations which He neither could nor would fulfill.

It was not so much because He perceived His death to be impending, that Jesus, at the close of His life, proclaimed His Messiahship; but that catastrophe was rather brought about because Jesus, after having trained His disciples to a right understanding of His Messiahship, began openly to claim that dignity.—*H. H. Wendt, "The Teaching of Jesus," pp. 176-78.*

(3) **The Miracles of Jesus.**—Why did Jesus employ this means of working? Several answers may be given to this question.

First, He wrought miracles because His Father gave Him these signs as proofs that He had sent Him. Many of the Old Testament prophets had received the same authentication of their mission; and, although John, who revived the prophetic function, worked no miracles, as the Gospels inform us with the most simple veracity, it was to be expected that He who was a far greater prophet than the greatest who went before Him should show even greater signs than any of them of His divine mission.

Secondly, the miracles of Christ were the natural outflow of the divine fullness which dwelt in Him. God was in Him, and His human nature was endowed with the Holy Ghost without measure. It was natural, when such a Being was in the world, that mighty works should manifest themselves in Him. He was Himself the great miracle, of which His particular miracles were merely sparks or emanations. He was the great interruption of the order of nature, or rather a new element which had entered into the order of nature to enrich and ennoble it, and His miracles entered with Him, not to disturb, but to repair its harmony. Therefore all His miracles bore the stamp of His character. They were not mere exhibitions of power, but also of holiness, wisdom and love. The Jews often sought from Him mere gigantesque prodigies to gratify their mania for marvels. But He always refused them, working only such miracles as were helps to faith. He demanded faith in all those whom He cured, and never responded either to curiosity or unbelieving challenges to exhibit marvels. This distinguishes His miracles from those fabled of ancient wonder-workers and mediæval saints. They were marked by unvarying sobriety and benevolence, because they were the expressions of His character as a whole.

Thirdly, His miracles were symbols of His spiritual and saving work. You have only to consider them for a moment to see that they were, as a whole, triumphs over the misery of the world. . . . But yet the misery of the world is the shadow of its sin. Material and moral evil, being thus intimately related, mutually illustrate each other. When He healed bodily blindness, it was a type of the healing of the inner eye; when He raised the dead, He meant to suggest that He was the Resurrection and the Life in the spiritual world as well; when He cleansed the leper, His triumph spoke of another over the leprosy of sin; when He multiplied the loaves, He followed the miracle with a discourse on the bread of life; when He stilled the storm, it was an assurance that He could speak peace to the troubled conscience.—*J. Stalker, "Life of Jesus Christ," pp. 61-3.*

(4) **Jesus the Embodiment of His Doctrine.**—The relation between His person and His word. The teacher made the truth He taught. His teaching was His articulated person, His person His incorporated teaching. The divinity the one expressed the other embodied. He came to found a kingdom by manifesting His kinghood, by declaring Himself a King. The King was the centre round which the kingdom crystallized. His first words announced its advent; His last affirmed its reality, though a reality too sublimely ideal to be intelligible to the man of the world who knew enough to ask the question, "What is truth?" but not enough to wait for its answer. And the first word and the last were alike revelations of Himself; the truth He was incarnated, as it were, in speech, that it might live an ideal life on earth, while He lived a real and personal life in heaven. —*A. M. Fairbairn, "Studies in the Life of Christ," p. 101.*

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4. JESUS THE GREAT RELIGIOUS TEACHER.

The whole life of a real teacher teaches. The teaching of Jesus is not alone the words which he spoke; it is also the deeds which he did, and the example of his own life. Indeed, one attestation of the truth of his utterances is the beauty of the life which shows that truth in concrete realization. Jesus was recognized by the most receptive minds of his own day to be the great religious teacher (Matt. 7:29; Mk. 1:27; Lk. 24:19) whose coming was to fulfill the ideal hopes of centuries (Lk. 24:21; Jno. 6:14, 15). It was not his words only that gave them this belief; it was their embodiment in his acts and their illustration in his character. Jesus was sent by God to deliver a divine message to man, a message of life. He revealed religious



Christ and the Fishers.—Zimmermann.

truth which was to be not only accepted, but lived. The living of truth means the expression of it in one's words, in one's deeds, in one's personality. Jesus not only told men what this divine truth was, but he showed in his own life what it was to live divine truth. Jesus therefore became and continues to be the source of religious belief and practice. He has made known to men that which they practically need to know about God, man, duty, existence, and has shown them how to realize these things in themselves. (1)

Teaching is not an end in itself, it is a means to an end. Jesus' teaching was a means for getting God's will done in men individually and collectively. God has a great purpose for the world; we exist as a part of that purpose; we can assist in the realization of that purpose; such assistance consists in living as God would have us live. Jesus came to tell us, and by example to show us, how God would have us

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live; to make known to us God's love which forgives our failure and patiently awaits our complete success in doing his will; and to proclaim the freely given divine power which is available and sufficient for those whose supreme purpose is set toward realizing God's will in themselves. This was Jesus' mission; all that he did, all that he said, all that he was, belonged to this message. His words announced these truths, his acts embodied them, his character illustrated them. The events of his public ministry were determined by the attitude of the Jews toward him. He was rejected and crucified because the message which he brought, and which he unwaveringly taught, was distasteful to the religious leaders of his nation. He sacrificed himself that men might have the truth of religion. (2)

If, therefore, we wish to know what the religious teaching of Jesus is, we must get the knowledge from him. The essence of Christianity is what Jesus taught, freed from the applications and elaborations of subsequent centuries. He came to make life intelligible and duty clear. His presentation of religious truths was divinely wise. He could omit nothing that was of primary importance. The relation of these truths to each other he perfectly arranged. And thus we have in his Galilean teaching, which was given to untrammeled and receptive minds, the universal presentation of the Gospel. Then can we know what this Galilean teaching was? Yes. God's providence has preserved it in our gospels. Can we trust these records to give us a true account of his teaching? Yes. The reasons for this trust are given above (see Lesson 1). We can confidently maintain on historical grounds that the gospels report to us with substantial accuracy what Jesus did and said and was. In them we get clear back to Jesus, and learn immediately from and of him. The gospel records have been transmitted to us by the first generation of Christians, and contain the apostolic accounts of Jesus' deeds and words. We see him through their eyes, to a certain degree; but there is every reason to think that in the main they saw him clearly and correctly. While the gospels give only excerpts of what he said and did, those sayings and acts have come down to us which most fully and perfectly show his teaching and his life. We of course recognize that the details of the incidents and the *ipsissima verba* of the sayings have been imperfectly preserved. Jesus spoke in Aramaic, and our records of his utterances are only in Greek, so that in every case allowance must be made for translation. Minor variation is everywhere present in the parallel accounts of originally identical incidents or sayings. But these things are unimportant. What we do need is, assurance that the facts of Jesus' life and the ideas of Jesus' teaching are contained in our gospel records. And this assurance we have, not on *a priori*, but on strictly historical grounds.

When we endeavor to ascertain from the gospels what the teaching of Jesus was, we find that he centers it all about what he terms the Kingdom of God. This term he derives from his contemporaries, but the content of it he has to modify greatly. The Jews were right in believing in God's kingdom, but his kingdom was different from that which they had conceived it to be. In both views the Kingdom of God meant the realization of God's will in man individually and collectively. The difference lay in the conception of what God's will for man was. To the Jews it meant visible glorification of Israel, temporal power, material blessings; to Jesus it meant the reign of reverence, truth, righteousness, altruism. He set forth clearly and fully what human duty is toward God and toward man. It is to trust and revere God as a Father who loves and cares for his children, to live in dependence upon and communion with him, to lead righteous lives, to be and do good, to love and serve one's fellowmen. That is, each must himself do perfectly God's will, and must, as far as possible, secure that it be done by others. The outcome of this individual living according to the highest principles of being will be a transformed humanity, a perfected Kingdom of God. Jesus proclaimed this message to men, and exhorted them to accept it and live it. He asserted this to be the divine truth which God had given him to teach to men, in his office as Messiah. This, he

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taught, was God's answer to the question: What is life, and how shall I live it? It was a very simple and practical religion as Jesus gave it. He expressed it in language unequaled for clearness, beauty and strength, he embodied it in deeds of kindness and sympathy, he illustrated it in his own matchless character and life. Jesus' teaching is the heart of the Bible, the essence of Christianity, the norm of that which is true and useful in religion. (3)

4. JESUS THE GREAT RELIGIOUS TEACHER.

(1) **The Doctrine Essential to the Kingdom.**—That Jesus appeared among His people as a teacher is attested by friend and foe; they all addressed Him as Rabbi, Master, Teacher, and He always accepted this address as correct. But the people felt at once a profound difference between His teaching and that of the scribes: "What new doctrine is this?" exclaim His hearers in the synagogue. "He preaches with authority, and not as the scribes" (Mark i. 27; Matt. vii. 29). By the higher authority with which He spoke, by a divinely authoritative character of His teaching, the people recognized Him as a prophet equal to the greatest of their old prophets (Mark viii. 28; Matt. xvi. 14). His disciples, however, hoped and anticipated still more from Him: "He was a prophet mighty in word and deed before God and all the people; but we trusted that it had been He which should have redeemed Israel" (Luke xxiv. 19). And He met that hope with his inmost consciousness; He knew Himself to be the Messiah, the God-sent deliverer of Israel, and had no higher wish than to be recognized as such in the right sense (Mark viii. 29; Matt. xvi. 16). His teaching, therefore, from the very first, has for its background a unique self-consciousness, the incomparable significance of His person, and from the beginning was directed towards something that must be more than teaching, that must be work and deed, viz., the founding of God's kingdom. And this founding was finally accomplished, not by His teaching as such, but by His personal devotion to and completion of His life-work, by His death and resurrection. Does His teaching thereby lose its original fundamental significance, and sink down to a mere introduction to New Testament revelation? It must be said that little as the teaching of Jesus in itself, apart from the conclusion of His life, could have called into existence the Kingdom of God, as little could that ending of His life have called it into being without the foregoing doctrinal revelation.—*W. Beyschlag, "New Testament Theology," p. 28.*

(2) **The Teaching of Jesus Was Unique.**—Nor was His teaching less unique than His personality. It was marked by a tone of sovereign authority; "Ye have heard that it was said—but I say unto you." In this it was the very opposite to the teaching of His own day and of centuries afterwards, which relied exclusively upon precedent. It was also marked by absolute originality. The test of its originality is the world's acceptance of it as specifically His. Isolated fragments of it may be compared with truths uttered by others; but it stands alone in its breadth and in its power, in its absence of narrow exclusiveness and scholastic system and abstract speculation. It was fresh, simple, natural, abounding in illustrations at once the most beautiful and the most intelligible, drawn from all the common sights and sounds of nature, and all the daily incidents and objects of social and domestic life. It flowed forth without reserve to all and on every fitting occasion,—on the road, on the hillside, on the lake, or by the lonely well, or at the banquet whether of the Pharisee or the publican. Expressed in the form of parables, it has seized the imagination of mankind with a force and tenacity which is not distantly approached even by the sacred writers, and even when not directly parabolic it was so full of picturesqueness and directness that there is not one recorded sentence of it which has not been treasured up in the memory of mankind. His utterances not only rival and surpass all that preceded and all that has followed them, but "they complement all beginnings." Sometimes they consist of short suggestive sayings (gnomes), full of depth, yet free from all affectation or obscurity, which make even what is most mysterious and spiritual humanly perceptible, throwing over it the glamour both of poetry and of a longing presentiment, and incessantly enticing men towards something yet higher. There is never in them a lurking fallacy nor a superfluous word, but all is "vivacity, nature, intelligibility, directly enlightening grace," intended only to convince and to save. And while such was the incomparable form of His teaching, its force was even more remarkable. It is all centered in the two great truths of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; from the former springs every truth of theology, from the latter every application of morals. Judaism had sunk into a religion of hatreds; the one message of Jesus was love.—*F. W. Farrar, "Jesus" in "Encyclopedia Britannica," 9th Ed., Vol. XIII, p. 670.*

(3) **Preaching the Kingdom.**—At the beginning of his narrative Mark describes the substance of the preaching with which Jesus set out, as follows: "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of the kingdom of God, and saying: The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye, and believe in the gospel." The glad tidings which Jesus proclaimed were tidings of the Kingdom of God. In delivering this message, He, on the one hand, proclaimed the fact that the kingdom was beginning to be set up; and, on the other hand, He announced the requirements to be fulfilled in view of that fact. The whole contents of the teaching of Jesus can be classed under this general theme and the two points of view from which He expounded it. His preaching in regard to the Kingdom of God contained, partly, instruction as to the existence of the kingdom, its nature, its realization and development; and partly, exhortations to the fulfillment of the conditions of membership. For Jesus sought to impart no mere theoretical knowledge of the Kingdom of God as something of no personal concern to the hearers. His object was to establish that kingdom practically among His hearers; and therefore he continually aimed at inciting them to become members of it.—*H. H. Wendt, "The Teaching of Jesus," Vol. I., p. 173.*

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5. THE JEWS' REJECTION OF THEIR MESSIAH.

The Jewish people in Jesus' day were under the religious domination of the Pharisees. This politico-religious party had arisen some two hundred years earlier to resist the threatening inroads of Hellenism. The aim of the Pharisees was to defend and perpetuate the intensely religious, peculiar and exclusive character of Judaism. They were the political opponents of the Sadducees, that party which was disposed to co-operate with the Roman officials who were their masters, and to take up with the freer life of the Gentiles who surrounded them. In their zeal to maintain the separateness of the Jews from the Gentiles, the Pharisees placed great emphasis upon the law. They extended their legislation by the addition of innumerable ceremonial distinctions and observances, until a hedge was grown about the Jew to prevent his absorption into the great empire of which they unwillingly formed a political part. They looked upon the Romans with unrelenting hatred, and lived in the hope that their long-anticipated Messiah would come to bring them freedom from the odious Gentile yoke. It followed, therefore, that the Pharisees found nothing to their liking in Jesus, for he in no manner responded to their intense, exclusive national pride and expectation. He showed no disposition to undertake the accomplishment of Jewish political independence; on the contrary, he insisted that the obligations to their Roman masters be fulfilled. All the temporal power, national glory, and material prosperity which characterized their Messianic hope were ignored by Jesus. Generations of misinterpretation of the Old Testament prophecies, and persistent disregard of the spiritual realities of life, had led them astray, until their hearts were set, not upon things which were above, but upon things which were upon the earth. They seem even to have stumbled at the fact that Jesus came from Galilee, and therefore could not be the Messiah of promise (Matt. 2:5, 6; Jno. 1:45, 46; 7:41, 42, 52).



Jesus among the Doctors.—Hofmann.

Another important reason for the Pharisaic opposition to Jesus was his open transgression and criticism of their legal regulations. They had engrossed the religious life of the Jews with rules, forms and ceremonies. The general prohibitions of the Old Testament law were expanded by specific application to all phases of daily life until the individual was enmeshed with external performances. This mass of casuistical legislation was known as "the traditions of the elders" (Mk. 7:1-13), and it took precedence over all else. It robbed life of all its freedom, spontaneity and joy. In Galilee little attention was paid to this type of Judaism. Jesus had not been brought up in bondage to it, and he had no sympathy with it. He

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publicly disregarded this Pharisaic code, and on many occasione emphatically condemned it. The outstanding conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees in this matter was over the observance of the Sabbath. Jesus refused to keep it or to countenance it in the way they demanded. They were enraged by his independence and opposition, and entered upon a course of violent hostility to him (Matt. 12:1-14; Lk. 13:10-17; 14:1-6; Jno. 5:1-18).

But most of all the Pharisees hated Jesus because he tore off their masks, and exposed their despicable characters to the people. Many of the leading Pharisees were hypocrites. Ostentatiously pious, scrupulously observant of religious ceremonies, loud in their professions of goodness, they were in fact guilty of the worst sins. Jesus did not spare them in his denunciations (Matt. 5:20; 23:1-33). And there could result nothing but the bitterest enmity and conflict. The Pharisees only awaited the opportunity to get their hands upon him, and they would avenge themselves by assassination (Matt. 12:14; Mk. 3:6; Jno. 8:59; 10:31, 39; 11:53,57).

The attitude of the Jewish common people toward Jesus was of quite another sort. They were faithful to their national religion, but did not live under the bondage of Pharisaism. The influence of the Pharisees was strong in Judea, but reached only weakly into Galilee. It was from this environment that Jesus himself arose. He was one of the Galilean common people. He appreciated them and sympathized with them (Matt. 9:10-13; Lk. 7:11-15, 36-50; 1:9-14). His work was mainly among them, for the Pharisee-ridden Judeans would not hear him. The Galileans regarded him as a great prophet and an authoritative teacher (Matt. 7:28, 29; Mk. 1:27; Lk. 7:16). It was from this class of the Jewish nation that Jesus drew his twelve apostles (Judas perhaps excepted). He was eagerly welcomed by the common people when he began his public ministry. Multitudes came to hear him, and he taught and healed them (Matt. 5:1; 13:1, 2; Mk. 3:7, 8; 6:32-44, 53-56). For a considerable time he worked among them, and gained many adherents. But all the time they were hoping that Jesus would proclaim himself the Messiah of their mistaken expectations. They looked anxiously from day to day for the indications that he was about to set up his temporal, visible kingdom, to the freedom and glory of his people. When they had waited until their patience failed, they undertook to force him into this action. This precipitated a crisis, for Jesus could only refuse them (Jno. 6:14, 15). Overwhelming disappointment fell upon his enthusiastic followers, and most of them withdrew (Jno. 6:66-68).

The doors of public teaching were closed against him. There remained the possibility of a last appeal to the nation. This he determined to make in the most impressive manner available to him. Up to this time he had not claimed to be the Messiah, except to his closest disciples, and then with strict charges of secrecy. The proclamation of it would have put a stop to his work by the excitement of false hopes and futile efforts. But now that he could accomplish no more by his public ministry, it only remained to go to Jerusalem, announce himself as Messiah to the passover multitude, claim the allegiance which they would not give (Matt. 23:37), and receive the martyrdom which he clearly saw lay at the end of such a course (Mk. 10:32-34). (1)

The triumphal entry was arranged. The throngs of Galilean celebrants of the passover feast gathered about him and hailed him as Messiah, for it looked now as though their ardent hopes would at last be realized. Jesus accepted their homage, and entered Jerusalem in their company with the demonstrations of a king returning to his city in peace and victory. The enthusiasm and confidence of the multitude was at the highest pitch. The strength of the popular following was so great that both Pharisees and Sadducees became alarmed (Lk. 20:6, 19; Jno. 12:19). The Sadducees had paid little attention to Jesus up to this time, for they took small interest in anything but the politics and amenities of life. But now that Jesus seemed to threaten a popular religious uprising, they were aroused to strenuous opposition.

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The Sadducees were the Jewish office-holders, responsible to the Romans for civic peace in Judea; and if an anti-Roman insurrection took place, as this threatened to do, the Sadducees were liable to be deposed for negligence or inability to preserve the peace (Jno. 11:47-50). The Sanhedrin was, therefore, united in its purpose to put Jesus to death (Matt. 26:3-5; Jno. 11:53). (2) and (3)

But in the face of the popular support, how could this be accomplished? Only by treachery. A traitor was not lacking. When once Jesus was in the hands of his enemies the people could be turned against him. In fact, the reaction had set in among his followers. For again Jesus was failing them, their Messianic programme was being forgotten. The old disappointment was settling down upon them with fatal force. It was still only a spiritual kingdom that Jesus meant. The Jewish leaders knew how to turn this disappointment into flaming indignation. And when this was done (Matt. 27:20-26), the multitude joined hotly in the cry, "Let him be crucified!" Pharisees, Sadducees, common people, all were lost. The rejection was final, and, with the exception of a few hundred faithful souls, complete. (4)

5. THE JEWS' REJECTION OF THEIR MESSIAH.

(1) **The Entry into Jerusalem.**—Jesus has told his disciples that he is going to Jerusalem only to meet his fate, and be put to death by the authorities, and yet he enters it amidst the acclaims of the multitude, who hail him as the coming King. This acknowledgment, repelled before, he now accepts. But, the claim once made, he proceeds as before, with his merely spiritual work. The key to these apparent inconsistencies is to be found in the splendid self-consistency of Jesus' procedure, and in its absolute inconsistency with worldly ideas and policies. Jesus knew that the Messianic claim in Jerusalem meant death, and that death meant the ultimate establishment of the claim, not defeat. Every part of his life, but especially its end, means that he aimed to establish the ideal as the law of human life, and that he would use only absolutely spiritual means in the accomplishment of his end.

Meantime, everything points to the fact that Jesus deliberately used the enthusiasm of the multitude for the purposes of his entry into Jerusalem, intending to make it the means of a public proclamation of his Messianic claim. That proclamation was necessary, because men must understand definitely the issue that he made. The acceptance of him as King, and not merely as Prophet, was what he demanded. And in the events which followed, it immediately became apparent that the question thus raised was not only a question of his personal claim, but of the nature of his kingdom. The multitude who followed him thought that, with the announcement of the claim, the programme would change. But the unchanged programme meant that Jesus, just as he was, claimed kingship, and would be king only by spiritual enforcements.—*E. P. Gould*, "*Commentary on St. Mark*," *p. 205*.

(2) **Plots against Jesus.**—None of the Evangelists enables us to answer with certainty the question whether the hierarchy had at first any idea of employing the *sicarii* to assassinate Jesus. Matt. xxvi. 4, might mean this. But more probably this and other notices of plots against the life of Jesus refer to the intention of getting Him out of the way by some legal process, either as a blasphemer or as a rebel against the Roman government. Of course, if a mob could be goaded into a fury and provoked to put him to death (Lk. iv. 29; John viii. 59; x. 31), this would suit their purpose equally well.—*A. Plummer*, "*Commentary on St. Luke*," *p. 455*.

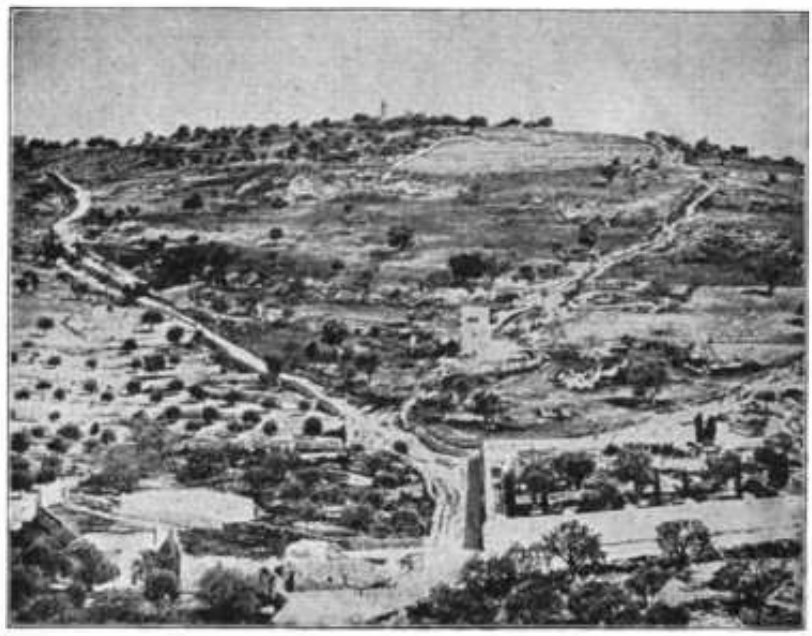
(3) **Motive of the Supreme Court.**—The supreme court then assembled, and its members made no secret of the danger of the situation. This man had inexhaustible resources, and if He lost ground one day in the estimation of the deluded people, He regained it the next by some new stroke. His influence was ever on the ascendant, and they had to acknowledge openly that He would at last have the whole nation on His side, and then an insurrection with the object of proving Him to be the Messiah would be sure to ensue. But the politicians of Jerusalem estimated the intervention of Rome very differently from the credulous Galileans. They did not require to ponder over the question whether a successful revolt under the leadership, or even in the name, of their opponent would be for their advantage. They believed it to be a certainty that revolt could only result in victory to the Romans, who would punish the refractory people by subjugating them entirely, and taking from them their last remnant of independence, and then the priests' authority would be at an end. After long discussion the high priest Caiaphas gave the truly Jesuitical advice, to sacrifice for the common weal the one man who was endangering the welfare of the people. This utterance corresponded with the inmost thoughts of each and all, though they had shrunk from giving expression to them.—*B. Weiss*, "*Life of Christ*," *Vol. III., p. 214*.

(4) **The Disappointed Mob.**—The days that have passed since the triumphal entry have been full of change. The people have been disappointed, and a disappointed mob is a dangerous thing, prepared to break or burn the idol it can always make, but that cannot always fulfill its maker's intentions. The Jesus it had hailed as the Christ had proved not its Christ, and to be not its Christ was to be as good as none. The rulers knew the people, read the meaning of their disappointment, and met at the house of Caiaphas to consider how the foolish mob could be made to do their malignant will. Heaven seemed to bless their conclave. To them came one who had followed the Galilean. Discipleship had become impossible to Judas.—*A. M. Fairbairn*, "*Studies in the Life of Christ*," *p. 241*.

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6. THE CRUCIFIED BUT LIVING CHRIST.

Fear, hatred and vengeance drove the Jewish leaders to swift action against Jesus. Once in their power, by the betrayal of Judas as they supposed, but in fact by his own voluntary surrender of himself to his enemies, the form of a trial before the Sanhedrin was hastily gone through. Prejudged and precondemned, the sentence of death for blasphemy was soon pronounced. The career of this violator of sacred things, this traitor to Judaism, this pretender to divine honors, this turbulent revolutionist, would now be closed. But the Sanhedrin could only pass, not execute, the death sentence. Jesus, therefore, was hurried before the Roman procurator Pilate, who alone had the power of capital punishment. Now the charge against Jesus was changed. What cared Pilate for the wranglings of the Jews over their religious superstitions? But if Jesus were an insurrectionist against the Roman government, Pilate would be concerned. This the Jewish leaders tried, but the procurator was not convinced. Indeed, the man was innocent — Pilate would not order his execution. But the Sanhedrists were insistent. If he refused them, they could secure his recall (as a few years later they did) by reporting his misdeeds to the Emperor. Why should Pilate sacrifice himself for this hunted Jew? Throwing the responsibility of the whole affair upon Jesus' Jewish accusers, he gave permission that their demand be carried out. Crucifixion was the common Roman method of executing rebels, and Jesus was put to death as such. With a cry of deep significance he expired upon the cross. It was, indeed, *finished*, he had been obedient even unto death, he had fulfilled his God-given mission to mankind.



Gethsemane and the Mount of Olives.

Jesus had seen clearly the necessary outcome of this journey to Jerusalem. Even from the entrance upon his public ministry it must have seemed to him probable that he would ultimately be rejected and put to death (Matt. 23:29-37; Lk. 13:31-34). The Pharisees opposed him from the first, but when the Galileans gave up their hope and withdrew from him, Jesus saw his work nearing its end. He set about preparing his disciples for his departure. He determined upon a martyrdom for his cause at Jerusalem. He told them that he was going to be put to death by his enemies (Mk. 10:32-34; Lk. 13:31-34). Deliberately he planned the Jerusalem visit, and calmly he placed himself into the hands of those who sought his life. His teaching would thus be consummated and glorified. But on the other hand, it was an acknowledgment of defeat with his own nation. It was their final

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They took Jesus therefore; and he went out, bearing the cross for himself, unto the place called The place of a skull, which is called in Hebrew Golgotha: where they crucified him.

—*John XIX: 17.*

THERE IS A GREEN HILL.

There is a green hill far away,
Without a city wall,
Where the dear Lord was crucified,
Who died to save us all.

We may not know, we cannot tell
What pains he had to bear;
But we believe it was for us
He hung and suffered there.

He died that we might be forgiven,
He died to make us good,
That we might go at last to Heaven,
Saved by his precious blood.

There was no other good enough
To pay the price of sin;
He only could unlock the gate
Of Heaven, and let us in.

Oh, dearly, dearly has he loved,
And we must love him, too,
And trust in his redeeming blood,
And try his works to do,
And try his works to do.

—*Mrs. C. F. Alexander*

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rejection of their Messiah (Matt. 23:37, 38). The heritage of the Jews was repudiated by them; it must, therefore, be taken from them and given to others (Matt. 21:28-31, 33-41; Mk. 11:12-14). God's chosen people to bear to the world his true and pure religion thus refused to perform their mission. National pride and self-seeking had unfitted them for a universal brotherhood and self-abnegating service. This was the agony of his self-sacrifice. (1)

And yet Jesus realized that his own death at the hands of the Jews did not mean the destruction of his work nor the failure of his cause. Truth, right and goodness cannot fail because men are recreant to their opportunities and trusts. The Kingdom of God would live and triumph, notwithstanding his death—indeed, in a measure because of his death. Jesus' death became the most effective attestation of the truth of his message, and the cross which symbolized his martyrdom became the emblem of his followers. That which was written later (Tertullian, circ. 200 A. D.) of the Christians who died for their faith was primarily and peculiarly true of Jesus himself, "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church."

Nor would he by that experience which men call death lay down the work of his life. He knew that shortly, in God's own good time, he would resume it (Matt. 16:21, 25; *cf.* Hos. 6:2). The soul which draws its life from God for ever lives. "There is no death: what seems so is transition." The crucifixion was an incident in the life of an immortal being. What we term death is but the point at which the relation of the living soul to the physical body changes from that to which we are accustomed. Jesus lived and Jesus lives. He did not die. Shall we deny immortality to him, when we hold to it for ourselves? The Christian does not die: he rises to a larger, better life. Jesus "brought life and immortality to light." He taught us that there is no death, but only transition to a higher sphere of existence. And so Jesus entered through his crucifixion into the life beyond. (2)

The gospels transmit to us the belief of his disciples that for a brief time again after the crucifixion Jesus was seen by them as of old. The empty sepulchre supports their conception that in Jesus' case, instead of the ordinary separation of body from soul, the body was transformed in conjunction with the soul. Who will say this was not so? Who knows what are the possibilities of the future life? God in his providence may have given them to see in familiar outline the glorified Christ. This may have been necessary on account of their imperfect apprehension of spiritual truth. Not yet have *we* reached the stage where we at all fully *realize* that the surest and best realities are the spiritual realities. How much more did the first disciples need an objective vision of their risen Master, to give them confidence and courage to carry on his work. It was a living cause; their leader still led on; they found, when they could see again through tear-dimmed eyes, Jesus' presence and power were still with them. Physical vision of him passed into spiritual vision. Invisibly now, but no less really, they felt him near. And in this assurance his disciples set about the spread and upbuilding of the kingdom which he had established, and of which they were now the visible representatives. And Jesus had given them at his departure a memorial of himself, to comfort them, to strengthen them, and to bind them together in love and service. The simple repast of bread and wine, which he had often and now for the last time shared with his disciples, was to call to their remembrance, as often as they ate it together, his own life and death (so-called) that men might have religious truth, and truth expressed not only in words, but also in acts and in character. And so the Christ is ever with us, the inspiration and the guide of all who are continuing his work on earth, who are endeavoring to realize in themselves and in this great world the Kingdom of God which he came to make known and to establish among men, which he proclaimed to men in his utterances, and in his deeds, and in his life and death. One is our teacher, leader and example—the Jesus of history, and the living, exalted Christ of faith. (3) and (4)

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6. THE CRUCIFIED BUT LIVING CHRIST.

(1) **Jesus' Foreknowledge of His Death.**—But if, in spite of these considerations, there had still been a possibility that God would make Jesus acquainted with the manner in which His life upon earth would terminate, that would have been nothing but a hindrance to Him, for the knowledge and powers with which He was endowed were all needful for the attainment of the ends He had it view. It would only have paralyzed the moral power and joyful enthusiasm of His work, if Jesus had known from the first that in regard to the people it was all in vain,—that they would finally reject and crucify Him: He had laboured with all His powers, however, to save His people; and although never deceived as to the difficulties of the task, He had left it to God to decide what success should be His, and what means He should take for continuing and completing His task. The reason for His not thinking of His death at an earlier period was not because He had formed a mistaken conception of the results of His labours, or thought that the future might turn out differently: He *could* not do so, for the accomplishment of His task was dependent upon the conduct of the people as well as upon the attitude they took up towards Him. The necessity of His death He learnt from the development of the historical circumstances, and this not because He had hitherto been blinded to it, but only because the development now brought it about.—*B. Weiss, "Life of Christ," Vol. III. p. 67.*

(2) **Christ's own Idea of His Death.**—It is necessary, then, to reach Christ's own idea of His death and what it was to be, and then see how He realized it. He early anticipated His death, knew that without it He could not be faithful to Himself and His mission. Its scene was to be Jerusalem, its agents "the chief priests." Its place and meaning in His history were typified to the imagination of the Evangelists by the Transfiguration. Just about the time when He began to speak of it openly, Moses and Elias, the founder and reformer of Israel, the representatives of the Law and the Prophets, appeared to Him. "The decease which He should accomplish at Jerusalem" they approved; their approval was ratified by Heaven and symbolized by the glory which changed "the fashion of His countenance" and made His raiment "white and glistening." The idea so expressed is evident: the death is to perfect His work and make it the fulfilment alike of Law and Prophecy in Israel; though it may seem to shame, yet it is to exalt and transfigure Him; though it may be worked by human hate, yet it pleases and glorifies God. And these ideas penetrate all Christ's references to it. He is the gift of God, sent into the world that the world through Him might be saved. He is the good Shepherd who giveth His life for His sheep. His death is to be so rich in Divine meaning and power as to draw all men unto Him. And these thoughts possess Him the more the nearer He comes to death. They receive fullest expression in the words that institute the Supper, in the Supper He institutes. Its symbols perpetuate the mind of One who believed that He died for man, shed His "blood for many for the remission of sins."—*A. M. Fairbairn, "Studies in the Life of Christ," pp. 315-16.*

(3) **The Vision Theory Untenable.**—The theory that the disciples had a *vision* of Jesus, but that He was not objectively present, is irreconcilable with the narrative. This declares that the grave of Jesus was found empty on the morning of the third day. Therefore the body must either have risen or have been removed with intent to deceive; but this latter alternative is impossible. The enemies cannot have taken the body away, for in that case they would have been able to stop the mouths of the disciples when they came forward, after Pentecost, preaching a risen Jesus, and they would certainly have done so. Nor can the disciples have removed the body of Jesus; for Matthew says that the tomb was guarded (xxvii. 65-66); it is incredible that the disciples, who did not believe that their master would rise from the dead, should at once, while smitten and despondent, have conceived the colossal fraud of stealing the body and deceiving the world; and the narrative shows us the disciples changed from a state of sorrow to one of joy, from a state of weakness to one of strength, from being scattered to being together as a world-conquering power: and this change cannot be traced to a vision which itself rested on a lie. But if Jesus actually rose from the grave to a new and immortal life, it is far easier to suppose that He manifested Himself sensibly to His disciples, as He had promised to do (Mark xiv. 28; Matt. xxvi. 32) and as the evangelists affirm that He did, than to suppose that He returned at once to God, and that a miraculous vision was given to the disciples.—*G. H. Gilbert, "The Student's Life of Jesus," p. 401.*

(4) **The Influence of Jesus.**—No life ends even for this world when the body by which it has for a little been made visible disappears from the face of the earth. It enters into the stream of the ever-swelling life of mankind, and continues to act there with its whole force for evermore. Indeed, the true magnitude of a human being can often only be measured by what this after-life shows him to have been. So it was with Christ. The modest narrative of the Gospels scarcely prepares us for the outburst of creative force which issued from His life when it appeared to have ended. His influence on the modern world is the evidence of how great He was; for there must have been in the cause as much as there is in the effect. It has overspread the life of man and caused it to blossom with the vigour of a spiritual spring. It has absorbed into itself all other influences, as a mighty river, pouring along the centre of a continent, receives tributaries from a hundred hills. And its quality has been even more exceptional than its quantity.

The life of Christ in history cannot cease. His influence waxes more and more; the dead nations are waiting till it reach them, and it is the hope of the earnest spirits that are bringing in the new earth. All discoveries of the modern world, every development of juster ideas, of higher powers, of more exquisite feelings in mankind, are only new helps to interpret Him; and the lifting-up of life to the level of His ideas and character is the programme of the human race.—*J. Stalker, "Life of Christ," pp. 139-40.*

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THE HISTORICAL PRIOR TO THE THEOLOGICAL JESUS.

Jesus of Nazareth is represented in the Gospels as the Christ, the Godlike King of Hebrew prophecy, the fulfiller of Israel's highest hopes and brightest ideals, the august Person in whom the history of the chosen people culminated, and the divine purpose in her election found its consummation and interpretation. And the Christian Church in every age has accepted this representation as true; that the man Jesus was all this is her firm faith. But if Jesus was the *Christ*, Christ was also the *Jesus*, a man who lived in Palestine at a certain date, of very unique moral and religious character, and very welcome for His own sake, apart altogether from His relation to the previous history of the world in general, or of Israel in particular. And there are moods of mind in which one desires to look at the man apart from His official titles and dignities, just as one might go to Palestine desiring to see what the naked eye see, forgetting for the time all the sacred historical memories connected with its hills, and valleys, and lakes, and streams. There are probably many in the present time who are in this mood. The title "Christ" sounds foreign and stale to their ear, and is suggestive only of religious delusion, the symbol of an extinct *Aberglaube*, or extra-belief. But the Jesus to whom it was applied still interests them. In spite of theological scepticism—nay, partly in consequence of it, the conviction remains, and gains in force, that the hero of the evangelic story is the sweetest, most winsome, and most powerful character in the whole history of humanity. They desire to become better acquainted with Him. They wish to know the real historical person called Jesus of Nazareth, being persuaded that the better He is known in the actual truth of His life the better He will be esteemed. They are impatient of the trappings with which faith has invested His person, the official robes and the aureole around his brow. Take these things away, they exclaim; we would see *Jesus*.

There need be no quarrel with this mood, or any unwillingness to let it have its way. We are, of course, all aware that it is a very crude sort of Christianity that looks at Jesus apart from His connection with the antecedent history of His people. Marcionism, with its Jesus in the air, cannot be more than a stepping-stone to a higher and more abiding form of faith. But *that* it may be; that, for those in the mood described, it must be. You cannot make them Christians by the method of catechetical instruction intended to fill the mind with orthodox opinions. Neither can you make them Christians by the method of evangelism, which, taking for granted conventional orthodoxy, makes its appeal to the emotions. These methods have probably both been tried, and have failed. They must therefore be allowed to begin at the beginning, and to learn Christianity *de novo*, as the disciples of Jesus learned it; becoming acquainted first with the man, and then advancing gradually to higher views of His person and work. It is a slow process at the best, and there is a risk of it stopping short at the rudimentary stage; but when it goes on to its consummation, it yields a far higher type of faith and discipleship than can be reached by any short and easy way. Let an inquirer first see the man Jesus, and love Him so seen, and then pass on to higher affirmations with full intelligence and perfect sincerity, and you shall find in him one who brings to the service of the kingdom of God, not opinion merely, or emotion, but the whole heart and mind: "all that is within" him.

This being so, it would seem as if the way of becoming a Christian just indicated were not only the way necessary to be taken in certain cases, but the desirable way in all cases. It is not, and never will be, the way of the majority, and yet it may be the better and the best way. That it is so, indeed, might be asserted with confidence on the authority of the Master. His method of dealing with men in quest of the highest good seems to have been in accordance with that indicated as the ideally best. He did not come with all His claims and titles, and make recognition of these the first condition of discipleship. He was in no haste to get men to make correct religious affirmations concerning Himself, but rather took pains first to lay sound moral foundations of religious belief. He not only did not demand that candidates for discipleship should commence by calling Him Christ, Lord, God, Savior, but He positively discouraged the use of all such titles till men had an approximately correct idea of their significance. At Cæsarea Philippi, when Peter made the confession, "Thou art the Christ," He charged His disciples that they should tell no man that He was the Christ. That is, He wanted no man to call Him Christ who did not in some degree understand the true meaning of the title, but used it in a merely traditional sense. To the seeker after eternal life who accosted Him as "*Good* Master," He addressed the sharp interrogation, "Why callest thou me good?" as if to say, make not goodness a matter of compliment; call no man good till you know what goodness is, and whether the person to whom you apply the epithet deserves it. Yet, while virtually advising this inquirer to suspend his judgment as to the applicability of the epithet "good" to Himself, Jesus, we note, invites him to immediate discipleship: "Go, sell that thou hast, and come, follow me." Had he complied with the invitation, he would gradually have learned the nature of true goodness, and that the Master he had chosen as his guide was indeed good. He would also have learned betimes to

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make important religious affirmations concerning the Master, such as that He was the Christ, or the Son of God. And these affirmations coming in due course would have had real value and life-giving power. It could bring no real benefit to him to call Jesus either good or God while he remained in ignorance of the spirit of Jesus, and was so far unacquainted with the nature of true goodness as to imagine, for example, that the Pharisees and the Rabbis were good. It can do no one good to call an unknown man God; still less to apply that solemn designation to a man whose character and spirit are fatally misconceived. The virtue lies in the belief that God is like, yea is, the well-known man Jesus the Good.

It thus appears that Christ's sanction might fairly be cited in support of the policy of postponing consideration of His higher claims, and making it the first business to become intimately and truly acquainted with the historical person so far as that is possible. The desire to know the Jesus of history, stripped bare of theological investiture, far from being an impiety, is a reversion to the method of the Author of our faith. This consideration may encourage men adrift on the sea of doubt to be thorough in their search for truth without fear of consequences. Haunting fears of eternal loss are a great hindrance to thoroughness in religion. What if I should die while the quest goes on, and truth is still not found? What if I should be launched into eternity when I have only reached the lowest stage of Christian belief, the sincere passionate conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was a *good man*, the one man I have known whom I could trust and love with all my heart? Must I not make myself safe by hastily patching up my sadly-tattered creed, and accepting in the slump all conventional, orthodox declarations concerning the Person of Jesus and the significance of His death? "Who is among you that feareth the Lord" and "walketh in darkness?" Let him trust in the name of the Lord, and abstain from kindling for himself fires in the night that shall blaze brightly for a while, then go out and leave him in deeper darkness. Let him be loyal to truth, and leave his soul in the hands of God. How foolish to think that one can save himself from the living God, searcher of hearts, by an orthodox system of theology hastily adopted for prudential reasons! And why entertain solicitudes to which Jesus was a stranger? He did not bid men hurry up and make haste to be orthodox, under pain of damnation if death overtook them while they were only on the way, and not at the goal. He acted as if He believed that men were in a saved condition when their face was turned in the right direction—toward God, truth and righteousness, however far they might be from having attained the object of their quest. The prodigal had a far way to go to his father's house, but in the view of Jesus he was a new man from the moment he said "I will arise, and go to my father."

But the question may be raised, Has the method of learning Christianity recommended by Jesus not been rendered difficult or impossible by the way in which His first disciples have treated His life? The question concerns the historicity of the evangelic narratives. It may be said, it has recently been said with startling emphasis, that none of the Gospels, not even those which are comparatively trustworthy—the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke—are written in a historical spirit, by men whose first concern was to ascertain facts and report them exactly, but rather with the avowed purpose of verifying a religious belief concerning the subject of the narrations. The evangelists, it is held, were concerned supremely, not about the facts, but about the religious significance of the facts. And they have taken no pains to keep the facts at their value for faith apart, so that readers might have it in their power to know intimately the man Jesus, before being asked or expected to make any theological affirmations concerning Him, such as that He was the *Christ*.

Now it must be admitted that there is a measure of truth in this representation. Fact and faith are blended together in all the Gospels, and can only be separated by a critical process; and for one who handles the materials in a purely scientific spirit without religious prepossessions, it may in some instances remain doubtful how far the statements of the evangelists can be accepted as historical. But it is very possible to indulge in exaggeration here, and it may confidently be affirmed that the sceptical or agnostic temper has been carried to excess in connection with the history of Jesus. We are all apt to be unconsciously influenced by our bias. If some are too ready to receive with uncritical credence the things that are written in the Gospels, others are far too suspicious, whether biased, as in the case of Mr. Huxley, by a severely scientific habit of mind, or, as is the case of Dr. Martineau, by a theory as to the inner light being the sole source of revelation. When a man happens to believe that he can do without an objective light of the world, he can afford to be very sceptical as to the existence of such a light—nay, if he be in a small minority in maintaining the sufficiency of the inner light, he may be tempted to raise a mist of doubt about the sun that no alternative may be left but to trust in the guidance of the candle.

To open-minded men neither unduly dogmatic nor unduly sceptical, a sufficient knowledge of the historical Jesus will not seem unattainable. That such knowledge is possible is a fair inference from the fact that so many have attempted to write the Life of Jesus.—*A. B. Bruce, "Apologetics," pp 337-343.*

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FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **RECORDS AND CHRONOLOGY OF JESUS' LIFE.**—Notices of Jesus in contemporary Roman and Jewish histories, References to the life of Jesus in the New Testament epistles, The gospel records of Jesus' life, The origin and relations of the four gospels, The chronology of the life of Jesus.

2. **PREPARATION OF JESUS FOR HIS WORK.**—Why Jesus was a Jew, Why he grew up in Galilee, The development of Jesus' religious ideas, His commission as Messiah, His special preparation for that work.

3. **PLAN AND METHOD OF JESUS' MINISTRY.**—Jesus' conception of the Kingdom of God which he was to establish, The uniqueness of his plan, The probability that the Jews would not accept a kingdom wholly spiritual, Jesus' method in his public ministry, His teaching, His deeds, His character and personality.

4. **JESUS THE GREAT RELIGIOUS TEACHER.**—Jesus recognized by the Jews as a great teacher, The purpose of Jesus' teaching, Jesus' teaching the essence of Christianity, The Gospel records of his teaching trustworthy, The Kingdom of God, its principles, requirements, membership, blessings, future.

5. **THE JEWS' REJECTION OF THEIR MESSIAH.**—The characteristics, of Pharisaism, Reasons why the Pharisees opposed Jesus, The vacillating attitude of the Jewish common people toward Jesus, His triumphal entry into Jerusalem, The final and complete rejection.

6. **THE CRUCIFIED BUT LIVING CHRIST.**—The condemnation and crucifixion of Jesus, His death a deliberately chosen and arranged martyrdom, The triumph of His cause, The continuity of Jesus' work after the crucifixion, The resurrection of Jesus, The memorial supper, The living Christ.

QUESTIONS.

1. *What testimony is found to Jesus' life in Roman and Jewish writers? What can be learned of Jesus' life from the New Testament epistles? What is the historical trustworthiness of our gospel records? What are the more probable dates of Jesus' life?*

2. *State the significance of the fact that Jesus was a Galilean Jew. What was the nature of Jesus' education? Indicate as well as you can the development of Jesus' religious ideas. What was the significance of Jesus' baptism? What did Jesus determine upon as to the kind of Messianic kingdom required by God?*

3. *Explain the Jewish conception of the Messiah and Messianic kingdom. What attitude did Jesus assume toward this? State as exactly as possible what Jesus' plan was. What methods was he to use for accomplishing his work?*

4. *Show how not only Jesus' words, but also his deeds, and his character and personality, were a part of his teaching. Explain why teaching is not an end in itself, but only a means? A means to what end in Jesus' case? Show that Christianity is in essence what Jesus taught? Can we ascertain what Jesus' teaching was? State briefly the substance of the simple and practical religion of Jesus.*

5. *For what purpose did the Pharisaic party exist? Indicate three important reasons why the Pharisees from the first opposed Jesus. Describe and explain the early and the later attitude of the common people toward Jesus. What was Jesus' purpose in the triumphal entry? Show why after it all classes of the Jews were turned against Jesus, and determined on his death.*

6. *What was the nature of the trial of Jesus before the Sanhedrim? On what charge was he condemned to death? What did Pilate think of the case? Why did he order the execution of Jesus? Had Jesus anticipated this end of his life? Why did he submit to it? What effect had his crucifixion upon the progress of Christianity? Explain how and why Jesus is the living Christ.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The extent to which we can determine the dates and the order of the events and teachings in the public ministry of Jesus.*

2. *The means and amount of education of the Jewish child of the first century? The different elements which contributed to the formation of Jesus' religious ideas.*

3. *The source of Jesus' conception of the Messiah and the Messianic kingdom. The originality and the difficulties of the plan. The wisdom of Jesus' methods for establishing his plans.*

4. *Explanation of the perverse position religiously into which the Pharisees had come. Reason why Jesus did not succeed in winning the common people to his conception of the kingdom.*

5. *Comparison of Jesus with former great Jewish teachers. Teaching through deeds, character and personality.*

6. *Jesus' reasons for offering himself up to the Jews for crucifixion. The effect of the crucifixion upon the Gospel cause. The living Christ.*

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The Lake of Tiberias.

THE LIVES OF THE APOSTLES.

BY

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7. INTRODUCTION.

Since these Lessons must carry compression to its outmost limit, it is necessary to state at the start what conception of the subject is held, and what method of dealing with it is proposed. Our theme is "The Lives of the Apostles." It is a form of biography. But there is no single standard in this field of literature. Most biographies tell us about lives that lie far from the center of history. A few are, in their main lines, close to the trend of history. A few—so few that they may be counted on our fingers—are coincident with universal history. Ranke writes concerning Alexander: "Alexander is one of the few men whose biography is permeated with universal history. His impulses suffice to end a struggle begun centuries before, upon which in turn depends the progress of the universal development of humanity." The lives of the Apostles come within this statement. They are in the mid-stream of the mighty religious movement that gave a new and final turn to universal history. Paul excepted, their lives, treated as simple biographies, were mere fragments; so that we could not, even if we would, take them out of their connection with the general life of the Apostolic Age. But we would not, if we could, because biography in this case is almost wholly identical with history. Consequently, it is taken for granted, at the outset of these lessons, that the main reason for calling them "Lives of the Apostles," is that the movement of history covered by the N. T. literature may appear as a thoroughly human movement; and that, so far as possible, the color and flavor of individuality may be given to it.

The Apostolic life cannot be treated without touching the Apostolic mind. I shall do my best not to trespass on the domain of N. T. Theology. If, however, there is a risk, it must be run. For there never has been a type of consciousness wherein the elements of life were more completely fused than in the Apostolic. Concerning every creative epoch, every epoch that has given the world a classic type of experience—a type that is contemporary with all time—it holds true that those elements of experience, which, in a less happy age, are detached, are triumphantly blended. The Elizabethan man possessed a world all of a piece from top to bottom. There was for him no such split between being and thought as exists for us. Head and heart had a common pulse. Now this was supremely true for the apostolic consciousness. Its conditions and tendencies are closely akin to those of

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O. T. prophetism. Riehm writes in his "Messianic Prophecy" concerning the latter: "This variety in the shaping of Messianic prophecy is due in part to the mental peculiarities of individual prophets, and to their particular religious standpoints; in part also it results from the *gradual* character of the process by which God's saving purpose is revealed. But by far the most important reason is to be sought in the qualifying and determining influence exercised upon the Messianic oracles of the individual prophet by the *historical conditions and circumstances of the immediate and ever-varying present.* . . . The prophet is first and foremost the trustee of a Divine commission *to his contemporaries.* To them his entire message is, in the first instance, directed, and that not with the view of satisfying any idle curiosity that would seek gratification in the lifting of the veil that conceals the future; for, on the contrary, prophecy is subservient to the ethico-religious task prescribed to the prophet by the actual conditions and circumstances of his time." To use Hegelian language, the idea is not abstract, does not dwell aloof from history, but incorporates itself in history, so that we may not follow the history without touching the idea.

We thus reach our conception of the subject. It is the biographic aspect of the Apostolic Age. At the same time we get the connecting threads that are to run through our treatment of the theme.

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7. INTRODUCTION.

Judaism and the Church. — The new community acquires self-knowledge through conflict with Judaism. The individual consciousness is dominated by the law that binds the subject to the object. The thinker cannot find himself save in the presence of his world. The same law governs the collective consciousness. The apostolic mind came to know itself through contact and conflict with Judaism. That same Judaism was very strongly entrenched, and was not to be easily transformed or overcome. Says Kuenen: "The land inhabited by the Jews was a small subdivision of the Roman world-empire It derived from its relation to the dispersed Jews rather more importance than it would have had of itself. But in spite of this it was still most insigificant — a bit of one of the many provinces over which Rome swayed the sceptre. Yet in its own estimation the nation that occupied this district was the first nation upon earth. It was conscious of possessing privileges and of holding a rank to which the supremacy of the entire world could not be compared. It looked down, not only upon its neighbors, but also upon the masters to whom it, as well as those neighbors, was subject. By the side of the self-consciousness of the chosen people of the only True One, that of the Roman citizen was almost humility."—*A. Kuenen, "Religion of Israel," Vol. III., p. 271.*

Notwithstanding the internal separation which had taken place among the Jews of Palestine and had been but too often culminated directly in civil war, notwithstanding the dispersion of a great part of the Jewish body into foreign lands, notwithstanding the intrusion of foreign ingredients into it and even of the destructive Hellenistic element into its very core, the collective body of the Jews remained united in a way, to which in the present day only the Vatican perhaps and the Kaaba offer a certain analogy. The holy Salem remained the banner, Zion's temple the Palladium of the whole Jewish body, whether they obeyed the Romans or the Parthians, whether they spoke Armenian or Greek, whether even they believed in the old Jahve or in the new, who was none.—*T. Mommsen, "The Roman Provinces," Vol. II., pp. 183-184.*

With this Judaism the little Christian community must contend for the right to appropriate and interpret the O. T. As Wendt says: "For in the Old Testament lay the chief sources whence Jesus derived His own religious education, and the chief means whereby He could establish the Divine right of His teaching in the view of His Jewish contemporaries. The sacredness of the Old Testament Canon in the estimation of the Jews rendered it possible, historically speaking, for the teaching of Jesus, and the early Christian society, to develop themselves on the foundation of Judaism.—*H. H. Wendt, "The Teaching of Jesus," Vol. I., p. 36.*

Christ and the Church. — While the relations with Judaism are the outer cause of deepening self-consciousness, the inner cause is the person of Christ. Harnack writes: "The gospel presents itself as an Apocalyptic message on the soil of the Old Testament, and as the fulfillment of the law and the prophets, and yet is a new thing, the creation of a universal religion on the basis of that of the Old Testament. It appeared when the time was fulfilled, that is, it is not without a connection with the stage of religious and spiritual development which was brought about by the intercourse of Jews and Greeks, and was established in the Roman Empire; but still it is a new religion, because it cannot be separated from Jesus Christ. When the traditional religion has become too narrow, the new religion usually appears as something of a very abstract nature; philosophy comes upon the scene, and religion withdraws from social life and becomes a private matter. But here an overpowering personality has appeared—the Son of God. Word and deed coincide in that personality, and as it leads men into a new communion with God, it unites them at the same time inseparably with itself, enables them to act on the world as light and leaven, and joins them together in a spiritual unity and an active confederacy."—*A. Harnack, "History of Dogma," Vol. I., p. 41.*

The Christ had created the church. The church existed to enter ever more deeply into the interpretation of his life.

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8. THE APOSTLE PETER.

Both by temperament and training Peter was fitted to lead the Church in her first days. He was of a rash nature. (1) His training had been that of a peasant. His one book was a memory stored with the words of the Old Testament. With no scholastic training to check his feeling, and no knowledge of the world to puzzle his will, he could be stirred to the bottom by an appeal to the hopes of his people.

The thoughts upon which the history of Judaism turned were the Messianic Idea and the Law. (2) The Scribes threw all possible emphasis upon the Law. The popular emphasis, in periods of strain, fell upon the Messianic Idea. That Idea had been cast in the mould of patriotism, it was sensitive to the touch of political forces. It answered quickly to the spur of the times. Now in this period Rome pressed in, like fate, upon Israel. Imperial taxation, which Rome had to carry through or else deny herself, and which Judaism had to resist or deny itself, set on foot the irrepressible conflict. (3)



Medallion portraits of SS. Peter (right) and Paul (left) found in the Cemetery of Domitilla.

With this deep movement of the popular heart Peter, in his peasant days, was identified. After his Master's death, it still stirred him, but to nobler issues. The hinge of the Master's life was his relation to the Messianic Idea. The hinge of the Church's life was the interpretation of that self-same Idea in the light of his character and claims. This involved the reconstruction of the conception of God. Jesus had said to Peter: "Put up thy sword within its sheath" (Matt. 26:52). The word was addressed to the soul of our race. Jesus died in order to identify the word with his own being. The work of the Church was to interpret the Messianic Idea in the light of his being and deed, and so to banish from the conception of God the last element of force.

The first creed or programme of common thought and feeling was very simple. It consisted of two short articles: Jesus is the Christ; and He is to speedily return. By the first article, the Church was under bonds to establish a harmony between the Master's life and the Old Testament; above all to show that his death was in the divine plan. (4) Deeper into the meaning of Christ's death the times did not call upon the Church to go.

The second emphasis was upon eschatology. This was the supreme need of the hour. The second coming of Christ was the emotional center of gravity. It had vast social power. It was the New Testament form of the Old Testament "Day of Jehovah." It was the logical climax to the prophetic conception of history. The impassioned belief in the Second Advent meant that the Christian consciousness committed its whole fortune into the keeping of the conviction that history is making towards a moral goal, and that terrestrial society must examine itself in the light of its relation to that goal.

St. Peter, in his life and sermons and epistle. was the exponent of that impas-

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sioned conviction. (5) And the Church of the first days was radiant with social enthusiasm. (6)

The little community grew rapidly. It throve upon opposition. Danger deepened its faith. The martyrdom of Stephen brought into broad day the fundamental law of its being, that the way of the cross is the way of light. To live long under the severest strain and not once appeal to force nor even think of so doing, was the divine method of leading the Christian consciousness deeper into the meaning of the Master's death. Life and logic join here in a noble conspiracy.

8. THE APOSTLE PETER.

(1) **The Character of Peter.**—Peter was of a rash nature. Quick to resolve, we find him first among the Apostles on every occasion, in speech as well as in action. It is he who in the name of the Twelve confesses the Messiahship of Jesus (Mark 8:29; comp. John 6:69), and suggests the reward which they think they earned by their fidelity (Mark 10:28). The later Gospels also, as a rule, make him spokesman for the disciples (Matt. 15:15; 18:21; Luke 8:45; 12:41). . . . Lightly stirred by every impulse that affected his susceptible nature, he was hurried into thoughtless speech and action. . . . Only He who is unequaled in knowledge of the heart could have detected in this apparently contradictory nature, so open to varying impulses, the rocky heart which, when fully developed, gave the right direction to his energetic nature, and combined self-sacrificing endurance with his rash initiative.—*B. Weiss, "Manual of Introduction, etc.," Vol. II., pp. 130-1.*

(2) **Dominant Ideas in Judaism.**—Nay the entire religious life of the Jewish people during the period of which we are treating just revolved round these two poles: Fulfilment of the law, and hope of future glory. Zeal for the former derived its vitality from the latter.—*Schürer, "The Jewish People, etc.," Div. II., Vol. II., p. 93.*

(3) **Hatred of Rome.**—Although the census was in the last resort submitted to as inevitable, the enforcement of it created a widespread spirit of discontent, and led to the formation of an intransigeant party, whose one rallying cry was irreconcilable hatred of Rome. . . . The Scribes shrank back from the practical application of their doctrines, and contented themselves with holding up the collectors of taxes (the publicans of the New Testament) to the moral reprobation of their co-religionists; but the Zealots, the name adopted by the new party, were not satisfied with these paltry and ineffective methods; they were resolved to resist Roman domination by force of arms.—*W. D. Morrison, "The Jews Under Roman Rule," pp. 125-6.*

But the brave, free Highlanders of Galilee, and of the region across their glorious lake, seemed to have inherited the spirit of Jephthah, and to have treasured as their ideal—alas! often wrongly apprehended—their own Elijah, as, descending in wild, shaggy garb from the mountains of Gilead, he did battle against all the might of Ahab and Jezebel. —*Edersheim, "The Life and Times, etc.," Vol. I., p. 238.*

(4) **Early Interpretation of the Death of Jesus.**—Apologetics was the imperative need of the hour: not simply the proclamation of the Gospel, but the defence of it, and the defence of Jesus himself, the preacher of it. . . . But in the address recorded in Acts iii., 12 seq., we read: "But the things which God foreshewed by the mouth of all the prophets, that his Christ should suffer, he thus fulfilled;" and the same idea appears in other passages in the early chapters of Acts. With this explanation for the death of Jesus, the disciples seem for some time to have contented themselves. At least we find no other reason for it referred to in any of the recorded speeches or prayers of Peter or of his associates. There is no sign that they thought of it as Christ did, as possessing an independent value of its own, or as contributing in any way to the well-being of his followers, or to the advancement of the kingdom.—*McGiffert, "The Apostolic Age," pp. 54, 57.*

(5) **Peter the Apostle of Hope.**—In keeping with this self-testimony of the Epistle of St. Peter is its most prominent peculiarity, on account of which the author has frequently since Steiger been designated with justice the Apostle of Hope. The rash nature of the Apostle led him from the beginning to direct all the energy of their (the elders of the Church) longing and striving to the promised final consummation, and hence to find the highest good and deepest motive of all Christian life in the lively hope which anticipates as it were this end with joyful certainty.—*B. Weiss, "Manual of Introduction, etc.," Vol. II., p. 146.*

(6) **Social Community.**—On the other hand, we may affirm without hesitation that the form in which the community of goods was observed by the Church provided the general feature distinctive of the character and form of their social union. It was no mere school. As little was it merely a separate synagogue. It was much rather a society in the strict sense, in so far as, without a formal constitution or law, it involved far-reaching mutual obligations on the part of its members, and indeed bound them together in an alliance that embraced their whole life.—*C. Weizsäcker, "The Apostolic Age," Vol. I., p. 57.*

It was the grandest and at the same time the boldest and purest social renovation of the world which was here inaugurated in the narrowest circle of simple and quiet men, not in the spirit of ambition and power, but of that serving and patient love, which found its exemplar in Jesus, the friend of the poor and weary, and knew in him the security of its victory. Not in the dogmas and not in the legends which arose only gradually, but in these wonders of love, did those impelling forces lie through which, from the first onwards, Christianity has conquered the world, to be sure, first and chiefly the world of poor and insignificant people, of the unwise and unmighty, of the maltreated and oppressed, of the hungering and weeping, of the abandoned and the lost; to all these the brotherhood of Jesus opened a place of refuge, where they experienced, in the comforting and helpful sympathy of the brethren, a foretaste of that future kingdom of God when God will wipe away all tears from their eyes.—*O. Pfleiderer, "Das Urchristenthum," p. 25.*

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9. THE APOSTLE JAMES.

The life of James, so far as the literature is concerned, is for the most part silence. Yet the individuality of the man made a deep mark upon history. Had we nothing save the single phrase in Paul's letter to the Galatians—"certain came from James" (ii:12), this fact would stand fast.

It is a law of life that the child must repeat the experience of its race. The single life passes, with quick steps, through the periods which the race passed through slowly and with toil. We may apply this law to the new community; it must pass, albeit with rapid movement, through the stages of experience which the Jewish mother-church had undergone. After the exile Judaism faced a problem wholly new to humanity, namely, How to build a new type of society, independent of territorial sovereignty, and embracing individuals scattered over various kingdoms? In other words, How build a Church? Judaism partly solved the problem, and so became the forerunner of the Catholic Church, by its discipline of the Law. (1)



Bethany.

It was, then, inevitable that the new community should pass through the experience of the Law. As a matter of fact, the Christians of the first days did not dream that they were under bonds to separate themselves from the mother-church. (2) The necessity of a separation, complete and final, was wrapped up in the very nature of Christianity as a religion identified with the person of its founder. But it is not the divine method of education to bestow insight before the occasion for it has arrived. The new community would walk in the old ways until driven out of them by the pitiless logic of the inner and the outer life.

James' temperament and upbringing fitted him to become the head of the Church in Jerusalem. By temperament he was a true Puritan, with the splendid virtues, as well as the defects, of that type which entered history with Ezra, and has wrought with the strong hand ever since. His upbringing had been that of a pious layman, having no inside knowledge of the Law, such as Saul drew from his scholastic experience, and, consequently, apprehending it with the solid, unquestioning seriousness which corresponded to his nature.

He soon took from Peter the leadership of the Church in Jerusalem, where, of all places, the power of the old order must needs yield slowly to the attacks of the new. For Jerusalem was one of the three cities—Athens and Rome being the other two—which have bound humanity with a spell. There, if anywhere, memory was

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mighty. There, if anywhere, Christianity could detach itself but slowly from Judaism. To emphasize the hope of Israel was the function of Peter. It fell to the lot of James to emphasize the Law. (3) He stood at the head of the Church in Jerusalem through the trying twenty years that preceded his death. His bearing at the Apostolic Council suggests it. Paul's reference to him in Galatians confirms it. The times tried men's souls. The little Church was in mortal peril more than once. It required a man of dauntless courage and unyielding staunchness to mediate between the Old and the New. James was the man for the time and the place.

Hegel, comparing Greek and Egyptian art, says that in the latter the statue is bound to its supporting wall, while in the former it stood out from it free and at large, claiming the whole eye for its heritage. Thus was it with the person of Christ, as James saw it. For him the masterhood of Christ was entangled within the traditions of the old faith. Yet he was far outside the narrowness of Judaism, as his bearing at the Apostolic Council proves. And while his thought was not as ripe as Paul's, his death proved that even Paul's heart could not beat truer to Christ than did his.

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9. THE APOSTLE JAMES.

(1) **The Law Dominant in Judaism.**—We remember that without detracting from the central importance of the temple, Ezra makes *the Law* the real foundation of the religious life of his people. Side by side with the one national sanctuary rise the Synagogues, which, as they already compensated the scattered Jews for the want of the common worship long before the fall of Jerusalem, were also able to take the place of the temple after it. The Scribes make their appearance by the side of the Priests. In the struggle which waged between them since the second century before our era, the Scribes retained the upper hand —as if with a view to the time when they alone would undertake the guidance of the people and the maintenance of their religion. These facts remove all surprise at the survival of Judaism after the violent blow which was dealt to it by the Jewish war.—*A. Kuenen, "The Religion of Israel," Vol. III., p. 288.*

The fact most essentially conclusive for the religious life of the Jewish people during the period under consideration is, that the law, which regulated not only the priestly service but the whole life of the people in their religious, moral and social relations, was acknowledged as given by God Himself. Its every requirement was a requirement of God from His people; its most scrupulous observance was therefore a religious duty, nay the supreme and in truth the sole religious duty. The whole piety of the Israelite consisted in obeying with fear and trembling, with all the zeal of an anxious conscience, the law given him by God in all its particulars. Hence the specific character of Israelitish piety during this period depends on the acknowledgment of this dignity of the law.

The age of this acknowledgment may be determined almost to the day and hour. It dates from that important occurrence, whose epoch-making importance is duly brought forward in the Book of Nehemiah, the reading of the law by Ezra, and the solemn engagement of the people to observe it (Neh. viii.-x).—*E. Schürer, "The Jewish People," etc., Division II., Vol. I., p. 306.*

(2) **The Earliest Christians Not Separate from the Jews.**—The *koinônia* which formed the Christians into a brotherhood was the community of the kingdom of God, and the conviction that through Christ they belonged to it. In this its ideal nature it was thoroughly adapted to serve as the ground of union, yet without causing any prejudice to their adherence to their national faith and allegiance. They had no desire to be renegades, nor was it possible to regard them as such. Even if they did not maintain and observe the whole Cultus, yet this did not endanger their allegiance Judaism permitted not only great latitude in doctrinal views, but also a partial observance of the Cultus, as is sufficiently proved by the instance of the Essenes in this period. The Christians did not lay themselves open to the charge of violating the law. They did not take up an aggressive attitude. Their appearance before the local courts as well as before the Sanhedrim, the supreme national tribunal, consists with the fact that on the whole they remained Jews.—*C. Weizsäcker, "The Apostolic Age," Vol. I., p. 46.*

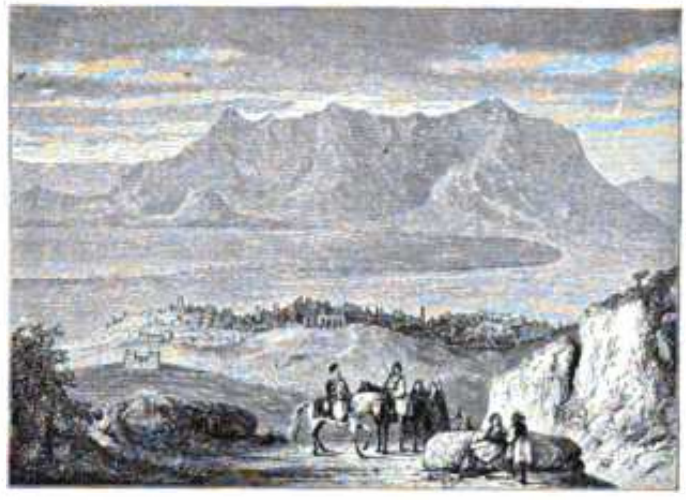
(3) **James Never Ceased to Observe the Law.**—But it was not simply his character as a Christian that contributed to James' influence and authority. His character as a Jew counted for a great deal with the strict Jews of the Mother Church. Though he was converted by a vision of the risen Jesus, as Paul was, his conversion produced an entirely different effect upon him. He had apparently passed through no such experience of the futility of endeavoring to keep the law, and it was not a sense of the need of justification, or of deliverance from sin and death, that led him to Christ. He was evidently before his conversion an uncommonly devout and faithful Jew, and in accepting Christ he never thought of ceasing to be such, or of regarding the observance of the law as of less importance than before. Rather, like his other Christian brethren, he must have regarded it as of even greater importance; and nothing in the teaching or conduct of Jesus suggested anything else to him. All that we know of him points to an excessive reverence for the Jewish law in all its parts, and a most scrupulous observance of it throughout his life; and in a church constituted as the church of Jerusalem was such a tendency naturally promoted greatly his reputation for piety.—*A. C. McGiffert, "The Apostolic Age," pp. 551-2.*

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10. THE APOSTLE PAUL.

The times called for a universal religion. The outer life of the world had long been preparing for it. The political climax of ancient history, the Roman empire, gave the world a measure of unity incomparably greater than anything it had known before. The inner life of the world was also ripe for a universal religion. National distinctions had been wiped out or belittled. The Greek culture had created a common mental climate. The numerous forms of local religion had either died of atrophy, or destroyed each other. Syncretism, a tendency towards universal religion, was the order of the day. (1)

The answer to the world's need could come only from the Orient. Neither the Greek, with his genius for thought, and beauty, nor the Roman, with his capacity for organization, could give it. From the East, with its deeper capacity for absolute self-surrender, must come the world's religion, and in that quarter divine forces, working towards the satisfaction of the world's need, had been long in the field. In Israel—from whom salvation was to go forth—the prophetical idea of God kept step with the broadening political horizon by advancing from a provincial to a comprehensive monotheism. Outside Israel, too, the religiousness of the Orient gave indications of an attempt to give the world a common feeling and faith. It began, when once the hammer of Assyria had forever shattered the structure of ancient society, to put itself upon a footing more or less independent of the State.



View of Corinth, looking northwards over the Bay.

The person and word of Christ, born of Israel, yet transcending Israel, gave the answer to the world's need. But the full appreciation of Christ did not shine upon Peter and James. Jesus went to his crucifixion knowing well that through it alone could his conception of the Messianic Idea be wrought out, that by no other means could he destroy the world's false or imperfect ideals, finish the Prophets' work of reconstructing the idea of God, and so ground that ideal of masterhood through service which was destined to permanently command the spirit of humanity. To see the death of the Christ in its true light was given to Paul.

Paul's nature combined in a most uncommon way the prophet and the logician. He has often been called a constitutional mystic, but the word is misleading, for mysticism, as commonly understood and practised, leads the mind away from history into the regions of contemplative ecstasy. Paul was rather a seer of the Isaiah type. Whatever odds and ends of Greek culture he may have collected, he remained, unlike Philo, an Israelite to the backbone. Hellenism did not go more than skin-deep. His mysticism, if we must use the term, was that of the impassioned reformer, not of the quietist, and he was at the same time a lover of dialectic. The style of his letters reveals both characteristics; for in Paul's case the style is indeed the man. Now this union of the grand passion of the prophet with the

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logic of the reasoner betokened his fitness for the interpretation of Him, in whom the ideal and the actual met together.

The two elements of his education that are of deepest significance in his preparation for his work, are his Roman citizenship and his rabbinical training. He was born at Tarsus of a family possessing wealth and standing; that he inherited the Roman citizenship from his father is convincing proof that his family was out of touch with the Zealots. Paul was born, if not into a sympathetic, at least into an open-minded relationship with the political world-order. It was impossible for him, even before his conversion, to stand towards that order as a noble-hearted Galilean peasant—Peter, for example—could stand. After his conversion he came with little effort, into a breadth of view becoming to a member of the greatest political organism the world has ever seen.

The other, even more significant element in his preparation, was his professional training as a rabbinical scholar. Even in our day, when the printing-press has conferred a sort of literary suffrage upon the masses, there is a broad difference between the intellectually trained minority and the untrained majority. In Paul's time and place this was far greater. Paul was trained to be one of the governing minority. In regard to the two thoughts upon which the whole spiritual life of Israel turned—the Messianic Idea and the Law—this training secured for him a perspective very differing from that of Peter. In this matter Paul stood with James; but, at the same time, was able, as a specialist, to go much deeper into the Law than he. The inner knowledge of the Law, in its bearings upon the ultimate questions of religion and ethics, lay open to him. To James it was closed. (3)

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10. THE APOSTLE PAUL.

(1) **The Greek and Roman Preparation for Christianity.**—But the bond of connection between the religion and the polity is a much deeper and more intimate one than this, and is to be looked for in the general spiritual movement of the time of which both are manifestations. What we have to keep in mind is, that Christianity never could have been that general form of the religious consciousness which it is, had not the whole development of the world's history, up to the time when it appeared, been preparing for it. First came the general intellectual culture which the Greeks made the common property of the world, and then the Roman rule uniting the nations, and introducing political institutions, which served as a basis for universal civilisation. By these agencies the barriers raised by national sentiment had been broken down, and many differences softened which had tended to keep the nations apart from each other, not only in their outward relations, but in the inner sphere of thought and feeling.—*F. C. Baur, "Church History," Vol. I., p. 5.*

(2) **The Character of Paul.**—What is fundamental in the Jewish nation, the predominant inclination towards God and divine things, appears in him (*i.e.* in Paul) in all its power and depth, just as the similar inclination of the German people appeared in Martin Luther. And to this he added another peculiar gift of the Jewish people; he was drawn by the very structure of his mind to be a seer, a prophet. But the Jewish genius which he thus brought to the service of the gospel was met in him by a truly Hellenic delight in dialectic, a Hellenic power, keenness, and delicacy of thought to examine, analyse, and search to the bottom, and by a Roman energy urging him on to conquer the world.—*W. Beyschlag, "New Testament Theology," Vol. II., p. 5.*

(3) **Paul was a Providential Man.**—The older apostles and their Palestinian colleagues were not qualified for this task (*i.e.* preaching to the Gentiles). They were plain men whom no formal schooling had prepared for such mental work men who belonged to the reflective, pious circles of the nation to whom belief in Christ was really the completion of the Old Testament evangelical idea, and they found their real calling in leading their own people by the way in which they themselves had been led by Jesus from the old to the new covenant. (Gal. 2:8-9.) But a Christian Hellenist or Greek would also have failed to transplant the gospel from the Jewish to the Greek world. On the one hand, he would not have grasped what distinguishes Judaism from Christianity, for he would be inclined to spiritualise the former, and, on the other hand, he would have treated the latter according to the methods of a foreign culture; and so Christianity would inevitably have been mixed with what was alien to it, as actually afterwards took place on Greek soil. Among the plainest and most notable traces of a Divine Providence in history, is the way in which the instrument was created which alone was fitted for realising its purposes here. The Apostle to the Gentiles must be made of what is strongest in Judaism, of the sect of Scribes and Pharisees; his spiritual life must be deeply rooted in the soil of the historical revelation, and yet he must have within him an instinct that can find no satisfaction in Pharisaism. Unlike Peter and James, he must be identified with that tendency in Judaism which was most hostile to Christ and most opposed to the Gospel, so that his surrender to Christ may be abrupt and revolutionary; for thus only can he carry into his new life the necessity of finding some reasonable understanding between the new and the old. We need not say that we refer to Paul.—*W. Beyschlag, "New Testament Theology," Vol. II. p. 2.*

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11. THE APOSTLE PAUL (CONTINUED).

Paul's unique preparation was matched by a unique conversion. No single event in the life of any of the great men of history has left so deep a mark upon the religious consciousness. Into the discussion of its causes lack of space forbids our entering. Enough to say that the subjective and the objective elements joined to make the total cause, but that the pith of the matter was the objective. Without the subjective the conversion were a chapter in physics, not an essential part of the history of salvation. (1) On the other hand, unless the cause be taken as mainly objective, unless the appearance of the risen Lord to Paul be a phenomenon of different order from a mere vision, the pyramid is set upon its point, and the effect becomes the cause. (2)



The Roman Forum, as seen by St. Paul.

The emotional effect of his conversion was a clean, sheer break in the Apostle's view, between his life as a Pharisee and his life in Christ. One world of feeling and motive disappeared, and a new world rose above the horizon. Paul's conversion here came into alliance with his temperamental capacity for the prophetic function. The prophet, like the poet, sees totals, not items. It was the function of Paul to see the nature and genius of the redeemed life as a great spiritual whole, complete in itself. The emotional contrast between Paul and the original disciples is the result. For them the new and the old were wrapped up together. When their conception of Christ ripened, they still did not dream of separating the new from the old; but rather, as in the Epistle to the Hebrews, built their apologetic upon the thought of continuity. But for Paul the thought of the creative novelty of the life in Christ became the "master-light of all his seeing."

The conversion not only changed the current of Paul's life; it also gave shape and color to his theology. In the first place the crucifixion of Christ became, what it had not been to the older disciples, God's last word about Himself to His people (1 Cor. 2:2). It had been the rock of offense to Saul the Persecutor. It became the touchstone of truth to Paul the Apostle. (3) In the second place, the old logic of Judaism was put an end to, and by a single stroke. Since the days of Ezra the Law had been regarded as the one road to the winning of the promise. But for Paul, it now stands assured that the Law is helpless to save. It can only deepen the sense of need, multiply ethical wants. It cannot answer the need or satisfy the wants. And this is equivalent to saying, in the language of modern ethics, that ideals of conduct cannot by themselves make the will integral and forceful. Only the touch of sovereign reality can do that. The Christ comes. God gives His uttermost gift. The divine being and will penetrate and pervade history. The human being and will touch herein the ultimate reality. Forthwith being becomes integral and will becomes forceful.

In the third place, the conception of life, as it is seen when its top-root is found,

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was through Paul given for all time. Men can live the true life, the creative and redemptive life, only through the saving touch—the grace—to use technical language—of God's being and will in Christ. This means that the foundation of human character is laid in faith or trust. (4)

It followed of itself that Paul became the Apostle to the Gentiles. (5) The same central tendency in Judaism, which, since the time of Ezra, had made the Law the final word about God, made separation inevitable. With Paul's conversion the Gentile world comes clearly above the horizon of the spirit. By the same act of faith whereby he went deep into the meaning of the death of Jesus, he lifted up his eyes upon that world, wherein his Roman citizenship gave him an interest, and claimed it for Christ. Through the empire he ran his career as the prince of missionaries; and at Rome, the capital and center of his missionary world, it greatly became him to die.

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11. THE APOSTLE PAUL (CONTINUED).

(1) **Paul's Freedom left Intact.**—Proceeding on the words, Acts xxvi. 14, σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν, Olshausen brings in, quite *mal à propos*, the Augustinian doctrine of "gratia irresistibilis," only with this difference, that, by the assertion that in *this* appearance of our Lord the power of grace was irresistible, it is by no means sought to deny that there may have been times in the subsequent life of Paul when it was possible for him to forfeit by unfaithfulness the grace vouchsafed to him. This is the very worst modification of this doctrine of irresistible grace, as by it two completely different standpoints become confused with each other—the ordinary theory of free-will, and its opposite, that of absolute dependence. The consequence, or rather the cause, of this illogical blending of heterogeneous theories is a theory of miracle which thoroughly destroys the continuity of the spiritual life, the arbitrary assertion that there are circumstances in the life of man in which (as Neander well puts it) "the individual is carried away and transformed by magic influence against his own will." In this view of the conversion of the Apostle Paul, miracle is of course assigned its full right, but this is the only advantage; and what is believed to be gained by it on one hand, in favor of the glorification of divine grace, is lost on the other by the sacrifice of the moral dignity of the Apostle.—*F. C. Baur, "Paul." Vol. I., pp. 76, 77.*

(2) **Christ's Appearance to Paul.**—M. Holsten himself, after all his endeavors, remains in doubt; he does not mean, he declares, to insist on the truth of his solution, only on its possibility. Practically, it amounts to the well-worn vision-hypothesis. Saul drew from Messianism the principal features of the person of Christ which he claims to have seen. So that all the materials of his vision were ready to hand. Furthermore, he had a natural tendency to ecstasy; his physiological, no less than his spiritual constitution predisposed him to it. He had a nervous disposition easily over-wrought, a sanguinobilious temperament; and was very delicate, subject probably to epileptic attacks (2 Cor. xii. 7). That he had revelations and visions, both his epistles and the Acts assure us; he spoke with *tongues*, worked miracles, had the gift of prophecy, and often boasts of his spiritual *charismata* (1 Cor. xiv. 18; Gal. ii. 2; 2 Cor. xii 1-9). What was the appearance of Christ at his conversion but the first of these ecstatic visions, and that which gave rise to all the others?

Much might be said on the details of this argument, which is full of disputable points. The passage in 2 Corinthians xii. 1-9 supplies its nucleus, and is indeed its only ground of support. This text, however, not only fails to establish M. Holsten's theory; properly understood, it even furnishes, to our thinking, a decisive proof against it. It shows that Paul, so far from comparing the manifestation of Christ to him at his conversion with the visions he afterwards enjoyed, laid down an essential difference between them. At the beginning of chapter xii., Paul proposes to give a full account of his visions, and commences with the first, which, far from being confounded with his conversion, is dated at least five years later (πρὸ ἐτῶν δεκατεσσάρων). He does violence to his feelings in making known this private aspect of his life. At the fifth verse he is checked by this repugnance, this sacred modesty, and suddenly takes quite the opposite course. Instead of glorying in his privileges, he will only glory in his infirmities. The visions referred to in this passage, it would seem, he had never previously related; and just as the insults of his enemies were on the point of compelling him to do so, he checks himself and again drops the veil over these mysteries of his spiritual life. His ecstasies and visions do not belong to his ministry, and are not for others, only for God and himself: εἴτε γὰρ ἐξέστημεν, θεῷ· εἴτε σωφρονοῦμεν, ὑμῖν (2 Cor. v. 13). But so far from speaking of his conversion in the manner in which he speaks of his visions, Paul shows neither reluctance nor embarrassment in describing it; it was one of the staple subjects of his preaching. He spoke, in short, of the appearance vouchsafed to him with the same confidence with which the Twelve related those which they had witnessed. This event belonged not to the sphere of Paul's private and personal life (indicated by the words εἴτε ἐξέστημεν), but to that of his apostolic life, aptly characterized in the phrase εἴτε σωφρονοῦμεν, ὑμῖν. Paul therefore perceived an essential distinction between these two orders of facts, corresponding to that which existed between the two different spheres of his life to which they belonged.

To make a second and equally decisive observation, Paul knew that his visions were spiritual *charismata*, effects of the Spirit. He ascribes them to the Spirit's agency as their true cause; whilst he attributes his conversion to a personal and corporeal intervention of the risen Jesus. In the phenomena of his visions he was transported.

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ravished into ecstasy, carried to the third heaven; at his conversion, Jesus descended to him and appeared before him in the midst of his ordinary life. Moreover, though Paul had several visions, he states that he had seen the risen Lord but *once*, and that this appearance was the last made by Jesus on earth. In the consciousness of the apostle there must therefore have existed a broad line of demarcation between the series of appearances then terminated (ἐσχατον δὲ πάντων, 1 Cor. xv. 8), and the ecstasies and visions which lasted throughout the apostolic age. How could this marked distinction have arisen, except from the conviction that the appearances of the risen Lord had a real and objective character, such as the spiritual visions of ecstasy did not possess.

Finally, if Christ's appearance to Paul had been an inward vision, it must have been not the cause, but the product of his faith. How could the mind of Saul the Pharisee have created such a vision, unless he were a Christian already? and if, on the other hand, he were a Christian already, how could he have attributed his conversion to this cause? Such a transformation makes the enigma still more obscure. Mr. Holsten's ingenious explanations leave the mystery just where it was.—*A. Sabatier*, "*The Apostle Paul*," *pp. 64-7.*

(3) **The Offence of the Cross.**—History confirms Paul's testimony that the cross of Christ was a chief offence to the Jews. And this is also exactly what we should expect. For in this idea was contained beyond doubt the negation of all that a Jew regarded as most sacred in the hopes and aspirations connected with his national theocracy. Further, as the Pharisees were the most vehement representatives of this side of Judaism, it was very natural that the offence of the cross of Christ should have been repugnant to them above all others, and that they should therefore most violently have hated and persecuted the proclaimers of it.—*O. Pfleiderer*, "*Paulinism*," *Vol. I., p. 8.*

The whole question turned on whether the crucified Jesus was really, as his disciples said, declared by the resurrection to be the Messiah, and his death thus proved to be the expiatory death of the Messiah, and a new means of salvation; or whether he had remained among the dead, and was therefore no Messiah, his death no expiatory sacrifice, but the death of a malefactor. The decision depended on Paul's being able or unable to convince himself of the truth of the alleged resurrection; and are we to believe that this cardinal point did not fill and excite the very depths of his consciousness? How could he have turned over and over in his mind the debatable possibility of the resurrection, without forming an image of the risen one? But when he had once formed this image, if it were only mentally to reject it at first, nothing is more natural than that the decisive turn of his convictions should clothe itself in the form of the sudden appearance before him, as an objective reality, and in the overpowering brightness of heavenly majesty, of that image of the risen Jesus, which he had so vehemently struggled against, and each time more vainly endeavored to reject. Upon this the struggle was decided, every doubt was vanquished; and Paul the persecutor had attained to the same certainty founded on experience as the first disciples, that the crucified one was the Messiah. But then he was the Messiah, not only, as they said, *in spite of the cross*, but precisely *because of the cross;* his crucifixion was the turning-point of his work as Messiah, the end of the old, the beginning of a new covenant, an offence to the Jews, and to the Greeks foolishness, but the power of God and the wisdom of God to those who are called, both Jews and Gentiles, to believe in him (1 Cor. i. 23 f.).—*Ibid, pp. 15, 16.*

(4) **Paul's Doctrine of Faith.**—The doctrine of faith furnishes the starting-point from which Paul's whole view of the nature and demands of the Christian life is developed. It is the principle of salvation by faith which separates his doctrine of religion so widely from the popular Jewish conceptions of his time, and which accounts for the distinctive elements of his theology. The Jewish idea was that salvation was to be won by good deeds, especially by the observance of commandments. The practical result of this theory was the development of a spirit of self-righteousness on the one hand; and of an uncertainty of acceptance with God, on the other. If one had faithfully done the prescribed duties, he would easily fall into self-congratulation, yet could not be sure that he had done enough. The religious consciousness wavered thus perpetually between these two dangers, each of which was fatal to a healthy and stable religious life. By his doctrine of faith the apostle escaped both these pitfalls. Faith was, in its very nature, a disclaimer of merit, and involved a temper of self-abnegation and dependence; but it led to a confident assurance of salvation, because it reposed its trust solely in the grace of God which had been manifested in Christ. In the very act of renouncing works as a means of attaining divine favor, faith presupposes the willingness of God to accept those who make no claims of personal worthiness and who consent to receive forgiveness as a gift of grace. The very act of self-surrender in which man confesses his unworthiness of Heaven's favor is the act in which he enters into the possession of a full assurance of salvation, because thereby he escapes out of himself, and putting his case beyond the reach of mere human standards of judgment, casts himself upon the promised compassion of God.—*G. B. Stevens*, "*The Pauline Theology*," *p. 292.*

(5) **Paul's Conversion Determines His Mission.**—The apostle connects his conversion with his call to be an apostle to the Gentiles, representing the one as a means to the other as an end. "When it pleased God to reveal His Son in me that I might preach Him among the Gentiles." According to Weiss he is simply reading the divine purpose of his conversion in the light of long subsequent events, which for the first time made him conscious that he was being called in God's providence to a specifically Gentile mission. Now it need not be denied that such a procedure would be quite in keeping with St. Paul's habits of religious thought, but it may gravely be doubted whether it suited the position in which he was placed when he wrote the Epistle to the Galatians. What the circumstances required was, that he should make it clear beyond all dispute that he was an apostle, and an apostle to the Gentiles, by immediate divine authority and equipment; that both his gospel and his call came to him direct from the hand of God. In presence of men lying in wait for his halting, and even ready to charge him with falsehood, if they got the chance, could he have so spoken of a call which came to him late in the day, from the fact of Gentiles giving an unexpected welcome to a gospel, which, so far as the preacher's intention was concerned, had not really been meant for them?—*A. B. Bruce*, "*St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*," *pp. 40-1.*

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12. THE APOSTLE JOHN.

The Master called John "Son of Thunder." Words were things, when He used them, and we may, without fear, take the descriptive name He gave to the sons of Zebedee, as a revelation of his temperament. He had a fiery temper. When he desired to call down fire from heaven, like Elisha of old, upon the Samaritan village that insulted Jesus, he showed of what spirit he was. It has been said of another great Semite, Spinoza, that his system was acosmistic, swallowing up the world in God. If John's nature did not wander that way, still he possessed the natural basis of the apocalyptic mood, the mood wherein the divine end of history looms so large that the slow human process of history is lost sight of.

John's preparation for Christ was like Peter's. He was layman, fisherman, and Galilean. His feelings ran strongly in the channel of the popular Messianic ideal. When he came under the spell of the Master, he loved Him with the intensity of an impassioned nature. (1 and 2) He was less robust and executive than Peter, a finer and more delicate temperament. For that reason he was put and kept in the background of the Church's early years, first by Peter, and then by James. He ripened slowly. In Acts and Galatians he is hardly more than a name. It looked as if Jesus had builded less wisely than He thought, when He chose John to be one of His three intimate friends. But John's time, ripening slowly like his own nature, ripened surely.



The Apostles John and Peter.—Albert Dürer.

John differed from Paul in two main points. First, the Christ he knew was the Galilean Christ. He could not throw upon the death of Jesus the exhaustive emphasis that Paul put upon it: the death may not be isolated from the life. Second, his outgrowing of Judaism did not come as the effect of a single divine stroke. He was brought to Paul's conclusion by a slow and gradual process. It was the weight of historic fact, quite as much as the pressure of personal experience, that enabled him to see the new religion in its absolute self-sufficiency and world-mastery. Not until the fall of the Holy City in the year 70, did the Master's word win, for him, its full significance.

As Galilean, and as that one amongst the Apostles in whom the natural equipment for the apocalyptic function was most complete, John went deep into the meaning of the death-struggle of Israel against Rome. (3) Our existing N. T. Apocalypse is of composite origin. But the explanation of the Johannine title is to be found in the fact that it issued from the school of John. And its deep, almost fearful intensity, may fairly be taken as proof of the well-nigh tragic strain which John's nature underwent, in connection with the awful events that attended the political downfall of Judaism.

The traditions concerning John's later days are all under a heavy fire of criticism. The whole "Johannine question" is still in court. But one may venture to predict that, whatever may be the ultimate opinion touching John's share in the direct authorship of the Epistles and Gospel that have gone under his name, they will turn

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out to be intelligible only upon the supposition that the impress of the Apostle's character and mind are to be found upon the literary work of his "school." Hence I accept as genuine the tradition concerning John's stay in Ephesus.

Judaism was a thing outworn. John's idealism was not of the same order as Plato's. His great picture was not of the charioteer, Reason, driving his horses upwards towards the empyrean, but of the city of God descending out of heaven. Hence the facts of history came upon his mind with a power not to be withstood. Judaism was put altogether behind him. His Lord stood out as the Master of the wide world, and in the presence of His spiritual monarchy the differences between Jew and Gentile died of insignificance. He was by nature a lover, and he gave to the Church the gospel of a lover. Unlike as he is to Plato in other respects, he is like him in this. For Plato's philosophy is the philosophy of a lover, in whom the poet and the metaphysician were closely blended. Even so is John's Gospel the gospel of a lover; and of a lover who has lived long upon the earth, after his Lord has left it; for whom, therefore, memory, even more than hope, has become the staple of life. In the impress he gave to the story of his Master's life, John wrote his own autobiography. He was Christ-possessed; and looking back from the vantage ground of ripe experience saw in Jesus the embodied wisdom and love of God.

12. THE APOSTLE JOHN.

(1) **John—the Person and His Doctrine.**—This is not the place to discuss the Johannine question, but we may be allowed to point out how well the character of the doctrinal system in question agrees with what we learn from the New Testament and Church tradition about John the son of Zebedee. That certainly is not much, but it is sufficient to assure us of an uncommon personality of whom we may expect uncommon results, and uncommon in the very direction which is indicated by the peculiarity of this doctrinal system. The synoptic "Son of Thunder," who in the zeal of his love for the Master desires to forbid those exorcists to use the name of Jesus, or wishes to call down fire from heaven on the Samaritans who refuse Jesus quarters, reminds us throughout of the writer of the Epistle, who unites the utmost severity against the false teachers with a fatherly cordiality towards those who are one with him in Christ, and the favorite disciple of the fourth Gospel, whose early attraction to the divine led him first into the circle of the Baptist's disciples, and then was allowed to rest on Jesus' breast as no other was. All this allows us to conjecture the pious student of the Old Testament, who sees in Jesus the complete fulfilment of the law and the prophets, and who finds in close personal affection for Him eternal life already on earth.—*W. Beyschlag, "New Testament Theology," p. 412.*

(2) **John the Beloved Disciple.**—To some it may seem a matter of wonder how a man capable of entertaining so revolting a purpose as is here ascribed to James and John could ever be the disciple whom Jesus loved. To understand this, it must be remembered that Jesus, unlike most men, could love a disciple not merely for what he was, but for what he should become. He could regard with complacency even sour grapes in their season for the sake of the goodly fruit into which they should ripen. Then, further, we must not forget that John even when possessed by the devil of resentment was animated by a purer and holier spirit. Along with the smoke of carnal passion there was some divine fire in his heart. He loved Jesus as intensely as he hated the Samaritans; it was his devoted attachment to his Master that made him resent their incivility so keenly. In his tender love for the Bridegroom of his soul, he was beautiful as a mother overflowing with affection in the bosom of her family; though in his hatred he was terrible, as the same mother can be in her enmity against her family's foes. John's nature, in fact, was feminine both in its virtues and in its faults, and, like all feminine natures, could be both exquisitely sweet and exquisitely bitter.—*A. B. Bruce, "Training of the Twelve," p. 243.*

(3) **The Jewish Conflict with Rome.**—For it is no less undeniable that, in this great final national war, many of the noblest endeavours and the most glorious deeds appear that were at all possible in the still existing Community of the ancient true religion, and the light of which had so often shone in it in earlier times. Everywhere the profoundest of its noble powers must come into action when any nation, especially one of high and ancient culture, will once more rise from its past errors and calamities, with freedom from the yoke of a foreign ruler, and gain the commencement of a new and better life. . . . Moreover, of all the nations of high and ancient culture, this was the only one which at this late period took up and waged a life and death struggle with the Roman power, while all other nations of that kind, having been long before exhausted, had only learnt to serve its purposes. But, in the last instance, this whole conflict and war, however much alien purposes were mixed up with it, was in reality the struggle of true religion with heathenism, and, in fact, with the most terrible power that could arise under its influence; and we witness that wonderful phenomenon that an ancient and almost superannuated nation, that has already been in other respects dispersed and divided in a thousand ways, rises once more, as if rejuvenated and contending for the true weal of all nations, to fight against the most powerful heathen kingdom, and, in fact, makes that kingdom tremble and enter into a life and death struggle with itself. Nothing but the power of the true religion, even though it was in an impure form, could accomplish that; and it is in this that the great significance of this war, as well as its terrible seriousness, consisted; neither can the sympathy that it met with outside the ancient nation be otherwise explained.—*H. Ewald, "History of Israel," Vol. VII., pp. 491-2.*

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SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **INTRODUCTION.**—Biography and universal history, Fusion of elements, Messianic prophecy and history, The idea and history.
8. **THE APOSTLE PETER.**—No scholar, Messianic idea and the Law, Peter's new views of the Messiah and his second coming.
9. **THE APOSTLE JAMES.**—A law of life, The mother-church, James' temperament and training, Leadership, The Law.
10. **THE APOSTLE PAUL.**—Roman empire, Greek culture, Israelitic religion, Paul the prophet and logician, His Roman citizenship, His rabbinical training.
11. **THE APOSTLE PAUL (CONTINUED).**—Subjective and objective elements, Pyramid, Clean break, The crucifixion, Law and Christ, Trust, The Gentiles.
12. **THE APOSTLE JOHN.**—Fiery temperament, Training, Difference from Peter and John, Emphasis on life, Slow growth, Intense love.



Bethlehem, from the Latin Convent.

QUESTIONS.

7. *How do biographies differ? What of Apostolic biography? How was the Apostolic mind related to historic conditions? Compare the prophetic mind.*
8. *What was Peter's education? What his politics? Into what change of view did Jesus lead him? What place did eschatology hold? How was Peter the Apostle of hope?*
9. *Upon what had Judaism based its life? What attitude to this did the earliest Christians adopt? Characterize James. What place did he fill? What, therefore, did he emphasize?*
10. *What had prepared for a universal religion? What had the Orient (Israel) contributed? How did Paul understand the case? Analyze his nature. Describe his birth and education.*
11. *Discuss the conversion of Paul. How did it make him differ from the original Disciples? How did it affect his theology in respect to the crucifixion? To the law? To works? What, therefore, became Paul's life-work?*
12. *Characterize John. How different from Peter and James? From Paul? What is certainly true of the Epistle and the Gospel generally credited to John? What was John's chief trait?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Apply the standard of the Prophets and Apostles to the preachers of our own time.*
2. *What element does the Christian Church now emphasize?*
3. *What Christian Church now approximates to the type of James?*
4. *Compare the character, training and times of Paul with those of Martin Luther.*
5. *Study other lives to discover the effect of experience upon theory.*
6. *Show that the Christian Church now stands in its Johannine age.*

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BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

BY

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13. INTRODUCTORY.

BIBLICAL Theology is based on the assumption that, as far as their outward form is concerned, the religious conceptions found in the Christian Scriptures are subject to the laws that govern the formation and growth of ideas in other spheres. It consists in the study, arrangement, and presentation of the religious ideas of the Bible in their chronological and genetic relations with one another and with their historical setting. (1)

This definition puts Biblical Theology in connection, on the one side, with the science of religion, which has for its material all the religions of the world, and on the other with a circle of so-called theological sciences centered in and growing out of the canonical books of the Bible. As far as its affiliation with the science of religion in general is concerned, Biblical Theology is prepared to recognize that its subject matter has elements common to all the religions of the world. It is prepared, further, to concede that the preliminary stages of that growth of thought which it deals with run parallel with the stages of growth passed through by other religions. Still further, that these parallels also prepare the way for the final stage of that development which it aims to examine. But it claims a unique character and an authoritativeness for the religion of which it traces the growth and examines the exact significance. It does not consider it a part of its own function to validate this claim; it presupposes that it has been proved valid outside of its own sphere. It rejects as unscientific the presumption that the religion of the Bible is "one of the great religions of the world, nothing less, but also nothing more." (2) (Kuenen's "Religion of Israel," Vol. I., p. 5.)

As far as its relation to other theological sciences, based like itself, on the canonical Scriptures is concerned, it is to be classified with those of them that deal with history. It is a history of revealed thought in the process of revelation. It is allied to exegesis as far as sound exegesis precedes and conditions it. It is allied to history of doctrine in as far as this traces the growth of a systematization of revealed truth after its original formation. It is allied to systematic theology in that this department correlates the facts of Biblical theology with philosophical postulates and scientific conclusions. Biblical theology is contented with the narrower but more essential task of ascertaining the exact circumstances under which, and the forms in which, revealed thought emerges and flows within the period of its first appearance.

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Biblical Theology is a modern science. It had its origin in a series of efforts to lead theological discussion into the use of Scripture texts in their proper historical senses. Under the stress of controversy the words of Scripture had come to be used without due regard to their true perspective and setting. A passage in Genesis was often made to serve the same end as one in the gospel of St. John. Various protests were made during the middle of the eighteenth century against this sort of usage, and out of these protests issued, in 1789, Gabler's Essay on the true distinction between Biblical and Dogmatic Theology. (3) The true reason for the existence of Biblical Theology was given in this essay, as well as the principle that should govern it. The program outlined by Gabler was taken up and carried out with varying degrees of fidelity to the original idea by a line of successors; and during the century that has elapsed since the publication of this essay, Biblical Theology has won its way into recognition as a legitimate and exceedingly valuable, even indispensable, theological science.

According to the natural divisions of the canonical Scriptures, Biblical Theology is generally treated under the two heads of Old Testament Theology and New Testament Theology.

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13. INTRODUCTORY.

(1) **Definitions.**—Biblical theology (of the N. T.) is the scientific exposition of the religious conceptions and teachings contained in the Bible (N. Test.).—*B. Weiss, "Biblical Theology of N. T.," Vol. I., p. 1.*

Biblical theology . . . has become current as an awkward name for a subject of the very first importance . . . as the historical presentation of the New Testament religion from its abstract doctrinal side, the scientific restoration of the moral and religious elements of doctrine which existed in the consciousness of Jesus and his witnesses and found expression in their words and writings.—*Beyschlag, "N. T. Theol.," Vol. I., pp. 3, 4.*

The name Biblical Theology is in itself indefinite and manifold in meaning. At different times it has been variously understood; recently the meaning of this name has been conventionally fixed. It is now understood commonly to mean a special theological discipline which has for its task the scientific exposition of the religion contained in the Bible.—*Dillmann, "Alttestamentliche Theologie," p. 1.*

We understand by Biblical Theology that branch of theological science which undertakes to expound historically the religion of revelation within the age of its origin.—*H. Schultz, "O. T. Theology," Vol. I., pp. 1, 2.*

(2) **The Content of Biblical Theology.**—The religion of Israel by its very position in the world has been something more, in some sense, than other religions. . . . The science of comparative religion is legitimate and most useful, but it becomes unscientific when it is a leveling science. . . . There is enough in the external history of Israel to prepare us for finding in it something very different from what other ancient religions exhibit. Is it impossible that there should be unique things in the world? Is it scientific to assume that there are not? We do not require at the outset to claim more for this religion than for other religions, but neither are we allowed to assume at the outset that it is no more nor better than others.—*J. Robertson, "Early Rel of Israel," pp. 22-24.*

Biblical Theology must insist upon claiming for its object, not the thoughts and reflections and speculations of men, but the oracles of God. . . . The second point to be emphasized in our treatment of Biblical theology is that the historical character of the truth is not in any way antithetical to, but really subordinate to, its revealed character.—*Geerhardus Vos, "The Idea of Bib. Theol. as a Science and a Theol. Discipline," pp. 30, 31.*

Biblical theology has to do only with the sacred author's conceptions, and has nothing whatever to do with the legitimate logical consequences. It is not to be assumed that either the author or his generation argued out the consequences of their statements, still less discerned them by intuition; although, on the other hand, we must always recognize that the religion and, indeed, the entire theology of a period or an author may be far wider and more comprehensive than the record or records that have been left of it; and that, in all cases, Biblical Theology will give us the minimum rather than the maximum of the theology of a period or author. But, on the other hand, we must also estimate the fact that this minimum is the inspired authority to which alone we can appeal.—*Briggs' "Biblical Study," p. 393.*

The doctrine of Christ was not given as a rigid dead letter, in one determinate form of human character, but it was announced as the word of spirit of life, with a living flexibility and variety, by men enlightened by the Divine Spirit, who received and appropriated it in a living manner, in accordance with their various constitutional qualities and the difference of their course of life and education. This difference served to manifest the living unity, the riches and the depth of the Christian spirit in the manifoldness of the forms of conception, which unintentionally illustrated each other and supplied their mutual deficiencies. —*Neander's "Plant. and Training," etc., Book VI., Intro.*

(3) *De justo discrimine theologiae biblicae et dogmaticae regundisque recte utrinsque finibus. Altorf. 1789.*

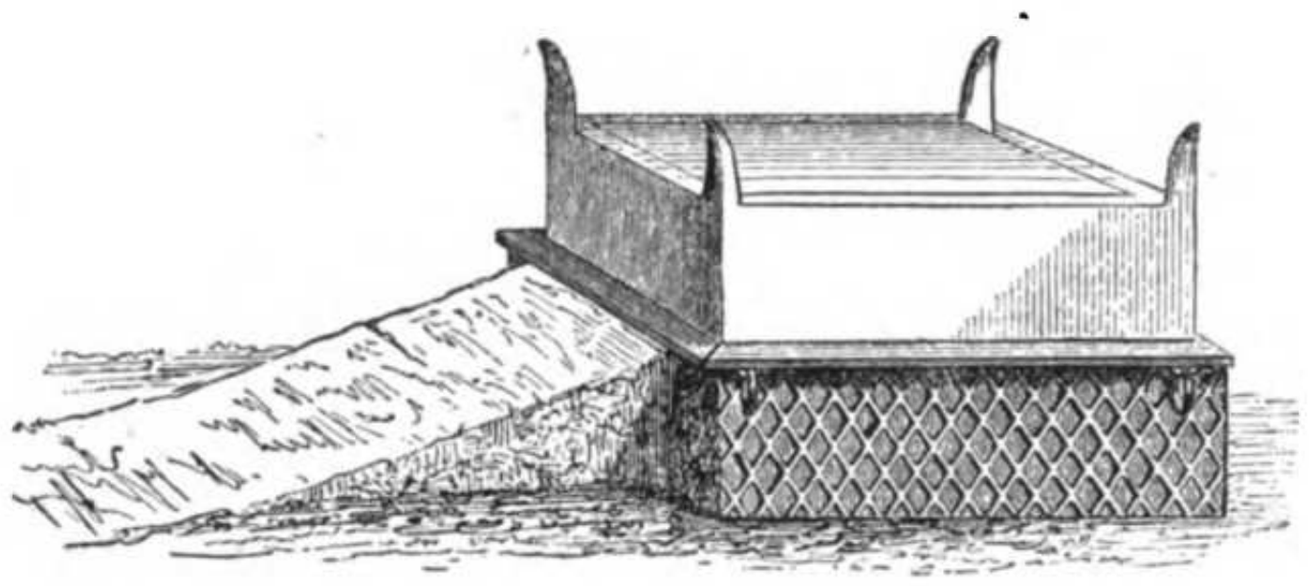
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14. OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

A final and thoroughly satisfactory historical exposition of the religious ideas of the Old Testament presupposes a final theory of the order in which the books of the Old Testament were produced. Such a theory Biblical Theology cannot construct in its own right; it must receive it from Biblical criticism. But so long as there is neither absolute nor even proximate uniformity on this point in the field of Biblical criticism, the only course left for Biblical Theology is to mass the content of the Old Testament, and give it as a whole, without endeavoring to trace any development within it. (1)

In the Old Testament dispensation two types of thought are discernible, which may be designated as the Mosaic and the Prophetic. The Mosaic type or system is characterized by the emphasis it lays (*a*) on a political and social system of organization as a foundation for the true religious life; (*b*) on the moral code, and (*c*) on the ritual of worship. Of these the political system may be set aside here as the remotest from the purposes of theology, although in the Mosaic law it was most intimately related to the religious life of the nation.

The moral aspect of the Mosaic system was embodied in the so-called Book of the Covenant (Exodus, chaps. 20 to 24), whose nucleus is the Decalogue. (2) The construction of the Decalogue shows that the ethical life was intended to be rooted in and blended with the religious. Of the ten commandments, the first three refer purely and simply to man's relation to God; the fourth regulates the life of man, partly with reference to his duty to God and partly for its own sake, and the remainder refer to earthly and human relations; but they all derive their sanction from, and are calculated to promote, spiritual life. (3)



The Altar of Burnt Offering.

The ritual system of the Mosaic law is intended to express certain underlying religious ideas. The most important of these are the unity of God, his spirituality, his omnipotence and omnipresence, and his special love for Israel, his covenant people. The aim of the ritual is the sanctification of the worshiper as a member of the covenant people. In order to secure absolute holiness, the worshiper was required to offer sacrifice to *Jehovah*, designed to represent, secure or preserve his normal relation to him. The primitive form of sacrifice round which the Mosaic ritual grew up was the *burnt-offering*, (4) consisting of a bullock, a lamb or a pair of pigeons, according to the means of the worshiper. It signified complete consecration and adoration. The victim was brought to the door of the place of worship; the worshiper laid his hands on its head; it was slain, and the bones being broken it was completely burned.

The next in importance of the sacrifices was the *peace-offering*, consisting of an animal taken either from the herd or from the flock, without blemish, male or female. It was intended to express or secure reconciliation with *Jehovah*. To this end an elaborate ceremony was provided for its performance.

The *sin-offering*, consisting of a young bullock or a male or female kid, was designed to expiate sins committed in ignorance by individuals or by the people.

The *trespass-offering*, consisting of a ram, was designed to expiate offences against

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the rights of men. As an adjunct to animal sacrifices, the *meal-offering* was appointed, consisting of unbaked flour, baked loaves or roasted or parched ears of grain.

For the offering of sacrifice the Mosaic ritual provided one special place, because its corner-stone was the unity of God and the unity of God's people. It provided, further, a special body of men organized into a hierarchy. A high priest was appointed to be the head of the hierarchy and perform the highest sacred functions. A priesthoood and a ministry of lower rank, the Levitical, were assigned duties according to their order. (5) Further, the Mosaic ritual provided a cycle of festivities and Sabbaths, designed by their regular recurrence to fix the worshiper in habits of devotion, and impress, as deeply as such ordinances can, the necessity of holiness. And in addition, the series of distinctions of clean and unclean in the matter of habit, food, and condition of bodily health are calculated to keep constantly alive the rigid demand of God for perfect obedience to his law and conformity to his revealed character. The need of putting away sin was, further, particularly significant in the supreme act of expiation which took place on the Day of Atonement.

14. OLD TESTAMENT THEOLOGY.

(1) This is the course adopted by the most recent O. T. theologians, of whom Hermann Schultz and Dillmann may be taken as fair representatives.

(2) **The Decalogue.**—The fundamental demand of the Law is that the people regard their covenant God as the one only God, the one only source of salvation, and remain faithful to Him, conditions on the observance of which the very existence of the covenant depends. This being settled, it also follows that one must honor this God in accordance with his true nature, and not insult



The Altar of Incense.

Him by doing anything unworthy of Him. In the first place, therefore, He must not be dishonored by any one making a material likeness of Him, dragging Him down, as it were, into fellowship with the created, the material, like the heathen nature-gods. This alone can be the meaning of the commandment, not the exclusion of the images of strange gods. . . . Since the name of God is no empty echo, but the holy expression of His self-revealing essence, it must not be dishonored by being brought into connection with anything untrue or vain which would lower its majesty. . . . The Sabbath — the time set apart for the honor of this God and sacred to Him — must be kept undesecrated. . . . With these commandments to honor the covenant, God has associated the commandment to honor parents. . . . The main requirement of Israelitish probity is the sacredness of the life and property of others. . . . In the first place, life itself is made safe. . . . Next to life comes marriage, the most tender of property relationships. . . . with this closely connected sacredness of property in general. And as we must not injure a neighbor by actual violence, so we must not do it by false witness, which would endanger life and property. . . . Finally, one must not busy one's self with plans and undertakings the result of which would be to get possession of the property of one's neighbor with an appearance of right ("coveting"). —*Schultz, "Old Test. Theol.," Vol. II., pp. 48-52.*

(3) **Righteousness.**—The fundamental condition of righteousness in Israel is, of course, reverence for the civil, religious and moral statutes in force among the people. In the first place, these were briefly summarized in the law of Moses as the ten commandments. In the next place, they were given by the moral teaching of the prophets more and more inward depth, and were set firmly on their everlasting foundations. Finally, in the later legal writings since Deuteronomy they were more and more worked out into details.—*Shultz, "O. T. Theol.," Vol. II., pp. 46, 47.*

(4) **The Burnt-Offering.**—The burnt-offering heads the list, because it was the principal offering of the Jewish ritual and because it had some distinctive features of all the others. It was the daily sacrifice which, morning and evening, was presented to Jehovah on the brazen altar, hence called the Continual Offering. Besides, the burnt-offering seems to have been the prevalent sacrifice in the times preceding Moses.—*W. G. Moorhead, "Studies in Mosaic Inst's," p. 138.*

(5) **Levites, Priests, and High Priests.**—Out of the sacred nation the tribe of Levi are elected of God, and invested with special sanctity to perform the less important priestly functions of the temple. Their service, as a substitution for the offering of the first-born in sacrifice, represents the dedication of Israel to Jehovah. Out of this sacred tribe the clan of Aaron, styled in Ezekiel the Levitical priests of the house of Zadok, are invested with a still higher sanctity; they are the priests of Israel; the higher functions of worship are their exclusive privilege, and they alone may enter the holy place. Finally, a priestly dynasty is chosen out of the sacred clan; the legal representative of this sacred dynasty is the hereditary head of the priesthood, the high priest.—*Bennett, "Theol. of the O. T.," pp. 131, 132.*

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15. PROPHETIC THEOLOGY.

Prophecy, as a feature of the religious life of Israel, is as old as the people itself. It is clearly understood to be the communication of the will of God to his people through accredited men, to whom he vouchsafes revelations by His Spirit. (1) A prophet has a distinct and irresistible call; he is under the guidance of *Jehovah* and filled with His Spirit. (2) Two stages are discernible in the history of prophecy, the first preceding the eighth century B.C., and the second extending from the opening of the eighth century to the end of the Old Testament period. These are distinguished from one another by clear characteristics. In the earlier stage, there is an approach to the vaticinations of the heathen; matters of private nature are referred to the prophet. In the latter, prophecy assumes a loftier tone; it is concerned only with the affairs of the kingdom of God. In the earlier, the prophets do not disdain to use physical force in carrying out their designs. In the second, moral suasion alone is used. In the earlier, the prophet is called a seer, *rhoeh;* (3) in the later, he is a prophet, *nabhi.* The transition is noted in 1 Samuel ix. 9, and indicates a passage in the mode of revelation from the vision or dream to the subconscious or intuitive process. (4)

The prophets always assume the being, unity, and spirituality of God, declaring all idols "not—gods." (5) At first the relation of *Jehovah* to other peoples than Israel is not prominently in their minds, but it is defined gradually as one of dominion and absolute authority. The prophets also emphasize the eternity of *Jehovah*, and ascribe to him unlimited power and knowledge, but the attribute of God which above all others impresses them is his holiness. (6) This is conceived of as his uniqueness, and made sometimes synonymous with his real divinity, his purity of essence. It issues in his relations with creatures in the subordinate attributes of justice, truth, or faithfulness. The last of these is revealed especially in his fulfillment of all promises and persistence to Covenants. The goodness or mercy of *Jehovah* is also emphasized in the prayers and psalms of the period. As related to the world, God is the creator; he directs, controls, and overrules all the affairs of nature, the peoples of the earth; (7) and the actions of individual men and even the trivial and incidental matters of life, such as the casting of a lot, are determined by him.

Jehovah has revealed himself to his people (*a*) in symbols, which, without representing him, suggest his attributes and indicate his presence. Such are the cherubim, described by Ezekiel, and the seraphim of Isaiah's inaugural vision. (*b*) Through his messengers or angels, who announce his presence, declare his will, and do his bidding. (*c*) In theophanies. He has come among men in the form of the creature, without thereby permitting them to think that his true form has been seen. And (*d*) his spirit or power is manifested in wonders or works of special providence.

Man, in the thought of prophets, is a being capable of knowing, loving, and obeying *Jehovah*, a being with whom God enters into Covenant. He is not by nature in the normal relation with *Jehovah*, because he sins, incurs guilt, and is thus liable to punishment. Sin consists in alienation from *Jehovah*, it is a rupture of relations, and places man in the position of an enemy. All men are guilty of sin. Out of the human race *Jehovah* has chosen Israel to be a holy people; yet even Israel is prone to sin, has turned away from God, and must be purged by punishment. From the punishment due to the whole race and to Israel, God will exempt a portion of the chosen people, which the prophets call the Remnant. He will preserve this Remnant and use it as a nucleus of a new people.

The Remnant is to be organized and ruled by the royal line of David. One special, individual king, the Messiah, (8) shall lead it to the accomplishment of its glorious work. This is the servant of *Jehovah*, the head and representative of the true Israel. He is to arise out of a lowly environment, to be born at Bethlehem, to

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live as a peaceful and unostentatious prince, and to share with his people in their distress, yet bring them out of it by his vicarious sufferings.

After the accomplishment of the work of the Messiah should come the great day of *Jehovah*, in which the enemies of God and of his people should be judged and punished according to their merits. (9)

A third type of thought is sometimes distinguished in the Old Testament and designated the Wisdom theology. (10) This type is characterized by breadth and intellectuality. It has the appearance of being addressed to all people and times. The prevalence in it of the intellectual element, culminating, as it does, in the personification of the Reason under the name of Wisdom (the Hokhmah) has fixed the latter word as its proper designation.

The place of the individual in the scheme of the prophets is that of a member of the Covenant people of God; his mere membership secures for him the blessings of the Covenant.

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15. PROPHETIC THEOLOGY.

(1) **Uniqueness of Hebrew Prophecy.**—The theology of the Hebrew prophets throughout is such a wondrous combination of reality and truth, of the temporal and eternal, the actual and the ideal, that it evidences a conception of mind that grasps the ages in faithful and vivid realization, and that he has the power of representing that conception in terms that stand the test of time and circumstance. The doctrines of the Hebrew prophets transcend the powers of human apprehension and conception, and like the sublime ideas of the reason—form, and time, and space—circumscribe human knowledge, and invoke the Deity to explain them as conceptions of the divine mind.—*Briggs, "Messianic Prophecy," p. 31.*

(2) **The Prophet.**—The prophet is the bearer of the word of Jehovah, and the word of Jehovah was early thought to be the power that guides Israel. — *Smend, "Alttest'liche Religionsgeschichte," p. 87.*

(3) **The Seer.**—The oldest Hebrew name for prophet is Rhoch, and the original and ordinary mode of revelation is the vision. Appearance and vision are customary expressions to designate revelation, even in later days. . . . The prophet is said to see even when he only hears, as, "the word of Jehovah which the prophet saw." He sees that which is destined in place. Elisha said to Gehazi, "Did not my heart go with thee?" (and saw thee). Ezekiel on the banks of the Chebar saw what was occurring in Jerusalem. But the prophet sees above all other things that which is in the future.—*Ibid, p. 82.*

(4) **Stages of Growth.** — The early prophets often employed carnal and violent means in support of the cause of Jehovah; thus Samuel himself hewed Agag, king of the Amalekites, in pieces before Jehovah (1 Sam. xv. 33), because Saul had not executed with respect to him the stern orders that he had received. Elijah, likewise, slaughtered all the prophets of Baal.—*Oepenbring, "O. T. Theol.," p. 81.*

(5) **God Knowable.**—That God can be known by man is supposed everywhere in the Old Testament as self-evident, and the further back one goes the truer will this position be found. In the primitive stage, the matter is not made the subject of reflection at all.—*Dillmann's "Alttest'liche Theol.," p. 201.*

(6) **Holiness.**—The holiness of God connects itself closely with the unity of God. If the latter idea consists in this, that God is exalted above all limitations of finiteness, holiness includes this also, but goes further in that it regards him as exalted above everything sinful or evil, and shows him as the perfectly pure one, and thus leads over to the idea of a perfect moral character in God. All other moral peculiarities are thenceforth simply unfoldings of this fundamental conception.—*Ibid, p. 252.*

(7) **Jehovah Universal.**—If Jehovah was to be in any real sense God even of Israel, he must not only be lord of the nations, but also of the universe. His lordship of the nations involves his supremacy over the lands they inhabit. He sends pestilence and famine upon the heathen as well as upon his own people; . . . thus Jehovah is creator and ruler alike of earth and heaven.—*Bennett, "O. T. Theol.," p. 197.*

(8) **Messianic Prophecy.**—The central theme and culmination of Hebrew prophecy is the Messianic ideal. Messianic prophecy is the production of the conception of redemption through the Messiah.—*Briggs, "Messianic Prophecy," p. 60.*

(9) **The Eschatology of Amos.**—The eschatology of Amos is of the simplest character. The picture of Israel's future which he draws in the concluding verses of the book is, like that of Joel, a picture of purely temporal felicity. Sinners will be destroyed in the judgment which is impending; while the sound grain will be preserved out of which a renewed people is to spring. But he casts no light on the deeper problem, how sin is to be atoned for and eradicated. He looks apparently for this restoration to follow at no long interval upon the judgment which is to fall upon Israel from the Assyrians. He has no prediction of a personal Messiah. But it is noteworthy that he does connect the hope of the future with the house of David. This is to be restored to its pristine glory, and through its restoration blessing comes to the no longer divided nation, which exercises a sovereignty over surrounding nations as of old.—*Kirkpatrick, "The Doctrine of the Prophets," p. 101.*

(10) **The Wise.**—Another group of workers exercised a most potent influence, although they seldom came to the front. These were the wise, whose counsel was considered by the contemporaries of Jeremiah as indispensable as the word of the prophet or the law of the priest.—*Kent, "The Wise Men of Ancient Israel and Their Proverbs," p. 17.*

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16. THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

The theology of the New Testament is based on that of the Old. The Messianic hope of the old prophets is the connecting link between these two great portions of the Bible. The New Testament opens with the realization of this hope in the person of Jesus, and continues and closes with the transformation of the whole religious thought of the Old Testament by the assumption of Jesus Christ into it as its central principle and moulding force. Thus arises a complete Christian system. The first stage in the evolution is the preaching of the kingdom of God by Jesus; the second, the universalization of the Messianic idea by the apostle Paul; and the third, the spiritualization of it by John.

The kingdom of God as preached by Jesus was an order of things in which men should recognize their true relations to God, and enter into alliance with Jesus Christ by faith, constituting a new spiritual social organization. (1)

This organization is properly called the kingdom of God, because God is recognized in it as supreme; but though it is constantly called a kingdom, God is with equal consistency called the Father of those who enter into it, and his paternal care is portrayed, and especially manifested in his constant watchfulness over them and his love for them.



The Finding of Jesus in the Temple.—Holman Hunt.

The place of Jesus himself in the kingdom is that of the Revealer of the Father. He is the Messiah foreshadowed in the Old Testament. But the Messianic idea is altered, broadened, and universalized in the new dispensation. It includes, besides the conception, brought over from its history, of the headship of the Messiah over his people, also that of the redemptive function. (2)

In performing the function of Redeemer, Jesus teaches that he must die in obedience to law, giving his life "a ransom for many for the remission of sins" (Matt. xvi. 21-23, xx. 28; Mark x. 45).

Sin is a serious, even fatal, alienation from God. Jesus says nothing about it that could in any way soften or lessen the hatred due to it from the healthy soul. On the contrary, by his interpretation of the old law, and by his strenuous efforts to rescue men from sin, he deepens the sense of abhorrence aroused by it. The sinful are the "lost." They are in a most miserable and perilous situation.

Yet, even though guilty and lost, the sinner is capable of salvation. In this view Jesus differed diametrically from the Pharisees, who looked upon sinful men as in a hopeless condition. He recognized a certain dignity in human nature, because of its relation to God both by creation and by the possibilities involved in it, if it should be redeemed.

Man is an immortal being, because he is capable of sustaining a relation of love

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to God, such as that sustained by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Man's immortality is associated with the resurrection of the body. But though this fact is distinctly involved in the teaching of Jesus, there is nowhere an effort to explain the difficulties connected with it. To secure his birthright as an immortal being, and one possessed of capabilities of redemption from sin, man must enter into the kingdom of God by repentance and faith. Once a member he must live a life of humility, love, earnestness, and purity. He must secure a righteousness characterized by inwardness or depth and comprehensiveness or extent. The law of the kingdom is to be not more lax than the ethical laws already known, but more free, and at the same time more pervasive and effective.

The kingdom of God thus constituted, with Jesus at its head, acknowledging the fatherhood of God as its source of life and the brotherhood of man as its law, is to have a course of natural development in the world; and the consummation of it is to be a judgment day, in which all men shall be judged according to their character.

The process of growth outlined for the kingdom is analogous to all organic growth, and is portrayed in parables drawn from vegetable life. The judgment is to be ushered in by Jesus himself in a second appearance on earth, and it is to issue in the separation of the righteous from the unrighteous. The righteous shall enter into life; they shall inherit the kingdom; they shall shine as the sun; they shall rule over cities; they shall sit on thrones and share the joy of their Lord. The wicked shall be cast into outer darkness, or into fire, or into prison; it had been better for them had they not been born.

16. THE TEACHING OF JESUS.

(1) **The Kingdom of God.**—It signifies some form of divine dominion. Abstractedly viewed, it might denote the reign of the Almighty over all creation through the operation of natural law, or of the moral Governor of the world rendering to every man and nation according to their works; or of the God of Israel ruling over a chosen people, and bestowing on them power, peace, and felicity as the reward of obedience to His divine will. Or it might mean something higher than any of these things, the highest form of dominion conceivable, the advent of which is emphatically fit to be the burden of a gospel, viz., the reign of divine love exercised by God in His grace over human hearts believing in His love, and constrained thereby to yield Him grateful affection and devoted service.—*Bruce, "Kingdom of God," p. 46.*

The rule of God, which was manifested in and through Christ, is apparent in the church; gradually develops amidst hindrances; is triumphant at the second coming of Christ; and, finally, perfected in the world to come.—*Edersheim, "Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah," Vol. I., p. 270.*

The kingdom is the fellowship of souls divine and human, of which the law and life are love, wherein the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, as both are embodied in Jesus Christ, are recognized and realized.—*Stead, "Kingdom of God," p. 69.*

The following may be taken as a basis, at least for an exposition of the idea: The gathering together of men under God's eternal law of righteous love, by the vital power of his redeeming love in Jesus Christ, brought to bear upon them through the Holy Spirit.—*Candlish, "Kingdom of God," p. 197.*

What the kingdom of God is, is nowhere expressly said; the idea is regarded as one quite familiar to the people. In fact, no one in Israel, which was from the first to be a kingdom whose supreme Lord and King was Jehovah, could thereby understand anything else than a kingdom in which the will of God is fulfilled as perfectly upon earth as by the angels in heaven.—*Weiss, "Bib. Theol. of the N. T.," Vol. I., p. 62.*

The kingdom of God is where the will of God is done on earth as it is in heaven, that is, where it is done ideally. According to this, the kingdom of heaven or the kingdom of God would be the perfect original order of things which has its home in heaven, in order to come down from thence and realize itself on earth—that ideal condition which humanity and history are to reach, that God may in His inmost essence, as eternal Spirit and holy love, fill all and condition all that is in the world. —*Reyschlag, "N. T. Theology," Vol. I., p. 43.*

That perfect order of things which He was about to establish, in which all those of every nation who should believe in Him were gathered together into one society, dedicated and intimately united to God, and made partakers of eternal salvation.—*Thayer, "Lex. of N. T., Greek," sub voce.*

The idea of a divine dispensation under which God bestows his full salvation upon a society of men, who on their part fulfill His will in true righteousness. — *Wendt, "Teaching of Jesus," Vol. I., p. 175.*

(2) **Son of Man and Son of God.**—After the foregoing discussion, the significance of the two titles, Son of Man and Son of God, in reference to the doctrine of the kingdom, will be apparent. As Son of Man, Jesus stood in a relation of solidarity and sympathy with men. As Son of God, He stood in a similar relation to God. As bearing both titles, He was in intimate fellowship with both God and man, and a link of connection between them. In His person the kingdom was thus realized in germ, as a kingdom of grace in which God is related to men as Father, and men are related to God as sons.—*Bruce, "Kingdom of God," p. 186.*

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17. THE PAULINE THEOLOGY.

Of all those who accepted Jesus as the Christ in the Apostolic generation, none was more influential in moulding the thought of the Church than the apostle Paul. His ancestry and early life, his education, the manner of his conversion, and his first experiences as a missionary conspired to impress him with certain aspects of the new faith which he embodied in his preaching and letters, alluding to the sum total of his teaching as "his gospel."

The kernel of this system of thought was carried over by Paul from the pre-Christian stage of his life. It consisted in the view that true religion is a mode of righteousness (1) or judicial standing before God, which, however, must work within its possessor a holy character, and must never be disconnected from this subjective side of it.

This righteousness, although ideal and primitive in man, was lost by the first transgression on the part of Adam. Sin thus entered into the world and prevailed in the human race, so that both Jews and Gentiles as descendants of the same common ancestor are under the power of sin. They can expect nothing but the natural consequences of this evil principle; that is to say, distress and alienation from God, and finally death.



ST. PAUL.—A relief in repoussé work of the second century, found in the catacombs of Domitilla, Rome. It was probably deposited there during the lifetime of many who personally knew Paul.

The Old Testament brought sin to light through the Mosaic law, which was meant to be, not a means of salvation or righteousness, but a means of preparing the way for it. The Old Testament did, however, provide a way of righteousness through the promise given to Abraham. The promise was before the law, and called forth faith, and faith was accepted as a ground of justification. Thus righteousness was imputed to Abraham and others on the ground of faith.

But the promise which saved the believer in the Old Testament was realized in the new dispensation in Jesus Christ and his work. Christ thus occupies the central place in Paul's system of thought, and constitutes an object of affectionate devotion and allegiance.

Of Christ, Paul teaches that he was the son of David, the son of a woman, therefore a true man, and yet the Son of God. He existed before his birth as man with God, sharing in the work of the creation of the world and entitled to equality with the Father. In the incarnation he took on himself human nature, suffered and died, and rose again from the dead, and thus sealed and completed his work.

The most significant part of the work of Christ is his death. (2) This death was vicarious and sacrificial, and its efficacy consists in perfect and satisfactory obedience to the Father in behalf of men and the consequent removal of sin. Since Christ died, then, those who believe are united to him, constituting a new humanity, of which he is the Head. As the first Adam was the head of the sinful race, Christ thus becomes the Second Adam, (3) the head of the redeemed race.

God the Father stands in this scheme of thought as the Sovereign and Efficient Cause of all its parts. It is his free grace that has foreseen and foreordained the minutest particulars of the plan in such a way that all creature merit is excluded by it. The redeemed has no occasion of boasting, nor ground for claim in himself,

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but only occasion for gratitude to him, whose love has provided this way of righteousness. God has an absolute right to deal with his creatures as it may appear best to him, but the impossible supposition that God can or will choose to act in any other way than rightly towards his creatures does not enter into Paul's thought. Accordingly, God calls whom he has chosen out of his free grace to be made partakers in the new humanity of which Christ is the head. He further justifies these, (4) pardoning their sins, and sends his spirit into their hearts to work out a new life of holiness in them.

The new life is begun by the Holy Spirit, and continued into complete sanctification, the same Spirit enlightening, leading, moving and actuating him in whom it has been begun throughout his whole course.

The new life, though wrought out in individuals, is given them as sharers in the redeemed humanity of which Christ is the head; hence it has its social aspects. This is recognized in the organized Church, with its principles of polity and discipline and its ordinances of worship, especially the two sacraments instituted by Christ, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

17. THE PAULINE THEOLOGY.

(1) **The Righteousness of God.**—The righteousness of God, which, on account of sin, is wanting both to Jew and Gentile, is promised to and conferred upon the sinner in a very different way than that of his own merit. The Gospel of the New Testament proclaims the mystery of a



ST. PAUL.—A mosaic of the fourth century.

Divine plan of salvation, which, formed before the foundation of the world, was shadowed forth throughout the whole preparatory economy of the Old Testament, and revealed in the fullness of time; which embraces the Jewish and Gentile world, heaven and earth, and in gradual development shows forth, with a luster before unknown, the majesty and glory of God.—*Van Oosterzee, "The Theol. of the N. T." p. 286.*

(2) **Salvation.**—Christ's death was the means of salvation, appointed by God; it brings men deliverance from the Divine anger merited by their sins, a deliverance whose full fruition they will enjoy at their Deliverer's return (1 Ep.v. 8-10, i.10; 2 Ep. i. 7-12, ii. 13, 14). His resurrection raises them through faith to a fellowship with Him which survives the grave, and which at His advent will enter upon its consummated form (1 Ep. iv. 13-18, v. 10).—*Findlay, "The Epistles of Paul the Apostle," p. 236.*

(3) **The Second Adam.**—A doctrine peculiar to St. Paul among New Testament writers is that of the Second Adam. The Apostle would have found seed thoughts in Jewish speculations concerning the Messiah, but he alone has worked out the conception in its direct application to Jesus Christ, and shown that our Lord is the Founder of a new order of humanity—the firstborn among many brethren (Rom. viii. 29).—*Adeney "The Theol. of the N. T.," p. 178.*

(4) **The Effect of Christ's Death.**—In delivering Christ unto death, God redeems us unto His love. He gives us in His Son that which we could not obtain ourselves. He gives us a secure standing-point outside of the stream of sin, and in order that He may begin this deliverance He receives us unto Himself; that is to say, He takes away our sins, and covers us gratuitously with His righteousness. Here, however, arises, under a new aspect, the difficulty which has been noted, and whose discussion led us into the center of the religious thought of Paul. God consents to treat as just the sinner, even before he is free from all sin, since otherwise the forgiveness of God would depend upon the conduct of man. . . . Here, as we have shown, is the obstacle that the work of Christ removes, or the necessity to which he responds, according to St. Paul, in the sacrifice of Calvary. Born under the law Jesus has fulfilled the law in its entirety. The righteousness which He furnishes is that which the legal statute demands of every man, namely, complete submission, without reserve of the will, to the Lord. Moreover, it is not for Himself alone that Jesus has obtained this supreme victory. He has taken unto Himself our transgressions, to the end that he may cause them to disappear; He has been charged with this burden of ignominy in order that He might liberate us for ever.—*Bovon, "Theol. du Nouveau Test."*

(5) **The Coming Kingdom.**—At Christ's resurrection, there is founded a victorious kingdom of salvation and eternal life, which, coming in between the earthly world of sin and death and the eternal world of perfection, takes up into itself the results of earth, tests and sifts them in the light of eternity, and, when what is imperfect is removed, makes of the stable elements that eternal and ideal world in which God will be all in all.—*Beyschlag, "N. T. Theol.," Vol. II., p. 271.*

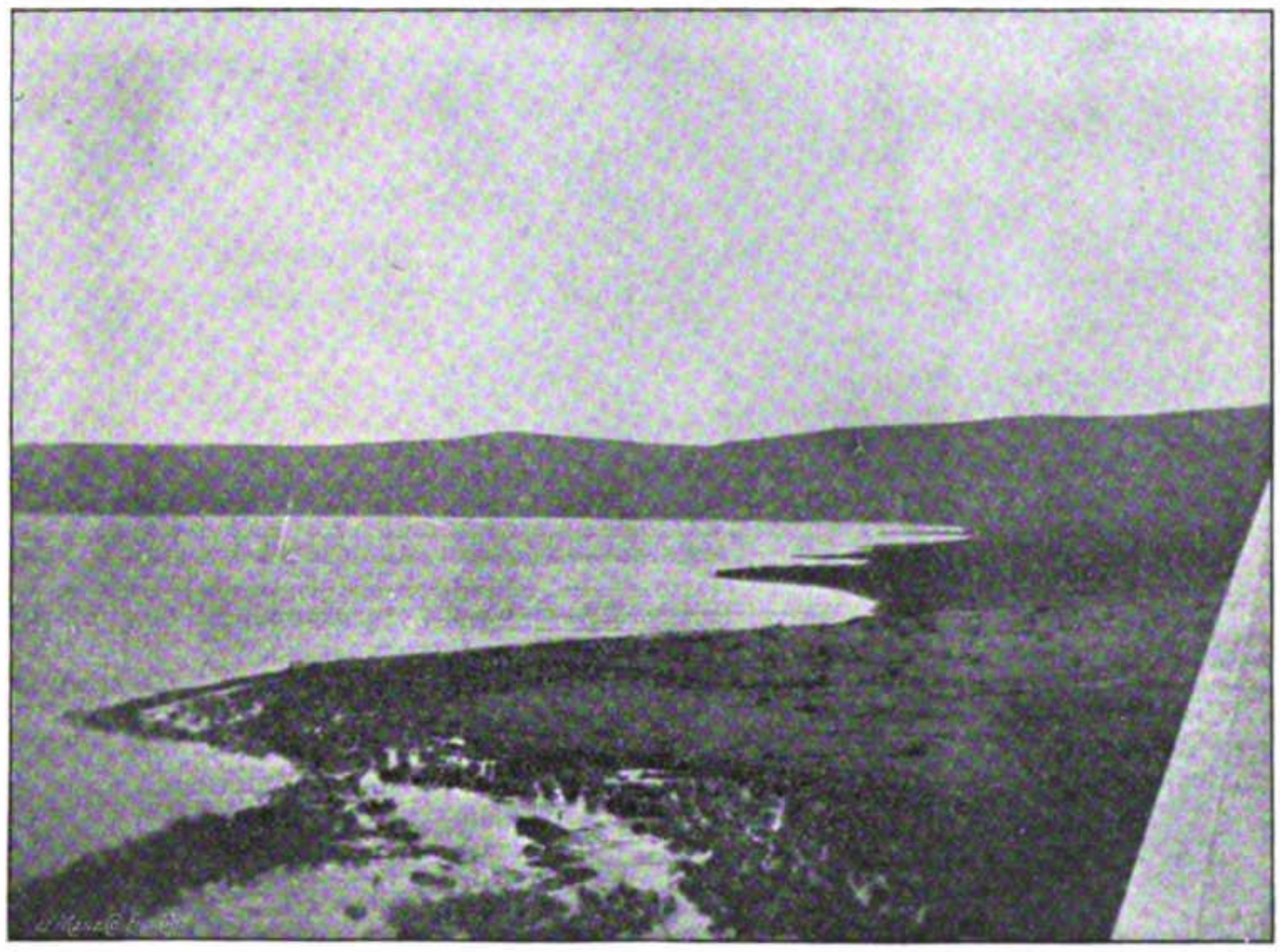
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18. THE JOHANNINE THEOLOGY.

As the starting point of religion and principal question in the Pauline system was the securing of righteousness or normal standing before God, so in the Johannine system it is the restoration of union or fellowship between man and God.

The actual relation between man and God is that of alienation. This appears in the natural condition of the world. The world conceived of as the sum total of the social activity of the human race is in darkness, and prefers to remain in darkness, even though the light may shine in it. It hates God. It is to be judged and condemned unless it accept God's offer of mercy. Viewed as a spirit or force constituted by human activity, it is an enemy to be overcome. It is subject to Satan and pervaded by the thought of Satan.

This condition of the world is Sin. It is a condition of lawlessness; the law of God is disregarded in it. The root of sin lies in disbelief of God incited by the devil, and its consequences have the displeasure of God, the slavery of the higher to the lower nature of man, and death.



General View of the Sea of Galilee.

But the world is not allowed to remain and perish in this state of sin. God has loved it, and is aiming to restore it to fellowship with himself. In his own essence God is a Spirit. As to his character, he is light and love; light symbolizing his purity and holiness, and love issuing for the welfare and fellowship of spiritual beings whom he has created in his own image.

God's love, like that of the parent to the child, is original and not responsive. It leads him from eternity to give some members of the human race to the Son, so that their restoration to fellowship may be assured. He has, moreover, prepared the way, step by step, by a progressive revelation of his will and purpose, culminating in the manifestation of his son in the world. Old Testament prophecy and John the Baptist are agents in this preparation.

But the greatest sign of the love of God is the incarnation of his son, the eternal Logos. That the Logos (1) was divine, and acted as the executive of God in the creation, does not admit of denial in the thought of John; but that he was made real flesh and blood may be doubted, and therefore John takes pains to denounce such doubt as fatal error.

The death of the incarnate Logos (2) is the sacrifice of the "Lamb that taketh away the sin of the world." It was a voluntary endurance of sufferings for others, and had an elevating and healing power, such as might be represented by the brazen serpent in the wilderness. It was, moreover, a propitiatory death, and re-

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demption from sin is based upon it. The restored fellowship follows forgiveness of sin. It is constituted by faith. (3) The Paraclete takes the words of Christ and teaches them to the believer, guiding, bearing witness, reminding and comforting believers, and rebuking and convicting the unbelieving world.

The results of the new fellowship are obedience to God's commandments, victory over the world and the devil, and eternal life; (4) the constitution of a new brotherhood among men, in which the brethren love one another and struggle with sin, overcoming it step by step.

The enmity of the world to God does not cease with the manifestation of his Incarnate Son, but is rather intensified and stimulated. A fierce struggle must be expected between the world power and the organized followers of Jesus, which, however, is destined to end in the complete overthrow of the world and the triumph of the Church. When this end is achieved Christ will come in glory and reign in a renewed and purified world.

The epistle to the Hebrews has often been taken as Pauline, giving in general the same system as is found in the writings of Paul. Without controverting these positions, it is necessary to say that it presents religion as a covenant, and Christianity as the new and real covenant of which the Old Testament ritual system was the type and prophecy. Christ is the mediator of this new covenant as its high priest and only victim. Hence, he stands as the central figure in the system of the apostle. Both in respect to his priesthood and his sacrifice he is contrasted with his Old Testament types as the reality and finality. By faith in him men are led into perfection. The most important duty incumbent upon the believer is a consistent adherence to his profession of faith through the sorest distress and trial; thus, he will triumph and enter into the fellowship of his predecessors in faith who obtained a good report under the Old Testament dispensation. (5)

18. THE JOHANNINE THEOLOGY.

(1) **The Logos.**—The most characteristic single doctrine which is found in the writings of John is the doctrine of the Logos or Word. He uses this term to denote the pre-existent Son of God, who became incarnate in Jesus.—*Stevens, "The Johannine Theology," p. 75.*

(2) **The Death of Jesus.**—John says (1 John iii. 16) that "He laid down His life for us;" and, from the hortatory motive which is deduced from this fact, we may gather that this death must be looked upon as one of a beneficial character, as being intended to save others from death, and so far therefore as vicarious; also that it is His blood (shed in His death) which has the power of purifying from sin. The blood, together with the Spirit and water, are mentioned as forming the medium of His efficacy. John relates in his gospel that Caiaphas, led by the Spirit of God in virtue of his high-priestly office, unconsciously to himself gave utterance to the great idea that it was necessary that one man should die for the people.—*Schmid, "Bib. Theol. of the N. T.," p. 541.*

(3) **The Mysticism of John.**—The true knowledge of divine things is an ethical and spiritual knowledge; it is the certitude which faith begets. The mysticism of John, then, for which we contend, is not a subjective mysticism which absorbs the soul in self-contemplations and revery, but an objective and rational mysticism which lives in a world of realities, apprehends divinely-revealed truth, and bases its experience upon it. It is a mysticism which feeds not upon its own feelings and fancies, but upon Christ. It involves an acceptance of Him and a life of obedience to Him. Its motto is: abiding in Christ.—*Stevens, "Johannine Theology," p. 239.*

(4) **Eternal Life.**—Eternal life is a life which, with all its fullness and all its potencies, is now: a life which extends beyond the limits of the individual, and preserves, completes, crowns individuality by placing the part in connection with the whole; a life which satisfies while it quickens; an aspiration; a life which is seen, as we regard it patiently, to be capable of conquering, reconciling, uniting the rebellious, discordant, broken elements of being on which we look and which we bear about with us; a life which gives unity to the constituent parts and to the complex whole, which brings together heaven and earth, which offers the sum of existence in one thought.—*Westcott, "The Epistles of St. John," pp. 217, 218.*

(5) **The Epistle to the Hebrews.**—At the center of the theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews is found the person of Christ. It penetrates the whole religious conception of the author; it dominates his entire system. In order to understand his doctrine it is necessary before all things to obtain a clear idea of his Christology.—*Menegoz, "Theologie de l'epitre aux Hebreus," p. 77.*

While the idea of the new covenant supplies the form under which the whole scheme of thought is arranged, the realization of the idea is shown to be in Jesus Christ, and therefore the doctrine of Christ is the primary doctrine of the Epistle. With an author, as with St. Paul, Christianity is just the religion of Christ. All truth radiates from Him and is estimated by its relation to Him.—*Adeney, "The Theology of the New Test.," p. 221.*

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THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **DEFINITION OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.**—Its relation to the science of religion and unique place claimed for it, Its relation to other theological sciences, Its history and divisions.
14. **RELATION OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY TO BIBLICAL CRITICISM.**—Types of Old Testament Theology, The decalogue, The Mosaic sacrifices, Priesthood, Feasts, Clean and unclean food.
15. **PROPHECY.**—Its nature and stages of development, Prophetic doctrine of God, The self-revelation of Jehovah, Doctrine of man, The doctrine of the Remnant, The Messiah, The Great Day of Jehovah, Place of the individual to the religion of the prophets.
16. **THEOLOGY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.**—As related to that of the Old, The kingdom of God in the teaching of Jesus, His own place in it, His idea of man, of sin, of righteousness, and the cause of the kingdom of God in the world.
17. **THE PAULINE SYSTEM.**—The righteousness of God, the Law and the Promise, Paul's view of Christ, of His death, of His relation to the redeemed race, Paul's view of the divine sovereignty of the work of the Holy Spirit, of the church.
18. **THE PAULINE AND JOHANNINE SYSTEMS COMPARED.**—Johannine idea of religion, Of the world, Of Sin, of God, Of the Logos, Of the death of Christ, Of the Paraclete, Of eternal life. General characteristics of the theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews.



Joseph and the Boy Jesus. By Müller.

QUESTIONS.

13. *What is Biblical theology? Its place in the science of religion? Its relation to other theological sciences? Its history? Its subdivisions?*
14. *What is the relation of Biblical theology to criticism? The types of Old Testament theology? The place of the Decalogue in the Mosaic type? Its sacrifices? Its priesthood? Its feasts?*
15. *What is prophecy? Its stages of development? The prophetic doctrine of God? Of the self-revelation of Jehovah? Of man? Of the Remnant? Of the Messiah? Of the Great Day of Jehovah? Of the Wisdom theology? Of the individual in the Old Testament system?*
16. *What is the relation of the New Testament theology to the Old? The central idea of the teaching of Jesus? His own place in the kingdom? His idea of man? Of sin? Of righteousness?*
17. *What is the central conception of Paulinism? The righteousness of God? The Law? The Promise? Paul's view of Christ? Of Christ's death? Of His relation to the Redeemed race? Of the divine sovereignty? Of the Holy Spirit? Of the church?*
18. *What is the difference between the Pauline and Johannine systems? The Johannine idea of religion? Of the World? Of Sin? Of God? Of the Logos? Of the death of Christ? Of the Paraclete? Of eternal life? The general charcteristics of the Epistle to the Hebrews.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The Bible as a source of theology.*
2. *Biblical criticism as related to Biblical theology.*
3. *Methods of interpreting prophecy.*
4. *The kingdom of God and Christian socialism.*
5. *The influence of Paul on Christian thought.*
6. *Compare the Christ of the Johannine writings with the Jesus of the Synoptic Gospels.*

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THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO OTHER RELIGIONS.

BY

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19.

Our subject is so vast that in the space here allotted to me I can simply indicate how it should be treated. It can be approached either from an historical or a theoretical point of view. I. In the first case, it includes two main questions: (*a*) What has Christianity borrowed from other Faiths? (*b*) What has been the attitude of Christianity towards these Faiths?

1. Religion is a growth. No religious reformer ever made away with the past, or even pretended to do so. Consider the lowest degrees of religious development, and you will see therein, under the rubbish of superstitions, as Herbert Spencer says, a "soul of truth," capable of blossoming under proper treatment into something akin to the highest forms of religion. On the other hand, consider these highest forms as they now stand, and they will show some elements which can be traced back to the lowest systems of worship. Not only is there a connection between the two stages, but the progress from one to the other can be traced step by step, and it has generally been effected by pouring new wine into the old bottles.

Nobody, therefore, can be surprised if Christianity has preserved some vestiges of the whole series of religions that had preceded its rise. The immediate antecedents of Christianity are in Judaism and Hellenism. Its relation to Judaism is sufficiently known. In truth, at the starting point, it was Jewish in its essence as well as in its birth-place. Its spirit ran in the same channel as the inspiration of the Prophets, disentangled from the expectations of an earthly kingdom. Its communities were modeled after the pattern of the synagogue, with a stronger propensity towards asceticism. Its rites were the prescriptions of the Mosaic Law, more or less thrown into the background by the prevalence of the ethical standard and the importance attached, according to the teaching of Christ, to the idea of Love.

But when Christianity expanded among the western nations, it quickly introduced into its theology and liturgy the methods and tendencies of Greek thought, so as to become a cosmopolitan faith in a form more Aryan than Semitic.

Those who wish to trace the respective influence of these two religious streams, must first study Judaism at the beginning of our era, and this can be done, as Kuenen has pointed out, only by a careful study of the origins of the Israelitish Religion. Besides, we have to take into consideration that the Old Testament has passed, as a whole, into Christian tradition. With it have been incorporated those elements which the Jews themselves had borrowed from preceding or parallel worships, and thus Christianity may find itself connected, although in an indirect way, with the religions of the Canaanites, the Egyptians, the Assyro-Babylonians, and even the distant Accadians or Turanic Proto-Chaldeans. (1)

Turning to the second current of religious thought which made itself felt in the development of Christianity, we will observe that the Greek religion of the period was no longer the polytheistic mythology of former Hellas. This imaginative and esthetic creed, after having absorbed the more sober and ritualistic worship of the Latin race, had come to terms with the old faiths of Syria and Egypt on the basis of the equivalence of the gods, while, under the guidance of the leading philosophical schools, it was rapidly becoming a vast and elaborate syncretism, striving not only to assimilate all the different religions of the Roman Empire, but also to combine the monotheistic creed of the new theology with the increasing mysticism of the masses.

Philo had paved the way for the blending of the Jewish ethicism with the new Greek theosophy, which began to act on Christianity as early as the composition of

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the fourth Gospel; but it is not until the beginning of the third century that Hellenism really gets hold of Christian theology through the Alexandrine Fathers. At the same time, the simple worship that remained, after the prescriptions of the Mosaic Law had been discarded by the followers of the Apostle Paul, took a new departure from its contact with the Greek Mysteries, which not only opened the Christian Church, at least for a time, to the practice of esoterism, but also impregnated its ritual with their own symbolism. (2)

Yet this is not all. Among the ideas and customs that have passed into Christianity from the preceding religious systems, some are anterior to these religions themselves and are to be traced back to what may be called the most primitive form of religion. As these elements have undergone many changes in the course of their evolution, they cannot be properly understood unless we replace them amidst the surroundings where they originated—surroundings which are still to be found in the mental and social conditions of uncivilized peoples. Thus, to reconstruct the past, even of religious culture, history must be supplemented by ethnography. (3)



MOSAIC HEAD OF CHRIST.
In the Church of St. Apollinare, Ravenna.

2. Next comes the question of the position assumed by Christianity towards other religious systems. Historically, this attitude has nothing that we can be proud of. It has been characterized, from the first, not only by antagonism, but by hatred, and soon by oppression. Now and then there has been, especially among the Alexandrine Fathers, an admission that "those who live according to the Logos are Christians, though you may call them atheists; . . . such among the Greeks were Socrates, Heraclitus, and many others"—a saying of Justin Martyr, boldly taken up, centuries afterwards, by Zwingli, who, for such audacity, was branded as a heretic by both Calvin and Bossnet, for once in agreement.

But the main doctrine of the Church has been that all the Pagan worships were the work of the devil, and that the slightest deviation from the oxthodox standard ought to be suppressed by sword and fire. I am sorry to say that, for a long time, heretics themselves were of the same opinion; it was only a question of who should get the upper hand. (4) And what is more serious, it cannot be contended that this intolerance is alien to the very spirit of Christianity. It is the inheritance of the impulse that moved the Prophets of old to wage war in the interests of truth and morality. Hellenism only made the matter worse, when it introduced into Christianity the notions: (*a*) That the simple theological creed of the first communities had to be defined and enlarged, till it covered the whole ground of metaphysics and philosophy. (*b*) That, in this matter, absolute truth depended upon the decisions of a majority—sometimes a political majority! (*c*) That these decisions do not only correspond to mental and spiritual needs of the age, but bind as final all generations to come, in spite of the discoveries of science and the progress of human ideals.

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II. Yet there is still another lesson to be learned from the history of Christianity, provided we study it not in any one period, nor in one particular Church, but in all its offshoots and in the different aspects of its development. It is that Christianity shows itself, more than any other known religion, essentially plastic and therefore progressive and adaptable, although sometimes after a struggle, to the wants of the times.

Missionaries, since they can no longer resort to the secular arm to force pagans into belief, have been led to study more carefully and more impartially foreign religions. They tend, consciously or not, to treat these faiths as normal expressions of the universal religious feeling, and to acknowledge whatever good they find therein. They also seem to realize more and more that the acquiescence of the heathen to the creeds and the rites of the Church counts for little, if not accompanied by the practice of Christian virtues.

Within the pale of Christianity—while the most advanced communities are seeking their spiritual bond in uniformity of religious feeling rather than in conformity of creed—we see growing, even amidst the most conservative and ritualistic denominations, the number of those who place conduct before belief. In this respect, the Parliament of Chicago, more than any other religious manifestation of the age, has revealed the progress made by Christianity, firstly towards the recognition of what is true in the other religions; secondly, towards the desire of heartily coöperating with those religions for the advancement of morals and the welfare of mankind.

One can look forward to a time when the best and most enlightened representatives of Christianity will see in every religious community—without and within the different shades of Christian tradition—so many branches of a universal Church, worshiping, under different names with different rites, the "Eternal Power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness"—the one "Sovereign God, whom men invoke under many names, and who rulest alone." (5)

19. ON THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO OTHER RELIGIONS.

(1) It is easy to understand that I must here leave to the student the task of making himself acquainted with the history of these religions, if he has not done so already. I will only recommend from the standpoint of this syllabus: *Kuenen's "Religions of Israel," London, 1875;* and, as shorter treatises especially bearing on the question of the relations between the religion of Israel and the worships of the surrounding nations: *Heber Newton's "The Book of the Beginnings," New York, 1884, Sayce's "Higher Criticism and the Monuments," London, 1892. Ch. Edwards' "The Witness of Assyria," London, 1893, and W. Robertson Smith's "Lectures on the Religion of the Semites," London, 1894.*

(2) Here, again, I can stay only to refer for a knowledge of Greek religion, down to the times of the Roman Empire, to the general literature on the subject—especially to *Renan's "History of the Origins of Christianity," London, 1888.* From our special point of view, the most thorough and trustworthy work is perhaps the Hibbert Lectures of the *Rev. Edwin Hatch, "Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church," London, 1890.* For the development of the Church organization, see *Renan's "Influence of the Institutions, Thought and Culture of Rome on Christianity," London, 1884.*

(3) See *Edward B. Tylor's* well known *"Primitive Culture,"* 2d edition, 1892, and my own Hibbert Lectures, *"Origin and Growth of the Conception of God as Illustrated by Anthropology and History," London, 1891.*

It has often been alleged that Christianity was largely influenced by the religious thought of India, and particularly by Buddhism. A close and careful examination of the parallel cases affords the conviction that possibly there have been a few and secondary exchanges of traditions and sayings between the two religions, especially in regard to the incidents connected with the life of their respective founders, but also that both faiths have grown independently of each other in their theology and ethics as well as in their church organization and forms of worship—at least until the comparatively recent time when the Buddhism of Thibet came into contact with the Nestorians of China.

As to the legends and customs which our western Churches have borrowed from the old mythology of the Celts and Germans, their adaptation belongs to a later period, and concerns, moreover, Christian folk-lore, rather than the Christian religion.

(4) Those who wish to become acquainted with this lamentable history have only to read *Lecky's "History of the Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe," London, 1887,* or *F. May Holland's "Rise of Intellectual Liberty from Thales to Copernicus," New York, 1885.*

(5) *Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "The Sympathy of Religions," Boston, 1876, "Religious Systems of the World,"* a collection of addresses delivered at South Place Institute, London, 1890. *"The World's Parliament of Religions," Chicago, 1893.*

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CHRISTIANITY, THE UNIVERSAL RELIGION.

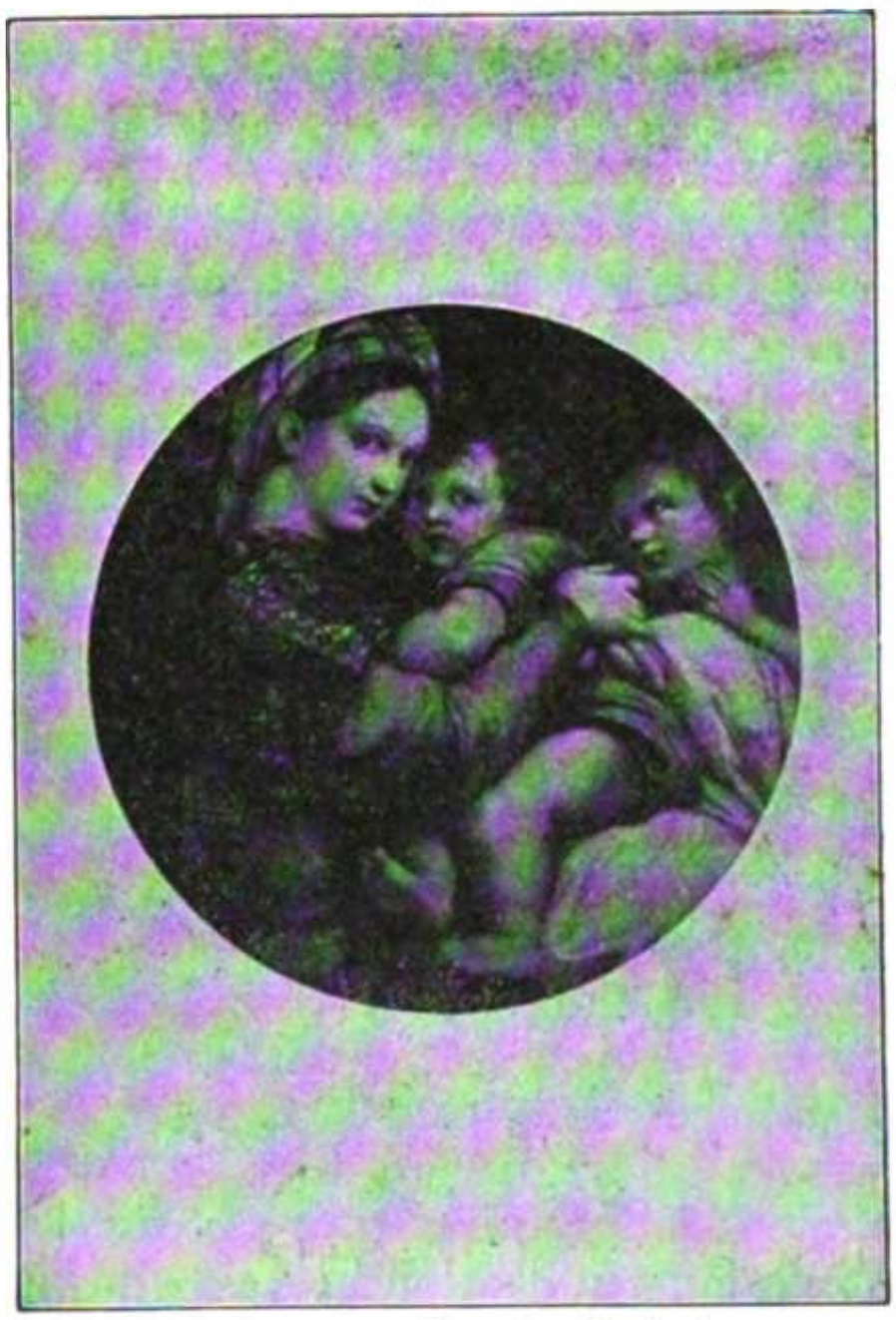
BY

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20.

Scholars sometimes claim that there are universal religions, and they mention Christianity, Buddhism. and Mohammedanism. The consciousness of Christendom eliminates instantly and emphatically the claims of the Buddhist and the Moslem faiths to universal acceptance, and wise observation eliminates them both from any serious regard so far as the future of Christendom is concerned. They can not make themselves at home in our western world. They have few natural affiliations with Christendom. They represent either what we have left behind, or what we can never assimilate.

That Christianity is essentially a universal religion is evident from its nature, which must be identified with the mind or personality of Jesus Christ. It cannot be seriously denied that He is universal in His character, His purposes, and in His conquests. There is nothing provincial, local, or merely national about Him. He was and is the Son of Man, the Son of Humanity, the Representative of all races, nationalities, conditions, and of both sexes. He is the reconciliation of all diversities and the consummation of all human possibilities. He is also the Son of God, the realization in human life of the mind of the Eternal, the revelation to man of God's fatherly heart and His redeeming purposes.



Madonna della Seggiola.—Raphael.

A universal religion must meet universal wants. It must be immediately adapted to the profoundest needs of the human soul. It must be able to redeem human nature from pollution, from guilt, and to so reinvigorate the human spirit as to make it strong both in righteousness, benevolence, and hope. A religion like Buddhism, which has mere pitifulness for man's misery and makes no adequate provision for the healing of man's sin, and which fails to give man a vital hold of an infinite fatherly love, cannot be universal. A system of faith that is not in harmony with the highest ethics, and which exhausts its uplifting and progressive possibilities in a brief and limited history, can never become a universal religion. Mohammedanism has shown itself an excellent cure for idolatry and the lower forms of savagery, but it soon leads to a state of intellectual and moral stagnation, and is so fettered by its fundamental creed that it can have no strong affiliations with the humanities and hopes of modern progressive civilization.

A survey of the world as it spreads out before us at the present time is a strong evidence that Christianity is rapidly universalizing itself. It has become the standard to which other religions are adjusting their teachings. Nothing is more evident than that the progressive minds among the Hindus and Buddhists are endeavoring to make some parts of their creed as Christian as possible. Christianity

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is already the religion of those who control the destinies of the race, and, however imperfectly the so-called Christian nations are behaving in their dealings with the Orient, they contain within themselves a Life which sharply rebukes their own imperfections, and which furnishes the ideal to which more and more they must approximate. A universal religion must not leave the sorrowing and troubled and ofttimes despairing heart of man in doubt with regard to the Supreme Love which reigns in the heavens and is controlling the destinies of mankind. It must so reveal that love in a human life as to make it a living and perpetual reality. It must provide a standard which can never be outgrown, and furnish motives of enduring energy that shall lead men to aspire to live nearer and nearer to that standard. It must furnish a body of spiritual teaching which has in it so much of God's mind that man cannot outgrow it. It must provide for the satisfaction of human hope and human affection by bringing the assurances of a happy immortality close to the sorrowing and troubled life of the present. I find in Christianity, and in Christianity alone, that which meets all these conditions and needs. I discover that Christ, who is the substance of Christian faith, is exalted more and more before the minds and moral imaginations of men. In a thousand ways He is drawing nations toward Himself. The lines of progress center in Him. He is the inspiration of hope and the object of desire. The greatest of modern Hindu reformers, Keshub Chunder Sen, saw in Him the world's reconciliation and redemption. When received into the heart, He satisfies the Japanese as truly as the American, the Hindu as perfectly as the European.

My conviction that Christianity is yet to become the religion of all nations has been vastly strengthened by what I have seen of the decadent civilizations and systems of the Orient. I acknowledge that these Eastern systems still have a strong, though at times a despairing grip over the Asiatic peoples, but they have been put on the defensive; they have come to feel that there is a mighty spiritual power which seeks to replace them with something better. Their natural antipathy to that which comes from the West, and their abhorrence of the sins and crimes of those why represent Christian nations, have still not been able to keep from them the spiritual and ethical superiorities of the Christian system. There have been such noble examples of Christly living and teaching in the Orient that even non-Christian scholars confess that the highest types of character yet evolved by our race are found among some of the Christian missionaries in the Orient. I do not look for the speedy disintegration of these ancient systems; I do look for a wiser approach on the part of Christianity toward the representatives of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Islâm. Christendom itself is so furrowed with imperfection and weakened by discord that it hardly seems worthy to secure any sudden and very rapid dominion in Asia; but the dawn of a better Christendom means the dawn of Christian civilization in Asia and throughout the world.

The feeling of a universal human brotherhood is entering the heart of humanity, and this has a distinctively Christian origin. Fraternity is the key to the solution of the social and ecclesiastical problems of Europe and America; and just so far as the spirit of true brotherhood enters the Hindu, Chinese, and Japanese mind, just so far will some of the peculiar creeds or dispositions of the Oriental spirit be sloughed off. There is no true progress possible to the Hindu and Chinese civilizations without a new standard of womanhood, and a new conception of the unity, personality, righteousness, and love of God. These can be derived only from a pure Christianity. It deserves world-wide acceptance, and therefore will ultimately secure it. It is the only religion which from first to last shows us God seeking with loving and redemptive purpose after man, instead of man groping through mists of error, through weary centuries, after the unknown God. Christianity is the religion of redemption, of intellectual freedom, of popular liberty, of unending progress, of world-wide hope, and therefore it will be universal.

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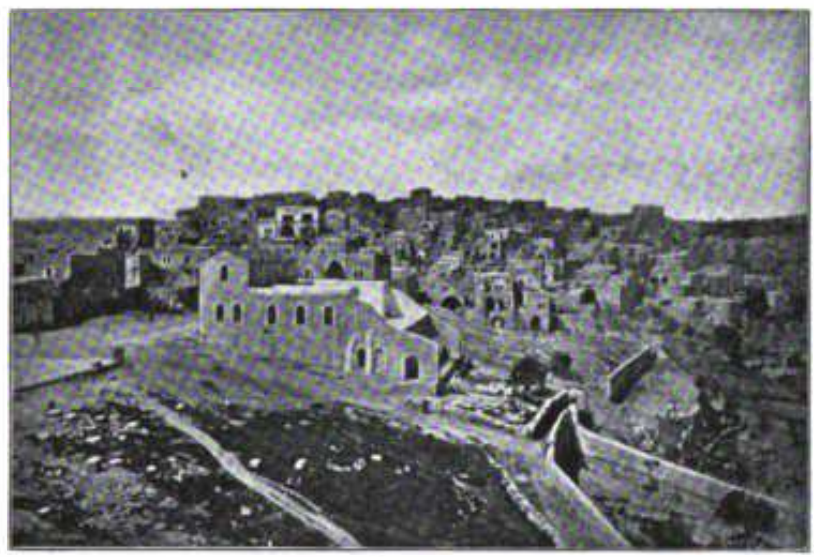
THE COMPARISON OF CHRISTIANITY WITH OTHER RELIGIONS.

BY

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21.

The only basis for a scientific estimate of the comparative worth of different religions would be an analysis of the intellectual, emotional, and practical elements that enter into human life. This analysis would furnish a norm in reference to which the objects of our study could be judged. The religion which had a place and a satisfaction for the larger number and the more important of these elements would more nearly approach the ideal standard than those which had a place for fewer, or that satisfied only the lower tendencies of the nature. If any religion had a place for all of these elements, that is, if any religion stood in such a relation to all that under its influence the nature of man would reach its fullest and most rounded development, this would be the ideal and perfect religion. The conditions of this paper, leave, however, no space for the psychological analysis which the treatment thus suggested would require. We must, therefore, rest with such results as a less formal method may furnish.



Bethlehem, from the Latin Convent.

We must, however, recognize at once that the course indicated above would not be accepted as legitimate by the supporters of every religion. Religions may be roughly divided into two classes. One of them may be called positive; the other may be called, in a qualified sense, negative. The principle underlying the religions of the first of these classes is that the ideal life is one in which the nature of the individual is most fully developed; in which there are thus the fewest latent tendencies, unused powers, and unsatisfied longings. A life thus fully manifested is like that of a plant in which stem and leaf, flower and fruit are produced in fair proportion, so that the plant stands as the ideal of its kind. The truest representative of religions of this class is, as I believe, Christianity. Religions of the other class have for their ideal the suppression of the natural tendencies and activities of life, and may thus be called negative. The classical example of religions of this type is the religion of the Vedanta. In connection with this may be named Buddhism, which, in its typical form, is even more truly a negative

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religion. The ideal of both is withdrawal from the world. In the one case, this withdrawal means absorption in the Absolute, which is so far a positive element. The other has no Absolute. It is thus more truly negative, but less truly a religion. Nearly all other religions may be called positive. They seek more or less wisely or successfully to develop the nature of the individual, and to satisfy his personal needs. The difference between these two grand classes of religion may be most closely illustrated by the place which personality holds in each. In the religion of the Vedanta, the great end is to suppress personality. The Absolute is regarded as impersonal, and the saint seeks to attain to a like impersonality. Christianity and Vedantism may thus stand as the representatives of the two grand types of religion. Each has, within itself, a place for the other. Vedantism has a place for Christianity. It has, indeed, a place for all other religions, and, one might add, for all irreligions. According to it, one cannot devote himself to anything which is not divine, for there is nothing in the universe but God. All other forms of faith are, however, regarded by it as merely stepping-stones to a result in which the personal life is, so far as possible, extinguished even before the death of the body, while the hope is that after death it will be wholly extinguished. What is special in every other faith is an illusion to be cast aside. Alike in the Upanishads, and in the latest utterances of this school of thought, this scheme of life is insisted upon. During the current year I have heard personal affection spoken of by a representative Vedantist as slightingly as by any ancient teacher. Buddhism has as little place for personal relations. Both religions, indeed, urge universal good will and kindliness, but the personal element is condemned.

On the other hand, Christianity encourages the personal life. It recognizes the Absolute as in some sense personal. The ideal life is that of the fully developed personality. This personality is to be surrendered in love to the highest, but not to be absorbed and lost in it. At the same time Christianity has a place for the one positive element in Vedantism. This is the recognition of a principle of unity in and through which all things consist. In Christianity, however, this is no mere abstraction, but a power of self-manifestation. God is love, and he that lives in love lives in Him.

The ideals of religion cherished by these two great classes of believers are so entirely opposite that an argument as to their respective worth is hardly possible. The test that I first suggested would obviously be rejected by the adherents of a negative religion. One can only recognize these two schemes of life and make his choice between them. The difference between them centers in their different estimate of the worth of personality. According as one regards this as something to be cherished, or as something to be cast aside, will one be attracted to the negative or the positive form of faith. With this is bound up the estimate of the worth or worthlessness of the universe as a manifestation of the Absolute.

I have assumed that Christianity is the truest type of the positive religion. The correctives of this assumption would be determined by the method of comparison that I first proposed, but the results of this can here be merely suggested. The Greek worshiped beauty, for which Christianity also has a large place; but his religion did not, like Christianity, arouse the ethical sense. The Mazdean religion was largely ethical, but it appealed little to the love of beauty, nor did it have a place for the mystical element which Christianity shares with Vedantism. In China, Confucius went about doing good, but he did little to stimulate the God-consciousness. Lao-tze had a profound God-consciousness, but condemned the active philanthropy of Confucius. In Jesus the most profound God-consciousness was united with a life of active service. Buddhism and Christianity were both ennobled by the lives of their founders; but while to the Buddhist, as we have seen, his leader stood alone as the highest in the universe, Jesus bowed to the Father, who was greater than he, and in whose life he lived.

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CHRISTIANITY COMPARED WITH OTHER RELIGIONS.

BY

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22.

We believe that Christianity is the absolute religion, and that it alone can become universal; but we cannot believe this intelligently, until Christianity is compared with other religions which have given light and life to millions of men and women, and from which have sprung civilizations with their splendid trophies of literature, science, art, morals, as well as great political and industrial systems. For the first time in history, all the families of mankind can become acquainted with each other and investigate the secret of each other's life. In these circumstances, comparison of religions cannot be escaped. Faith welcomes, instead of shrinking from, the necessity.

Little need be said concerning Brahmanism. It is the religion of the great majority of the people of India, and is essentially local, rather than universal. It cannot live out of India. The strength and the weakness of its doctrine of God, is, that according to it, God is in everything and is everything. "Everything, from the lowest estate of a straw, to the highest estate of a God, is Brahmă." It thus admits His unity, but denies His character and personality. There is, therefore, no basis for a fundamental distinction between morality and immorality. Caste, which constitutes its great strength, is also a fatal weakness, because, though originating in historical necessities, it is essentially anti-national and anti-social. Mankind now will not accept a religion which is inconsistent with the truths of the unity of the race, its liberty, the equality of its members before God and before the law, the right of the meanest to rise to the highest place and to the fullest self-realization, with the hope of progress to infinite horizons. Brahmanism denies the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. Its compact structure is now being honeycombed by the thousand influences of the government, the courts of justice, the literature, the education, the social, sanitary, economical and physical science of a Christian people, as well as by direct missionary enterprise. Its fall is as certain as anything future can be, though its place will not be taken by any of the existing Christian organizations. When India absorbs the spirit of Christ, it has intellectual and spiritual strength enough to develop a theology and a church suited to its own soil. Native churches in India are, as yet, little better than exotics.

To Gautama, even before he became Buddha, or Enlightened, the ideal man was the dignified ascetic, free from all ties and relationships, and holding out his bowl for rice, uncaring whether it was filled or not. This mendicant, the flower of Brahmanism, was seeking for liberation from self and absorption into the Supreme existence. All other men were subject to vanity and delusions. No wonder that to a noble nature, imbued with this conviction, the full truth should be revealed, after long study and meditation, that man himself is greater than his appetites, passions or desires; and that by rising superior to these he can attain to a liberation which meant escape from the danger of rebirth. Before the simplicity and power of this way of salvation—salvation above all from the craving for continuous personal life—sacrifices and penances lost their efficacy and the Veda its supernatural authority. His simple and sublime teaching was that the true greatness of man, in one word, his life, consists, not in the abundance of the things which he possesses, but in himself or in moral culture; in Christian language, he learned that the kingdom of God is within and that it is all-sufficient. This spiritual truth transfigured

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him. It took possession of disciples who gathered round him from various castes, and it filled them with such power that India became transformed. Never was a grander testimony on a great scale borne to the might of the Spirit. Not only at its beginning, but, when India was ruled by Buddhist kings, it disdained the use of carnal weapons of every kind, and it continued to be a reforming force for centuries Missionaries went forth, North, South, East and West, filled with a holy enthusiasm which enabled them to win in time all Eastern Asia to the Faith. Before the truth of man's essential greatness and the living witness borne to the truth by converts of every caste, from the Brahman to the Chandala, the iron bands prescribed by caste, fell to the ground. The equality and fraternity of men were recognized.

How then shall we explain the failure of Buddhism? For it has failed, more completely than Brahmanism, to meet the spiritual necessity of any race except the Mongolian. India rejected a doctrinal system which had no room for the ideas of sin, atonement, and the significance of life which Brahmanism had tried to express. Its home since has been in countries of a lower type of civilization, such as Burmah, Siam, Thibet, China, Corea and Mongolia. The Aryan and Semitic peoples will never adopt it, for they have truer conceptions of God, of the worth of human life and the significance of the world, than any which it presents. The fundamental weakness of Buddhism is that it denies all reality. According to it, there is no God and the supreme aim of man is to cease to be. There is no need of a Creator, for there is force in the world, and as no force can ever be lost, why should it not have been from the beginning? What we call the soul does not survive death. "He is a heretic who holds that man has a permanent soul or self separate from the body." The consequences of our past, hypostasized as Karma or Act, alone survive, and round this fancied Karma new bodies repeatedly gather, until Nirvana is attained. No such uncompromising system of pessimism has ever been successfully preached. Therefore it had to fail, though successful for a time, partly as a development and partly as a recoil from Brahmanism.

Confucianism, like Brahmanism, is essentially a local, rather than a universal religion. Rooted in the soil, the history and the ideals of China, it cannot extend far beyond its boundaries. Unlike Buddhism, it plants itself firmly on this world, considering it and the relations of life everything. Thus practically ignoring the spiritual, it left a void, felt even by a materialistic people, which Buddhism—invited into the country—filled in a crude fashion. This explains why almost every Chinaman is both a Confucianist and a Buddhist. A more striking confession that each religion is one-sided could hardly be given.

To Confucius, society was the great reality; and as social disorders abounded in his time, he had to look for a remedy. He found the remedy in the wisdom of the past, and to the task of compiling and editing its precious records he gave his whole strength. His influence on China, through his disciples, and still more through his classics, is the greatest illustration history gives of what can and what cannot be done by education, and by law, custom, institutions, and ritual. He believed that man is good by nature and that if only a sound education be given and a right example set by his superiors, he will assuredly be moral. Education therefore lies at the foundation of society and the governing classes are the consummate flower of the educational system. They have been drilled in ethics from their youth and the inculcation of duty is backed up by examples from the lives of ancient worthies. The practical results may be seen in the present condition of the Chinese people; industrious and law-abiding, but low in their aims and destitute of the mighty hopes, which make us men; their *literati*, filled with self-conceit and contempt for others, but narrow, bigoted and puerile themselves. Confucius ignored the spiritual world, not seeing that the spiritual rules the material. He was a historian, scribe, teacher, or, as he himself said, a "transmitter"; but he was not a prophet, or "maker." Mankind needs both. Israel had Moses and the Prophets as well as Ezra

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the scribe. We have the spirit of Jesus as well as great legalists and theologians.

Mohammedanism is the most baldly monotheistic of religions. God is in heaven; not as he is to the Hindu, in everything. To the Buddhist, there is no reality; to the Confucianist, society with its order and settled government, is all-sufficient; to the Moslem, God is the one reality and man's glory is to do or to bow to his will. "Islam means that we must submit to God." And there is no complexity in the divine nature. The doctrine of the Trinity is inconceivable. God is an arithmetical unit. The gulf between God and man is not bridged over by the incarnation. There is therefore no ministration of the Spirit and no provision for bringing man into that filial relation to God in which alone his true life consists. Instead of the Person of Jesus and the Spirit of Jesus, Mohammedanism offers only an imperfect prophet and an imperfect book. It gives thus an inadequate conception of God and equally an inadequate conception of man. When man is only the subject, servant or slave of God, he cannot be the child and heir. Dependence on God is taught, but not the high privilege of fellowship with Him nor the law of progress. This inadequate conception of man is seen most clearly in Mohammed's low estimate of woman, and the consequent degradation of family and social life.



THE SISTINE MADONNA.

An altar-piece, by Raphael, representing the beatific vision proper to that place. The Madonna and Child, directed by the Pope Sixtus, gaze in rapt adoration; Santa Barbara drops her eyes in humility, while the cherubs glance upward with naïve familiarity.

Christianity is based on the essential identity of God and man, and on their reconciliation in Jesus, crucified for us and now dwelling in us by his Spirit. It has already vindicated itself in comparison with other religions, and "the history of the world is the judgment of the world." The highest civilization is commensurate with Christendom, and from this verdict of humanity there can be no appeal. As the religions of Babylon and Egypt, of Greece and Rome, of the Germanic and Scandinavian peoples have passed away, not without leaving behind an inheritance absorbed by the religion of Jesus, so shall it be with the other great religions. Each of them is acting the part of a schoolmaster to bring their worshipers to the Christ, even as the Law did for Israel; and each may leave some residuum in the system which supersedes it for the use of its late votaries.

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CHRISTIANITY COMPARED WITH OTHER RELIGIONS.

BY

JOHN P. PETERS, PH.D., Rector of St. Michael's Church, New York City.

23.

A fundamental dogma of Christianity is the incarnation of God in man. The Christian holds that God and man were one in Jesus of Nazareth, that he was the Son of God, begotten of God, and the Son of Man, born of man. It teaches that Jesus was normal man, the norm of mankind, and claims through him, as the heritage of man, the sonship of God.

The Indian pantheistic religions resemble Christianity in teaching the incarnation of God in man, and there are even points of resemblance in the details of their birth stories. But they differ radically in their doctrine of the manner of union between God and man. They conceive of incarnation as though man were a piece detached from God, which does not resume its full perfection of divinity until its individual existence is lost again in God. Pure Buddhism, declining to consider what lies behind all phenomena, still, in its doctrine of reincarnation or palingenesis of *karma*, shows the influence of the same ideas. The Christian conception of incarnation is as though man were begotten of God; and the more he grows into the stature of God, the more his individuality develops. The one looks to the loss of individuality, the other to the development of individuality. This Christian doctrine of the development of individuality, as man grows into the divine, is of a piece with its doctrine of a Trinity.



Mary, Jesus, and John.—Raphael.

Judaism, the religion to which Christianity stands most closely related historically, does not teach an incarnation of God in man. If any of the ancient Hebrew prophets ever looked toward this, the doctrine itself has been realized in Christianity, not in Judaism. The latter teaches that man was created by God, the former that man is begotten of God.

Orthodox Islam is still further removed than Judaism from the doctrine of the incarnation of God in man, or even of the immanence of God in the universe. In its conception God and his creatures are extraneous each to the other, and their relation to one another is mechanical. Unorthodox Islam, under the influence of Indian pantheism, has accepted vague doctrines of incarnation.

In ethics Christianity is altruistic, its pattern being the life of Jesus. Buddhism teaches a similar altruism, with Gautama Buddha as its pattern, but its view of the material universe and physical life affects unfavorably its ethical system. Christianity takes a healthy view of the physical life. To the Christian the material universe is good. It is instinct with God, and the healthy, human life is a sweet and lovely thing. Indian pantheism regards the material world and physical life with all its passions and desires as base and unworthy, if not actually evil; and Buddhism shares, to a large extent certainly, this view of the world, which affects unfavorably its con-

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ception of man's relation to himself and the world about him. Its view of human life is not sane and healthy and vigorous. Christianity in this regard has inherited from Judaism. In ethics, however, it has advanced beyond the latter, substituting universalism for particularism, and a complete for a partial altruism. Islam, in the matter of ethics, falls much below any of these religions. It is on the plane in this regard of the primitive Hebrew teaching, out of which Judaism developed its present lofty code of ethics; on the plane approximately of the code set forth in Exodus xxi:2—xxiii:19.

In the matter of ethics, Confucius stands higher than Mohammed. How much he falls below Christianity may be shown by one quotation. When he was asked, "What do you say concerning the principle that injury should be recompensed with kindness?" he replied: "With what then will you recompense kindness? Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness."

Closely connected with the ethical code of a religion is its thought about the character of God. To the Indian pantheist God is the great world-soul; everything is part of him, but the material world is, as it were, his unclean parts. To the disciple of pure Buddhism there is, properly speaking, no God, but an inexorable moral law, *karma;* and complete obedience to that law will result in extinction. To the Christian, God expresses himself in the world, as a God of love and truth, the Father of all mankind. To Judaism, he is an omnipotent Creator, the holy, just and loving God of the Jews. To Islam he is the Almighty, whose will makes right and wrong. Confucianism is an ethical culture, without a clear and full doctrine of God.

Man's view of his hereafter is in general a representation of his ideal of life, and is hence dependent upon his ethical conceptions and his view of his relation to God. The Chinese heaven is a well ordered earthly life, in which the man is honored by his descendants, as he in his life honored his parents. Such a hereafter a man attains by following the rules of a proper life, and especially by honoring his parents.

The Mohammedan, as a reward of faith in *Allah*, reaches a heaven of sensuous enjoyment; for Islam does not look upon the lower parts of human life as subordinate to and ministering to the higher, but regards sensuous enjoyment as the ideal fulfillment of the possibilities of man's being. Indian pantheism teaches the transmigration of the soul, generally with loss of conscious identity. Buddhism offers to those who need a heaven an ascending series of transmigrations of the *karma;* but to those who can accept such a doctrine, it proposes as the *summum bonum* the complete abnegation of self and the loss of all desire.

Christianity, asserting the divine sonship of man, holds out the hope of an infinite evolution of the individual Godward; not a transmigration of the soul, with a loss of conscious identity, but a development of conscious individuality.

The ancient Hebrew religion taught no real immortality. Later Judaism developed the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, and a heaven where the righteous should live in sensuous enjoyment. Modern Judaism has spiritualized this conception of heaven, but I know nothing which can be quoted as an authoritative exposition of the present Jewish doctrine of man's hereafter.

This brief comparison of Christianity with other religions is of necessity very imperfect. I have compared Christianity only with the highest existing religions. I have represented Christianity as I and those among whom I live understand it. I have sought to represent the doctrines of the other religions which I have considered from the point of view of their highest and most spiritual exponents. I have not considered questions of forms and ceremonies, although in practice those form an important part of every religion. I have not even considered formally the views of the various religions regarding such important matters as sin and salvation. I have formally compared merely the different conceptions of God and of man's relation to God, including his relations to his fellow man, believing that in the last analysis these are the fundamental things out of which the others spring.

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FIVE GREAT RELIGIONS.

BY

CHARLES M. TYLER, D.D., Professor of History and Philosophy of Religion, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

24.

The universal destiny and imperial value of Christianity are not imperiled by the comparative study of religion.

Briefly treated, the religions which claim universality, by reason of geographical expansion, and of the numbers of their adherents, can alone be considered; and those only in respect of the fundamental conceptions of God, the soul, and immortality.

I. Brahmanic philosophy, implicit in the Upanishads, finds highest expression in the Vedânta system, in the Uttara Mîmânsâ of Bâdarâyana, and the works of Sankara. Brahmanic thought passes over from Vedic polytheism to a second stage of abstract unity of thought. Brahman as the Infinite, Self or Subject, impersonal or personal (it is not obvious which) is the real Spirit, or Self or Subject, and the Gods, and human self are phenomenals only. The human self is no other than the Infinite Self; therefore is never sundered from it; cannot be absorbed into it. In this abstract unity, some thinkers discern sparks of theism. They fade, however, into pantheistic abstraction. Gods, men, and the objective world are but phenomena of the highest Self, Oversoul, Paranatman. If the human self and the objective world seem to be real, it is the effect of avidya or nescience. Knowledge of the Highest Self (*Brahma*) delivers us from nescience, enables the finite self to see that it is the absolute Self (*Brahma*). *Brahma* is therefore the all, the world is *maya*, illusion —a troubled dream of *Brahma*. This is acosmism, the devouring of the world as Saturn devoured his offspring. Human personality is only phenomenal, not real. The finite self, and the objective world founder in the gulf of absolute Spirit, as drops of water in an infinite sea. In Christian thought, the Divine personality, and the human ego, and the world, as well, are clearly differentiated.

The royal truth of Brahmanism is the spiritual nature of being, and the doctrine that man can now and here be in union with God, without waiting for another life. Immortality in Brahmanic thought is the full recognition that the finite soul is already very *Brahma*. The final knowledge by which the finite soul is delivered from *avidyâ* or ignorance, constitutes immortality. The effort of wisdom is to escape from finite existence into the abyss of the negative infinite.

The Vedânta philosophy was the defence of the abstract unity and existence of absolute spirit against the assaults of Kapila, who, in the Sânkhya philosophy, vigorously affirms the reality of the finite and questions that of the Infinite Self. In spite of these philosophies, Indic religion is today largely polytheistic.

II. Whether Buddhism is theistic or athestic is still a contention.* From our theocratic point of view, it is atheistic. But it exalts man to be God, and is autosoteric (self-saving). It is theanthropism, God is dethroned, and man has become God. Besides, the belief of Gautama in a moral order (the wheel of life) logically implies moral obligation, and a Divine sanction of the feeling of obligation. Still further, it is to be noticed that Gautama gets his impulse from the God *Brahma* under the fig-tree, receives there the mission of Holy Knighthood. In the Dhammapada, Gautama addresses with pathos the maker of his tabernacle, and Buddhism at last, under theistic stress, deified its founder.

Gautama, however, carefully abstained from ontological speculation, was silent concerning the ultimate Being, and exalted moral conduct to supreme importance. The higher Power would seem to be only the Moral Order. Occidental thought cannot distinguish such order as separate from a moral will.

* See C. P. Thiele Gifford Lectures, 1896, page 170, and Rhys-Davids Hibbert Lectures.

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Christianity offers help to moral effort. Buddhism is self-adequate. It teaches, so to say, a selfish unselfishness. To escape misery of self is achieved by annihilation of self.

In the doctrines of Karma and Nirvana, Buddhism is the continuation of Brahmanism. The legacy, Karma, is not a doctrine of personal immortality. The karmic self, which is found after transmigration, is not identical with the present self. It is a vain identity in psychology, for there is no remembrance of the former state. It is a new subject in which are focussed the moral consequences of the deeds of the old subject which has vanished. Both Nirvana and Karma have their roots in the Upanishads and antedate Buddhism.

In Buddhism the will to live is the source of misery, and binds man in vassalage to the wheel of change or transmigration. The finite self seeks escape from the wheel into Nirvana, which is either an eternal rest from consciousness, or a pallid consciousness, resembling a peaceful dream. The lamp goes out for want of oil; peace engulfs the soul in obliviousness which is sought through holiest suffering and self-sacrifice. A universal charity, apparently Christian, which however resembles silence of thought and feeling, demands our admiration. Emphasis is laid not on the value, but on the worthlessness of life.

Christianity emphasizes the value of personal life, and would continue and exalt self-consciousness in communion with the Infinite Father. Both religions experience sadness at the aspect of the world. Their ethics are sublime; but the one is the ethics of despair; the ethics of the other is that of hopefulness. The resignation of one is that of passivity, of the other activity. Gautama would escape from sorrow by escape from self; the sorrow of Christ impels to the holiest realization of self in a continuous progress towards union with the Divine Being.

Buddhism and Christianity, as presenting the noblest ethics, are the only real candidates for universal supremacy. But the Christian Faith appeals to both the speculative and practical needs of man. Christianity, unlike the pantheism, implicit in Brahmanic and Buddhistic doctrine, harmonizes the facts of Being and the World.

III. Confucianism, the official religion of China, is respectfully indifferent towards all ontological speculation. The genius of Confucianism is decorum, a reverence for the order of Nature, the State and the Family. The immortality of the family is emphasized rather than that of the individual soul. Filial reverence is the emphatic note of the system, and the ethical contribution to human life is very great. The doctrine of Laotse was highly speculative, and Hegelistic, and abounds with noble ethical utterences, but it lapsed in time into degrading magic.

IV. Mohammedanism is absolute theism and proved a hammer of Thor to shatter Arabian idolatries and animistic cults. It was, however, a superstructure, for the Koran is a supplement to Jewish and Christian Scripture, and Mahomet deemed his religion as substantially the same with Judaism and Christianity. It borrows its noblest elements from them. It nobly vindicates the unity of God, and the moral responsibility of man. It fosters personal dignity, and the virtues of temperance, fidelity, honesty, and veracity. But it darkens the ethics of Christ, substituting the scimetar for persuasion, ambition for disinterestedness, and political for spiritual sovereignty. Sometimes tolerant, it is capable of fanatical explosions. Islamism is not elastic to adapt itself to progressive civilization. Its destiny is to be merged, by transfiguration and enlightenment, into the world movement of Christian life, which is the realization of all true ideals imperfectly adumbrated in other religions.

These religions outside Christiandom have been a search after God, and we should welcome the gifts of their prophets. They reveal the immanence of the Divine Spirit in the reason and conscience of all peoples. The moral and religious ideals set forth in Christianity are the true forces of progress, and point to the ultimate fulfillment of the Divine purpose in the history of the world.

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FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **ON THE RELATION, ETC.**—Borrowing, Attitude, Judaism, Hellenism, Ethnography, Antagonism, Oppression, Plastic, Conduct, Universality.
20. **CHRISTIANITY, THE UNIVERSAL RELIGION.** — Universal Religions, Christianity, Human needs, Adjustments of other religions, Need of improvement in Christianity.
21. **THE COMPARISON, ETC.**—Positive, Negative, Christianity, Vedantism, Buddhism, The Choice, Personality, The Universe, Christianity inclusive.
22. **CHRISTIANITY COMPARED, ETC.** — Brahmanism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism.
23. **CHRISTIANITY COMPARED, ETC.**—Incarnation in Christianity, in Buddhism, in Judaism, and in Islamism, Ethics, Conception of God, Future life.
24. **FIVE GREAT RELIGIONS.** — Conceptions of God, the soul, and immortality in the great religions.

QUESTIONS.

19. *State the two main questions. Name the antecedents of Christianity. What antecedents had Judaism? Describe the attitude of Christianity to other religions. What tendencies are now apparent? What may be expected?*

20. *Contrast Buddhism and Mohammedanism with Christianity. State some universal traits of Christianity. State some evidences that Christianity is becoming universal. On what condition can it do so completely?*

21. *Characterize the positive class of religions. Characterize the negative class of religions. Name the type of each class. On what does the choice between them turn? What is bound up with that? Show the inclusiveness of Christianity.*

22. *Estimate the value of Brahmanism. State its probable future. State the strength and weakness of Buddhism. State the merits and demerits of Confucianism Wherein does Mohammedanism fail?*

23. *Compare Christianity with Buddhism, Judaism, Islamism, and Confucianism, in respect to incarnation, ethics, conception of God, and the future life.*

24. *Compare Christianity with Brahmanism in respect to their conceptions of God, the soul and immortality. Do the same with Buddhism, with Confucianism, and with Mohammedanism.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Tendencies of Christianity in the nineteenth century.*
2. *The religious future of Asia.*
3. *Elaborate the notion of Christian inclusiveness.*
4. *Enlarge on the merits of Christianity as depicted at the close of Lesson 22.*
5. *Compare Romanism and Protestantism by the same standards.*
6. *Make a comparative estimate of religions based on Lessons 19-24.*

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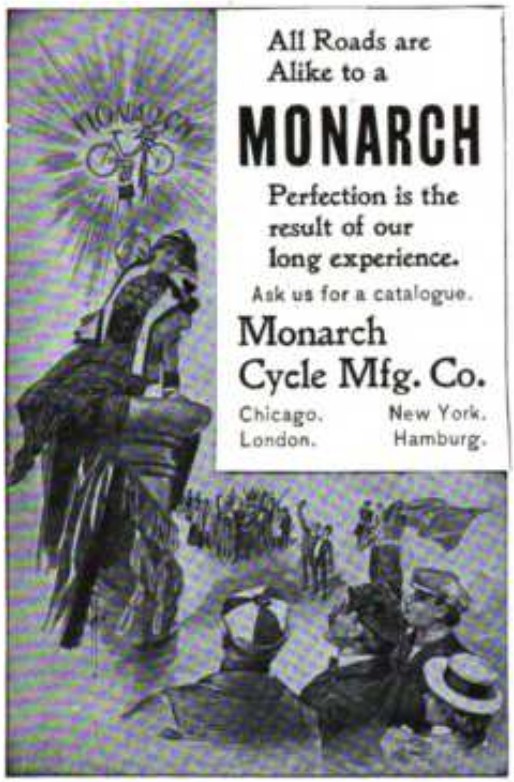
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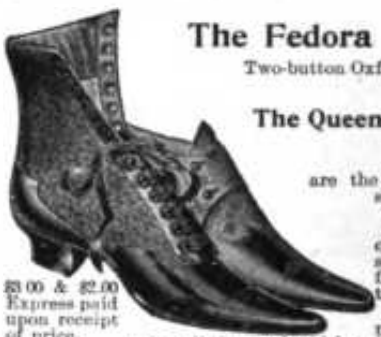
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THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS AND THEIR RELIGION.

BY

GOTTHARD DEUTSCH, Ph.D., Professor of History at Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio.

1. FROM THE FALL OF JERUSALEM TO THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE destruction of the temple at Jerusalem meant a crisis for Judaism of even deeper significance than the failure of the Reichstag of Worms to silence the Protestant movement. The belief in the prophecies which had predicted everlasting glory for Jerusalem was shaken; but, as is the case with Adventists, when a prophecy fails to be fulfilled, practical necessity found a way out of the theoretical difficulty. The national calamity began to be considered a transitory condition, after which God's grace would restore the lost glory.

This view was taught by the Pharisaic school. It will be necessary for the student to divest himself of the conception of the term Pharisee, as set forth in the New Testament. The Pharisees of the first century, A.D., were to the Christians what Huss, Erasmus or Reuchlin were to the Reformation. They theoretically held the doctrine that the law would be abrogated in the Messianic era; but until then they were just as unwilling to carry this view into practice as the average Christian would be to discard the apostolic creed on the strength of the parable of the Good Samaritan.

The leader of this party was Johanan bon Zakaj. His biography is overgrown with legends. Still so much seems certain that he was a great teacher and a member of the Synhedrin; that he left Jerusalem before the destruction and established a school in Jabneh, which came to be considered as a substitute for the Synhedrin. He taught salvation for righteous Gentiles and advocated submission to Rome's political authority. His liturgical institutions meant to preserve as much as possible of the temple-worship.

Under the Roman empire the political condition of the Jews was peculiarly sad. The tribute of the half-shekel, the annual sacred gift to the temple, had been confiscated under the name of Fiscus Judaicus—afterwards, however, remitted by Nerva (96-98). During the war of the desolation of Palestine many had been killed, many sold as slaves; great numbers of the survivors were fugitives in the remotest parts of the empire and in Babylonia, then subject to the Parthians; while under Domitian the persecution, especially of proselytes, was most severe; a relative even of the emperor, Flavius Clemens, having been put to death and his wife exiled for this cause. Hadrian (117-138) put an end to the revolution by conciliatory measures,

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but his despotic syncretism was the cause of another futile rebellion; that of Bar Kokba (132-135), which was the last attempt of the Jews to regain political independence by force of arms.

Their religious life during this period was a consolidation on the basis of changed conditions. Rabban Gamaliel, the Hillelite, under the title of Nassi, or Patriarch, was the recognized successor of the President of the Synhedrin. His only tangible prerogative was the calendation. He attempted to compile a fixed ritual, but was opposed in his hierarchical tendencies by Eliezer ben Hyrkanos, who had leanings towards Christianity and by Joshua ben Hananiah, a strict Congregationalist. Gamaliel and Joshua were united in their opposition to political aspirations, while Rabbi Akiba preached political resurrection and proclaimed Bar Kokba as the Messiah. He supervised the Greek version of the Pentateuch written by the proselyte Akylas.

The defeat of Bar Kokba's uprising was followed by severe measures against the rebels. The name of Jerusalem was changed to Aelia Capitolina, and no Jew was allowed to enter the city. On the site of Jahve's sanctuary a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was to be erected; over the gate of the city the image of a swine was placed. Circumcision, the observance of the Sabbath, and the study of the law were prohibited.

Under Antoninus (138-161) a complete change took place and Hadrian's restrictive laws were abolished. From now on until the reign of Constantine we hear nothing of religious persecution. Still, the growing power of Christianity and the devastation of Palestine caused the Jews to emigrate in large numbers to southern Mesopotamia and to western Europe.

The religious development during the period from the Bar Kokba-Revolution up to the Christianization of the Roman empire shows a growing tendency towards legalism. Jehuda Hanassi (*i.e.*, prince, patriarch,) (135-216) won an important place in Jewish history by the compilation of the rabbinical law, called Mishna, which, originally intended as a compendium of the rabbinical interpretation of the biblical law and of other traditional customs, by and by began to be considered part of the Sinaitic revelation.

R. Jehuda met with no serious opposition in his attempt to establish a religious authority, but soon after his death conditions changed. His son, Gamaliel III. (A.C. 216-230), was a mere figurehead; and so the position of the patriarch which the son inherited from the father became a shadow, until Theodosius II. (A.C. 425) abolished it altogether.

Economic and political adversities drove a great number of Jews to Babylonia, where already during the third century the schools of Sura and Pumdeditha became strong rivals of their sister institutions in Tiberias and Sepphoris. About the middle of the fourth century the last Palestinian authorities died out. Their successors gave all their attention to the edifying explanation of Scripture, called Aggada. At the same time the talmudical law was further developed in Babylonia, where the Rabbis Ashe (died 427) and Abina (died 499) compiled the Talmud of Babylonia. The Talmud consists of two parts, the Mishna and the Gemara; the former being the law and the latter a discursive commentary on it. Both together form the Talmud. The lectures on the Mishna, compiled in the Palestinian schools, form the Talmud of Jerusalem; those compiled by R. Ashe and R. Abina, form the Babylonia Talmud. The latter always has been the more popular book and was considered a higher authority.

In the Roman empire the Jews from the time of Constantine (312) were subjected to legal discriminations. A very short interval was the reign of Julian (361-363), who, according to ecclesiastical writers, intended to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. The edict of Ravenna (Feb. 28, 380), promulgated by Theodosius I., which made Rome a Christian empire, affected the condition of the Jews very unfavora-

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bly, although the emperor protected them against occasional outbreaks of mobs, stimulated by fanatical ecclesiastics. Because of the dispersion of the Jews the last prerogative of the patriarch, the announcement of the festivals was now surrendered; Hillel II. (A.C. 325) being the last to use it.

In Babylonia the Jews were politically organized under an exilarch, Resh Galutha, who was their representative at the court of the Persian king, and, later on, of the Calif. Their spiritual head was the president of one of the great schools. The religious and national revival following upon the return to power of the Parsees (226) brought great suffering upon the Jews, but their situation was more favorable than that of their brethren under the Christian rule of Rome.

The situation in the Byzantine empire was nowise better than in the western part of the old Roman empire and in the various Germanic states which had formed on its ruins. The greatest sufferings were experienced under the Visigoths in Spain, where church-councils decreed the laws which became typical for medieval legislation on the Jews, and it was only the invasion of the Arabs which changed their condition for the better.



Baruch Spinoza. *Cf. p. 573.*

The literary activity had from the beginning of the eighth century its seat in the schools of Sura and Pumbeditha. Our rabbinical works, especially the homiletical literature, called the Midrash, date in their present shape from this period, which extends from 750 to 1040, and is called the period of the Geonim, from Gaon, excellency, which was the title of the college-president. At the same time a number of practical guide-books for civil, liturgical and dietary laws were written, and the first manual for public worship was compiled by the Gaon Amram (A.C. 850). We also meet at that time the first traces of a theosophical literature (Kabbalah), of which probably the oldest specimen is the book of creation. (Sephar Jezirah).

The strict adherence to traditional authority which is characteristic of the Babylonian schools of this period, aroused a fierce opposition, led by Anan (A.C. 760), who found a great following. The sect, originated by him, called itself Sons of the Bible, Karaites. They rejected all authority outside of the Bible. They still exist in very small numbers, chiefly in southern Russia. Their last literary authority was Abraham Firkowitsch (1786-1874), who has made for himself an unenviable reputation by extensive forgeries of tombstones and manuscripts in the interest of Karaitic glory. At the same time when this schism occurred Judaism made an important conquest by the conversion of the Chazars, a Tartaric nation whose Khan Bulan, with his court and a great majority of his people, embraced the Jewish religion.

The controversy with the Karaites stimulated the neglected study of the Bible amongst the rabbinitic Jews. The ablest apologete of their views was the Gaon Saadjah (892-942), who wrote the first systematic work on philosophy of religion, called "Science and Religion." From that time on the Babylonian schools declined. In 1040 the last Gaon was put to death and no successor appointed.

Babylonian Jews settled in great numbers in northern Africa. Isaac Alfasi, of Fez (1013-1103), emigrated to Spain and founded a school in Lucena. However,

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previous to his time there was in Cordova a famous seat of learning. Hasdai ibn Shaprut, who occupied a high position at the court of Abderrahman III. (912-961), was a patron of Jewish literature. Amongst those whom he supported are the first Jewish grammarians, Dunash ben Labrat and Menahem ben Saruk. A position similar to that of Hasdai was occupied by Samuel ibn Nagrela at the court of the Moorish Calif Habus in Granada. Samuel was not only a patron of Jewish literature, but also a scholar of considerable attainments. He supported one of the best of all New-Hebrew poets, Salomo ibn Gebirol, who also is the author of the philosophical work "Fountain of Life," which exercised a great influence on the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. As author of a popular work on religious ethics, "The Duties of the Heart," we have to mention Bahja ibn Pakuda.

In France and Germany the Jewish population increased under Charlemagne (768-814) and his successors. The embassy which Charlemagne sent to Harun Al-Rashid numbered a Jew amongst its members. With the progress of the German arms the Jews moved eastward to Austria, Bohemia and Poland.

The literary activity of the Jews in Germany and France is limited to liturgical poetry and to talmudical codes and commentaries. In regard to the latter we mention R. Gershom, called "The Light of the Diaspora," who lived in Mayence (A.C. 960-1020) and who is famous by making monogamy, which up to his time was only a practice, a binding law.

The twelfth century shows the highest development of spiritual life in Judaism. In Spain we have the greatest of all medieval Jewish poets, Jehuda Halevi (1080-1141), who is also famous for his Kusari, an apology for Judaism in the form of a dialogue between the Khan of the Chazars and the rabbi who had converted him. Abraham ibn Esra, also a native of Spain (1092-1167), had, in the school of the Karaites, acquired a critical spirit, which he used not only in dissecting and very frequently ridiculing rabbinical interpretations of the Bible, but in criticising the Bible itself. The brightest star in the Jewish literature of the age, is Moses Maimonides (1135-1204). Of his numerous works we shall quote only two: Mishneh Thorah, a code of the Jewish law, comprising dogma, ritual, civil, criminal and political law, and Morch Nebuchim, The Guide of the Perplexed, a philosophical apology for Judaism based on Aristotle. His arguments were partly made use of by Thomas of Aquino and Albertus Magnus.

From the thirteenth century on we notice a decline in the intellectual life of Judaism. This decline is typified by a fierce opposition to Maimonides' philosophy. The liberals were represented by David Kimchi (1170-1235), the best known exegete and grammarian of the Middle Ages, while the orthodox party was represented by Solomon ibn Adret (1230-1310), rabbi of Barcelona. He, like the German rabbis, stood for the infallibility of the Talmud. Amongst the German rabbis the highest authority was Meir of Rothenburg (1220-1293), who died in prison because on his advice the German Jews refused to pay the high ransom for the extortion of which King Rudolph had imprisoned him.

More spiritual freedom existed in Italy, where we find the poet Imanuel of Rome (1270-1340), who wrote a Hebrew sequel to Dante's Divina Commedia. A very great influence was exercised by the Jews as translators from Arabic into Latin. Persecutions on religious grounds, stimulated by Jewish converts to Christianity such as Nicholas Donin (A.C. 1240), Pablo Christiani (1260), Alfonso of Valladolid (1300), Geronimo da Santa Fe, and Paulus of Burgos (1390-1440), aroused Messianic hopes, based on Kabbalistic prophecies. Abraham Abulafia (1280) played the rôle of a Messiah in Sicily and Moses ben Nahman (1200-1270) gave a considerable space to Kabbala in his commentary on the Pentateuch. Like all theosophists, Kabbalists claimed to have a very ancient literature. Their fundamental work was the Zohar, Kabbalistic homilies on the Pentateuch, written by Moses of Leon (1290), and ascribed to Simeon ben Johaj. (2nd cent.)

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2. FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO MODERN TIMES.

The political condition of the Jews during the latter part of the Middle Ages was very sad, although occasionally some individuals rose to a higher rank as tax-farmers, financiers, physicians, astronomers, astrologists, and authors. The masses were frequently mobbed, not rarely expelled and always outrageously taxed. The German Jews suffered terribly from the crusaders in 1096 and 1147. Many were thrown into burning houses or hacked to pieces, and thousands were killed under the most cruel tortures. A great number were dragged to churches and baptized, but returned to Judaism in spite of the protest of ecclesiastic dignitaries. Most of the latter, especially St. Bernard, although not favorable to the Jews, condemned these persecutions, but their voices did not prevail with the mob. Similar persecutions of a local character we find all through the Middle Ages, but it would be impossible to enumerate them. Sometimes it is the accusation that they murdered a child to use his blood for their Passover cakes; another time that they perforated a consecrated host which subsequently performed some miracles, which lent a semblance of justice to these acts of mob violence. Legislation sanctioned these outbreaks by establishing such discriminations against the Jews as incited passion against them. The council of the Lateran (1215), which represents the highwater-mark of papal power under Innocent III., decreed the Jew-badge and confirmed all laws tending to degrade the Jews. Under such conditions which, as the pope declared, were part of the divine economy to show by the humiliation of the Jews the glory of Christ, it was of no avail, when Innocent IV. (1247) in a bull admonished the rulers to protect the life and property of the Jews, and even protested against the accusation that the Jews committed murder for the sake of their religion. It was also of little avail, when some princess like Frederick II. of Austria (1244) promulgated statutes by which the rights of the Jews, who through the exorbitant taxes imposed upon them were a considerable support of the treasury, were established. Other rulers wantonly disregarded these dearly bought privileges, and the mobs excited by a Good-Friday sermon on Jesus' sufferings, never respected them. Of the innumerable persecutions during the twelfth century, I shall only mention the riots at the time of the coronation of King Richard Cœur de Lion (1190) and the martyrdom of the Jews of Blois (1171) and of Bray (1191). Hundreds died at the stake, singing hymns; hundreds killed themselves with their children to escape the tortures of infuriated mobs. The great plague (1348-1350) added a new pretext for the slaughter of helpless people, who were accused of poisoning the wells. All over western Europe they were persecuted. In Strassburg alone 1800 Jews were burned on one pyre.

In the fifteenth century the growth of the municipalities had the effect that the Jews, formerly a welcome object for taxation, began to be considered as inconvenient competitors. At the same time the economic crisis, produced by the sudden change of economic conditions due to so many discoveries and inventions, produced the spirit of discontent and restlessness in the masses which always is the prime cause of revolutions and naturally makes the weak suffer first. Legislation and historical conditions having reduced the Jews to the business of money lending, it was only too natural that popular hatred, fomented by religious motives, saw in the Jew the usurer only, and in the usurer the sole cause of the serious economic crisis. They were expelled from almost all the larger cities in Germany, while France, where they had been expelled and called back numerous times before, expelled them peremptorily in 1394, England having done so in 1290. At the same time the increasing perturbation within the church aroused occasional outbreaks against the Jews. In Spain Ferdinand Martinez (1391) had caused a great uprising against the Jews, and a great number, in order to save their lives, professed conversion to Christianity, but secretly practiced Judaism. They formed the

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large class of the Marannos, whom the church considered as apostates and against whom the inquisition was created which, powerless in its attempt to make the Marannos real Christians, brought about the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492) and from Portugal (1495). The council of Basle (1431-43) renewed all the ecclesiastic laws against the Jews. John Capistrano, who failed in his mission to bring the Hussites back into the fold of the Catholic church, triumphed over the Jews. In Breslau he consigned over forty to the stake under the usual allegation of piercing a consecrated host (1454), and from a number of cities they were expelled through his influence. Bernhardin of Feltre, a man of the type which we would call Christian socialists in our days, proved by torture and manipulated testimony that a little boy who was drowned in the Adige had been murdered by the Jews of Trent (1475). A great number were put to death and the rest expelled. As late as 1510 the profaned host caused the death of twenty-nine Jews in Berlin.

The most important event of this epoch was the expulsion of the Jews, about 300,000 in number, from Spain (1492) and Portugal (1496). The refugees settled mostly in Turkey, in northern Africa, in Egypt and in Palestine. The many refugees from Germany turned towards Poland, so that from about 1500 the majority of the Jews lived in eastern countries, debarred from the centres of civilization. The Reformation had only a slight influence on the Jews. Their general condition was not changed. Luther, who, in the beginning of his career, had been favorably inclined to them, spoke in his later days very severely against them, recommending the confiscation of their property and their expulsion. The Renaissance, however, had its influence on the Jews, as it derived some of its impulses from their literature. Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), one of the foremost representatives of the Renaissance movement (1510), defended the rabbinical literature against the accusations of John Pfefferkorn, a converted Jew, and his allies, the Dominicans of Cologne, who, by the confiscation of the Talmud, expected to obtain the same power as inquisitors in Germany which their order possessed in Spain. Like many other scholars of that age, Reuchlin had studied Hebrew from Jews. Elijah Levita (1472-1549), a Hebrew teacher of Christians in Italy, came out with the important discovery that the vowel-points were a later invention, and that consequently the text of the Hebrew Bible, as we possess it, is of a comparatively late origin. Azariah dei Rossi of Mantua (1511-1578) followed with a series of learned essays in which he proved that the rabbinical writings possessed no authority in scientific matters, a statement which was quite bold in those days and elicited no small amount of opposition. Meantime in Poland and in the Orient, which had become the seats of rabbinical learning, traditionalism became stronger and stronger. Joseph Karo (1488-1577) in Saffed wrote a compendium of Jewish law, Shulhan Arukh, which, with the annotations of Moses Isserls in Cracow (1520-1573), was considered an authoritative guide-book, and thus became instrumental in perpetuating scholasticism and traditionalism. A rather utopian scheme of the Maranno, Salomo Molcho and his friend, David Reubeni, who posed as a prince of the lost tribes to establish the Messianic kingdom, failed ignominiously. Molcho was burned at the stake (1533), and Reubeni died in prison. A more practical scheme of Don Joseph of Naxos, a Maranno, who had obtained a high position at the court of Constantinople, to establish a Jewish state in the island of Cyprus also failed (1571). The first place, where Jews enjoyed full religious freedom was Holland, where after the Netherlands had gained their freedom, Spanish Jews began to settle in considerable numbers. Amsterdam became a mother-city for other colonies, which in the course of the seventeenth century settled in England, Sweden, Denmark and America, and were swelled by fugitive Marannos who were fortunate enough to escape from the dungeons of the Inquisition and also by German Jews. At the same time the Jews of Poland were terrible sufferers from the revolution of the Cossacks against their Polish masters (1648). Under their captain Chmelnicki the Cossacks attacked the

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Jewish settlements, because the Jews as tax-farmers had been instrumental in driving the Cossacks to desperation. Hundreds of thousands were killed, and fugitives flocked into all parts of Europe, where they could find co-religionists.

The misery which Jews still endured, even in places where their lives and property were not in constant danger, fomented the Messianic hope, and in 1666 Sabbathai Zebi, a native of Smyrna, announced himself as the Messiah, and succeeded in securing followers all over Europe until, when the Sultan interfered and asked him to prove his Messianic mission by a miracle, he was converted to Islam. This ridiculous result of the Messianic movement showed its effect in a growing aversion to Kabbalah. At the same time we see some descendants of those who suffered the most cruel martyrdom for their faith break away from Judaism and all positive religions. Both Baruch Spinozas (1632-1677) and Uriel Acosta (1594-1640) were members of the Portuguese congregation of Amsterdam.

The persecutions, although not as fierce as those of the fifteenth century, continued. In 1670 the Emperor, Leopold I., expelled the Jews from Vienna for no other reason than because his wife, a Spanish princess, desired it for the glory of God. The Marannos in Spain and Portugal were still the victims of the Inquisition. In 1680 Charles II., in order to duly celebrate his nuptials with a French princess, ordered a great *auto da fe* to be held, at which eighteen Jews were burned to death, while a great many others were sentenced to imprisonment and to disgracing acts of penitence.



Moses Mendelssohn.

In consequence of the Messianic movement under Sabbathai Zebi a mystic sect arose which had its followers in the East and which called themselves Hassidim. The Maranno, Michael Cardoso (1622-1706); the Italian, Mose Hajim Luzzatto (1707-1747), one of the best poets of the New-Hebrew literature, and finally Israel Besht (1696-1760), an ignorant Polish coachman, developed this doctrine. While they never severed their connection with the whole body of Judaism, their doctrinal recognition of theosophy and their belief in miracle-workers formed a decided difference between them and the orthodox followers of rabbinical Judaism. The crisis was reached when, in a bitter and protracted controversy between the Rabbi of Altona, Jonathan Eibeschitz (1690-1764) and the celebrated author, Jacob Emden (1696-1776), all belief in Kabbala was branded as crypto-Sabbathaism. During this controversy Emden had the boldness to declare the Zohar, the canonical book of the Kabbalists, a partial forgery.

This critical view had further consequences. It produced a spiritual independence, which found its most successful exponent in Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), who, a consistent deist himself, advocated an amalgamation of the Jews with their surroundings by a general education, but he carefully refrained from advocating any innovations in the religious life. He translated parts of the Bible into pure German (1783), edited the first Hebrew magazine (1784), and was instrumental in the foundation of a Jewish free school. He also advocated the full right of citizenship for the Jews. This became an accomplished fact during the French revolution (1791), and was imitated by other states, which, during the revolutionary period, were under French influence, but after the Vienna Congress (1815) a general reaction set in.

Meantime the Jews began to consider the necessity for changing their ritual and

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revising their dogma. In regard to the latter the most important move was the declaration against the belief in a personal Messiah. In their ritual the substitution of the vernacular for the Hebrew in some parts of their prayer-book was the decisive step taken. These reforms were first introduced in the "Tempel" of Hamburg (1817). At the same time rabbinical literature became the object of scientific treatment, and the exclusive dominion of scholasticism was broken. In this respect the merit of the initiation belongs to Leopold Zunz (1794-1886). With him we shall mention: S. L. Rappoport (1791-1867), S. D. Luzzatto (1800-1865), Zacharias Frankel (1801-1875), the representatives of moderate conservatism, while Abraham Geiger (1810-1874) represents the liberal theology, within which Samuel Holdheim (1806-1860) and David Einhorn (1809-1879) represent the radical wing. The strictest orthodoxy is represented by Samson R. Hirsch (1808-1888). Of other leading scholars we mention Hirsch Graetz (1817-1891), Leopold Loew (1811-1875) and M. Steinschneider (born 1816).

The present religious condition of the Jews may be described thus: In Asia, northern Africa and Turkey we find strict mediævalism, servile practice of ritual laws, superstitious fear of the rabbis, and uncritical acceptance of everything ever taught by anybody in the name of the Jewish religion. In Russia, Roumania and Galicia, strict talmudical orthodoxy is steadily losing ground, to make room for those religious views which are the rule amongst the Jews of western Europe, viz: a liberal attitude to the teachings and the practice of religion very much like that prevailing among the body of German Protestants of the type represented by Harnack and other leading theologians. Their allegiance to Judaism, however, is strengthened by consciousness of the fact that they will remain Jews, no matter what their religious position and practice may become.

The revolution of 1848 brought political equality to the Jews all over western Europe, although it was not until 1858 that the first Jew, Lionel de Rothschild, was allowed to take his seat in the English Parliament. The medieval system, which leaves the Jew to the mercy of the mob in occasional outbreaks of violence, reigns still in Morocco and Persia. In Russia and Roumania the Jews are subjected to oppressive laws, such as existed in western Europe up to the eighteenth century. A similar state of affairs exists in Portugal, while in Spain the law granting them liberty of worship has never been carried into effect. In Germany, Austria and France the anti-Semitic movement for the last twenty years is trying to obtain a repeal of the laws granting the Jews political equality. This renewed hostility, together with the unbearable conditions of Russia, has of late produced the Zionistic movement, which aims to establish a Jewish state in Palestine as an asylum for the persecuted Jews all over the world.

Another notable feature of Jewish history in the nineteenth century is the participation of the Jews in all branches of art, science, literature and public life. France and Italy have had Jewish ministers, Cremieux, Fould, Raynal and Luzatti. All other civilized countries have had influential Jewish politicians. In music we may mention Meyerbeer, Halevy and Goldmark; in literature, Heine, Boerne, Auerbach, Grace Aguilar, Goldsmid (Denmark), Millaud (France), etc. Of great scientists the number is too great for this article to do justice to them.

These facts certainly prove that the admission of the Jews to participation in public life has proven a benefit not only to them, but in no small degree a benefit to the highest interests of humanity.

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THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BY

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3. DIFFUSION OF THE ECCLESIA. ITS CONSTITUTION.

THE three thousand souls who formed the nucleus of Christianity at Jerusalem (Acts II. 41) increased rapidly. (1) Tacitus speaks of a "great multitude" of adherents at Rome (A.D. 64), and a letter of the younger Pliny to Trajan shows that the mission of Paul and Barnabas to Bithynia had made an impression on the entire society of that province. In his "Apology," Tertullian appeals to the great number of the Christians of Africa. By the middle of the third century the episcopal sees were numerous in Central and Southern Italy, and the synod of Elvira (A.D. 300) shows that in Spain Christians were very numerous in every walk of life. There were Christian martyrs in Britain in the persecution of Diocletian. St. Irenaeus and Tertullian speak as though the Britons of their time had heard the gospel. It is not probable that Christians were numerous in Gaul before the middle of the third century.

Syria and Asia Minor were the natural theatre for the efforts of the first apostles. (2) The "Apostolic Constitutions" and "Canons," as well as the Clementine literature, the very early Syriac version of the Scriptures, and the Diatessaron of Tatian, argue a long established and developed Christian life in the former land. In spite of a certain autonomy of the Jews, the Christians of Palestine grew in numbers. The little kingdoms of Osrhoene, Adiabene and Edessa were largely Christian in the second century. The frequent persecutions of the Alexandrine Christians are a proof of their number, and the correspondence of Bishop Dionysius about the middle of the third century indicates an active proselytism among the Copts. The letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch show a numerous Christian episcopate on the western sea-board of Asia Minor early in the second century; one hundred and fifty years later the city of Apamæa was officially Christian. The acts of St. Pionius of Smyrna show that city largely Christian. The persecutions of Schapûr II. reveal a multitude of Christians in Persia; the conversion of Armenia antedates the victory of Saxa Rubra (A.D. 312). An Arabian Christian became Roman Emperor in the person of Philip, son of a sheik of Bosra (A.D. 244-249). Isolated Christian captives were among the Saracens, the Goths, and the Berbers at the same time. It is probable that the Christians of the Malabar peninsula in India are older than Constantine. The history of the Persian Manes show how energizing were then the tenets of Christianity on the outermost limits of Persia.

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By the year A.D. 300 trade, war, travel, and lettered curiosity had supplemented personal proselytism and scattered Christianity broadcast. In the following decade Maximinus Daja admitted that "nearly all men" had deserted the service of the gods (Euseb. H. E. IX. 9). Long before, Melito of Sardis paralleled the rapid spread of Christianity with the growth of the Roman name and power, and insinuated a close relation between them. Origen even entertained the thought that the religion of Christ would one day be mistress of the world.

Gibbon calculates the Christian population of the empire before Constantine at about one-twentieth of the total population, or about five millions; Keim, Zöckler and Chastel at about sixteen millions, while Schultze fixes ten millions as the minimum. The Christians were surely more numerous than the four million Jews.

In the first decades of its history we find this society divided into laity and clergy. "The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances," writes St. Clement (about A.D. 96), and the apostles "appointed their first fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe." From the beginning of the second century we find in all Christian communities a bishop, priests and deacons, an embryonic but uniform government in countries remote from one another, at an epoch when the action of the principal sees, notably Rome, was as yet weak and faint. This phenomenon easily suggests the apostolic origin of the episcopate.

From the letters of St. Ignatius to the writings of St. Cyprian the bishop is head, shepherd, judge, representative of the Christian community, its presiding officer in worship, and its bond of union. (3) The priests are counsellors to the bishop, instructors of the faithful, and vicars of the bishop when he is absent or incapacitated. The deacons, hierarchically inferior to the priests, had a much greater influence; the temporal administration was practically in their hands, as well as the immediate service of the bishop in divine worship, the distribution of the Eucharist, and occasional conferring of baptism.

About the middle of the third century the ministry of the deacons was subdivided, and the "minor orders" introduced, first in the Church of Rome. (4) The selection of all this clergy was left to the bishop with the counsel of his presbytery and the good will of the people. The bishop was elected by the local clergy; the assistance of three bishops was required for a licit consecration. The metropolitan and the bishops of the province confirmed the newly-elect. The support of this clergy came from weekly offerings of the Christians, from their own patrimony, or their labor. Certain qualities were required for entrance among the clergy, and certain impediments were soon established; the age for the priesthood was thirty, that for the episcopate about fifty. Celibacy was held very desirable for the bishops, priests and deacons. After diaconal ordination clerics could not marry without renouncing the exercise of their order, but there seems to have been no apostolic law obliging to continency the married man who became deacon, and in time priest or bishop.

Each bishop governed the Christians of a municipal district; as a rule, his authority ran parallel with the city territory; thus he had under him not only the municipal clergy, but also the deacons, and "rural bishops" who governed the remote hamlets or towns. The bishop of the provincial metropolis soon rose to the dignity of metropolitan, because of the size of his city, the number of his flock, and the standing of its principal members; great influence, too, accrued to him through the custom of holding frequent synods in his city—a custom as old as the fifth or sixth decade of the second century, and which argues a monarchical episcopacy very widely spread. The metropolitans were subject to certain higher dignitaries whose circles of influence, established long before the council of Nice (325), corresponded to the great civil divisions of the empire. They were Alexandria, Antioch and Rome. (5) Ephesus in proconsular Asia, Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and Heraclaea in Thrace, were also centres of a superior unity. This unity was an ideal deeply

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cherished and practically preserved by means of the correspondence of bishops, annual synodal meetings, excommunication of offenders against discipline or belief, letters or certificates of membership, and the bond of filiation between churches.

Among the Christian churches one, the Church of Rome, was especially prominent as the centre of unity. The bishops of Rome very soon laid formal claim to a universal authority as successors of St. Peter. The Roman homily, "On the Gamblers," perhaps the work of Pope Victor (189-199), asserts the power of the keys (Matt. xviii., 18), the vicarship of the Lord, and an original apostolic authority or leadership. St. Clement of Rome writes to the Corinthians in an unmistakable tone of authority, that the discovery of the complete text has confirmed. St. Irenaeus of Lyons attributes to the Roman Church an authoritative and efficient primacy, based on its episcopal succession from SS. Peter and Paul. (6) St. Ignatius of Antioch (107-117), addressing the Roman Church, speaks of its "presidency of love," its "presidency in the country of the region of the Romans," and the lately discovered epitaph of Abercius shows that the Roman church enjoyed the highest degree of esteem among all other churches. At the same time the sense of local self-sufficiency, and of apostolic authority lodged in the episcopate, personal and solidary, was very strong. But the conduct of Origen, of Dionysius of Alexandria, the correspondence of Saint Cyprian, the attitude of inimical emperors like Decius and Aurelian, show that the essential authority of the Roman see was not resisted, even if consciousness of the common origin and common nature of the episcopate were vivid and sensitive in communities accustomed to be governed in the original spirit of charity and humility enjoined by the Master.

3. DIFFUSION OF THE ECCLESIA — ITS CONSTITUTION.

(1) **The Primitive Evangelists.**—For, indeed, most of the disciples of that time, animated by the divine word with a more ardent love for philosophy (*i e.*, the perfect Christian life), had already fulfilled the commands of the Saviour, and had distributed their goods to the needy. Then, starting out upon long journeys, they performed the office of Evangelists, being filled with the desire to preach Christ to those that had not yet heard the word of faith, and to deliver to them the divine gospels. And when they had only laid the foundations of faith in foreign places, they appointed others as pastors (compare Clem. ad Cor. c. 42), and entrusted them with the nurture of those that had recently been brought in, while they themselves went on again to other countries and nations with the grace and coöperation of God.—*Eusebius, "Hist. Ecc.," Bk. VII, c. 32.*

(2) **Christianity in Asia Minor.** — Thenceforward (from A.D. 112) for three hundred years Phrygia was essentially a Christian land. There began the public profession of Christianity; there are found, from the third century, on monuments exposed to the public gaze, the terms *Chrestianos* or *Christianos;* there the formulas of epitaphs convey veiled references to Christian dogmas; there, from the days of Septimius Severus, great cities adopt biblical symbols for their coins, or rather adapt their old traditions to biblical narrations. A great number of the Christians of Ephesus and Rome came from Phrygia. The names most frequently met with on the monuments of Phrygia are the antique Christian names (Trophimus, Tychicus, Tryphenus, Papias, etc.), the names special to the apostolic times, and of which the martyrologies are full. — *Renan, "Origines du Christianisme," Vol. III. pp. 363-364.*

(3) **St. Ignatius of Antioch on the Christian Hierarchy.**—Be ye careful, therefore, to observe one Eucharist (for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup (ἐν ποτηρίῳ), unto union in this blood; there is one altar, as there is one bishop, together with the presbytery and the deacons my fellow-servants), that whatsoever ye do, ye may do it after God. — *To the Philadelphians, c. 4.*

(4) **The Roman Clergy about A.D. 250.**—He (Novatus) was not ignorant (for how could he be?) that in it there were forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven sub-deacons, forty-two acolyths, fifty-two exorcists, readers and janitors, and over fifteen hundred widows and persons in distress.—*St. Cornelius of Rome to Fabian of Antioch in Euseb., Hist. Ecc., Bk. VI, c. 43, 11.*

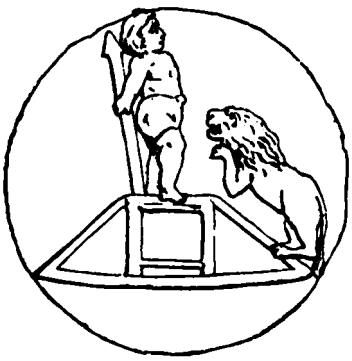
(5) **Antiquity of the Three Great Patriarchates.**—The old customs in use in Egypt, in Libya, and in Pentapolis, should continue to exist; that is, that the bishop of Alexandria should have jurisdiction over all these (provinces); for there is a similar relation (or custom) for the bishop of Rome. The rights which they formerly possessed must also be preserved to the Churches of Antioch and to the other eparchies (provinces).—*Sixth Canon of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325.*

(6) **St. Irenæus of Lyons (A.D. 178) on the Roman Church.**—But as it would be a very long task to enumerate in such a volume as this the successions of all the Churches, we do put to confusion all those who . . . assemble in unauthorized meetings (we do this, I say), by indicating that tradition, derived from the Apostles, of the very great, the very ancient, and universally known Church, founded and constituted at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul; as also (by pointing out) the faith preached to men, which comes down to our time by many of the successors of the bishops. For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this (the Roman) Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority; that is, the faithful everywhere. — *"Against All Heresies," Bk. III, c. 3.*

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4. CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN STATE. HERESY AND SCHISM.

The first Christian communities were scarcely formed when they entered upon a long conflict with the civil power. The wholesale execution of Roman Christians as such by Nero (Tacitus, Annals, xv., 44) and Domitian's attempt to collect the temple-tax from the Jewish Christians made publicly known the existence of the Christians as a distinct religious society. Their religion was at once declared illicit, and their corporate existence forbidden: *Non licet esse vos.* Even humane emperors like Trajan agree that the title of Christian, the *nomen*, is criminal. And this remained the keynote of all legislation and procedure against the Christians for three centuries. Ten persecutions are reckoned by the domestic historians of the society. As a rule, the Roman historians do not mention the persecutions. Commodianus, about the middle of the third century, expressly reckons that of Decius as the seventh. The earlier persecutions differed from the later, being less processes of extermination than of terrorizing by execution of the hierarchic chiefs and more prominent members. The local magistrates and pagan priesthoods, the cynic philosophers, the miscellaneous mob in the theatre or the circus, the vendors of superstitions, sudden panics following pests or natural disturbances, the ill-will of the Jews, the treachery of apostates and heretics,—were so many causes that made the life of the average Christian one of daily fear and anxiety. The avarice of the judges and the cupidity of informers brought about confiscation and exile with consequent misery and poverty. A social excommunication hung over every Christian community, and a bitter literary persecution helped to fill the measure of oppression. Yet, as a rule, the communities bore with great firmness the impact of all these adverse forces. Their principal men called public attention, by written apologies, to the injustice of pursuing harmless and peaceful people, to the open violation of law and custom in the procedure against the martyrs or witnesses to the person and doctrine of Christ as the only true God. (1) There was, indeed, a certain legislation or "customs" against the introduction of new gods, against sacrilege, high treason, illicit meetings, and the like, but this was seldom invoked against the Christians. Their mere existence, the *professio nominis*, was a crime equivalent to the most heinous. With a subtly correct sense, the Roman state felt that the spiritual independence of the Christian was incompatible with the old pagan state in which the social authority was supreme. Hence the charge of obstinacy, *pervicacia*, brought against the society by Epictetus, Galen, and Marcus Aurelius, and the superhuman efforts made to break the constancy of the individual martyrs. The lulls in the persecutions enabled the Christians to restore discipline and renew their courage, while they broke the force of a policy that, if continued, would have exterminated them, even at the expense of a universal desolation. This policy of extermination was at last resolved on by Decius (A.D., 250-253) and by Valerian (253-260), but too late, and in too remiss a manner. The society was now deep-rooted, very numerous, well-disciplined by experience and



Christianos ad leones.
"The Christians to the Lions!"



Christian Slaves in the Spanish Mines.

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special training, and capable of sustaining even wholesale apostasy, such as took place at Carthage, and the defection of its prominent members, as at Alexandria. From Gallienus to Galerius (A.D., 260-305) the Christians enjoyed comparative peace and won adherents in every rank of society. But the Illyrian dynasty took up once more the Decian policy, by the wholesale persecution of Diocletian, which was more like an internecine war than any act of repression. It ended ignominiously (A.D., 311) by the formal withdrawal of the edicts and a surly recognition of the Christian right of worship. The cruelties of these persecutions are beyond cavil, for the Roman heart was schooled to severity, and to easy and wanton bloodshed for purposes of state or pleasure. Tiberius once emptied his prisons by an indiscriminate slaughter of all the inmates, whether guilty or on trial. The number of the victims cannot now be ascertained with accuracy, owing to the disappearance of the official acts of the courts and the deliberate destruction of the ecclesiastical acts by order of Diocletian. But it was very great, for the violent repression of Christianity was carried on for some two hundred and fifty years, not only by general edicts, but at the pleasure of the magistrates, the mob, and the official enemies of the new religion—the priests and the philosophers. (2) The Christian was an outlaw, and countless individuals who did not suffer death underwent tortures and punishments scarcely inferior to that supreme act of constancy. Every Christian writer of those centuries refers to the persecutions, and the contemporary ones speak of them as causing the death of multitudes. The Christian church has always looked on their constancy as proof of its inherent divinity, and the "Acts of the Martyrs," though often of late date, interpolated, etc., contain a generally true outline of a long period of judicial oppression and injustice. (3)



A CARICATURE OF THE CRUCIFIXION.

This was discovered in 1857, drawn on one of the walls of the Palace on the Palatine Hill, Rome, and is now preserved in the museo Kircheriano, Rome. The legend runs in Greek: Ἀλεξάμενος σέβετε (for σέβεται) θεόν—Alexamenos worships his god. The object behind the head is probably the tablet recording the crime.

The original revelation of Jesus was at an early date the object of individual criticism and selection by those who refused to accept a definitive tribunal of preservation and interpretation in the Christian society. Thus arose a series of heresies, (4) some of which take as their starting point the Mosaic law, and others certain pagan concepts of creation and the origin of evil. The first gave rise to the Jewish Christians, of whom the most extreme recognized Christ as man only, while others accepted Him as God, but maintained as permanent the obligation of the Mosaic law, for Jews at least. Simon the Magician (Acts viii, 9:24), is the earliest arch heretic, followed by another Samaritan, Menander. Cerinthus and the Ebionites represent the Docetic element in these heresies, while the Elcesaites offer a transitional shading into Gnosticism. The numerous complex systems known by this latter name arose from the problem of the origin of evil. It exists in the world, and as God cannot be its author, the question arises: whence is the world? The philosophers of Gnosticism were not satisfied with the answer of Christian faith (πίστις); they desired an independent, more profound knowledge (γνῶσις), hence called Gnostics. An essential dualism of God and matter, the latter an eternal but formless entity, sometimes conceived as informed by an evil principle; the successive emanation from a remote and inactive God of certain spirits or Æons; their corresponding decrease in nature and power, and admixture of hylic or material elements with the Pleroma, or portion of the World of Light that is individualized in each spirit; the creation of the world by the Demiurgus or lowest Æon out of this mixture of matter and spirit (light); the redemption, imagined as a freeing of the particles of the spirit

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sunk in matter; the identity of the Demiurgus with the Jehovah of the Old Testament; the sending of an Æon (Jesus) to accomplish the liberation of the spirit; the division of mankind into three classes, the "spiritual," the "material," and the "psychic" or simple ignorant Christians, the first of which are the elect or Gnostics; the restoration at the end of time of all things to that place which befits their nature in the system of being—such are the general and common elements of Gnosticism, in which the Christian religion met for the first time a systematic rationalism that affected the fullest knowledge where the Christian simply believed. It was preached and formulated by certain remarkable men, like Basilides, Valentine, and Carpocrates; its true home seems to have been Alexandria, the Paris of antiquity, though it maintained an active agency at Rome, and sought to seat itself in the apostolic chair. This was done chiefly through Marcion, who, though not a Gnostic proper, has points of contact with that heresy, especially in his description of the Demiurgus, or God of the Jews, as against the "good God," who was unknown until he descended on earth in the person of Jesus, and was afterwards crucified by the malice of the Jewish God. Between the Old and the New Testaments there is an irreconcilable opposition—the God of the former is cruel and terrible, the God of the latter is the God of Love. In the New Testament only the Gospel of St. Luke (minus the first two chapters) and some Epistles of St. Paul, are genuine. This heresy was particularly active, for it had adherents as late as the fifth century. The oriental Mani (d. A.D. 276) added to the number of the Gnostic systems a Persian Gnosis, made up of elements drawn from the Chaldæo-Babylonian, the Parsee and the Buddhist religions, in which are found the essential elements of the Alexandrine Gnosis, with a close imitation of Christian constitution and discipline.

Other heresies arose from the effort to reconcile the unity of God with the divine personality of the Son. Some maintained that the Son was really only the impersonal wisdom of the Father, but begotten in time, as the examplar of creation; thus there was no eternal generation of the Logos. Others, like Paul of Samosata, maintained that Jesus was only man, but that the divine impersonal Logos dwelt and worked in him. Still others imagined a successive revelation of the one Divinity as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, three modes, as it were, that gave way to one another. This was the opinion of Sabellius, and it roused a vigorous opposition that was scarcely placated before the opening of the council of Nicæa.

The Chiliast or Millenarian expectations based on the Apocalypse (chapters 20, 21) seduced many Christians, chiefly in the course of the third century, and in Egypt. A revival of the primitive rigorism led to the sect of the Montanists, who eventually claimed special prophetical direction, and thus escaped from the yoke of church unity. At Rome and Carthage painful schisms broke out about the middle of the third century, apropos of the readmission of those who had fallen in the persecutions; a little later the same schism was renewed at Carthage by Donatus; a grave discord broke out in the church of Egypt under Meletius, while the church of Rome was also troubled by the schismatic attitude of one Heraclius.

In this long period of conflict, within and without, the original germs of the constitution of the Christian society developed. The true relation of the Old to the New Testament, as type to reality, was made clear. The character of Christianity as a religion, not a philosophy, was brought out, and the functions of faith and reason defined, if only in a large general way. The specific unity of Christian belief was symbolized in the growing habit of coöperation of the churches by means of synods. The culminating point of the hierarchy, the bishop of Rome, comes more often into sight, as the needs of defence multiply, or the essential unity of the society is more seriously threatened. In an embryonic way, every problem that the society must one day encounter on a large scale, has already presented itself; personal example has consecrated the principles of the Christian life; the lines of

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the society have been more clearly drawn, and its office in the world of mankind more widely illustrated; the possibilities of the gospel stand out more visibly to all; an art, a literature, and a legislation are at hand, imbued with a personal, absolute devotion to Jesus Christ as the Way, the Truth, and the Life.

4. CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN STATE. HERESY AND SCHISM.

(1) **The Christian Apologists and Roman Procedure.** — The Apologists do not ask for a change of law; they ask for a regulation of practice to accord with the law of the State. They demand for Christians a fair trial on some definite charge, attested by witnesses, with permission to make and prove their defence. They ask to be brought under the ordinary law; and they inveigh against the exercise of arbitrary authority against them on no definite charge. This, the most elementary right of citizens, had been absolutely denied them by the Flavian policy, which treated them as brigands. Trajan had left the Flavian principle unaltered, but had exempted them from active pursuit. The Apologists justly argue against the illogical nature of a policy which treats them like brigands when any one formally accuses them, but does not take the trouble to hunt for them; if they are brigands, it is the duty of the State to hunt them down. Even Hadrian had shrunk from the decisive step of clearly stating that Christianity was not in itself a crime; and this is the step which the Apologists urge upon the Emperors whom they address.—*Ramsay, "The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170," p. 344.*

(2) **Number of the Martyrs.**—During the succession of persecutions which came to an end on the accession of Constantine to supreme power and his adoption of the Christian faith, there were very many who submitted to imprisonment, torture, and death. Not a few, especially after long seasons of quiet, lacked the courage to face the terror, and saved their lives at the cost of their Christian fidelity. To offer sacrifice to the heathen gods, to procure from the heathen false testimonies to the effect that they had renounced Christianity, or to give up copies of the Scriptures on the demand of the magistrates, excluded those guilty of these offences from Christian fellowship. As to the total number of martyrs in the first three centuries, it was doubtless over-estimated by the church fathers, but it has been underrated by Gibbon, who draws a larger inference than is warranted from a passage in Origen. Gibbon, moreover, fails to take into account the multitude of instances where tortures were inflicted that resulted, not at once, yet eventually, in death. It was the heroic age in the history of the Church, when, with no aid from an arm of flesh, the whole might of the Roman empire was victoriously encountered by the unarmed and unresisting adherents of the Christian faith. Imperial Rome, the conqueror of the world, was herself overcome by the bands of Christian disciples, whose meek but dauntless courage was more than a match for all her power.—*G. P. Fisher, "History of the Christian Church" p. 50.*

(3) **Death Sentence of a Christian Martyr.** — Your life has long been led in a sacrilegious mode of thought – you have associated yourself with a very large number of persons in criminal complicity. You have constituted yourself an antagonist to the gods of Rome and to their sacred observances. Nor have our pious and most hallowed princes, Valerian and Gallien, the Augusti, and Valerian the most noble Cæsar, been able to recall you to the obedience of their own ceremonial. And, therefore, whereas you have been clearly detected as the instigator and standard bearer in very bad offences, you shall in your own person be a lesson to those whom you have by guilt of your own associated with you. Discipline shall be ratified with your blood. He



Third Century Burying-place of the Popes in Catacomb of St. Callixtus, Rome.

then took the prepared tablet and read, "Our pleasure is that Thascius Cyprianus be executed with the sword." "Thanks be to God," said Cyprian. — *From the Life of Cyprian by his Deacon Pontius, in Benson's "St. Cyprian," p. 503.*

(4) **The Church Universal and Heresies.** — One new heresy arose after another, and the former ones always passed away, and now at one time, now at another, now in one way, now in other ways, were lost in ideas of various kinds and various forms. But the splendor of the Catholic and only true Church, which is always the same, grew in magnitude and power, and reflected its piety and simplicity and freedom, and the modesty and purity of its inspired life and philosophy to every nation both of the Greeks and Barbarians. —*Eusebius, "Hist. Ecc., Bk. IV, p. 7, 13.*

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5. THE OVERTHROW OF GRÆCO-ROMAN PAGANISM.

By the edict of Milan (A.D. 312) Constantine gave effect to his great victory at Saxa Rubra over Maxentius and raised Christianity to the dignity of a licit religion, with all the rights and privileges of the existing State religion. (1) The ecclesiastics were freed from certain charges, the Church enabled to inherit, the emancipation of slaves permitted before the Christian clergy and people, the Sunday legalized as a day of rest. The pagan religion was correspondingly restricted, although the emperor kept yet the title of "Pontifex Maximus," and the symbols of that office. During the next ten years his colleague Licinius endeavored to stem the tide of victorious Christianity, but in 323 lost both life and empire at the battle of Adrianople. Paganism was now systematically, but surely, suppressed. The great imperial charges were conferred on Christians, splendid churches built, divination, both public and private, forbidden; the temples were gradually abandoned, some being destroyed as especially dangerous to public morals. A new Rome, Christian in every sense, was built on the Bosphorus, called after the emperor, Constantinople (A.D. 330), and was thenceforth the official seat of the empire. Constantine died in 337, and was baptized on his deathbed. His imperfections were neither few nor slight, but he stands out in history as a man of genius and determination, peaceful and religious by inclination, but violent and harsh when his wishes were thwarted. (2) Under him there was again a Pax Romana. His children pursued his policy toward paganism, but with more insistence. In 341 Constantius recalls a law of his father against all sacrifices, hitherto poorly enforced, and soon in concert with his brother Constans (d. 350) closed the temples. In the following years he renewed these decrees. The short reign of Julian (361-363) gave fresh hope to the adherents of paganism, but the official prestige and the literary skill of Julian were unavailing; he could not galvanize the decaying forces of the old paganism, even by the adoption of Christian discipline and institutions. (3) His successor, Jovian, revoked the measures of Julian, whose apostasy had greatly irritated the Christians. His memory was accursed, as of one who had betrayed his God, though they admitted that he had not betrayed his country, but fought bravely for it. Valentinian I. (364-375) forbade again the sacrifices and nocturnal assemblies, but was otherwise tolerant, though henceforth the meetings of pagans were suspected as revolutionary in spirit. The term *paganism*, religion of *pagani* or the peasants, arose about this time, and indicates the reversal of ancient conditions. Gratian (375-383) refused the insignia of the pagan pontificate, suppressed all state subsidies to that worship, confiscated the revenues of the priesthoods and the vestals, as well as the temple-lands, limited the priestly immunities, and sided with St. Ambrose in the famous affair of the Altar of Victory, by ordering its removal from the Roman Senate, now in the majority Christian. In the Orient, the destruction of the Serapeum at Alexandria (391) was the death-knell of the old religion, which again held up its head in the West during the brief usurpation of Eugenius (392-394).

But Arcadius (395-408) withdrew from the priesthoods all remaining privileges and closed the rural temples, while in the West Stilicho burned the Sibylline books. Theodosius II. excluded (416) the pagans from official functions, and (448) caused all anti-Christian writings to be burned. Justinian (527-565) declared pagans incapable of possessing, and closed the last nursery of Greco-Roman paganism, the schools of Athens.

It is true that the purity and severity of the Christian life suffered much from the influx of great multitudes of ignorant or selfish converts, who were Christians only in name. There was also no little crypto-paganism and a sad mixture of pagan and Christian elements in popular belief and life. (4) Yet this fourth century is also a period of extraordinary and intelligent activity on the part of the Church and her

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ministers. Great enterprises of benevolence are carried on by the bishops; every form of public charity finds expression; the evil of slavery was greatly mitigated, and by the spiritual equality of master and slave the world was prepared for the extirpation of its greatest injustice. Under Constantine the murder of a slave was classed with assassination; under Justinian, all legal obstacles to emancipation were set aside, the class of freedmen suppressed and made citizens, and slaves permitted, with the master's consent, to marry free women. Certain cruelties of legal procedure were abolished — thus, stamping the forehead with a heated iron. The cross soon ceased to be an instrument of torture. Prisoners were treated with more humanity; the bishops were charged with the visitation of the prisons. The right of asylum was accorded to the churches. The respect for human life was inculcated; abortion and abandonment of infants were severely denounced, as well as the gladiatorial games. Suicide was treated as a grave crime against the rights of the Creator. The public morals were improved by the solemn and practical reprobation of pederasty, adultery, and concubinage. Doubtless, in individual cases, the pagan conscience had already risen to some of these betterments, but only sporadically, and without any lasting effect on the social order. That conscience had no leverage outside of itself, no religious sanction in a firm belief in immortality, divine justice, sin and human responsibility. (5) and (6)



Emperor Justinian and his Courtiers.

5. THE OVERTHROW OF GRÆCO-ROMAN PAGANISM.

(1) **The Edict of Milan.**—Perceiving long ago that religious liberty ought not to be denied, but that it ought to be granted to the judgment and desire of each individual to perform his religious duties according to his own choice, we had given orders that every man, Christian as well as others, should preserve the faith of his own sect and religion. But since in that rescript, in which such liberty was granted them, many and various conditions seemed clearly added, some of them it may be, after a little, retired from such observance. When I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, came under favorable auspices to Milan and took under consideration everything which pertained to the commonweal and prosperity, we resolved among other things, or rather first of all, to make such decrees as seemed in many respects for the benefit of every one; namely, such as should preserve reverence and piety toward the deity. We resolved, that is, to grant both to the Christians and to all men freedom to follow the religion which they choose, that whatever heavenly divinity exists may be propitious to us and to all that live under our government, etc.—*Eusebius, "Hist. Ecc.," Bk. X, c.v. § 2.*

(2) **Sincerity of Constantine.**—Was Constantine sincere in his famous conversion, or was he moved by deep political calculations? Let us understand what we understand by sincerity and faith. If we mean that penitent compunction which works the reform of the heart's vices, frees it from earthly attachments, purifies it of the dross of human passion, such a faith was vouchsafed only on his death-bed to the ambitious and often cruel Constantine. If we mean by faith a belief in the gospel revelation, respect for the supernatural power of Christ and for the infallible authority of His Church, a firm will to submit to it, and even to incur grave political embarrassment and real peril, an efficient and deep admiration for the truth,—if all these sentiments, that do not, indeed, suffice to save a soul, yet deserve consideration as guarantees of conscientious conviction, then there can be no reason to doubt the sincerity of Constantine. No motive of self-interest could have urged him to alienate, by the sudden profession of a new religion, more than one-half of his subjects, and to break thereby with all the reminiscences and traditions of his empire. Once a Christian, had he cared for power only, he would not have shared in the domestic quarrels of the Church with that peculiar mixture of indecision and ardor; he would have issued his orders without discussion. Given

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his strength of character and his irresistible power, this very hesitancy, the offspring of scruples only, is a sure proof of his good faith.—*De Broglie, "L'Église et l'Etat au Quatrième Siècle," Vol. I, p. 381.*

(3) **The Pagan Restoration under Julian.**—Although Julian pretends that in all things he desires to avoid "novelties," yet on the aged trunk of paganism he grafted many new ideas and practices. The loans made from Christianity demand especial attention, as they show that the time was ripe for its operation, that it fitted in with the desires and needs of this society, and was made for it, since Julian, who detested Christianity, felt that he could successfully oppose it only by imitating it. But the imitation was a lame one; it undertook to combine mutually destructive principles. Neither party recognized its own in this incoherent system. It was scarcely worth the while to suppress Christianity if its best elements were to be retained. If the world could profit by the Christian life, what better interpreter of it than Christianity? Julian was anxious to save from complete ruin the remnants of ancient civilization, and his intention was praiseworthy. They contained more than one element that deserved survival and engrafting into our modern society. But those very elements were already in process of assimilation by Christianity. They were infiltrating into it from all sides, since it had put off so much of its severity, and come down into the world of every-day life. Soon the amalgam would be complete. The enterprise of Julian was utterly useless; his purpose was being worked out in another manner and under better auspices. His work might well perish; the world had nothing to lose by his failure.—*Gaston Boissier, "La Fin du Paganisme," I, p. 167.*

(4) **Did Decaying Heathenism Corrupt Christianity?**—If we are forced to admit that religious assimilation played a gravely important rôle in the breaking up of the old heathen life, we must at the same time acknowledge that, all circumstances considered, the new religion owed its victory to itself alone. Compromise in some points between the new faith and the old, the solid and prudent organization of the Church, her beneficent activity, the coöperation of the state, may have been important subsidiary factors in hastening the process of dissolution,—they were not the great central force that overthrew paganism. The fourth century merely witnessed the happy termination of the warfare between the superior religious energies of Christianity and the cults of heathenism that had raged in the pre-Constantinian period, and laid bare the helplessness of the ancient state during the last phases of the secular struggle. Perhaps in following centuries the Christian ideal was neither so sublime nor so pure. It remains true that the heathen world was very far from offering anything like it. Indeed, in spite of whatsoever contact may have happened with heathenism, Christianity stood over against it as something absolutely new. The humankind of the time was deeply religious in temperament, and could not therefore long escape the conviction that it had entered into the possession of the very highest religious ideal. And the victory of Christianity could not fail to be final and thorough, as soon as it won over the middle classes, in which lingered, as a domestic spiritual heirloom, the ancient spirit of veneration and submissiveness towards a higher power. Once they were won over, the unthinking multitudes, to whom religion was a mechanical custom, followed without difficulty.—*Schultze, "Untergang des Griechisch—roemischen Heidentums," p. 384.*

(5) **Christian Morality and Roman Civilization.**—In this great restoration of civilization which is due mainly to the impulse and the power of Christian morality, a great place must be given to the direct influence of Christian aspects of life and ideas of duty. Christian ideas of purity acted directly on all that was connected with family and domestic life. They forbade, with intense and terrible severity, before which even passion quailed, the frightful liberty in the relations of the sexes which in Greece, and at last in Rome had been thought so natural. Here was one great point fixed: the purification of the home, the sanctity thrown round the wife and the mother, the rescuing of the unmarried from the assumed license of nature, the protection given to the honor of the female slave and then of the female servant, were social victories well worth the unrelenting and often extravagant asceticism which was, perhaps, their inevitable price at first. . . . . So with the fiercer tempers and habits of men; against cruelty, against high-handed oppression and abuse of strength there was a constant unyielding protest in the Christian law of justice and charity, continually unheeded, never unfelt; even war and vengeance were uneasy under the unceasing though unavailing rebuke of the gospel law, and made concessions to it, though too strong, too fatally necessary, to submit to it.—*Dean Church, "Civilization Before and After Christianity," p. 140.*

(6) **Modification of Latin Character.**—Whence, in these races sprung from the subjects of the sternest of emperors and moulded under its influence, this reversal of the capital and leading marks, by which they are popularly known and characterized; this development of the emotional part of their nature, this craving after the beautiful in art? Whence the inexhaustible fertility and inventiveness, the unfailing taste and tact and measure, the inexpressible charm of delicacy and considerate forethought and exuberant sympathy, which are so distinctly French, and which mark what is best in French character and French writings? Whence that Italian splendor of imagination and profound insight into those subtle connections by which objects of the outward senses stir and charm and ennoble the inward soul? Who was it who in the ages of confusion which followed the fall of the empire, sowed and ripened the seeds which were to blossom into such wondrous poetry in the fourteenth century, into such a matchless burst of art in the fifteenth and sixteenth? Who touched in these Latin races the hidden vein of tenderness, the "fount of tears," the delicacies and courtesies of mutual kindness, the riches of art and the artist's earnestness? . . . It was the conversion of the races to the faith of Christ.—*Dean Church, "The Gifts of Civilization," p. 203.*

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6. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CHRISTIANIZED EMPIRE.

After the example of Constantine, his successors looked upon themselves as clothed with a quasi-episcopal character in all matters pertaining to the public relations of Christianity. In theory they acknowledged the spiritual independence of the bishops, and, when occasion offered, they rendered efficient support in preserving the unity of discipline and belief, as in their conduct toward the Donatists and the Manichæans. They enriched the churches not only with subsidies and revenues, but with lands, church-plate, quasi-municipal authority and privileges. As the emperor was the shadow of God on earth in the civil order, so the bishop was the present disinterested providence of the emperor protecting the people. Without formal proclamation there grew up an intimate concord of scope and spirit between the two orders, and the prophetic vision of a "Kingdom of God," a "City of God," seemed about to be realized among men. In proportion as the internal comfort and security of the state decreased, the need of religious harmony was evident. The Arian heresy in the fourth century, with all its minor imitators, and the great Christological controversies of Nestorianism and Monophysitism in the fifth century, emphasized this passion of spiritual unity, and revealed in the imperial soul one of the great political motives that, unconsciously enough but efficaciously, drew it toward Christianity—the latter's theory of fraternal unity and intelligent and willing subordination on a world-wide scale. On this head there is something supremely sad in the utterances of Constantine apropos of his attempts to suppress the schism of the Donatists. The great heresies were the storm centers, the political "oppositions" of the day, and they swept into their path of action whatever elements of discord, disaffection and revolution were lying around unorganized. The emperors were driven to and fro between the unbending orthodoxy of the Church and the implacable obstinacy of great bodies of heretics, who were often dissatisfied with the remote and absolutist central government, and secretly gave ear to velleities of national or racial freedom. As the prestige of conquest waned and the fiction of an invincible state, the value of religious unity stood out more clearly, and its preservation became a very obsession of the emperor. Hence impossible treaties, promises shattered on the ledge of principle, temporary combinations and makeshifts. Hence the alternate pursuit of Athanasius and Ambrose, the exiles of Nestorius, and the Eutychians, the hunting of Donatists and the tortures of Priscillianists. Hence a gradual encroachment, for the sake of present gain or immediate relief, on the independence of the Church, and the gradual awakening of the latter to the dangers that lay in this intimate alliance of two powers, each claiming the whole man, even if under widely different aspects? The sorrows of Vigilius and the sufferings of Martin are the outcome of the policy that banished in turn an Arius and an Athanasius, forgetful of its own original and noble policy as outlined in the edict of Milan.

Christian missions spread the faith in this period through Persia, Armenia, Georgia, Abyssinia, even in China, Southern Arabia, and the East; among the Visigoths and Ostrogoths in the West, though under the form of Arian heresy, and among other Teutonic tribes, notably the Burgundians and Vandals. The conversion of Ireland opened the way to Christianity among the Keltic peoples.

Within the Church itself new offices appear, archpriest, archdeacon; the diocese is divided into parishes; the ecclesiastical celibacy is strictly enforced in the West, while the East retains the more ancient liberty; new patriarchates arise, like Constantinople and Jerusalem. Above all, the primacy of the Roman See is more steadily asserted and accepted, as a rule, by all the churches. In all the great Christological and anthropological controversies Rome stands well to the front on the side of orthodoxy, and deals with the emperors as a power apart and vicarious for the whole Church. The conciliar institution reaches now its fullest growth; a

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written and fixed liturgy, an ecclesiastical year with its recurrent feasts, the veneration of Saints and of their images, the institution of monachism, the growth of a peculiar Christian art, notably the basilical architecture and the arts of miniature and of working in mosaic and ivory. Above all, an independent literature, Greek and Latin, with its echoes in Syriac, Armenian, Coptic and Ethiopic, developed in controversy, bearing all the marks of a time of "Sturm und Drang," but original and pregnant, capable of inspiring ten centuries to come, of furnishing them with great ideas, and of moulding new vernaculars to transmit the same. (1)



Church of St. Apollinaris, in Ravenna. Sixth Century.

Unfortunately for the hopes of Christianity, this period of its growth was closed by the apparition of Islam along the line of the Eastern provinces of the empire. Mahomet (570-632) set himself up as an inspired prophet of monotheism with an admixture of Christian and Jewish elements, the whole leavened by Semitic fanaticism. He precipitated multitudes of desert swordsmen on an empire weakened in all its extremities by economic exhaustion, crystallized religious dissension, reviving nationalisms, multitudes of wandering exiled Jews. (2) The overthrow by Heraclius of the Persian Chosroes (628) did not stay the terrific rapidity of the propagation of Islam. Its success, brought about by a skillful or lucky combination of fanaticism, toleration, cajolery, sensual concessions, positive and negative proselytism, closed the Orient to Greek Christianity, and shut up the great heart of the empire between unelastic, unsympathetic polities, East and West.

6. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CHRISTIANIZED EMPIRE.

(1) **The Evolution of the Church.** — In this time the Church has, indeed, reached the measure of a world-power, a mighty kingdom of the Lord, embracing in a higher unity both Hellene and barbarian, sharing with each her higher dignity, and destined to outlive both the one and the other. Equipped with few earthly helps, working through weak human organs, subject to conflict at every step, she still wrests from unwilling hands her independence; in time she forges new weapons, spiritual and temporal, to protect it against new attacks, and to permit her unceasingly to interpenetrate and saturate with her spirit the popular life. In place of the lovable but artless ingenuousness and simplicity of worship, doctrinal technology, and discipline, we have the riper charm and witchery of the beautiful, the radiant and mature perfection of form, without quite sacrificing the unassuming naturalness of an earlier phase of Christian life. The inner life of the Church could not but exhibit itself in her exterior, and in manifold shapes. All dormant forces had to be aroused; popes and councils vied with one another in rooting out the tares of evil and in planting the germs of good. From mean beginnings sprang the great corporations of the Orders. On a few simple words of the New Testament were built up marvelous institutions of charity, masterpieces of literature, lives that acted as magnets of attraction, as inspirations to similar perfection. Over the narrow corridors and chambers of the Catacombs the splendid basilicas lifted their vast, reposeful lines. On all sides the supernatural suffuses with its light the natural, but without doing violence to the latter's intrinsic bent or trend. The peoples of Greek and Roman culture were in the eventide of their vocation; strong and youthful races move up into the foreground of history. They are the chosen material with which the Church is to work out more successfully her mission to humanity. — *Hergenröther, "Kirchengeschichte," Vol. I, p. 653.*

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(2) **Causes of Byzantine Decay.**—The history of Constantinople is little more than the record of a despotic power. So far from presenting the interest and advantage which must always attach to the history of the most insignificant of free peoples, it is hardly the history of a people at all. It is the story of a government, not of a nation; of a government indeed, which, with all its faults, for many centuries discharged its functions better than any contemporary government in the world, but which never called forth that warmth of patriotic affection which gathers round the stormiest commonwealth in which the citizen feels that he is himself a partner, which often gathers round the vilest despotism, if the tyrant is still felt to be the chief of his own people. But the emperor of the Romans never became a national sovereign to the Egyptian or the Syrian, or even to the Sicilian or Peloponnesian Greek.—*Freeman, "Historical and Political Essays," Vol. III, p. 241.*

FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **FROM THE FALL OF JERUSALEM TO THE MIDDLE AGES.**—Roman rule, Dispersion, Temple defiled, Legalism, the Mishna, The Talmud, Karaites, Gershom, Maimonides.
2. **FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO MODERN TIMES.**—Persecutions and their pretexts, Expulsions, Habitat after 1500, Traditionalism, Religious freedom, Mendelssohn, Zionism.
3. **DIFFUSION OF THE ECCLESIA. ITS CONSTITUTION.**—Geographical description of earliest Christian communities, Estimate of number of Christians about A.D. 300, Hierarchy and Laity, Choice and Support of Clergy, Church of Rome.
4. **CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN STATE. HERESY AND SCHISM.**—Official character of persecutions, their number and immediate causes, Decius and Diocletian, Nature of heresy, Earliest sources and representatives.
5. **THE OVERTHROW OF GRECO-ROMAN PAGANISM.**—Attitude of Constantine toward paganism, Attitude of his children, of later Emperors, The consequences, legal, political and social.
6. **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE CHRISTIANIZED EMPIRE.**—Relations of the imperial and ecclesiastical authorities, Encouragement of missions, Development of hierarchy, of ecclesiastical institutions, The Church of Rome, Growth of Islam, Its causes.



Arch of Constantine in the Forum in Rome.

QUESTIONS.

1. *Describe the political condition of the Jews under Rome. What was the tendency up to Constantine's time? What was the Talmud? What distinguished the twelfth century?*
2. *Describe the political and social condition of the Jews during the Middle Ages. When was religious freedom first granted them? What did Mendelssohn recommend?*
3. *In what lands did primitive Christianity make its first converts? What were the human causes of its rapid spread? What were the relations between bishop, priests and deacons?*
4. *What was the keynote of the earliest imperial procedure against Christians? By what literary means did Christians defend themselves? What were the two chief sources of the earliest heresies?*
5. *What was the Edict of Milan? What was the origin of the term "pagans"? Under what emperor was paganism finally and officially abrogated?*
6. *Describe the particular services of the Christian Emperors to the new religion. What caused their varying attitude in the great heresies? What missions did the Church undertake in this period? What notable institutions were developed?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The fate of men without a country.*
2. *The fate of religion isolated from other culture-elements.*
3. *The development of the Roman Church.*
4. *The archæological evidences of the persecutions.*
5. *The influences of Neoplatonism.*
6. *The formation of the imperial Byzantine character.*

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7. CONVERSION OF BARBARIAN EUROPE.

The conversion of the Angles and Saxons in Britain, though not the first of the national Teutonic conversions, was scarcely less momentous than the conversion of Chlodwig and his Franks. In 596 Augustine landed in England with forty monks, sent by Gregory I., and eventually succeeded in establishing two ecclesiastical provinces: Canterbury and York. The Roman mission was supplemented in 633 by the mission of Irish monks of St. Columba from Iona, under whom the Christian discipline was restored, and a fresh impetus given to the conversion of the island, which was accomplished in the reign of Caedwalla (685-688). (1)



The Ruthwell Cross in Scotland. Seventh Century. Such Crosses were incised with Biblical scenes, and formed centers of devotion.

The battle of Tolbiac (496), which decided the conversion to Christianity of Chlodwig (Clovis), King of the Franks, was also the beginning of the conversion of the Alemans or Suabians, who suffered defeat in that conflict. A hundred years later they were still pagan, when the Irish monks, Gallus and Columbanus, began their permanent conversion, which was accomplished by 750. Their neighbors, the Bavarians, were finally converted by Ruprecht of Worms in the latter half of the seventh century, at which time the peoples of Thuringia received the faith from Irish monks, under the guidance of Kilian. Bishoprics and monasteries were usually founded to sustain the labors of the missionaries. For nearly fifty years the Anglo-Saxon monk Willibrod (690-739) toiled among the Frisians in the Netherlands after receiving episcopal consecration at Rome (695). All these efforts were unified and solidified by the Anglo-Saxon Winfrid (680-754), who received in 719 the name of Boniface from Pope Gregory II., with the mission to evangelize Germany. To this he devoted the rest of his life, converting new tribes, extirpating abuses, organizing both old and new communities, and establishing on all sides institutions destined to foster his work. The building of monasteries of men and women, the creation of episcopal sees, the holding of reform councils, frequent journeys to Rome, constant correspondence, fill up the days of the great apostle, who was eventually martyred by pagan Frisians. At Paderborn (777-785) the Saxons at last yielded and accepted baptism, but not until they had exhausted the patience of the great Karl, and brought about at Verden the cruel massacre of 4,500 of their own. From the Saxon monastery of Corbie, Anschar went out (826) to convert Denmark, but it was only slowly that the nation was won over from Hamburg to Aarhus (988). Early in the eleventh century seeds of Christianity were sown in Sweden, where they ripened slowly. From Haco the Good to Olaf Tryggvason (938-1000) Norway was the scene of Christian missionary labors. The self-exiled Northmen who

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harried the continent were converted in the lands they raided, as in Ireland and Normandy. About the year 1000 Christianity was established firmly both in Iceland and Greenland. At the same time it was making rapid strides in the Slavic world. Croatia, Carinthia and Moravia were the first to accept the gospel, brought to them through Roman or German missionaries, especially by way of Passau or Salzburg. Saints Cyril and Methodius, priests of Constantinople, are, however, the true apostles of the Slavic peoples. To Cyril the Slavs owed their (Glagoliza) alphabet, and to Methodius the use of the vernacular tongue in the liturgy. Bohemia became Christian (845-875) after grave internal dissensions; about 965, the Bohemian wife of the Duke of Poland determined the conversion of that nation, and the establishment of episcopal sees at Posen and Gnesen. The Wends between the Elbe and the Oder were compelled to receive the Christian faith in the latter half of the tenth century, but as late as 1066 they were still rebellious. Servia and Bulgaria accepted about 868 the religion of their Greek conquerors, while the following century (862-987) saw the conversion of those Varangian descendants of the tribe of Russ, who had founded Russia. At the battle of Lech (955) Otto I. broke the power of the Hungarians, who soon after became Christian, notably under King Stephen the Pious (897-1038), though his example and his generosity to the new religion did not prevent a subsequent century of disorder. These gains in the North and East of Europe were set off to some extent by losses in the Spanish peninsula, where the battle of Xérès de la Frontera (711) established an Arab dynasty on the throne of the Visigoths, and opened a new chapter of alternate peace and warfare. The battle of Poitiers (732) saved the rest of Europe from Islam, but the ninth century in particular saw several successful attempts of the Saracens in Sicily, Italy and even in Provence.

The five centuries in which was effected the conversion of Central, Northern and Eastern Europe offer a striking spectacle. Christian virtue was brought home to millions of men who had never risen above the ideal of animal courage. In the persons of apostles and saints of both sexes a spiritual world was opened up that gave employment to the crushed or famished instincts of the heart. Woman, the slave, the captive, the child, the failures even of barbarian society, appeared in a new light, transfigured as brethren in Christ. A host of new ideas clamored for expression in the vernaculars of semi-savage tribes. The Roman private law, so equable, rational and common-human in its spirit and provisions; the canon law, so evangelical and other-worldly in its scope and method, perfected or modified their rude customary usages and procedure. (2) A certain detritus of ancient culture was preserved as sacred fire, which would one day quicken into mediæval literature and art. The Church itself was now just such a society as was needed by the barbarian tribes: motherly and compassionate, where they were rude and violent; universal, where they were splintered into infinite sections; refined, where they were coarse and uncouth; related intimately to all past history, peoples and civilization, where they were but emerging from their forests or deserts. (3) In these centuries they learned what virtue was when practiced by the Christian: their own institutions, like feudalism, took on something of Christian mildness and mysticism. Then was seen that rare phenomenon, an apostolic nation, in the persons of the thousands of Irish missionaries who flooded Central Europe, while their disciples and imitators, the Anglo-Saxons, were scarcely less active and devoted. (4) In the latter half of this period bloodshed and force appear as unchristian and deplorable elements of persuasion,—a fanatic crusading spirit, that often saw in the baptism of the pagan tribes the sure renunciation of old national or racial independence or opposition. Nor could this vast work be done without some concession to the popular passions or traditions, as living in pagan superstitions. They were gradually eliminated or allowed to live on under forms that did not seriously affect Christian principles or doctrine. That there is a certain unity in this long missionary move-

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ment is owing to the direction and influence of the Roman Church, to which mediately or immediately are referable the impulses that brought these Northern nations into the Church.

7. CONVERSION OF BARBARIAN EUROPE.

(1) **Venerable Bede on Pope Gregory.**—At this time, that is, in the year of Our Lord 605, the blessed Pope Gregory, after having most gloriously governed the Roman apostolic see thirteen years six months and ten days, died, and was translated to the eternal see of the heavenly kingdom. Of whom, in regard that he by his zeal converted our nation, the English, from the power of Satan to the faith of Christ, it behooves us to discourse more at large in our ecclesiastical history, for we may and ought rightly to call him our apostle; because, whereas he bore the pontifical power over all the world, and was placed over the churches already reduced to the faith of truth, he made our nation, till then given up to idols, the Church of Christ, so that we may be allowed thus to attribute to him the character of an apostle; for though he is not an apostle to others, yet he is so to us; for we are the seal of his apostleship in the Lord.—"*Ecclesiastical History of the English People*," *Bk. II, c. 1.*

(2) **The Elevation of Civil Authority.**—The most august thing on earth is the royal dignity; but it is full of danger, solicitude, and fatigue. All power comes from God, but human kings reign, and legislatures fix the laws. You will therefore be obliged to give an account to God of the flock which is confided to you. Above all, observe the duties of pity, and serve the Lord your God with all your soul, and with a pure heart. Maintain with firmness before the whole world justice, without which no society can last, and distribute to the good their proper reward, and to the wicked their proper punishment. Protect the widows and orphans, the poor and the weak against all oppression. Be gracious to all who seek to approach you, mild and affable, for that beseems the royal dignity. Fulfill your functions in life, so that men may say that you governed not in your own interest, but in that of the people, and expect the recompense of your good actions not on this earth, but in heaven.—*The "Roman Pontificale" on the Consecration of Kings.*

(3) **Civilization and the Christian Missionaries.**—The crowd of unknown saints whose names fill the calendars, and live, some of them, only in the titles of our churches, mainly represent the age of heroic spiritual ventures, of which we see glimpses in the story of St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany; of St. Columban and St. Gall wandering from Ireland to reclaim the barbarians of the Burgundian deserts, and of the shores of the Swiss lakes. It was among men like these—men who were termed emphatically "men of religion"—that the new races first saw the example of life ruled by a great and serious purpose, which yet was not one of ambition or the excitement of war; a life of deliberate and steady industry, of hard and uncomplaining labor; a life as full of activity in peace, of stout and brave work as a warrior's was wont to be in the camp, on the march, in the battle. It was in these men, and in the Christianity which they taught, and which inspired and governed them, that the fathers of our modern nations first saw exemplified the sense of human responsibility; first learned the nobleness of a ruled and disciplined life; first enlarged their thoughts of the uses of existence; first were taught the dignity and sacredness of honest toil. These great axioms of modern life passed silently from the special homes of religious employment to those of civil; from the cloisters and cells of men, who, when they were not engaged in worship, were engaged in field work or book work—clearing the forest, extending cultivation, multiplying manuscripts—to the guild of the craftsman, the shop of the trader, the study of the scholar. Religion generated and fed these ideas of what was manly and worthy in man. Once started, they were reinforced from other sources; thought and experience enriched, corrected, and co-ordinated them. But it was the power and sanction of a religion and a creed which first broke men into their yoke that now seems so easy, gradually wrought their charm over human restlessness, and indolence, and pride, gradually reconciled mankind to the ideas and the ideas to mankind, gradually impressed them on that vague but yet real thing which we call the general thought and mind of a nation.—*Dean Church, "Christianity and the Teutonic Races," p. 241.*

(4) **Rome and the Anglo-Saxons.**—Henceforth the Saxon was no longer the Red Indian of the classic peoples, but a member of the world-wide church. Quicker than Frank or Lombard, he caught the spirit of Rome, and as long as he held the soil of England was unswervingly faithful to her. Through her came all his culture—the fine arts and music, and the love of letters. His books came from her libraries, and she sent him his first architects and masons. From her, too, he received with the faith the principles of Roman law and procedure. When he went abroad it was to her that he turned his footsteps, and when he wearied of life in his pleasant island home he betook himself to Rome to end his days beneath the shadow of St. Peter. In the long history of Christian Rome she never knew a more romantic and deep-set attachment on the part of any people than that of the Angles and Saxons, who for centuries cast at her feet not only their faith and their hearts, but their lives, their crowns, and their very home itself. Surely there must have been something extraordinary in the character of their first apostle, a great well-spring of affection, a happy and sympathetic estimate of the national character to call forth such an outpouring of gratitude, and such a devotion, not only to the Church of Rome, but to the civilization that she represented. Today the English-speaking peoples are in the van of all human progress and culture, and the English tongue is likely to become at no distant date the chief vehicle of human thought and hope. Both these peoples and their tongues are today great composites, whose elements it would not be easy to segregate. But away back at their fountain-head, where they issue from the twilight of their history, there stands a great and noble figure who gave them their first impetus on the path of religion and refinement, and to whom must always belong a large share of the credit which they enjoy.—*T. J. Shahan, "Gregory the Great," in the Catholic World, Jan., 1895, p. 516.*

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8. THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

The splendid theory of an orderly coöperation of all the spiritual and temporal forces of Christians under the pope and the emperor as representatives, each in his own order, of Jesus Christ, was the basic idea of mediæval life in the West. (1) The coronation of Charlemagne at Rome on Christmas Day, 800, proclaimed the restoration of a system whose germs are traceable to a very early period of Christianity. Nor did it always remain a theory; even in the disorders subsequent on the death of Charlemagne it continued to impress the individual as the desirable ideal; it was never abandoned by the churches, and it was strong enough, after a century of abeyance, to awake in the Othos, and successfully hold its own for three hundred years. In the ninth and tenth centuries no man arose in the State of the measure of Charlemagne to adapt the theory to the situation, and the Roman Church produced no pope of genius in the same time to dominate a scene of miscellaneous embryonic institutions and bring unity and purpose out of a manifold but disorganized activity. The splintering of his State by the will of Charlemagne was a first rude blow at the fabric so laboriously evolved out of the wreck of the Roman provincial governments and the interim kingdoms of barbarians. The growth of the imperial *missi* into hereditary feudal lords rendered it doubly difficult to fully realize the imperial idea, while the independence of the French Carlovingians, of the Arab state in Spain, and of the British Isles, reduced the actual power to very moderate limits. To this must be added the fierce turbulence of the Roman nobles and people who balanced Emperor and Pope against their own license, and, more than any other single element, contributed to the imperfection of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation. Constantinople never forgave this empire the impertinence of its existence; the remnants of Italian freedom in the North gathered about the empire's own great vassals; the semi-bandit nobles of the Campagna closely allied to the "militia" of the Eternal City, dreamed of the Empire of Trajan and Hadrian; the Greeks of Southern Italy felt the quickening pulse of blood as they looked towards the East; the popes were constantly obliged to resent encroachments or to enter into personal conflict, on moral grounds, with the degenerate heirs of Charlemagne. (2) Family dissensions long divided them; when these seem exhausted, the Northman and the Hun ravage the heart of the Empire until the conversion of Rollo (912) and the battle of Lech (955) leave Christian Europe free from immediate fear of pagan domination. The Saxon emperors cherish the dream of the ancient Roman state; they exercise considerable, but not unhealthful, pressure on the Roman Church; the pious, mystical, Catholic element is uppermost in these Othos and first Henrys. So, too, the Franconian line. But in the latter half of the eleventh century the Church, responding to influences from Cluny, began to take alarm at her gradual enslavement, and under Henry IV. and Gregory VII. broke out the famous quarrel concerning the investiture of the bishops, whether by crozier and ring or by the royal sceptre. Many of them, especially in Germany, had long been great feudataries; as such, their offices were equivalent to the highest charges in the State. Hence their election, by abuse, had gradually fallen into the hands of the emperors, and thereby the reform of the clergy in the matters of simony and incontinency made



Henry IV., Emperor of Germany.

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impossible. Whatever the wisdom of individual steps or the political shortcomings of individual popes, each felt that in this long struggle he was holding out for an essential condition of Christian truth and life. (3) Under the Hohenstaufen the struggle reached its acme. Frederick Barbarossa and Frederick II. waged an almost unrelenting war against the papacy. The latter, in the persons of Alexander III. (1159-1181) and Gregory IX. (1227-1241), was not unequal to the task, and by spiritual and temporal weapons, including deposition of the Emperor, came out victorious. In 1268 the last of the Hohenstaufen, the little Conradin, perished by a cruel death; the Empire was broken, masterless; a sad inheritance of suspicion, vendetta, and irreligiosity was stored up for the near future; the theory of the pope and the emperor was made obsolete by the new power of kings, and the incipient states of modern Europe. The failure of the mediæval political ideal is not traceable to its impossible sublimity, nor to the intractability of the popes. The sense of growth and power, the decay of earnest faith through wealth and scandal and delayed reform, the example of Constantinople and her subservient clergy, the subtler influences of Islam, the increase and union of scattered anti-ecclesiastical forces, the antithesis of imperial and peninsular interests, the evil influences of the study of the absolutist Roman law, were among the influences that worked on the Hohenstaufen emperors and their counsellors.

8. THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

(1) **Theory of the Mediæval Empire.** — It is that of an universal Christian monarchy. The Roman Empire and the Catholic Church are two aspects of one society, a society ordained by the divine will to spread itself over the whole world. Of this society Rome is marked out by divine decree as the predestined capital, the chief seat alike



Bishops of the Eleventh Century.

of spiritual and of temporal rule. At the head of this society, in its temporal character as an Empire, stands the temporal chief of Roman Christendom, the Roman Cæsar. At its head, in its spiritual character as a Church, stands the spiritual chief of Christendom, the Roman Pontiff. Cæsar and Pontiff alike rule by divine right, each as God's immediate Vicar within his own sphere. Each ruler is bound to the other by the closest ties. The Cæsar is the Advocate of the Roman Church, bound to defend her by the temporal arm against all temporal enemies. The Pontiff, on the other hand, though the Cæsar holds his rank not of him, but by an independent divine commission, has the lofty privilege of admitting the Lord of the World to his high office, of hallowing the Lord's Anointed, and of making him in some sort a partaker in the mysterious privileges of the priesthood.—*Freeman, "The Holy Roman Empire," Essays (I) p. 138.*

(2) **The Papacy and Royal Divorces.** — The popes never rendered greater service to humanity than when they repressed in the person of princes the excesses of that passion which is terrible even in mild men, but which is beyond description in the case of violent natures, and which will forever laugh at the holiest laws of marriage, once it knows no fear. . . . The holiness of marriage, that basis of the public weal, is of the highest importance in royal families where certain disorders have an unsuspected and incalculable effect. Unless the popes were in a condition to control the great passions of the chiefs of the northern nations, these princes would have gone from one abuse, from one caprice to another, and ended by legalizing divorce and perhaps polygamy. Their example would surely find imitators in every class of society. What eye could fathom the limits of such a relaxation of law and order?—*De Maistre, "Du Pape," Bk. II, c. VII.*

(3) **The Mediæval Popes and Public Order.**— During the Middle Ages, when there was no social order, the Papacy, alone perhaps, saved Europe from total barbarism. It created bonds of connection between the most distant nations; it was a common center, a rallying point for isolated States. . . . It was a supreme tribunal, established in the midst of universal anarchy, and its decrees were sometimes as respectable as they were respected. It prevented and arrested the despotism of the Emperors, compensated for the want of equilibrium and diminished the inconveniences of the feudal system.—*Ancillon, "Tableau des Revolutions, Etc.," I. pp. 79, 106.*

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9. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

The government of the Mediæval Church presents a varied development, the outcome of a multitude of circumstances that differ according to age and nation. In the early part we have the mixed or national synods and the canonical or common life for the clergy, the tithes, the advocates or protectors of the churches. The latter enjoy a growing independence of jurisdiction, civil and general, over their clergy, immunities of many kinds, certain sovereign rights. On the other hand, the care of the poor, the sick, and strangers fall on them. The cathedrals and abbeys are the chief centres of mediæval life, and grow constantly in wealth, which brings about royal or lay interference in their elections, and grave disorders in their administration. In time the election of the bishop falls in theory to the cathedral chapter or canons; the archdeacon gives way to the vicar general, more dependent on the bishop; auxiliary bishops are multiplied. The pope is frequently appealed to for justice in both orders. Since the pseudo-Isidoran decretals, his recognized power is more frequently applied, especially in the cases of bishops, henceforth less subject to the provincial council. According as the nations are unified, the reins of church government are drawn closer, and new details of it fall under the immediate authority of the pope. The election of the pope is gradually confined to the cardinals, who take on a new importance with the increase of the prerogatives of the Roman See. The canon law, the outcome chiefly of Scripture, ancient custom, decrees of councils and decisions of popes, is logically formulated in the twelfth and codified in the thirteenth century.



The Cloister of Lindisfarne in Northumbria.

The worship of the Church is marked in the West by the almost general adoption of the Roman liturgy, the development of the church-song, Gregorian and figured, and the introduction of the organ. The Eucharist is received under the one species of bread; its elevation remains as a protest against the heresy of Berengarius. The churches gradually give up the Romanesque to adopt the freer and more ambitious Gothic. Sculpture especially flourishes, and miniature, while much skill is shown in all the minor arts, encouraged especially by church plate and church furniture. The feasts multiply, both general and local, until they consume a great part of the year. The penitential discipline is variously modified; censures of many kinds, interdicts, and excommunications are frequent, often invoked in the interest of the oppressed, or to curb absolutism. Pilgrimages to Rome, Jerusalem, or Compostello are frequent. In the increasing veneration of saints, their canonization passes from the bishops to the pope. The monastic life in Europe soon counts more clerics than laymen,—hence the care of souls, missionary work. (1) The Benedictine order overruns Europe, and brings the soil into cultivation, (2) instructs the peasantry, keeps alive the arts of reading and writing, a love of literature and of science. In

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time its great wealth, the intrusion of lay abbots, the familiarity of the great, bring about disorders and decay. The reforms of Cluny (910-1048) Citeaux, the Chartreuse, and similar attempts, restore it to esteem; but the democratic spirit of the thirteenth century, and the opposition to luxury and to excessive wealth, bring forth the Mendicant Orders, in which not only the individual but the corporation is considered as poor. What the monasteries had slowly gained by a gradual exemption from the bishops was gained from the beginning by the Mendicant Orders through direct subjection to the pope. The ecclesiastical celibacy, constantly insisted on as the rule by councils and popes, was not always strictly observed; but this abuse was vigorously opposed by Gregory VII., who succeeded, with some exceptions, in compelling its observance throughout Europe.

The ancient paganism did not die out too rapidly. The "judgments of God," ordeals, duels, etc., lived on among the Teutonic Christians, but were formally disavowed by Innocent III. The Word of God was assiduously preached, as a rule. (3) The "Peace of God" did much to diminish private warfare, that bane of the Middle Ages. The typical examples of countless holy lives, of such men as St. Bernard, St. Dunstan, St. Bruno, St. Malachy, did much to counteract the passions and lawlessness of the time. The charitable establishments were exceedingly numerous; the highest charity, that of education, became in time the most common form of beneficence, as seen in the monastery and grammar schools and the universities. In the early Middle Ages the education of the rural clergy was very inferior, both in the East and West. Men like Bede and Alcuin, or Sedulius Scotus and Photius, were very rare. But the monastic and episcopal schools were never closed. (4) From them issued the corporations of students that made the universities; from them came the first scholastics, the great mystical writers, and later on the great theologians of the thirteenth century.

9. THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

(1) **Idea of the Monastic Life.**—The impulse which led men to join it was in the desire to overcome the world, and to make themselves ready for immortal experiences. Their daily life kept before them the eternity for which they were preparing. The earth was to perish, and the things of the earth to be burned and to vanish. . . . . A century hence, what would it matter to any man whether he had to spend a few years in a palace or in a hut; had eaten dainties and slept in state, or had eaten coarse food and slept on the hard pallet of the monk?—*Storrs, "Life of St. Bernard," p. 236.*

(2) **The Benedictines and the Soil of Europe.**—The extraordinary benefit which they conferred on society by colonizing waste places—places chosen *because* they were waste and solitary, and such as could be reclaimed only by the incessant labors of those who were willing to work hard and live hard—lands often given because they were not worth keeping—lands, which, for a long while, left their cultivators half starved, and dependent on the charity of those who admired what we must too often call a fanatical(?) zeal—even the extraordinary benefit, I say, which they conferred on mankind by thus clearing and cultivating, was small in comparison with the advantages derived from them by society, after they had become large proprietors, landlords with more benevolence, and farmers with more intelligence and capital, than any others.—*Maitland, "The Dark Ages," p. 331.*

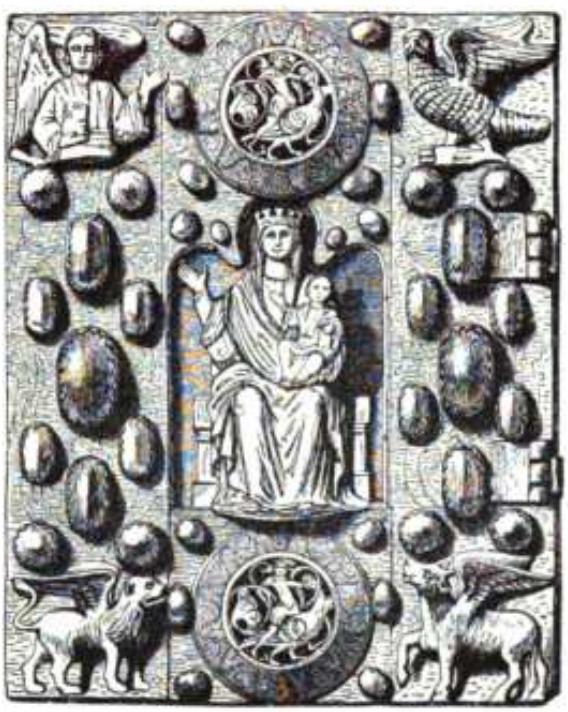
(3) **The Church as Teacher of Religion.**—The Primers which were in the hands of every educated man and woman in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, answered to no small extent to our present book of Common Prayer. They contained the offices said daily in the Church, the seven penitential psalms, the fifteen gradual psalms, the litany, and the offices for the departed, as well as the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the ten commandments, and the seven deadly sins. Thus the Church, in the Middle Ages, teaching her children either orally or by book, put them in possession of the seed plot from which might grow the fairest forms of devotional life. By the creeds she taught them the faith. In Holy Scripture she pointed them to the true basis of all meditation. By the commandments and the list of the seven deadly sins, she led them to self-examination and penitence. By her public offices she taught them due harmony of praise, of intercession, and of prayer. Finally, in the daily Eucharist she brought them to renewed self-consecration in the fulness of corporate worship. Mediæval religion, with all its faults, set before every man a definite scheme of Christian life and duty, and showed him how he might accomplish it.—*Wakeman, "An Introduction to the History of the Church of England" (1897), p. 184.*

(4) **The Function of Mediæval Latin.**—Just think now what this common familiarity with mediæval Latin implies. It implies almost as ready a hold on all the great works of antiquity as the power of reading English at the present day implies with respect to our national classics. . . . This facility of learning was limited only by the scarcity of books; a very fatal limitation, but not half so fatal as the common fault of these days when there are so many more books than there are readers with a will to read them.—*Bishop Stubbs, "Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediæval and Modern History," p. 176.*

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10. THE GREEK SCHISM AND THE RENAISSANCE.

The roots of the Greek Schism are old, and spring partly from the character of Greeks and Latins, partly from historical events. The chief reason was the ambition of the bishops of Constantinople and the pride of the clergy of the New Rome, haughty and powerful men, who looked down on the Latin West as wanting in culture and refinement. The jealousy of the emperors, often helpless before the Roman bishops, the growing affection of the Italian people for the atter, the absence of all expansion for the Greek, with the narrow, hostile anti-Latin spirit that this brought on, the reminiscences of the barbarian blood in the Western nations, the survival of pure Roman imperialism, the Iconoclastic struggles, were so many predisposing causes to a separation of the churches. It came between 857 and 1054. In the former year began the long series of events which brought about the first formal conflict between the two churches. The rightful patriarch of Constantinople, Ignatius, was deposed by the Emperor, and Photius, a learned but ambitious and wily layman, put in his place. Rome sustained Ignatius, deposition and counter-deposition took place. The eighth ecumenical council (869-870) was held at Constantinople against Photius, but its action was reversed ten years later. In the end Ignatius died as patriarch, but Photius was unanimously agreed on as his successor. Both parties were inimical to the West in the matter of the Bulgarians, whose incorporation in the patriarchate of Constantinople was strongly opposed by Rome. Photius furnished the literary and theological weapons, and formulated the various objections since urged by the Schismatic Greeks —the insertion of the *Filioque* in the creed, the use of unleavened bread for the Eucharist, the celibacy of the clergy, the fasting on Saturday, the rejection of the Greek confirmation by priests, the belief in purgatory. Photius died in 912, but the temporary reconciliation was only on the surface. (1) The peace was broken by harsh controversies in the middle of the eleventh century, which ended in the excommunication by Leo IX. of the patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Caerularius (1054). The crusades did not help the later attempts at union, especially the fourth crusade, which ended in the capture of Constantinople and the establishment of a temporary Latin empire on the Bosphorus (1204-1270). The fear of the Ottoman and the hope of Western help brought about a temporary submission of the Greeks at Florence (1439), but this formal act never met with the acceptance of the ignorant and embittered clergy and people. Long before the fall of Constantinople (1453) it was a dead letter. Since that event the schism has been final and complete. (2) The pope did well in trying to close the Greek schism, for the first rent of another was already visible. The passionate cultivation of the Greek and Latin classics in the fifteenth century, aided



Metal Book-Cover of a Lexicon, Thirteenth Century.

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by many discoveries, by the influx into Italy of exiled Greeks, the art of printing, a general awakening of the mind, and extraordinary commercial prosperity, turned men gradually to the false but specious philosophy of paganism, to scepticism, and epicureanism. In vain did the Christian humanists try to stem the tide. (3) The unhappy conflict of the two great powers had shattered the imperial ideal, and left the Church greatly in need of a thorough reform. Familiarity with sacred things, the long absence of the pope from Rome and the consequent decay of its symbolic influence, the bitter internal feuds, the degeneration of theological training and style, had left the ecclesiastical forces unequal to the responsibilities thrust upon them. The fine arts claimed the attention of all that was noble, wealthy and cultured; on all sides the senses were allowed a satisfaction that the severer Middle Ages abhorred as the gate of sin. Scripture, painting, architecture, music, flourished for the first time, independent and grandiose, with all the ineffable grace of antiquity, but with a something romantic and individual, in which a secular experience betrayed itself. The control of the old, stiff conventionalism in art was gone. New worlds of thought and matter were swinging within the ken of mankind. The European man had long been a member of two great ideal societies; he would now be himself the measure of all his capacities, the scope of all his energies. He little suspected that when he had closed this new orbit of activity, he would still be face to face with the mighty verities, the adamantine principles of Christianity, no less than his Catholic brethren of the Middle Ages.

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10. THE GREEK SCHISM AND THE RENAISSANCE.

(1) **The Share of Photius in the Greek Schism.**—The influence of Photius has never ceased to make itself felt. Since his days discipline, theology, and ecclesiastical life among the Greeks have moved in ever deepening antithesis to the Latins. The work of Photius entered into the very marrow of the Greek Church. He was the first to affix the stigma of heresy to the Latins; his doctrine on the procession of the Holy Spirit was quietly handed down during the tenth century; his polemical circular borrowed a new life from the use made of it by Caerularius, who enriched it with new causes of complaint. In the twelfth century his writings became still more popular; he is cited as an authority; the points of difference are multiplied; the primacy of Rome attacked with increasing bitterness, and an ever-deepening hate is roused against "the heretical West" Henceforth few attempted to defend the cause of union, and even these did so with many restrictions. The crusades and their consequences, the Latin empire of Constantinople, the violence of Western princes, deepened still more the chasm, and fed the savage fanaticism of the clergy, the monks, and the people. In vain did the imperial policy attempt to set a limit to this movement. The intellectual author of the schism was canonized, deified. The doctrines and system of Photius won so great an influence that no human might and strength sufficed to check them.—*Cardinal Hergenenræther*, "*Photius*," *Vol. III, p. 876.*

(2) **Rome and the Oriental Churches.**—Among the many means by which the popes have endeavored to heal this great schism, or to prevent a prescription, may be enumerated the following: the preservation of Oriental rites intact, the sending of missionaries to invite the schismatics to return, the frequent publication of solemn invitations of bulls, encyclicals, etc., the invitation to Oriental prelates to take part in the general councils, the occasional incorporation into the Roman Church of Oriental communities, special epistles to the Oriental clergy, the publication of suitable literature, the establishment at Rome of special commissions for Oriental religious matters, the acknowledgment of the Oriental rite whenever the pope celebrates a pontifical mass as Head of the Church, the habit of naming a patriarch of Constantinople, and the similar one of naming bishops for the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.—*Pitzipios*, "*L'Église Orientale*," *Bk. IV, p. 85.*

(3) **The Religious German Humanism.**—The period of German Reform which began in the middle of the fifteenth century, produced the most splendid results. It was a time when culture penetrated to all classes of society, spreading its ramifications deep and wide, a time of extraordinary activity in art and learning. By catechetical teaching, by sermons, by the translations of the Holy Scriptures, by instructional and devotional publication of all sorts, religious knowledge was zealously diffused, and the development of religious life abundantly fostered. In the lower elementary schools and the advanced middle schools, a sound basis of popular education was established; the universities attained a height of excellence and distinction undreamt of before, and became the burning centers of all intellectual activity. And more even than learning, art was seen to blossom and develop on the soil of national and religious life, beautifying all departments of life, public and private, secular and ecclesiastical, in the worthiest manner, while in its many grand and comprehensive works, inspired by the then prevailing sense of Christian brotherhood, it manifested the real core of the German genius and character.—*Janssen*, "*History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages*," *Vol. I, p. 283* (*English translation*).

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11. THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

The series of events by which the Western Church was definitively rent in twain is well known. In 1517, apropos of the preaching of indulgences by Tetzel, Luther opposed to him ninety-five theses. As a result of the discussion that followed Luther was excommunicated in the spring of 1520 by the Bull "Exsurge Domine," to which he replied by burning the bull and the books of the canon law at Wittenberg. A series of violent pamphlets from his pen roused all Germany. (1) Some earnest reformers, many humanists, and all the numerous enemies of Rome, with idle and dissolute monks, gathered about this new force. The imperial power was too weak to carry out the directions of Rome; the diets were divided; passion, self-interest, a long-seething hatred of Rome and jealousy of the empire, won to Luther several princes, prominent among whom were Frederick, the elector of Saxony, and Philip, landgrave of Hesse. They were the nucleus of a league of princes and cities, whose adherents received the name of Protestants at the diet of Spiers in 1529. War with France, and the threatening attitude of the Turk, made these princes necessary to the emperor, and the league of Smalkald in 1531 bound them definitely to the defense of Luther and his teachings. Conferences, diets and colloquia were held in great number, but the principles at stake and the immediate gains were too serious to be given up except at the point of the sword. The battle of Mühlberg (1547) was a momentary ray of hope in that direction, but the external occupations of the emperor forbade any utilization of victory. The treaty of Passau (1552) and the peace of Augsburg (1555), nine years after the death of Luther (1546), consecrated temporarily the new religious situation, in Germany at least, until the Thirty Years' war and the Treaty of Westphalia (1618-1648), when it was finally adopted, despite the protest of Pope Urban VIII. While the Reformation was, in principle, one and the same in all the lands of Europe—the rejection of the central authority—its immediate motives and methods differed much in every country. No doubt there were here and there ardent and noble, but misled, men, who saw in it the restoration of Christian freedom; they were usually the dupes of worldly and ambitious persons, who saw preferment, power and wealth in the new movement. (2) Few, if any, of the princes of Germany were moved by religious principle—all were led by avarice or love of dominion. Without their aid the Reformation would have been stifled in the bud. In England it was brought about by the lust of Henry VIII. and the unprincipled servility of men like Cranmer. (3) In France and Italy, Spain, Ireland, and a large part of the Netherlands, it made little or no headway, if we except the Huguenot movement. Nor was it popular in the Northern king-



Martin Luther.



Henry VIII. of England.

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doms—the people were in reality robbed of their faith before they quite knew what had happened, and the regalist principles nurtured by the reformers precluded any possibility of resistance; for safety's sake they enslaved the once free Church to the state, a fact that alone explains the rapid spread of Protestantism, by which the hardly-won independence of the Church was lost in a generation, and even orthodox Catholicism driven into unsatisfactory relations and conditions that yet hamper its action. Other causes of the rapid spread of Protestantism were the immense spiritual discontent that everywhere prevailed, and made itself felt in national, conciliar and individual complaints and protests. Every one recognized the need of a reformation "in the head and in the members," i. e., at Rome and throughout Christendom; but in fact the ancient abuses were preserved, until not a reformation but a revolution broke out that left scarcely a vestige of the past. The great offices in the Church were given to nobles; the monasteries were largely exempt from the bishops' jurisdiction; venality, corruption and simony prevailed in very high places; a few great Italian families exercised an undue influence over the papacy; despair of any positive efficient action was setting in, that the delay of the Council of Trent and the sterility of earlier councils confirmed. Between the Church and the governments there was dislike or suspicion, partly the result of the long quarrel with the empire. The love of novelty was in the air, and the new catchwords were attractive—liberty of thought, freedom of the Christian man, a general priesthood. The prince or city was, unconsciously perhaps, drawn by avarice. The immoral priest or monk was content to cast away his obligations. The severe yoke of fasting, confession, etc., was no longer to be borne. Alms deeds and other good works could be abandoned for the simple act of faith by which alone man was made just and his redemption certain. A worldly careless episcopate, a clergy often degenerate or ignorant, were incapable of resisting; especially when popular preachers, reckless of truth or moderation, playing on every weakness of the people, backed up by the local authorities, appeared in great numbers. The people were flattered by communion under both species, by the use of the vernacular in the liturgy, and by the indiscriminate Bible reading,—a new fetich as bad as any denounced by the reformers. To this must be added the jealous opposition of France against the Hapsburgs, and the unjust violence used against Catholics by the princes and municipalities that adopted the new religion.



Erasmus, a Dutch scholar, who favored reform without dismemberment of the Roman Catholic Church.



Philip Melancthon, a German scholar, and collaborator with Luther.

For a while it seemed as if all the bonds of social order were broken; the reformers themselves stood aghast at the seething flood they had let loose. Typical in every way was the experience of the noble city of Muenster in Westphalia, where the Peasants' War, and the subsequent atrocities of the Anabaptists, opened men's eyes to the possibilities of certain of Luther's doctrines that he now repudiated, leaving the wretched peasants to their fate. The volumes of Dœllinger and Janssen abound with the detail evidence of the decay of social and academic life that was the first fruits of the Reformation. The internal divisions of the German people had now another and deeper fountain, and they did not cease to grow for a hundred years until, in the Thirty Years' War, the people reaped the dread harvest that had been sown a century before, and found themselves the bond-slaves of little absolutistic dynasties, where once they had enjoyed the sturdy, healthy freedom of Catholic mediæval life, out of which had come their

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wonderful architecture and all the masterpieces of their art. In England the dissolution of the monasteries inaugurated a social revolution, by precipitating on the state the problem of modern pauperism. (4)

11. THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.

(1) **The Personalities of Luther.**—The manner in which he treats the persons of his enemies is positively unexampled. We never meet in him that sorrowing love which hates only the error and tries to win over the erring person; on the contrary, his weapons are contemptuous scorn, violence, mockery and an overwhelming rush of invective, of personally offensive epithets—at times, even, of the most vile and common character. They flow from his pen as a stream from some inexhaustible spring. It is thoroughly false that in these matters Luther was no worse than his time. Whoever is acquainted with the contemporary and the immediately earlier literature knows that the contrary is true. Indeed, Luther's writings caused a universal astonishment by their intense personalism. Those who were not his immediate followers expressed their surprise, reproved him sharply, or called attention to the dangerous consequences of these uncontrolled attacks. But his disciples consoled themselves by speaking of the "heroic spirit" of the man, to which no one dared to prescribe either limit or measure.

They often claimed for him a sort of an inspiration, and freedom from the observance of the ordinary laws of morality, saying that what would be immoral and reproachable in others was permissible in him.—*Dœllinger, "Luther," p. 59.*

Of Luther, the reformer Ulrich Zasius said:

Luther has shamelessly turned the entire Scripture of the Old and New Testament, from the first chapter of Genesis to the very last words, into a series of threats and maledictions against the pope, bishops and priests, as though through all these long centuries God had no other business on hand except to thunder against priests. This conduct of Luther has begotten enmity, quarrels, factions, sects, hatefulness and murder.—*Janssen, "History of the German People," Vol. II, p. 135.*

(2) **The Reformers and Ecclesiastical Property.**—Luther drew up for the use of those who coveted their neighbors' goods a code consisting of eight articles, in which legal theft became a commandment of God. . . .

The princes were not mentioned in this plan of division; but, as Luther in his Argyrophylax said to them, "In a short while you will see what tons of gold are concealed in the monasteries," threatening the vengeance of heaven if they did not seize on them, the princes considered themselves authorized to regulate the partition of the booty.

They thoroughly comprehended the lion's share; from compassion they gave to the obstinate monks some clothing that they might beg on the highway—a little money to those that had been obedient to Luther, and by singular generosity the sacred vessels of the secular monasteries to the curate of the parish, if he consented to embrace Lutheranism; all the rest went to their mistresses and courtiers; and when they were as greedy as the landgrave of Hesse they kept to themselves the sacerdotal robes, tapestries and vessels of the sanctuary.—*Audin, "Life of Luther," Vol. II, p. 189.*

(3) **Variations of the English Reformers.**—Thus indeed, this reign of reformation was one of plunder, wretchedness and disgrace. Three times the form of the new worship was changed: and yet those who adhered to the old worship or went beyond the new were punished with the utmost severity. The nation became every day more and more despised abroad, and more and more distracted and miserable at home.

The Church, "as by law established," arose, and was enforced under two protectors or ministers, both of whom deservedly suffered death as traitors. Its principal author (Cranmer) was a man who had sent both Protestants and Catholics to the stake, who had burned people for adhering to the pope, others for not believing in Transubstantiation, others for believing in it, and who now burned others for disbelieving in it for reasons different from his own. A man who openly professed to disbelieve in that, for not believing in which he had burned many of his fellow creatures, and who after this most solemnly declared that his own belief was that of those very persons! As this church "by the law established" advanced, all the remains of Christian charity vanished before it. The indigent, whom the Catholic Church had so tenderly gathered under her wing, were now, merely for asking for alms, branded with red-hot irons, though no provision was made to prevent them from perishing with hunger and cold. And England, so long famed as the land of hospitality, generosity, ease, plenty and security to persons and property, became under a Protestant church the scene of repulsive selfishness, of pack-house toil, of pinching want, of rapacity, plunder, tyranny, that made the very name of law and justice a mockery.—*Cobbett, "The History of the Protestant Reformation in England and Ireland." 1896, p. 179.*

(4) **Decay of Schools after the Reformation.**—Under the popes not a child could escape the devil's broad nets, barring a rare wonder, so many monasteries and schools were there, but now that the priests are gone good studies are packed off with them. . . . When I was a child there was a proverb that it was no less an evil to neglect a student than to mislead a virgin. . . . This was said to frighten the teachers.—*Martin Luther in 1524, "Complete Works," (Frankfort) XXII, pp. 172-195, cited in Janssen (l. c.) VII, p. 11.*

The devil has misled the people into the belief that schooling is useless since the exit of the monks, nuns and priests. . . . As long as the people were caught in the abominations of the papacy, every purse was open for churches and schools, and the doors of these latter were widespread for the free reception of children who could almost be forced to receive the expensive training given within their walls.—*Luther in a Sermon of 1530 (Ibid.)*

In the "darkness of the papacy," wrote Conrad Porta of Eisleben, toward the end of the sixteenth century, "every one from the highest to the lowest, even servants and day-laborers, contributed to churches and schools; but now, in the clear light of the gospel, even the rich grow impatient, if ever so little be asked, even for the repairing and maintenance of those on hand."—*Janssen (l. c., p. 73.*

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12. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

The lifetime of Luther was the darkest hour in the history of the Roman Church. It seemed as if faith, authority, discipline, the entire Catholic system of life and thought, consecrated by a thousand years of universal affectionate acceptance, had gone down in one great storm. Naturally men looked at once to the historic remedy, a general council. After much disagreement as to what it should first treat—reform or doctrine, and where it should be held—in Germany or Italy, and who should be invited, it met at Trent in 1542. Interrupted frequently, transferred for a while to Bologna, it held, through four pontificates twenty-five sessions, and closed in 1563 its memorable and stormy career. It did not accomplish all that pope, emperor, and the people expected of it; war, passion, numberless interests and jealousies stood in the way—yet it saved Catholicism. It settled formally for the Catholic conscience all that Luther had denied or doubted—the sources and the criteria of faith, the office of the Church in the interpretation of Scripture, the nature of original sin and justification, the sacerdotal and sacramental systems, the authority of the Roman Church. It was a tangible proof that Christ lived and governed; that the organism of its society, though rudely shaken, was still functioning. (1) A severer line of popes came on the scene—Pius V., Gregory XIII., Sixtus V., Clement VIII. Henceforth bishops reside in their dioceses, attend to the education of their clergy, hold annual synods, visit Rome regularly, and report in detail as to Catholic life and sentiment. There are yet human weaknesses in the central government, nepotism for instance, but they yield to publicity and criticism—good and great popes are the rule. There is not in all history such a spectacle of sustained wisdom and morality as the papacy of the last three centuries. The monastic life is thoroughly reformed—St. Maur and La Trappe make up for much decay and relaxation in the Benedictines. The Jesuits enter upon the scene—an army of preachers, teachers, missionaries, the apostles of that doctrine whose rejection was the only principle of Protestant unity—the papal supremacy. The education of the clergy, the formation of Christian youth, the care of the sick, the ministry of the pest and the battle-field have each canonized saints at the head of their annals. The Holy Spirit quickened every force in the vast system of Catholicism; while yet its existence seemed in doubt, new millions were being won as the raw material for another conquest of faith. India, Japan, China, the islands of the sea, a new world across the Atlantic, made up the losses of Germany and England, that yet the old Church never ceased to mourn, and to call back to former unity; nor did her call go unechoed, even in the darkest days. Through annual synods and provincial councils the episcopal action was again felt in every parish; the letter and the spirit of the decrees of Trent were made operative. Bishops like St. Francis of Sales, Otto von Truchsess and Julius von Mespelbrunn were not uncommon. The Roman Church again chose for cardinals the most



Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish soldier, later a prelate, and (1541) first general of the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits.



St. Francis Xavier, a Spanish Jesuit and missionary, called "the Apostle to the Indies."

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learned and experienced men; many of them were models of laborious Christian life. The example of St. Charles Borromeo roused the clergy of all Catholic Europe and inaugurated practical reforms and improvements that are yet working in Catholicism. The remaining wealth of the Church was used for better purposes. Popes no longer squandered revenue on Greek manuscripts and rare coins; colleges, academies, seminaries, universities, attracted ecclesiastical wealth. The necessities of polemics created an incredible development and realignment of the ecclesiastical sciences; one after the other, dogma, moral, canon law, history, assert each its distinctive value and use. The original authorities are collected, the fathers are reprinted with critical care, the weak spots of Catholic apology noted and strengthened, the lives of the saints collected, sifted, studied critically. The old books of the Church service are re-examined and set in better order, the breviary, the missal, and the martyrology. The law books of the Church are corrected and adjusted to actual needs; Roman habit does not permit a quasi-impious abolition of ancient law, but rescript and constitution, committee-decisions, and the like, create such remedial legislation as is needed, according to time and country. The poets of Catholicism sing again in Italy and Spain; the solemn music of the ancient Church comes back, transfigured, from the soul of Palestrina. An architecture, somewhat over-laden, but adapted to a religion in which sacrifice, preaching and pomp are essentially public and popular, is created, chiefly by the new institutes and congregations. Preaching and catechetical instruction are again an essential item in the daily life of the priest; admirable manuals, like the Catechism of the Council of Trent and the Catechism of Blessed Peter Canisius, are in every cleric's hand; his stock of learning is larger and of better quality than before the Reformation. Controversies that would once have led to heresy or schism could now rage almost unchecked, owing to the work of the Council of Trent and the development of a critico-historical spirit among theologians. At Rome, Louvain, Douai, Paris, in the schools of Belgium, Spain and Germany, arose a multitude of learned men in every branch of ecclesiastical science, whose works are yet the scientific foundation of modern Catholicism,— Baronius, Bellarmine, Petavius, Suarez, Antonio Agostino, Bollandus, Papebroch, Lessius, Richard Simon, Stapleton, Du Perron, the theologians of Salamanca and Alcalà. Bossuet reviewed with judicial calm and philosophic method the mighty revolution that rent Europe. (2) The immense mass of detail administration of the universal Church was apportioned among permanent commissions, known as the Roman Congregations; the bishops again resumed responsible control over the monastic and religious houses by delegation of the Holy See; the scandals connected with benefices were extinguished; the appeals to Rome in first instance forbidden. In the common danger the depths of the Catholic heart were touched, and after the Council of Trent all Catholic forces rallied round the sign and bond of unity, the Roman Church. (3) Religious persecution bred a kindlier feeling, that the political



Jacques Bossuet, 1627-1704.



Pope Leo XIII.

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and dynastic wars of the time did not destroy. An army of saints was the practical answer to the Reformation, and among them some of the rarest flowers of Catholic mysticism, like St. Theresa and St. Rose of Lima. If there had been gross neglect and criminal obstinacy in the matter of reform before the revolution of Luther, there has been since then a marvelous awakening of the Catholic conscience. If before that event the spiritual and political interests were fatally ingrown with one another, since then the Church has developed a keen and accurate sense of her essential adaptability to all forms of government, and of the sublime spiritual character of her vocation in human society.

12. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.

(1) **Von Ranke on the Council of Trent.**—The council that had been so vehemently demanded, and so long evaded, that had been twice dissolved, had been shaken by so many political storms, and whose third convocation had even been beset with danger, closed amid the general harmony of the Catholic world. It may be readily understood how the prelates, as they met together for the last time on the 4th of December, 1563, were all emotion and joy. Even those who had hitherto been antagonists congratulated each



Cardinal James Gibbons.

other, and tears were seen to start into the eyes of many of those aged men. . . . The faithful were again subjected to the uncompromising discipline of the Church, and in urgent cases to the sword of excommunication. Seminaries were founded where young ecclesiastics were carefully brought up under strict discipline and in the fear of God. The parishes were regulated anew, the administration of the sacraments and preaching subjected to fixed ordinances, and the co-operation of the regular clergy subjected to determined laws. The bishops were held rigidly to the duties of their office, especially to the superintendence of the clergy, according to their various grades of consecration. It was a regulation attended with weighty results, that the bishops solemnly bound themselves by a special confession of faith, signed and sworn to by them, to observance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and to submissiveness to the pope.—*Von Ranke, "A History of the Popes, their Church and State, in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," Bk. III, p. 91.*

(2) **Bossuet as a Historian of Protestantism.**—From this separate internal analysis the "History of the Variations of Protestantism" is seen to be the result of extensive reading of the original authorities, and of exact research, a labor that may easily have consumed four years. Whoever will place himself in the same circumstances, with the intention of doing what Bossuet did, will at once see that the latter has collected almost all available information and has judiciously sifted his materials, among which are certain pieces more rare and useful than one would have suspected. As to his method, there is in it a severity, a prudence, a minute and scrupulous carefulness which no one would, at first blush, attribute to an oratorical and synthetic character. In formulating his conclusions he dares at times to differ from the views commonly held in his day; modern science, with its wider range and its surer method, has sustained him.—*Rebelliau, "Bossuet Historien du Protestantisme" (1891), p. 520.*

(3) **The Unity and Organization of Catholicism.**—As the Catholics in zeal and union had a great advantage over the Protestants, so they had also an infinitely superior organization. In truth, Protestantism, for aggressive purposes, had no organization at all. The Reformed Churches were mere national churches. The Church of England existed for England alone. It was an institution as purely local as the Court of Common Pleas, and was utterly without any machinery for foreign operation. The Church of Scotland, in the same manner, existed for Scotland alone. The operations of the Catholic Church, on the contrary, took in the whole world. Nobody at Lambeth or at Edinburgh troubled himself about what was doing in Poland or Bavaria. But Cracow and Munich were at Rome objects of as much interest as the purlieus of St. John Lateran. Our island, at the head of the Protestant interest, did not send out a single missionary or a single instructor to the scene of the great spiritual war. Not a single seminary was established here for the purpose of furnishing such a supply to foreign countries. On the other hand, Germany, Hungary, and Poland were filled with able and active Catholic emissaries of Spanish or Italian birth; and colleges for the instruction of the northern youth were founded at Rome. The spiritual force of Protestantism was a mere local militia, which might be useful in case of an invasion, but could not be sent abroad and could therefore make no conquests. Rome had such a local militia, but she had also a force disposable at a moment's notice for foreign service, however dangerous and disagreeable. If it was

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thought at headquarters that a Jesuit at Palermo was qualified by his talents and his character to withstand the Reformers in Lithuania, the order was instantly given and instantly obeyed. In a month, the faithful servant of the Church was preaching, catechising, confessing beyond the Niemen.—*Macaulay, "Essay on Von Ranke's History of the Popes," Vol. II, p. 486.*

SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **CONVERSION OF BARBARIAN EUROPE.**—Franks, Burgundians, Anglo-Saxons, Saxons, Danes, Swedes and Northmen. The Slav world, Moravia, Bohemia, Poland, Russia. Irish and Anglo-Saxon missions to the mainland of Europe. Social results. Source of missionary unity.
8. **THE PAPACY AND THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.**—Notion of the Holy Roman Empire, Causes of its weakness, Causes of Conflict with the See of Rome, Position of Italian and Roman nobles, Attitude of Constantinople.
9. **THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.**—Diversified character of religious development, Centers of mediæval religious life, the bishop, the abbey, the cardinal, the pope, the canon law, the Roman liturgy and language, the Benedictines, Celibacy of clergy, personal example, Charity, Education.
10. **GREEK SCHISM AND THE RENAISSANCE.**—Causes of the Greek Schism. When consummated. Efforts to close it, Chief characteristic of the Renaissance, The eve of the Reformation.
11. **THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION.**—The revolt of Martin Luther, the League of Smalkald, The Peace of Augsburg. Central principle of the Reformation, Causes of its success, The rapid decay of social and academic life.
12. **THE COUNTER-REFORMATION.**—The Council of Trent, Its doctrinal and disciplinary measures, It stems the Reformation, Awakens dormant energies, A "New Life" in the Roman Catholic Church, Survival of the Counter-Reformation.

QUESTIONS.

7. *Who were the principal missionaries among the Northern barbarians? Among the Oriental? What were the results of the battles of Xeres de la Frontera and Poitiers? Relate some workings of Christianity on private character of converts, on public life. What was the office of the Church? Give some shadows of the later missionary activities?*

8. *What did the coronation of Charlemagne mean? Why did his successor fail to live up to his ideal? Describe some causes of the imperial weakness. What did the battle of Lech mean? What was Cluny? What was at stake in the conflict concerning investitures? What causes brought about the decay of the Holy Roman Empire?*

9. *Around what institutions did the religious life of the Middle Ages develop? What was the Canon law, the Roman Liturgy? Describe the influence of the Benedictines? What remnants of ancient paganism survived, and why? Who maintained a literature and a system of education?*

10. *What causes divided the Greek and Latin Churches? Who was Photius? What was his share in the work? Michael Caerularius? What was done at the Council of Florence? What was the Renaissance? Describe its relations to the Reformation.*

11. *What were the religious circumstances of the Reformation? The political? What was the battle of Mühlberg? The peace of Augsburg? What was the internal condition of Roman Catholicism? What results followed the Reformation? Its economic consequences in England?*

12. *Why was the Council of Trent assembled? What delayed it? What were its consequences? What was the missionary activity of the Roman Church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? What was the development of ecclesiastical science, law, art, music? What was the increase of homiletic and catechetical activity? What signal evidence is there of a general awakening of the Catholic conscience and spirit?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The share of Irish and Anglo-Saxon missionaries in the literary renaissance under Charlemagne.*
2. *The polemical literature of the conflict concerning investitures.*
3. *Episcopal elections in the Middle Ages.*
4. *The character of Niccolo Macchiavelli.*
5. *Luther's principle of justification by faith alone.*
6. *The lives of Charles and Frederic Borromeo.*



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Wyclif's Church at Lutterworth. Drawn by Walt. M. De Kalb.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BY

RT. REV. JOHN F. HURST, LL.D., Chancellor of The American University, Washington, D.C

13. THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH, A.D. 30-101.

The visible Church consists of the organized believers in Christ and the followers of his life. In secular history the spiritual forces lie largely in the background, but in the life of the Church they have come out boldly into the foreground.

Christ immediately before his ascension commanded his disciples to remain in Jerusalem until they should be endued with power from on high. Without the descent of the Spirit at Pentecost there would have been no impulsive power in Christianity. The organization of the Church took place immediately after the remarkable scenes at Pentecost. Orders of ministers and lay members were established for the preaching of the gospel, the care of the needy, and the building up of the body of believers. The most simple arrangements were made for government, as the believers were as yet but few and confined to a narrow territory. The more elaborate polity was left for the future needs of the Church.

The practical life of the Christians was at once simple and beautiful. It was a type of all the essential qualities which Christ had taught as requisite for pure living and final salvation. Simplicity of faith and intense brotherly love had their practical demonstration in the equal distribution of temporal possessions. The community of goods did not arise from a divine command, but was merely the natural effect of that broad charity which sprang from the love of Christ and the possession of the Spirit. The real majesty of the early Church lay in its spontaneous quality. To crown all, there was a boundless fervor in communicating the gospel. The whole world seemed small. What the apostles had felt and known was now their sole passion. Both the apostle and the unlettered believer, each in his own best way, preached the new life in Christ, that all men might share its sacrifice here and its holy joy hereafter. (1)

In the Acts of the Apostles we have the chief source of information concerning the fields of work of the different apostles. The Epistles of Paul and his associates supply missing links in that more formal history. To these may be added the somewhat vague statements of writers from the second century to the fourth, many of which rest on the oral traditions of the early Church.

Peter represented the Jewish type of Christianity. He was slow to learn that

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Christianity was designed for all men. He made an evangelistic tour through portions of Asia Minor. At the time of writing his first Epistle he was in Babylon, where there was a large Jewish population. He confined his labors principally to the East.

Paul towers far above all the apostles in the majesty of his character, the scope of his genius, the depth of his learning and the sublime quality of his labors. His call was to the Gentiles. He made three great missionary tours through Asia Minor and Southeastern Europe. (2)

John represented the mediating element between Judaism and paganism. The scenes of his labor seem to have been, for the first twenty years after Pentecost, chiefly in Palestine; later in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates; then at Jerusalem, whence on the capture of that city by Titus he fled to Ephesus. His residence here was intermitted by his exile to the island of Patmos. He died in Ephesus about A.D. 98, when about one hundred years old.

The labors of the other apostles were widely bestowed. James the Elder suffered martyrdom in Jerusalem about A.D. 44. James, our Lord's brother, preached in Jerusalem, and finally died there a martyr. It was believed that Philip labored in Phrygia; Simon Zelotes, in Egypt and the neighboring African coast; Thomas, in India; Andrew, in Scythia, Asia Minor, Thrace and Greece; Matthias, in Ethiopia; Judas, called Lebbæus or Thaddeus, in Persia; and Bartholomew, in Lycaonia, Armenia and India.

13. THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

(1) **The Propagation of Christianity.**—The great highways by which the knowledge of the gospel was to be spread abroad had already been opened by the intercourse of nations. The easy means of intercommunication within the vast Roman empire; the close relation which the Jews dispersed throughout all lands kept up with those at Jerusalem; the way in which all the Roman dominions had their common centre in the great capital of the world; the connection of the provinces with their metropolitan towns, and of the larger portions of the empire with the more considerable cities, were all circumstances favorable to this end. Such cities as Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Corinth were the centres of a wide commercial, political and literary correspondence; and on this account became also the principal seats for the propagation of the gospel, and the ones in which the first preachers tarried longest. That commercial intercourse which from the earliest times had served, not merely for the barter of worldly goods, but also for the exchange of the nobler treasures of mind, was now to be used as a channel for the diffusion of the highest spiritual blessings.

As a general rule, Christianity first gained ground in the cities; for, as it was needful above all to obtain fixed seats for the propagation of the gospel, its first preachers, passing rapidly over the country, published the glad tidings first of all in the cities, from which it might afterwards be easily diffused through the country by native teachers. On the other hand, in the country they were likely to encounter greater obstacles owing to the entire rudeness, the blind superstition, and the heathen fanaticism of the people, as well as from their own ignorance in some cases of the old provincial dialects; while in the towns, for the most part, they could make themselves sufficiently well understood by using the Greek or the Latin language. Yet we know from Pliny's report to the Emperor Trajan, no less than from the account given by the Roman Bishop Clemens, and the statements of Justin Martyr, that this was not universally the case. In many districts country churches were formed very early; and Origen says expressly that many considered it their duty to visit not only the cities, but also the country towns and villas; and that this was the case seems evident, moreover, from the great number of country bishops in particular districts.

In the New Testament we find accounts of the dissemination of Christianity in Syria; in Cilicia; probably also in the Parthian empire, which at that time was very extensive; in Arabia; in Lesser Asia, and the countries adjacent; in Greece and the neighboring countries as far as Illyricum; and also in Italy. But authentic accounts on this subject are greatly deficient; for later traditions, growing out of the desire to trace each national church to an immediately apostolic origin, deserve no consideration. — *Neander, "General Church History," Vol. I, pp. 108-10.*

(2) **The Spread of Christianity in Europe.**—Passing over to Europe, we have in Rome the chief but not the only seat of the propagation of Christianity. Flourishing communities, at Lugdunum (Lyons) and Vienne, become known during a bloody persecution in 177. The great number of Christians from Asia Minor whom we find here, and the close connection of these communities with those of that country, lead to the conjecture that the commercial intercourse between these districts of France and Asia Minor, an original seat of the Christian Church, had led to the planting of a Christian colony in Gaul. In the other parts of Gaul the pagan superstition long withstood the further spread of Christianity. Even as late as the middle of the third century, few Christian communities were to be found there. According to the French historian, Gregory of Tours, seven missionaries came, at that time, to Gaul from Rome, and founded churches in seven cities, over which they became bishops.—*Neander's "Church History," Vol. I, p. 116.*

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14. THE PATRISTIC CHURCH, A.D. 101-313.

When Christianity came forward with its strange claims upon the confidence of men there was but little in its exterior which could awaken sympathy. The most despised land had produced it. Its Founder had suffered death on the shameful cross. Its first apostles were of humble origin, and, with the exception of Paul, not one had drunk at the classic fountains. That a new faith, with such multiform disadvantages, should venture upon such a hostile field, where the literature and traditions of many centuries held firm ground, seemed a hopeless task. But the heroism of the first preachers of Christianity was not disturbed by the number or strength of the enemy. The promise of their Founder was the basis of their faith. They wrought on and expected triumph over every foe.

The path of the Greek to mastery had been through all fields of intellectual development. Out of the old Pelasgic cradle he had grown to the full grandeur of Attic manhood. The blood of many tribes flowed through his veins, and he had absorbed the strongest and best elements of all.

The growth of their philosophical systems was contemporaneous with their national prosperity. The dealing with the fundamental questions of human existence and destiny by Socrates and Plato reveals a deep moral purpose. The most spiritual of the entire circle of Greek philosophers was Plato. In many departments of his philosophy, such as the unity and spirituality of God and the immortality of the soul, he made, though unconsciously, very near approaches to the truths of revelation. Eusebius said: "Plato alone, of all the Greeks, reached the vestibule of truth and stood upon its threshold."

When Christianity began its contest for the world's possession, the Roman rule was universal. Law was the Roman habit and to govern was the Roman passion. The hold of the old mythology was broken, and a general skepticism as to all beliefs prevailed. But the emperors regarded the preservation of the ancestral faith as the great bulwark of the throne. Political government and fidelity to the prevailing mythology were held to be inseparable. Hence Christianity was bitterly opposed, so soon as its antagonism was discovered. It was seen to be hostile to the elaborate temple service.

The more clearly Christianity came into view, the more stringent became the measures for its suppression. The Christians made no concealments. They absented themselves from the temples, threw off all faith in the ruling mythology, and openly declared their hostility to it.

The Twelve Tables of the Roman law forbade the existence of foreign faiths within the dominions, but the usage had been to conciliate the conquered provinces by toleration of the existing religions. The appearance of the Christians, however, was the signal for the revival of the old prohibition. The bonds uniting the Christians were close. Their separate services were declared an act of hostility to the country. They were accused of disobedience to the laws and of a spirit ripe at any moment for insurrection. They were charged with immoral practices at their services. (1) All public calamities, such as earthquakes, inundations, pestilence, and defeat in war, were attributed to them. A popular proverb ran thus: "*Deus non pluit—duc ad Christianos!*"—"It does not rain—lead against the Christians!" (2)

From A.D. 64 to 313, when Constantine granted an edict of toleration to the Christians, persecutions prevailed about seventy years. All forms of torture and violent death were inflicted. There was no security at home. The exiles were numerous, but the Christians carried their faith and life with them to their new places of abode, where they built up societies, which in turn became centers for the wider dissemination of the gospel. Christianity had conquered in the realm of political life. (3)

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14. THE PATRISTIC CHURCH.

(1) **The Moral and Religious Life of the Early Christians.**—Those who were lately the slaves of sensual passion, as was the case with myself, have now no ambition other than to lead pure and holy lives; those who but yesterday were given to the practices of sorcery and the art of magic, are today consecrated to the service of the eternal and unbegotten God; those who as pagans prized wealth above everything else, as Christians distribute all they have to the poor; those who formerly despised persons of any other nationality but their own, ridiculed their customs, and would hold no intercourse with them, live, since the birth of Christ in their souls, in peace with their enemies, and offer prayers and do other kind offices for those who hate and persecute them.—*Justin Martyr, "Apology," I., c. 14.* You find fault with us because we love, and you hate, each other; because we are ready to die for one another, while you are always on the point of destroying each other; because the spirit of fraternal love leads among us to a community of goods, while among you it is precisely such earthly possessions that are the cause of your enmities. You think it incredible that we, possessing everything else in common, should except our wives, while among you these constitute the only community of goods.—*Tertullian "Apology Against the Pagans," ch. 39.*

(2) **Causes of Persecution.**—The Law of the Twelve Tables had already forbidden the exercise of foreign modes of worship within the Roman empire (*Religiones peregrinæ, Collegia illicita*), for religion was exclusively an affair of the state and entered most intimately into all civil and municipal relations, and on this account whatever endangered the national religion was regarded as necessarily imperiling the state itself. Political considerations, however, led to the granting to conquered nations the free use of their own forms of worship. This concession did not materially help Christianity after it had ceased, in the time of Nero, to be regularly confounded by the Roman authorities with Judaism, as had been the case in the time of Claudius, and Judaism, after the destruction of Jerusalem, had been sharply distinguished from it. It publicly proclaimed its intention to completely dislodge all other religions, and the rapidity with which it spread showed how energetically its intentions were carried out. The close fellowship and brotherliness that prevailed among Christians, as well as their exclusive, and during times of persecution even secret assemblies, aroused the suspicion that they had political tendencies. Their withdrawal from civil and military services on account of the pagan ceremonies connected with them, especially their refusal to burn incense before the statues of the emperor, also the steadfastness of their faith, which was proof against all violence and persuasion alike, their retiredness from the world, etc., were regarded as evidence of their indifference or hostility to the general well-being of the state, as invincible stiff-neckedness, as contumacy, sedition, and high treason. The heathen populace saw in the Christians the sacrilegious enemies and despisers of their gods; and the Christian religion, which was without temples, altars and sacrifices, seemed to them pure atheism. The most horrible calumnies, that in their assemblies (*Agapæ*) the vilest immoralities were practised (*Concubitus Œdipodei*), children slain and human flesh eaten (*Epulæ Thyesteæ,*) were readily believed. All public misfortunes were thus attributed to the wrath of the gods against the Christians, who treated them with contempt. *Non pluit Deus, duc ad Christianos!* The heathen priests also, the temple servants and the image makers were always ready in their own common interests to stir up the suspicions of the people. Under such circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the fire of persecution on the part of the heathen people and the heathen state continued to rage for centuries. — *Kurtz, "Church History," Vol. I, pp. 75-6.*

Though the idea was not sharply and clearly defined, there was yet a widespread and profound conviction that the Lord's Supper was a supremely holy mystery, spiritual food indispensable to eternal life, that the body and blood of the Lord entered into some mystical connection with the bread and wine, and placed the believing partaker of them in true and essential fellowship with Christ. It was in consequence of the adoption of such modes of expression that the pagan calumnies about *Thyestian feasts* first gained currency. Ignatius calls the Lord's Supper a φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, the cup a ποτήριον εἰς ἕνωσιν τοῦ αἵματος Χριστοῦ, and professes εὐχαριστίαν σάρκα εἶναι τοῦ σωτῆρος.—*Ibid, pp. 204-5.*

(3) **Causes of the Spread of Christianity.**—*Christianity* met and *fully satisfied every religious craving of the human soul*, thus accomplishing a work in which both the philosophies of the time and the religious superstitions of the East had failed. It gave rest to the troubled soul and peace to the heart, dispelled the perplexity of doubt, and brought comfort to the sinner and pardon to the guilty. It recommended itself to the Jews who had laid aside their prejudice, as well as to Heathens, as a divine religion, adequate to the work of salvation; held out to the poor the hope of everlasting joys and cheered the desponding; inspired in the slave a feeling of true liberty and manly dignity, and forced the master to recognize and respect the inalienable rights of man.

Besides all these, there were many other instruments of power and influence placed within the reach of the Christian missionary. He could confidently appeal to the fact that both the Jewish and the *Sibylline* prophecies had been fulfilled in the person of Christ, and point to the holy and irreproachable *lives of the Christians* as an undeniable result of their religion. Again, the contempt of the Christians for the goods of this world, the purity of their morals, their sympathetic charity, their numerous acts of kindness and beneficence, their patience under injuries, and above all, their enduring fortitude and heroic courage in bearing up under the most violent persecution, were such as to excite the astonishment of all and elicit the admiration of the Pagans themselves. "The Christians," says the Pagan Cæcilius, in the work of *Minutius Felix*, known as the Octavius, "love each other before they become acquainted." And *Tertullian* says that even the enemies of the Christians were forced to cry out in wonder, "Behold how they love and are ready to die for one another."

But, if there was one thing above another that drew the attention of all upon the Christians and inspired feelings of admiration for them in the breasts of others, it was the heroic fortitude and joy which so many evinced in laying down their lives for their faith.—*J. Alzog, "Universal Church History," Vol. I, pp. 254-5.*

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15. CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE, A.D. 313-768.

Constantine declared himself a Christian in sympathy, early in his reign. Before the decisive battle of the Rubra Saxa with Maxentius he claimed to see in the sky the sign of the cross, with the words, *En touto nika*—"By this conquer." He accepted the token as an argument in favor of Christianity, gained the battle for the crown of the Roman empire, and henceforth avowed his belief in Christianity. His vision, though in the line of his sympathies, was probably only a shrewd method to attract the Christians to his support. He carried the labarum, a standard inscribed with the cross, in all his subsequent wars. His policy was at first to make all Christians favor his rule, and by granting concessions to heal the alienation from the empire which the repressive policy of his predecessors had produced.



The Labarum, *Cf. p. 379.*

The edict tolerating Christianity as one of the legal religions of the empire was published in A.D. 313. But in 323 he enlarged the scope of his favor and made Christianity the established faith of all his dominions. Among the chief special acts of Constantine in favor of the Church were: his order for the civil observance of Sunday, his confiscation in the East of pagan temples for Christian churches, his emancipation of slaves, his exemption of the clergy from military and municipal duty, and his ardent promotion of Christian education among his subjects.

It was a happy day when the Christians could walk abroad without fear of persecution. But Constantine claimed the right to supervise religion, as the emperor had always done in the case of paganism. He accounted himself still the great high priest, or Pontifex Maximus, and assumed the prerogative to compose differences, decide questions of religious policy, call ecclesiastical councils, and appoint the leading officers. He had no faith in paganism, but would not suppress it. His line of conduct was to allow it to go on as he found it, and yet to help the Christians to conquer it. He was, of all successful rulers, the most successful trimmer. (1)



St. Martin's Church at Canterbury. The First Christian Church in England, used by Bertha, Queen of Ethelbert, 565-616 A.D.

Hitherto the Church had been a grand moral unity, held together by ties of love and doctrine. But now it was absorbed by the State. Its framework was lost in the body politic. Freeman says: "The Church conquered the State." This is a great error. Constantine's adoption of Christianity as the State religion was the conquest of the Church by the State. All the moral forces of the Church were now impaired. The bondage of the Church to the State, thus early begun, produced the great evils of the following twelve centuries—superstition, the purchase

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of office, the angry controversy about theological trifles, the moral corruption of the clergy and the ignorance of the masses.

When Julian came to the throne in 355, for a time he was silent as to his attitude toward the Christians, but he soon exhibited a spirit of refined opposition to all Christian institutions and doctrines. He issued no formal edict against Christianity, but raised barriers on every hand. He was the last ruler on the Roman throne who was hostile to Christianity. He passed into history as Julian the Apostate. The epithet is probably a misnomer, as it is not likely that Julian was ever a real disciple of Christ. (2)

The march of the Roman bishop towards priority throughout the Christian world was steady. Bishop Leo I. (440-461) was a man of strong intellect, and he did much to clothe himself with power and prestige. But the most eminent incumbent of the Roman episcopate was Gregory, who was called the Great, and ruled A.D. 590-604. Under him every department of the priesthood and the episcopacy advanced in strength.

Roman centralization became constantly greater. Church offices multiplied rapidly, and the close of the early period was the signal for larger measures for Roman primacy. The Bishops of Rome were the real rulers of Southern Europe from the Constantinian dynasty to the reign of Charles the Great.

15. CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

(1) **Constantine and His Sons.**—Constantine's profession of Christianity was not wholly the result of political craft, though his use of the name *Pontifex Maximus*, and in this capacity the continued exercise of certain pagan practices, gave some color to such an opinion. . . . His three sons divided the Empire among them. Constantius (A.D. 337-361) retained the East, and became, after the death of Constantine II. in A.D. 340 and of Constans in A.D. 350, sole ruler. All the three sought to put down paganism by force. Constantius closed the heathen temples and forbade all sacrifices on pain of death. Multitudes of heathens went over to Christianity, few probably from conviction. Among the nobler pagans there was thus awakened a strong aversion to Christianity Patriotism and manly spirit came to be identified with the maintenance of the old religion.—*Kurtz, "Church History," Vol. I, p. 237.*

(2) **Julian.** — Acknowledged now as emperor throughout the whole empire without any opposition, Julian proceeded with zeal, enthusiasm and vigor to accomplish his long-cherished wish, the restoring of the glory of the old national religion. He used no violent measures for the subversion and overthrow of Christianity, nor did he punish Christian obstinacy with death, except where it seemed to him the maintenance of his supremacy required it. But he demanded that temples which had been converted into churches should be restored to the heathen worship, those destroyed should be restored at the cost of the church exchequer, and the money for the state that had been applied to ecclesiastical purposes had to be repaid. He scornfully referred the clergy thus robbed of their revenues to the blessedness of evangelical poverty. He also fomented as much as possible dissension in the church, favored all sectaries and heretics, excluded Christians from all the higher, and afterwards from all the lower, civil and military offices, and loaded them on every occasion with reproach and shame, and by these means he actually induced many to apostatize. In order to discredit Christ's prophecy in Matt. xxiv. 2, he resolved on the restoration of the Jewish temple at Jerusalem, but after having been begun it was destroyed by an earthquake. He excluded all Christian teachers from the public schools, and also forbade them in their own schools from explaining the classical writers who were objected to and contested by them only as godless; so that Christian boys and youths could obtain a higher classical education only in the pagan schools. By petty artifices he endeavored to get Christian soldiers to take part, if only even seemingly, in the heathen sacrifices. Indeed at a later period in Antioch he was not ashamed to stoop to the mean artifice of Galerian (§ 22, 6) of sprinkling with sacrificial water the necessaries of life exposed in the public market, etc. On the other hand, he strove in every way to elevate and ennoble paganism. From Christianity he borrowed Benevolent Institutions, Church Discipline, Preaching, Public Service of Song, etc.; he gave many distinctions to the heathen priesthood, but required of them a strict discipline. He himself sacrificed and preached as *Pontifex Maximus*, and led a strictly ascetic, almost a cynically simple life. The ineffectiveness of his attempts and the daring, often even contemptuous, resistance of many Christian zealots embittered him more and more, so that there was now danger of bloody persecution when, after a reign of twenty months, he was killed from a javelin blow in a battle against the Persians in A.D. 363. Shortly before in answer to the scornful question of a heathen, "What is your Carpenter's Son doing now?" it had been answered, "He is making a coffin for your emperor." At a later period the story became current that Julian himself, when he received the deadly stroke, exclaimed, *Tandem vicisti Galilæe!* His military talents and military virtues had shed a glory around the throne of the Cæsars such as it had not known since the days of Marcus Aurelius, and yet his whole life's struggle was and remained utterly fruitless and vain.—*Kurtz, "Church History," Vol. I, pp. 238, 239.*

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16. THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH. (A.D. 768-1517.)

The significance of the Middle Ages lies in their transitional character. It was the far-reaching mission of this remarkable period to test the power of Christianity for meeting the wants of new nations; to withstand the shock of all philosophical schools; to sift and preserve the best that remained of the ancient world and pass it safely down for modern use; and, above all, to prove the ultimate power of Christianity to rise above the infirmities of those who professed it, and to lay the foundations of a new spiritual life by a return to the pure apostolic example. The office of the Mediæval Church was to conduct man from the narrow limits of the pagan to the Protestant world.



Carved Ivory Book-cover, Ninth Century.

The first period of the Mediæval Church extends from Charles the Great to the papacy of Gregory VII.—A.D. 768-1073. This was the time of the full appropriation and unification of the Germanic and other northern elements. Mohammedanism, lying at the border-line between the ancient and the mediæval time, arose as a counterforce to Christianity. Papal supremacy in Church and State culminated. Looked upon in retrospect, there is almost no intellectual or political treasure of the nineteenth century whose precious seeds were not cast into the ready soil between the ninth and sixteenth centuries.



Charlemagne, King of the Franks and Emperor of the Romans, 747-814 A.D.

The process of centralization north of the Alps began with Charles the Great—Charlemagne. His rule was the signal of death to the tottering Roman empire. It was also the first prophecy of the ascendency of the new Gothic nations of the North and of their firm place in the later life of Europe. In him the old classic conditions disappeared and the new political life began its career. Charles the Great ascended the throne on the death of his father, Pepin, in 768. He divided with his brother, Carloman, the Frankish empire. Carloman died in 771, and Charles the Great united his own empire with that of the rest of the family and claimed rule over all, without regard to the rights of his brother's family. The soil was now prepared for the new European life—the Church and the State working hand in hand for universal dominion. Charles the Great regarded himself as a theocratic lord. His notion of himself was not that he was a mere suc-

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cessor of Constantine or Augustus Cæsar, but of David or Solomon—the head of a vast theocracy. To the pope, Leo III., he made this declaration of their mutual relations: "It is my bounden duty, by the help of the divine compassion, everywhere to defend outwardly by arms the holy Church of Christ against every attack of the heathen and every devastation caused by unbelievers; and inwardly to defend it by the recognition of the general faith. But it is your duty, Holy Father, to raise your hands to God, as Moses did, and to support my military service by your prayers." Leo III. accepted this declaration with the utmost complaisance.

Charles the Great surrounded himself with learned men. Alcuin of England was his advisor in all literary and educational matters. Guizot calls Alcuin the "intellectual prime-minister of Charles the Great."

The final and complete cementing of papal and imperial interests took place under Charles the Great. In the midst of the magnificent Christmas festivities of the year 800 in the city of Rome, Leo III. advanced towards Charles and placed upon his head a golden crown with these words: "Life and victory to Charles Augustus, crowned by God the great and pacific emperor!" As compensation for this important papal service Charles enlarged the papal territory which had been first given by his father Pepin, and placed the papacy itself, as a temporal sovereignty, on a plan entirely new to history.

Charles' successors were a group of steadily dissolving lights. The extinction of the Carolingians in 987 was simultaneous with the complete ascendency of the papacy. (1) By the time the last descendants of the great Charles were spending their closing days as mere weak functionaries in the palace of Laon, the Church had become proprietor of more than all its old prerogatives, and was holding its new territory with a grasp which relaxed only when its arm was stretched for more.

16. THE MEDIAEVAL CHURCH.

(1) **The Beginnings of the Temporal Power of the Papacy.**—From bequests and presents of ancient times the Roman chair succeeded to an immense landed property, *Patrimonium S. Petri*, which afforded it the means of greatly assuaging the distress of the inhabitants of Italy during the disturbances of the migrations of the peoples. There was naturally then no word of the exercise of sovereign rights. From the time of the restoration of the Byzantine exarchate in A.D. 567 (§ 76, 7) the political importance of the pope grew immensely; its continued existence was often dependent on the good will of the pope for whom generally indeed the idea of becoming the court patriarch of a Longobard-Roman emperor was not an enticing one. But the pope could not prevent the Longobard power from gaining ground in the north as well as in the south of the peninsula. An important increase of influence, power and prestige was brought to the papal chair under Gregory II., A.D. 715-731, through the rebellions in northern and central Italy occasioned by the Byzantine iconoclastic disputes. Rome was in this way raised to a kind of political suzerainty not only over the Roman duchy but also over the rest of the exarchate in the north—Ravenna and the neighboring cities together with Venice (§ 66, 1). Gregory III., A.D. 731-741, hard pressed by Luitprand the Longobard, thrice (A.D. 739, 740) applied for help to the Frank Charles Martel, who, closely bound in friendship with Luitprand, his ally against the Saracens, sent some clerics to Italy to secure a peaceful arrangement. Gregory's successor Zacharias, A.D. 741-752, sanctioned by his apostolic judgment the setting aside of the Merovingian sham king Childeric III., whereupon Pepin the Short, in A.D. 752, assumed the royal title with the royal power which he had long possessed. . . . The Longobard Aistulf had in A.D. 751 conquered Ravenna and the cities connected with it. Pope Stephen II. sought help anew of the Frankish king and supported his petition by forwarding an autograph letter of the Apostle Peter, in which he exhorted the king of the Franks as his adopted son under peril of all the pains of hell to save Rome and the Roman church. He himself at Pepin's invitation went to France. At Ponthion, where, in A.D. 754, the king greeted him, Pepin promised the pope to restore to Rome her former possessions and to give protection against further inroads of the Longobards; while the pope imparted to the king and his two sons Charles and Carloman the kingly anointing in the church of St. Dionysius or Denis in Paris. At Quiersy then Pepin took counsel with his sons and the nobles of his kingdom about the fulfilling of his promise, bound the Longobard king by oath in the year following after a successful campaign to surrender the cities, properties and privileges claimed by the pope, and assigned these in A.D. 755 as a present to St. Peter as their possessor from that time forth. But scarcely had he retired with his army when Aistulf not only refused all and any surrender, but broke in anew upon Roman territory, robbing and laying waste on every side. By a second campaign, however, in A.D. 756, Pepin compelled him actually to deliver over the required cities in the provinces of Rome and Ravenna the key of which he deposited with a deed of gift, no longer extant, on the grave of St. Peter; while the pope, transferring to Pepin the honorary title of Exarch of Ravenna, decorated him with the insignia of a Roman patrician. —*Kurtz, "Church History," Vol. I, pp. 484, 485.*

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17. THE CRUSADES A.D. 1096-1270.

The origin of the Crusades is to be found in the occupation of Palestine by its Mohammedan conquerors. The pilgrims from Europe cherished the warmest attachment to the sacred places. The Mohammedans not only occupied them, but persecuted the pilgrims. The sanctuaries were profaned, and the venerated patriarchs were thrown into prison. Christian merchants from Pisa, Amalfi, Genoa and other rich Italian ports were fortunate if they escaped with their lives. The evil reports came back to Europe, and then began a series of military expeditions against the Mohammedans. These were called Crusades because of the cross (*crux*) worn by the warriors.



Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem.

Pope Gregory VII. was the first, it is believed, who conceived the idea of sending from Europe an armed expedition, not only to punish the Mohammedan rulers, but to occupy and rule the country. His successors, Victor VIII. and Urban II., indulged the same strong hope. All that was wanting were popular leaders who would fire the heart of Christian Europe. These appeared in Walter the Penniless and Peter the Hermit. The latter had been a soldier under the counts of Boulogne, but forsook his military career, made a journey to Palestine, and saw the indignities suffered by the pilgrims. He returned to Europe, traveled through Italy and France, and aroused the people to a frenzy of indignation against the Moslems. He was a dwarf, wore neither shoes nor hat, and rode an ass. His appeals were irresistible. Multitudes regarded him as the representative of a holy cause, and through him 40,000 men joined the first Crusade.

The varied fortunes of the Crusaders furnish a striking picture. The best blood of Europe was boiling in sympathy with Christians in their aspirations to kneel beside the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and rule over the land in which Jesus had lived. Six different armies constituted the first Crusade. They numbered six hundred thousand people, who were led by Godfrey, Hugh the Great, Tancred, Raymond of Toulouse, and Robert of Normandy. This Crusade, begun in 1096, resulted in the capture of Jerusalem within two years, and in making Godfrey of Bouillon king of the sacred city.

In the next Crusade St. Bernard was the Apostle. Louis VII. of France and Conrad III. of Germany led one million two hundred thousand men against the Saracens. The great object was to reduce Damascus, as a support to the kingdom of Jerusalem. It was a failure, and only the mere fragments of the armies reached Europe again. Saladin, the great Mohammedan chief, conquered Jerusalem in 1187, and this was the signal for the third Crusade to rescue the Holy City and the entire country. Germany under Frederic Barbarossa, France under Philip Augustus, and England under Richard Cœur de Lion united their forces. Through division among the leaders this also failed.

The fourth Crusade led by the Knights of St. John, and the fifth inspired by the authority of Pope Innocent III. and the fervor of Fulk of Neuilly, but afterward diverted by the Venetian doge Dandolo to the conquest of Zara and the establishment of the Latin empire of Constantinople, also ended in disaster.

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The sixth Crusade (1228) under the direction and through the diplomacy of Frederick II. of Germany proved a success. Palestine was ceded to the emperor, and became a Christian land; but was lost during the seventh, which followed in 1248, under the leadership of Louis IX. of France. The eighth and last Crusade (1270) was also under the guidance of Louis IX. of France. It proved the final failure of the series. Europe was exhausted and the cause was lost.

The Crusades seem to have saved France, Central Germany, Scandinavia and even Britain from the hand of the Saracen. All of Central and Western Europe had been torn up by a feudal and predatory system. The Crusades broke up this system and bound the people together by a common law. (1) When the last Crusader came home from Palestine he found himself a member of a broad commonwealth and not the head of a clan. The cruelty of rulers was arrested. The voice of the people was heard for the first time, and kings learned that there was a limit to their authority. Commerce took larger and freer shape. The far Eastern countries were brought into close relationship with the Western.

17. THE CRUSADES.

(1) **The Sequel of the Religious Wars.**—The crusades had come to an end. The embers smouldered on; but it was to the last degree unlikely that they would be rekindled. The great military orders withdrew to seek a field for their energies elsewhere; the Teutonic knights to the dreary regions of Lithuania and Poland—the knights of the Hospital first to Cyprus, then to Rhodes where, after many a hard fight with Greeks and Saracens, they achieved the conquest of the whole island and settled down to repose in their earthly paradise. The dream of returning to Palestine still haunted the mind of Edward I., who by his will left 30,000*l.* for the equipment and maintenance of the knights who were to bear his heart to the Holy Land; but probably the last reflection of the old fire is seen in the words by which Henry V. in his dying moments asserted the bounden duty of princes to build the walls of Jerusalem, and declared that, had he been spared for a longer life, or had he lived in quieter times, he would have undertaken this task of restoration. Even now, perhaps, the task was one of no insuperable difficulty. Its practicability had been shown more than once by its accomplishment; but it was one which must be taken in hand in the spirit of that wise and tolerant statesmanship which seeks to further the interests of the subject population, and to make one people of the conquerors and the conquered. This idea was, as we have seen, deliberately rejected by the first crusaders, and, with the single exception of the emperor Henry at Constantinople, by all who followed them. There is no reason to suppose that the English Henry V. would have been animated by a wiser spirit and a larger charity than the companions of Godfrey and Tancred.

But as the motives which led to the crusades were complex, so their results were complex also. The Picture must not be presented only in its darker aspects. We have seen the effect which they produced on the growth of the temporal power of the popes. We must not forget that by rolling back the tide of Mahommedan conquest from Constantinople for upwards of four centuries they probably saved Europe from horrors, the recital of which might even now make our ears tingle; that by weakening the resources and the power of the barons they strengthened the authority of the kings acting in alliance with the citizens of the great towns; that this alliance broke up the feudal system, gradually abolished serfdom, and substituted the authority of a common law for the arbitrary will of chiefs who for real or supposed affronts rush to the arbitrament of private war. Worthless in themselves, and wholly useless as means for founding any permanent dominion in Palestine or elsewhere, these enterprises have affected the commonwealths of Europe in ways of which the promoters never



Strasbourg Cathedral, 11-15th Century.

dreamed. They left a wider gulf between the Greek and the Latin churches, between the subjects of the Eastern empire and the nations of Western Europe; but by the mere fact of throwing East and West together they led gradually to that interchange of thought and that awakening of the human intellect to which we owe all that distinguishes our modern civilization from the religious and political systems of the middle ages.—*G. W. Cox*, "*The Crusades*," *pp. 219-24.*

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18. THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN CHURCH.

Many things early contributed to give pre-eminence to the bishop of Rome. The Church at Rome was firm in the midst of many heresies. After the overthrow of Jerusalem it was believed to be the oldest apostolic Church. In the giving of alms, in missionary zeal and in devotional purity, the Roman Christians had no superiors. The certain residence of Paul in Rome, and the already growing impression of Peter's sojourn there, were important apostolical associations which clothed the Roman society with great sanctity. By the middle of the second century there was frequent mention of the primacy of Rome. So soon as this intimation was expressed strong words were spoken against it.

The resisting force lay in the Eastern Church, where Antioch was leader. But there was little cohesion in the East. It was regarded as provincial, while in spiritual affairs Rome came constantly into more prominent leadership. The protests from the East after a time received little or no attention. When Firmilian, the bishop of Cappadocian Cæsarea, dared to charge Stephen of Rome with boasting of episcopal superiority he was laughed at in the Western metropolis.



Constantinople from the Tower of Galata.

When Constantine made the obscure Byzantium, (thereafter called Constantinople) which had been subordinate to Heraclea, the capital of Thrace, his vast capital and the center of imperial authority, much advantage to the Church was expected. But when he passed away, there was little purity left. The palace became a nest of intrigue and revolution. But the Roman Church life had the equipoise of power. It had neither the wish nor the talent for theological invention.

The divisions of the Eastern empire, the decline of moral life, the universal spread of controversy, and particularly the pre-eminent ability of several of the bishops of Rome, were calculated to advance the claims of that patriarchate above all others. Gregory the Great devoted himself to the purification of the life of the Church and the enforcement of monastic discipline. He was especially active in his encouragement of missions. Under him the authority of the Roman bishop advanced far beyond its former dimensions. He created the papacy of history. He preserved amicable relations with the emperor, and yet held firmly to his ecclesiastical independence.

From the middle of the eleventh century to the thirteenth the papacy grew into enormous proportions. There never floated before the mind of Julius Cæsar or Trajan a larger empire than that to which Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) and other occupants of the Roman see aspired.

The doctrinal divergence between the East and the West was first perceptible in the different teaching on the divinity of the Holy Ghost. The Council of Constantinople decided in 381 that the Holy Ghost is equal in essence with the Son, and that both are consubstantial with the Father. The Western teaching, guided chiefly through the clear and logical intellect of Augustine, held that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. In 589 the Toledo Council, in accordance with this view, added to the symbol of Constantinople the term *Filioque* —"and from the Son."

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The Eastern Church held that the patriarch of Constantinople was equal in rank to the Roman bishop. At Rome this claim was indignantly rejected.

The complete schism took place in 1054. Constantine Monachus, the Byzantine emperor, having in view a war, applied to the Roman pope for friendly support. This overture awakened the wrath of Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, and of Leo of Achrida, metropolitan of Bulgaria. They wrote a letter to the bishops of the Latin Church, charging it with grave doctrinal errors and urging it to renounce them. This letter reached Pope Leo IX. He was intensely excited, and bitter letters passed between Rome and Constantinople. The pope sent three delegates to the latter city. But only a fiercer animosity ensued. The signal of an open and final rupture was given by the issuing of a public excommunication of the patriarch by the legates, in the Church of St. Sophia, and their withdrawal to Rome. (1)

During the Crusades, which united all Christendom in their chief purpose, and until the middle of the fifteenth century, strong but futile attempts were made to restore the unity of the East and the West. But when the Byzantine empire went down in 1453 all serious and general efforts for union ceased.

18. THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN CHURCH.

(1) **The Causes of Separation.** — Church history, like the world's history, moves with the sun from East to West. In the first six centuries the Eastern or Greek church represented the main current of life and progress. In the middle ages the Latin church chiefly assumed the task of christianizing and civilizing the new races which came upon the stage. The Greek church has had no Middle Ages in the usual sense, and therefore no Reformation. She planted Christianity among the Slavonic races, but they were isolated from the progress of European history, and have not materially affected either the doctrine or polity or cultus of the church. Their conversion was an external expansion, not an internal development.

The principal sees of the East were directly founded by the apostles — with the exception of Constantinople — and had even a clearer title to apostolic succession and inheritance than Rome. The Greek church took the lead in theology down to the sixth or seventh century, and the Latin gratefully learned from her. All the œcumenical Councils were held on the soil of the Byzantine empire in or near Constantinople, and carried on in the Greek language. The great doctrinal controversies on the holy Trinity and Christology were fought out in the East, yet not without the powerful aid of the more steady and practical West.

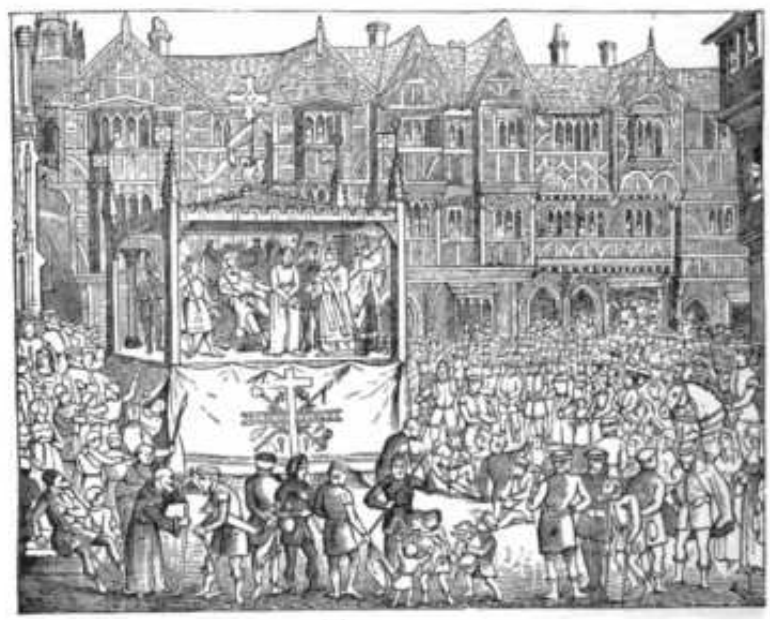
And here we approach the secret of the ultimate separation and incurable antagonism of the churches. It is due chiefly to three causes: The first cause is the politico-ecclesiastical rivalry of the patriarch of Constantinople backed by the Byzantine empire, and the bishop of Rome in connection with the new German empire. The second cause is the growing centralization and overbearing conduct of the Latin church in and through the papacy. The third cause is the stationary character of the Greek and the progressive character of the Latin church during the middle ages. The Greek church boasts of the imaginary perfection of her creed. She still produced considerable scholars and divines, as Maximus, John of Damascus, Photius, Œcumenius, and Theophylact, but they mostly confined themselves to the work of epitomizing and systematizing the traditional theology of the Greek fathers, and produced no new ideas, as if all wisdom began and ended with the old œcumenical Councils. She took no interest in the important anthropological and soteriological controversies which agitated the Latin church in the age of St. Augustin, and she continued to occupy the indefinite position of the first centuries on the doctrines of sin and grace. On the other hand she was much distracted and weakened by barren metaphysical controversies on the abstrusest questions of theology and christology; and these quarrels facilitated the rapid progress of Islâm, which conquered the lands of the Bible and pressed hard on Constantinople. When the Greek church became stationary, the Latin church began to develop her greatest energy; she became the fruitful mother of new and vigorous nations of the North and West of Europe, produced scholastic and mystic theology and a new order of civilization, built magnificent cathedrals, discovered a new Continent, invented the art of printing, and with the revival of learning prepared the way for a new era in the history of the world. Thus the Latin daughter outgrew the Greek mother, and is numerically twice as strong, without counting the Protestant secession. At the same time the Eastern church still may look forward to a new future among the Slavonic races which she has christianized. What she needs is a revival of the spirit and power of primitive Christianity.

When once the two churches were alienated in spirit and engaged in an unchristian race for supremacy, all the little doctrinal and ritualistic differences which had existed long before, assumed an undue weight, and were branded as heresies and crimes. The bishop of Rome sees in the Patriarch of Constantinople an ecclesiastical upstart who owed his power to political influence, not to apostolic origin. The Eastern patriarchs look upon the Pope as an anti-christian usurper and as the first Protestant. They stigmatize the papal supremacy as "the chief heresy of the latter days, which flourishes now as its predecessor, Arianism, flourished in former days, and which like it, will in like manner be cast down and vanish away."— *Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," Vol. IV, pp. 309-12.*

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THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH.**—Organization, Practical life, Missionary movement, Peter, Paul, John, James.
14. **THE PATRISTIC CHURCH.**—Greek, Socrates, Plato, Romans, Persecutions.
15. **CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE.**—Constantine, The labarum, Edict of toleration, Pontifex Maximus, Bondage, Julian, Roman centralization.
16. **THE MEDIÆVAL CHURCH.**—Transition, New nations, Classical culture, Self-purification, Papal supremacy, Charlemagne and Leo III., Papal territory.
17. **THE CRUSADES.**—Cause, Gregory VII., Peter the Hermit, Godfrey of Bouillon, Damascus and Saladin, Richard the Lionhearted, The doge Dandolo, Sixth, seventh and eighth crusades, Results in politics and other forms of culture.
18. **THE EASTERN AND THE WESTERN CHURCH.**—The merits of the church at Rome, Antioch and Constantinople, Gregory the Great, Hildebrand, Filioque, Patriarch and Pope.



Miracle Play at Coventry.

QUESTIONS.

13. *Describe the organization of the Church. What distinguished the practical life of the early Christians? What effort was made for others? Characterize the apostles Peter, Paul, and John.*
14. *Describe the religious philosophy of the Greeks. What was the religious condition of Rome? How did Roman Law regard Christianity? What was the result?*
15. *Describe the conversion of Constantine. Name his special acts in favor of the Church. What churchly functions did Constantine assume? What resulted from the union of Church and State? What part did Gregory the Great play?*
16. *What was the office of the Mediæval Church? How did Charlemagne regard himself? What happened 800 A.D. in Rome?*
17. *What caused the crusades? Sketch their varying fortunes. State the results in politics, commerce, and learning.*
18. *Name the sources of Rome's superiority. State why Antioch and Constantinople failed to equal Rome. What did Gregory the Great accomplish? Explain the doctrinal divergence of the Eastern from the Western Church. When was the schism completed?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

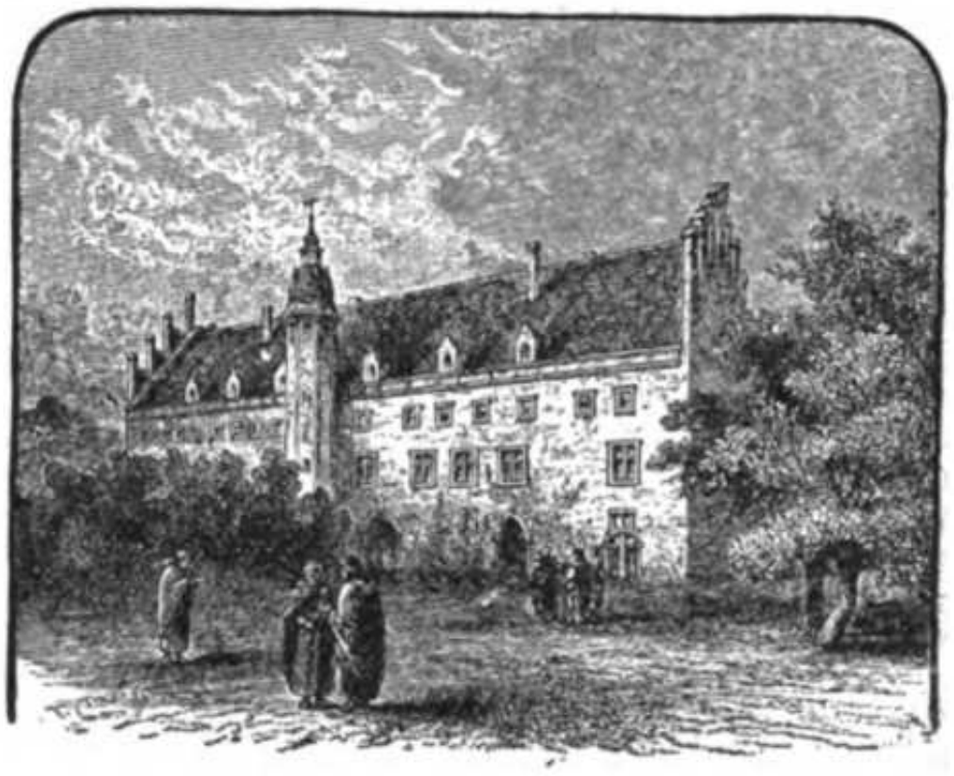
1. *Causes of the spread of Christianity.*
2. *Early Christian martyrs.*
3. *The mutual influences of Church and State.*
4. *The effect upon the Roman Church of territorial possessions.*
5. *The influence of warfare upon other culture-forms.*

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19. MEDIÆVAL MISSIONS IN EUROPE.

The spread of Christianity continued steadily. Columban and Gallus from Britain were the pioneers in evangelizing the Germans, and were followed by Willibrod the Anglo-Saxon and Winfried of Rome. Winfried, or as he is better known under his Latin name Boniface, was the great apostle of Germany, where he organized the Church about the middle of the eighth century. He was martyred among the Frisians.

From the centers in Germany and France, from Ireland, the "Holy Isle," and from England, missionaries coöperated in founding missions among the heathen dwelling in the remoter parts of Europe. The monasteries kept up a close brotherhood. Monks went out from them, threaded the forests and climbed the mountains of rude and barbarous peoples, and spent their lives amid all possible dangers, in their endeavor to extend Christianity. Many of them fell by violent hands. Sometimes the rulers were the first to accept the gospel, but often it ascended from the poor and the lowly, step by step, until the throne was reached and Christianity was publicly proclaimed as the faith of the State. (1)



Augustinian Convent at Wittenberg.

Harold, King of Jutland, was aided to the throne of his fathers against his competitors by the Carolingian emperor, Louis le Débonnaire. Harold and his queen were then baptized in the cathedral of Mentz in 826, and ever afterwards befriended the gospel. Anskar, a monk of Corbey, accompanied them back to Denmark, with a view to organize the Church in that country. A rebellion was excited against Harold, and he was obliged to flee from the country. Anskar was also driven out, but rather than give up his missionary work he turned his eyes toward the still more savage Sweden and determined to plant missions there.

In 831 Anskar, with Witmar, his brother monk, proceeded to Sweden with gifts for the king of the country. While on their voyage they were attacked by pirates, lost all their possessions and barely escaped with their lives. They reached Birka on the Malar Lake; the king welcomed them, and in a short time his counsellor, Herigar, became a Christian convert.

Anskar went to Rome, was consecrated an archbishop, and departed to preach the gospel to the northern nations. He made a second visit to Sweden in 855. He died in 865, but before his death saw Christianity taking firm hold throughout Scandinavia. He was one of the most beautiful characters of the whole mediæval period.

The first positive accounts we have of the introduction of the gospel into Norway is that it was carried thither by some seafaring youth. Olaf the Thick, king of Norway, called St. Olaf, was the first to organize the Church on a permanent basis in 1019.

The gospel reached Iceland from Norway, and during the tenth century was fully established there by Olaf Trygvesen. From Iceland the gospel was carried to Greenland. Even from these remote regions Rome was strenuous to gather gifts for her treasury. The Greenland Christians paid their tithes to Rome in walrus teeth.

Cyril and Methodius, two Greek monks, were the first to introduce the gospel among the Bulgarians and also among the Moravians. Cyril was a theologian and

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Methodius a painter, and the latter's picture of the Day of Judgment had as much to do with the conversion of the people as the arguments of the former. They made a Slavonic version of portions of the Scriptures. During this formative period the Bulgarian Church had its relations with Rome.

The Russian princess Olga embraced Christianity in 955. Her son Swiatôslav was proof against all her importunities to follow her example. Her grandson Vladimir, however, accepted Christianity and caused churches to be organized and the people to be instructed in the use of the Slavonic Scriptures and liturgy.

Poland received the gospel through Christian refugees from Moravia, when that kingdom was broken up. Hungary first became acquainted with Christianity through the instrumentality of certain of her princes while visiting Constantinople. The wild tribes of the Wends between the Saale and the Oder, after an unsuccessful attempt by Gottschalk in 1047, were brought over to the Christian faith in 1168 when Absalon, bishop of Roeskilde, burned the last Wendic idol.

19. MEDIÆVAL MISSIONS IN EUROPE.

(1) **The Character of Mediæval Missions.**—The conversion of the new and savage races which enter the theatre of history at the threshold of the middle ages, was the great work of the Christian church from the sixth to the tenth century. Already in the second or third century, Christianity was carried to the Gauls, the Britons and the Germans on the borders of the Rhine. But these were sporadic efforts with transient results. The work did not begin in earnest till the sixth century, and then it went vigorously forward to the tenth and twelfth, though with many checks and temporary relapses caused by civil wars and foreign invasions.

The Christianization of the Kelts, Teutons, and Slavonians was at the same time a process of civilization, and differed in this respect entirely from the conversion of the Jews, Greeks, and Romans in the preceding age. Christian missionaries laid the foundation for the alphabet, literature, agriculture, laws, and arts of the nations of Northern and Western Europe, as they now do among the heathen nations in Asia and Africa. "The science of language," says a competent judge, "owes more than its first impulse to Christianity. The pioneers of our science were those very apostles who were commanded to go into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature; and their true successors, the missionaries of the whole Christian church." The same may be said of every branch of knowledge and art of peace. The missionaries, in aiming at piety and the salvation of souls, incidentally promoted mental culture and temporal prosperity. The feeling of brotherhood inspired by Christianity broke down the partition walls between race and race, and created a brotherhood of nations.

The mediæval Christianization was a wholesale conversion, or a conversion of nations under the command of their leaders. It was carried on not only by missionaries and by spiritual means, but also by political influence, alliances of heathen princes with Christian wives, and in some cases (as the baptism of the Saxons under Charlemagne) by military force. It was a conversion not to the primary Christianity of inspired apostles, as laid down in the New Testament, but to the secondary Christianity of ecclesiastical tradition, as taught by the fathers, monks and popes. It was a baptism by water, rather than by fire and the Holy Spirit. The preceding instruction amounted to little or nothing; even the baptismal formula, mechanically recited in Latin, was scarcely understood. The rude barbarians, owing to the weakness of their heathen religion, readily submitted to the new religion; but some tribes yielded only to the sword of the conqueror.

This superficial, wholesale conversion to a nominal Christianity must be regarded in the light of a national infant-baptism. It furnished the basis for a long process of Christian education. The barbarians were children in knowledge, and had to be treated like children. Christianity assumed the form of a new law leading them, as a schoolmaster, to the manhood of Christ.

The missionaries of the middle ages were nearly all monks. They were generally men of limited education and narrow views, but devoted zeal and heroic self-denial. Accustomed to primitive simplicity of life, detached from all earthly ties, trained to all sorts of privations, ready for any amount of labor, and commanding attention and veneration by their unusual habits, their celibacy, fastings and constant devotions, they were upon the whole the best pioneers of Christianity and civilization among the savage races of Northern and Western Europe. The lives of these missionaries are surrounded by their biographers with such a halo of legends and miracles, that it is almost impossible to sift fact from fiction. Many of these miracles no doubt were products of fancy or fraud; but it would be rash to deny them all. The same reason which made miracles necessary in the first introduction of Christianity, may have demanded them among barbarians before they were capable of appreciating the higher moral evidences. —*Schaff, "History of the Christian Church," Vol. IV., pp. 17-19.*

But the missionaries of the dark ages had to visit wild woods and untilled fields, to teach rude nations the alphabet, and to lay the foundation for society, literature and art. Hence Christianity assumed the character of a strong disciplinary institution, a training school for nations in their infancy, which had to be treated as children. Hence the legalistic, hierarchical, ritualistic and romantic character of mediæval Catholicism. Yet in proportion as the nations were trained in the school of the church, they began to assert their independence of the hierarchy and to develop a national literature in their own language.—*Ibid, pp. 11-12.*

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20. THE REFORMATION. MARTIN LUTHER (A.D. 1517-1545).

From the eighth century to the middle of the eleventh, the German people became evangelized and gave full promise of their future large place in universal Christian thought and life. At the end of the Middle Ages the Saxon and the Latin Church confronted each other. The Latin represented the past; the Saxon, the future and the permanent. The force which destroyed the old and strong Roman conditions was titanic. The Saxon hammer was irresistible. The Germans of the North were kinsmen to the Saxons and Angles of Britain. Wiclif and Luther were from a common cradle of Teutonic honesty and liberty.



Execution of Savonarola in Florence, 1498.

Protestantism was an oak of young and vigorous growth in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, but its roots lay deep in the soil of the twelfth and the intervening centuries. Among those whose work directly contributed to the Reformation are, in France: Hugo (1097-1141) and Richard (died 1173), both of St. Victor, Peter d' Ailly (1350-1425), John Charlier Gerson (1363-1429) and Nicholas Clémanges (1360-1440); in Germany, Master Eckart (died about 1328), John Tauler (1290-1361), and Henry Suso (1295-1365); in the Netherlands, John Ruysbroek (1293-1381) and John of Goch (1401-1475); in Bohemia, John Hus (1373-1415) and Jerome of Prague (died 1416); in England, John Wiclif (born about 1315); and, in Italy, Jerome Savonarola (died 1498).



Martin Luther.

The Reformation had two characteristics—one national, with all the individuality of race and land that might be expected; the other cosmopolitan, having general fibre and color, always the same, whatever the country or people, from Norway to the Alps, and from Transylvania to the Bay of Biscay. The Reformation has proved to be the chief turning-point in modern history. It is that great religious and intellectual revolution which marks the boundary line between the Middle Ages and the Modern Period.

The call for regeneration was deep and loud. Superstition had become interwoven with the pure doctrine of the gospel. The morals of the clergy, from the papacy down to the humblest monks, had become corrupt. The highest ecclesiastical offices were reached by vicious means. The common people were purposely kept in ignorance.

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Against these evils, ruinous at once to intellect and soul, the Reformers made their bold protest, and called upon the people to rally to their standard. Their aim was, at first, a purification of the Church within itself and by its own servants. This proved a total failure. The next step was to withdraw from the fold and establish an independent confession and a separate ecclesiastical structure. This succeeded; and the result is that vast and aggressive sisterhood of Protestant Churches which exists today in all the advanced countries of the world.

All the Teutonic nations had been ripening for the great ecclesiastical revolt, and Central Germany now became the theatre for the Reformation. The popular mind was so fully ready that the only great need now was a man of sufficient courage, ability and singleness of purpose to become the representative of his generation. Luther responded to the universal aspiration for a leader to guide surely and safely into the new paths.

Martin Luther was born in Eisleben, Saxony, November 12, 1483, and died in the same place February 18, 1546. His father was a miner of humble tastes and scanty means. His mother used to carry on her back the wood necessary for the comfort of the humble home. In this son were the calm judgment, the solid sense, and the sturdy valor of the colder blood of the North. But with these was blended the current of a gentle, cheerful and tuneful nature, a sympathetic and social feeling, which stood him in good stead in his later struggles.

He was educated at Magdeburg, Eisenach, (1) and the University of Erfurt, and in 1508 he entered upon his great career as a professor in the University of Wittenberg. On October 31, 1517, he nailed his Theses to the door of the Schlosskirche of Wittenberg, and then began the storm which lasted until the day of his death. (2)

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20. THE REFORMATION. — MARTIN LUTHER.

(1) **Luther's Education.**—Destined for the legal profession, he pursued, at the University of Erfurt, the Nominalist logic and the classics, and made a beginning in the study of Aristotle. He was twenty years old and had taken the Bachelor's degree when it happened that, while he was looking one day at the books in the Erfurt library, he casually took up a copy of the Latin Bible. It was the first time in his life that he had ever taken the sacred volume in his hands. Struck with surprise at the richness of its contents, compared with the extracts which he had been wont to hear in the Church services, he read it with eagerness and intense delight. This hour was an epoch in his existence. Deep religious anxieties that had haunted him from childhood, moved him, two years later, against the will of his father, to forsake the legal profession and enter the Augustinian convent, where he became a monk and a priest.—*Fisher*, "*The Reformation*," *pp. 88-9.*

(2) **Luther's Personality.**—Of Luther's appearance in 1519, when he met in disputation with Eck at Leipzig, Mosellanus says: "He was of medium height. His face and whole body were as thin as a skeleton, caused by long study and much care. His voice was clear. His address bore every mark of great learning and acquaintance with the Bible. His bearing was friendly and attractive. He was full of vitality, and calm and joyous amid the threats of his enemies, as one would be who undertakes great things with God's help. In controversy he was defiant and incisive, as a theologian ought to be."

Luther's Greatness.—Concerning Luther's defense before the Diet of Worms in 1521 and his immortal words: "Here I stand: I cannot do otherwise. God help me! Amen!" Carlyle says: "It was the greatest moment in the modern history of men. English Puritanism, England and its parliaments, America's vast work these two centuries; French Revolution, Europe and its work everywhere at present: the germ of it all lay there; had Luther in that moment done otherwise, it had all *been* otherwise!"

Luther's Prayer. — The wrestling prayers of Luther breathe the very spirit of faith, as in this one offered just before he went into the presence of this famous Diet: "Almighty, everlasting God, how terrible this world is! How it would open its jaws to devour me! And how weak is my trust in thee! O thou my God, help me against all the wisdom of this world! Do thou the work; it is thine, not mine. I have nothing to bring me here, I have no controversy to maintain—not I—with the great ones of the earth. I, too, would fain that my days should glide along, happy and calm. But the cause is thine. It is righteous; it is eternal. O Lord, help me! Thou that art faithful, thou that art unchangeable! It is not in any man I trust. O God, my God, dost thou not hear me? Art thou dead? No, thou art hiding thyself. O Lord, my God, where art thou? Come, come! Thou hast chosen me for this work. I know it. O, then, arise and work! Be thou on my side, for the sake of thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, who is my defense, my shield, and my fortress. I am ready—ready to forsake life for thy truth—patient as a lamb. Though the world should be full of demons; though my body should be stretched on the rack, cut into pieces, consumed to ashes, the soul is thine. For this I have the assurance of thy Word. Amen. O God, help thou me! Amen." (And then, as if in soliloquy) "Amen, Amen—that means, Yes, Yes, this shall be done!"

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21. THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. (A.D. 1509-1603.)

To England belongs the honor of having discovered the need of a universal religious regeneration in Europe. The beginnings of reform centered in Wiclif, a student and afterwards a professor in Oxford. His first position of hostility to the prevailing doctrines was his denunciation of the mendicant monks, who went up and down the land, extorting money from the people, and preaching against learning and progress in every form. He became master of Canterbury Hall, the Christ College of a later day. The pope issued a bill in 1370 to eject Wiclif, who replied in a ringing tract. Edward III., the king, took up the cause of Wiclif, who was appointed a royal chaplain and rector of Lutterworth. Wiclif gained a clearer view of the corruptions of the Church and preached boldly against them. Twice he was tried and escaped, yet not without being forbidden to preach and write. But he continued to hurl anathemas against willful pope and deluded priests. He died a natural death at Lutterworth.



John Wiclif.

Wiclif's greatest service to the Reformation was his translation of the Bible into English.

While the people were fully ready for religious revolt, the first organized rupture with Rome came from the king, Henry VIII. Many learned Protestants from the Continent settled in Oxford and Cambridge, and conducted discussions in favor of the Reformation. Among them were Ochino, Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, and Tremellius. But greatest of all the men from abroad was Erasmus, whose Greek New Testament found a ready entrance into England.

Henry's grievance against Rome was purely personal. He resolved on a divorce from Catharine of Aragon and to marry Anne Boleyn. To this the pope refused his consent. This brought the question to a crisis, and Henry broke the ties which had hitherto bound him to the papacy.

John Colet (1466-1519) and Sir Thomas More (1480-1535) were of great influence in bringing about the revolution in the popular mind. Thos. Cranmer, despite his time-serving pliancy, was of all men of his time the most powerful in hastening the English reform, and the publication of the Bible in the language of the people was the most powerful single agency in the spreading the leaven through the nation.

The young Edward, who succeeded Henry, was a Protestant, but he died early, and was succeeded by Mary, a rigid Roman Catholic. Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley were thrown into the Tower. Cranmer, in a moment of weakness, signed a recantation, but soon withdrew it. He, with Latimer and Ridley, was burned at the stake in 1556. A low estimate of the number of persons burned, places the

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martyrdoms at two hundred. The number would have been much greater had not many leading Reformers fled to the Continent.

Elizabeth succeeded Mary in 1558. She at once recognized Protestantism as the national faith, and Protestants were placed in charge of all the churches. Among the exiles who now returned were the Puritans who looked upon the elaborate ceremonial, the episcopacy, the use of robes, and the mild observance of the Sabbath as wretched remnants of the evil times. They refused to observe the new order and would establish one of their own in harmony with the example of the Genevan Church. (1) Elizabeth took strong ground against the Puritans; but despite all its divisions English Protestantism became strong and permanent under Elizabeth.

Robert Brown, born about 1550, was a student at Cambridge. While there he adopted and advocated Puritan views. His followers were alike firm in their hostility to the Chrrch of England and the Church of Rome. They also opposed the synodal and presbyterial government of the Presbyterians and were for that reason called separatists or Independents. The Brownists were persecuted by ecclesiastical courts. Unable to circulate their writings or hold public services, they fled from England and organized a church in Amsterdam, and afterwards in Leyden. In the latter place John Robinson was their pastor. They resolved on leaving Holland and set sail for the New World. They landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, in 1620, and became the chief factor in the civil and religious development of the colonies and the United States.

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21. THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

(1) **Churchman and Puritan.**—As we look back to the beginnings of the Puritan controversy in the reign of Edward and at the accession of Elizabeth, it seems plain that the questions were those on which good and wise men among the Protestants might differ. Half of the nation was Catholic. The clergy were of such a character that out of ten thousand not more than a few hundred chose to leave their places rather than conform to the Protestant system of Edward. A great part of them were extremely ignorant, and an equal number preferred the Roman Catholic system to any other. How can the people ever be won from popery, the Puritans demanded, if no very perceptible change is made in the modes of worship and in the apparel of the ministry? If the distinctive emblems and badges of popery are left, how shall the people be brought out of that system, and be led to give up the whole theory of priestly mediation? But the state of things that moved one party to adopt this conclusion, had an opposite effect upon the judgment of their opponents. Protestantism may fail altogether, they argued, if it breaks too abruptly with the traditional customs to which a great part of the nation are attached. Better to retain whatever is anywise compatible with the essentials of Protestantism, and wean the people from their old superstitions by a gentler process. Hold on to the apparel and the ceremonies, but carefully instruct the people as to their real significance. Thus the true doctrine will be saved; and, moreover, the religious life of the nation will preserve, in a degree, its continuity and connection with the past. The tract of Lord Bacon on the "Pacification of the Church," which was written in the reign of the successor of Elizabeth, is a calm and moderate review of the Puritan controversy, in which both parties come in for about an equal share of censure. He complains of the Puritans, among other things, for insisting that there is one prescribed form of discipline for all churches and for all time. He asserts that there are "the general rules of government: but for rites and ceremonies, and for the particular hierarchies, policies, and disciplines of churches, they be left at large." He complains of "the partial affectation and imitation," by the Puritans, "of the foreign churches." But in respect to many of the evils against which the Puritans protested, such as non-residence, pluralities, and the ignorance of the clergy, he is in sympathy with them. He thinks that liberty should have been granted in various things which were allowed by the ruling party to be indifferent. He would give up the required use of the ring in marriage; would give liberty in respect to the surplice; and he would not exact subscriptions for rites and ceremonies, as for articles of doctrine. At the time when Bacon wrote, the opponents of the Puritans were beginning to look with favor on a theory which had not been held by them before that the episcopal polity is necessary to the existence of a church. Thus the Episcopalians, as well as the Presbyterians, contended alike for the exclusive lawfulness of their respective systems.

The controversy of Churchman and Puritan is not extinct; but, however opinions may differ in regard to the English Reformation and the merits of the principal actors in it, every one at the present day must rejoice that no tempest of iconoclasm ever swept over England. Whoever looks on those

> —"Swelling hills and spacious plains,
> Besprent from shore to shore with steeple-towers,"

can partake of a brilliant French writer's admiration for "that practical good sense which has effected revolutions without committing ravages; which, while reforming in all directions, has destroyed nothing; which has preserved both its trees and its constitution, which has lopped off the dead branches without leveling the trunk; which alone, in our days, among all nations, is in the enjoyment not only of the present but the past."—*Fisher, "The Reformation," pp. 348-351.*

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22. RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION.

The good fruits of the Reformation are many and widespread. (1) Hitherto but little liberty had been granted to the common people. All the political convulsions brought small return to them. The effect of the Reformation was to create in the people a thirst for liberty and for a higher and purer citizenship.

Wherever the Reformation extended it made the masses more self-asserting. Social respect and order were introduced and subjected to firm regulation. Nations were taught a higher regard for each other's rights, and kings learned that their subjects were no longer mere playthings or serfs. In some countries the aspiration for independence took organized shape. The Reformation became the mother of republics.

The Dutch Republic was born of the efforts of the Protestants of the Netherlands to secure liberty of conscience. No thought of civil independence animated the Dutch at the outset. They fought simply for liberty of doctrine and worship. But once in the current they were carried on. They builded more wisely than they knew, and so founded a nation whose commerce covered every sea, whose discoveries reached the antipodes, and whose universities became the pride and wonder of Europe.



Fac-simile of Text of Wiclif's Bible.

The American Union owes a large measure of its genesis to the European struggle for reform. The Germans who came with Penn to this country were strongly attached to the doctrines of Luther, and immediately began to build churches and establish schools in that interest. The Dutch who settled in New York and the adjacent country brought with them a fervent love of Protestantism, which had been the creative force of their nation at home, and which their fathers had bought at the price of their treasure and blood. The Swedes of New Jersey and Delaware were animated by the same ardent spirit which had burned in their hearts in their ancestral home. The Huguenots, who settled in many places along the coast from Massachusetts down to Georgia, found that safe asylum which was denied them at home because of their fidelity to conscience. The Pilgrims, who came over in the Mayflower and became the strongest nucleus in the development of our Northern colonies, were fugitives from oppression in their native England. All these elements, the finest wheat from the trampled harvest-fields of Europe, combined on these shores and became a unit in this Western planting of evangelical Christianity.

The promotion of learning was not the least benefit conferred upon the world by the Reformation. Cultured men were its first advocates. The universities were the cradles of Protestantism. The translation of the Scriptures had the effect to formulate and solidify the languages as no other literary movement had been able to do it. Wiclif's Bible preserved the Saxon tongue, and our Authorized Version, or King James' Bible, shows its constant dependence upon his translation. Luther found German a mere conglomeration of rude and coarse dialects. In his translation of the Bible he grouped the best and purest idioms and for the first time made the German language a unit.

Universities took on new life and were multiplied as an immediate fruit of the Reformation. The University of Leyden was the first creation of the new nation

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which was born after the siege of that city was raised and the Spanish troops left the land. During the centuries since the Reformation more than twenty universities, three-fourths of which are Protestant, have been founded in Germany alone. Holland has built up in addition to the Univesity of Leyden five other universities, all of which are the direct results of her Protestantism. Not until now, and only as a fruit of the Reformation, was the gospel generally preached in the popular language. When the Reformation was once in progress the printing press was free. The study of all the languages became a new fascination which no edict could destroy. Public schools, though crude at first, were introduced in Germany, directly through Luther's labors. The intermediate schools, between the primary and highest education, were soon established. The German gymnasium of our times owes its real origin to the period of the Reformation. Wherever the Reformation triumphed and became a permanent force, the cause of education, good morals, and political liberty advanced securely and rapidly.



Zwingli, cofounder with Calvin of the Reformed Church.



Hugh Latimer, burned at Oxford, 1555.

22. RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION.

(1) **Fruits of the Reformation.**—What this impression is, may be stated in the language of two modern English historians, who at least are warped by no partisan attachment to the dogmatic system of the Protestant churches. Macaulay, while conceding that the Church of Rome conferred great benefits on society in the Middle Ages, by instructing the ignorant, by curbing the passions of tyrannical civil rulers, and by affording protection to their subjects, places in strong contrast the influence of the Church of Rome during the last three centuries, when she has been struggling to perpetuate a sway which the developed intelligence of mankind had outgrown. "The loveliest and most fertile provinces of Europe have, under her rule, been sunk in poverty, in political servitude, and in intellectual torpor, while Protestant countries, once proverbial for sterility and barbarism, have been turned by skill and industry into gardens, and can boast of a long list of heroes and statesmen, philosophers and poets. Whoever, knowing what Italy and Scotland naturally are, and what, four hundred years ago, they actually were, shall now compare the country round Rome with the country round Edinburgh, will be able to form some judgment as to the tendency of Papal domination. The descent of Spain, once the first among monarchies, to the lowest depths of degradation; the elevation of Holland, in spite of many natural disadvantages, to a position such as no commonwealth so small has ever reached, teach the same lesson. Whoever passes in Germany from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant principality, in Switzerland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant canton, in Ireland from a Roman Catholic to a Protestant county, finds that he has passed from a lower to a higher grade of civilization. On the other side of the Atlantic the same law prevails. The Protestants of the United States have left far behind them the Roman Catholics of Mexico, Peru, and Brazil. The Roman Catholics of Lower Canada remain inert, while the whole continent round them is in a ferment with Protestant activity and enterprise. The French have doubtless shown an energy and an intelligence which, even when misdirected, have justly entitled them to be called a great people. But this apparent exception, when examined, will be found to confirm the rule; for in no country that is called Roman Catholic has the Roman Catholic Church during several generations, possessed so little authority as in France." Carlyle, in his quaint and vivid manner, thus writes of the peoples who threw off their allegiance to Rome, in contrast with those which rejected the Reformation: . . . "Austria was once full of Protestants, but the hide-bound Flemish-Spanish Kaiser-element presiding over it, obstinately for two centuries, kept saying, 'No; we, with our dull, obstinate, Cimburgis under-lip, and lazy eyes, with our ponderous Austrian depth of Habituality, and indolence of Intellect, we prefer steady darkness to uncertain new Light!' and all men may see where Austria now is. Spain still more; poor Spain going about at this time, making its 'pronunciamentos.'" "Italy too had its Protestants; but Italy killed them—managed to extinguish Protestantism. Italy put up with practical lies of all kinds, and, shrugging its shoulders, preferred going into Dilettantism and the Fine Arts. The Italians, instead of the sacred service of Fact and Performance, did Music, Painting, and the like, till even that has become impossible for them; and no noble nation, sunk from virtue to *virtù*, ever offered such a spectacle before." "But sharpest-cut example is France, to which we constantly return for illustration. France, with its keen intellect, saw the truth, and saw the falsity, in those Protestant times, and, with its ardor of generous impulse, was prone enough to adopt the former. France was within a hair's-breadth of becoming actually Protestant; but France saw good to massacre Protestantism, and end it in the night of St. Bartholomew, 1572." "The Genius of Fact and Veracity accordingly withdrew, was staved off, got kept away for two hundred years. But the Writ of Summons had been served; Heaven's messenger could not stay away forever; no, he returned duly, with accounts run up, on compound interest, to the actual hour, in 1792; and then, at last, there had to be a 'Protestantism,' and we know of what kind that was."—*Fisher*, "*The Reformation*," *pp. 510-513*.

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23. THE AMERICAN CHURCH--COLONIAL PERIOD (1492-1783).

Europe in the sixteenth century was in convulsion. The reformatory movements reacted on the political life of all the central nations. Every land was divided into factions. One class, receiving its inspiration from Rome, wished to continue the old order, with the pope as practical sovereign. Another class, craving liberty and an accommodation to the new order, was willing to break loose from the Roman see, but desired to retain many of the Roman usages. A third class saw nothing but antichrist in Rome, and found hope only in casting off every reminder of papal doctrine and custom.

The transfer of the conflicts of Europe to America marked the new era. Whenever a colony came to America, it no sooner settled in its new habitat than it revived, under broader conditions, the struggle in which it had been engaged in the mother country. The Cavalier of the Virginia Colony surrendered none of his old attachment to the Church of England. The Plymouth Pilgrim (1) was even more intense in his revolt against both Romanism and Protestant Episcopacy than he had been when a Brownist at Scrooby, a parishioner of Robinson at Leyden, or a Pilgrim on the Mayflower. In the New World were fought out by contestants fewer in number and more widely scattered the issues which had driven the colonists to the Western wilds.



Jonathan Edwards.

The religious motive was supreme in the mind of all the best colonists. (2) To enjoy the free exercise of conscience was the Pilgrim's one passion, whose bright flame no distance from native land, nor stormy seas, nor rigor of climate, nor danger of death by savage hands, could quench. Our first settlers came as Christians, lived as Christians, and planted the religious principle as the richest inheritance for their posterity. They brought the best aspirations of the Old World and determined to realize them in the New. (3) The hour of American colonization was the fittest one in all modern times for the New World to receive the best which the Old had to give.

The territorial distribution of the colonists was not less providential. The acquisitions of the Spanish knights and Jesuit fathers who accompanied them were confined to a doubtful settlement in Florida, to the great province of New Spain (Mexico), and to a strip of the Pacific coast. The French Roman Catholic explorers and the Jesuit fathers were limited to Indian evangelization and an uncertain territory along the St. Lawrence, the northern chain of lakes, and the Mississippi valley. The great field of English colonization lay between these two. It is the temperate belt of North America—the region which nature had fitted for the most aggressive mission in Western civilization.

Spain now holds no foot of land on the North American continent. Louisiana passed from her hands into French possession, and in 1803 the French sold it to the United States. The French bade fair to own all Canada. The ownership was at last reduced to the fortunes of one battle—that of Quebec. The pivotal hour of all American Church history was that in which the brave Montcalm met his fate at the hands of the victorious but dying Wolfe, on the plains of Abraham, September 13, 1759.

This culmination of a long and bitter series of wars between France and Eng-

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land made the English the possessors of that immense tract lying between the United States and the polar seas and extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The war with Mexico, closing in 1848, gave the United States the great State of Texas, with its vast area of two hundred and seventy-five thousand square miles.

The fourth decade of the eighteenth century was marked by the "Great Awakening" which began under the preaching of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton, (4) and swept through all the colonies. A general spiritual decline marked the religious life of the Colonial Church from about 1765 until the end of the century. The absorbing topic was the struggle for national independence. All spiritual interests languished. At no time in the history of the American Church was the condition so serious. It was a question, How would Christian people act with the boon of a nation in their hands? Until the beginning of the nineteenth century it was doubtful whether the national independence would prove a spiritual blessing or a curse.

23. THE AMERICAN CHURCH—COLONIAL PERIOD 1492-1783.

(1) **The Plymouth Pilgrim.**—Had New England been colonized immediately on the discovery of the American continent, the old English institutions would have been planted under the powerful influence of the Roman Catholic religion; had the settlement been made under Elizabeth, it would have been before activity of the popular mind in religion had conducted to a corresponding activity of mind in politics. The Pilgrims were Englishmen, Protestants, exiles for religion, men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunities of extensive observation, equal in rank as in rights, and bound by no code, but that of religion or the public will.—*G. Bancroft*, "*History of United States*" (*Bost., 1856*), *Vol. I, p. 308.*

(2) **The Plymouth Colony.**—The Plymouth Colony was exceptional in its character. To a large extent, the later and wealthier Massachusetts Colony was animated by sovereign religious considerations; and so were those of Rhode Island and Connecticut. But they are certainly right who affirm that even these men, or many of them, showed a tough and persistent secular enterprise combining with their religious zeal. It was indeed an indispensable element to the soundness of their character. It kept them from wide fanatical excesses. It made them hardy, sagacious, indefatigable, inflexible in their hold on the fields and the freedoms which they had won.

As compared with our more recent pioneers, who have peopled the territories, subdued the mountains, and opened toward Asia the Golden Gate, the religious element was certainly more prominent in those who earliest came to this country. But even they were far from being blind to material advantages, and far enough from being willing to live as idle enthusiasts. "Give me neither poverty nor riches," was their constant prayer; with an emphasis upon "poverty." They meant to worship God according to their consciences; and woe be to him who should forbid! But they meant, also, to get what of comfort and enjoyment they could, and of physical possession, from the world in which they worshiped; and they felt themselves co-workers with God, when the orchard was planted, and the wild vine tamed; when the English fruits had been domesticated, under the shadow of savage forests, and the maize lifted its shining ranks upon the fields that had been barren; when the wheat and rye were rooted in the valleys, and the grass was made to grow upon the mountains.—*Storrs, R. S.*, "*The Early American Spirit*," *p. 22.*

(3) **Greatness of the Pilgrims.**—No fleets of galleons brought them over. They came in coarse clothing, not in raiment of velvet, or gilded armor. They attracted little attention at the time. They only seemed to themselves to be doing a work which somehow had fallen to their lot, and which must be done; and that the century which they represented would be more illustrious by reason of their action, was certainly a thought which never occurred to them. But they shared its life, if not its renown: they brought its vigor, if not its wealth. Their small stockades, at Jamestown and Plymouth, at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange, were the points on our coast where that energetic and sovereign century, then passing over Europe, set up its banners.—*Ibid, p. 37.*

(4) **The Great Awakening.**—The crucial test of the divineness of the work was given when the people presented themselves before the Lord with a solemn act of thanksgiving for his great goodness and his gracious presence in the town of Northampton, with publicly recorded vows to renounce their evil ways and put away their abominations from before his eyes. They solemnly promise thenceforth, in all dealings with their neighbor, to be governed by the rules of honesty, justice, and uprightness; not to overreach or defraud him, nor anywise to injure him, whether willfully or through want of care; to regard not only their own interest, but his; particularly, to be faithful in the payment of just debts; in the case of past wrongs against any, never to rest till they have made full reparation; to refrain from evil speaking, and from everything that feels a spirit of bitterness; to do nothing in a spirit of revenge; nor to be led by private or partisan interest into any course hurtful to the interests of Christ's kingdom: particularly, in public affairs, not to allow ambition or partizanship to lead them counter to the interest of true religion. Those who are young promise to allow themselves in no diversions that would hinder a devout spirit, and to avoid everything that tends to lasciviousness, and which will not be approved by the infinitely pure and holy eye of God. Finally, they consecrate themselves watchfully to perform the relative duties of parents and children, husbands and wives, brothers and sisters, masters, mistresses, and servants.—*Bacon, Leonard*, "*A History of American Christianity*," *pp. 158-159.*

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24. THE AMERICAN CHURGH--NATIONAL PERIOD. 1783-1898.

The Church had been a part of the colonial system. The citizen had been taxed for the support of the Church. When the Revolution severed the civil bonds with England, a strong tendency at once set in towards the separation of the Church from all political government. The people began to insist on placing the support of the Church, in all its departments, upon the voluntary judgment of its adherents. This assertion of the voluntary principle in ecclesiastical support and government was one of the most original of all the great phenomena of this initial stage of our national life.

Virginia was the scene of the first great movement to carry into practical effect the voluntary principle. To the Baptists belongs the honor of being the herald. Thomas Jefferson, who in religious matters was to all intents and purposes a Frenchman, has the honor of being one of the earliest and most consistent advocates of religious freedom.



Timothy Dwight.

The close connection of the colonies with France during the Revolutionary War favored the importation of the infidelity then rampant in that country. (1) The churches were demoralized and could offer no sufficient opposition. The new infidelity spread like wildfire. Edition after edition of the infidel publications of the Old World were sold in America. French thought became fashionable. Many public men were smitten by the contagion.

The young men of the colleges were peculiarly susceptible to the baleful influence of the rising star of unbelief. The man who did more than any other, perhaps, to stay this tide and bring the people back to saner thoughts was Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College from 1795 to his death, in 1817. From the day that the young president faced his students, infidelity has been a vanishing force in the history of the American people. This overthrow was mightily helped by the great revival which visited the country at that critical time.

This revival of 1797-1803 had several important centers of operation. The movement began almost simultaneously in widely separated regions and spread until the intervening spaces were covered by its effects.

The colleges shared largely in its benefits. The reclaiming of the colleges from infidelity to Christianity had an immense significance. Never since has religion been at so low an ebb in these centers of intellectual life; and from these college revivals have come some of the most earnest and successful Christian workers the Church has ever known.

This revival also imparted a great impulse towards evangelization, especially in the West, where the results are still appearing to the present time. (2) Other advantages to the Church grew out of that wonderful work of grace. The remnants of the Half-way Covenant were swept away. Missions among the neglected at home, the Indians and negroes, were revived and organized anew. The founding of Sunday-school unions, Bible and Tract societies, and other benevolent institutions, sprang out of the warm inspiration of this great spiritual ingathering.

The Roman Catholic preoccupation of the West and South gave abundant promise of a permanent population of adherents to that communion. From the

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headwaters of the Mississippi down to the Gulf, and along the tributary rivers, there had been settlements of the Jesuits, which preserved the Roman Catholic spirit after the most of the missions had been broken up. The population was in large part French, with a Spanish admixture, and the Roman Catholic faith predominated everywhere.

The Protestant current westward did not take the shape of a religious movement. It was simply the expansion of the solid and permanent population east of the Alleghenies. The great religious currents moved along the parallels of latitude westward with a steadiness and persistency which belong to the rarer spiritual phenomena of modern times.

The moral significance of the Western and Southwestern occupation by the Protestants of the United States is vast. We are too near the scene, and the time is too recent, to comprehend the grandeur of the achievement. Centuries must elapse before the transformation can be seen in all its meaning and proportions. Our religious literature, the pulpit, our denominational treasuries, have all been enriched beyond calculation by the contributions which the West has made with liberal hand and sublime faith.

24. THE AMERICAN CHURCH.—NATIONAL PERIOD.

(1) **The Westward Movement.** — The two decades from the close of the War of Independence include the period of the lowest ebb-tide of vitality in the history of American Christianity. The spirit of half-belief or unbelief that prevailed on the other side of the sea, both in the church and out of it, was manifest also here. Happily the tide of foreign immigration at this time was stayed, and the church had opportunity to gather strength for the immense task that was presently to be devolved upon it. But the westward movement of our own population was now beginning to pour down the western slope of the Alleghanies into the great Mississippi basin. It was observed by the Methodist preachers that the members of their societies who had, through fear, necessity, or choice, moved into the back settlements and into new parts of the country, as soon as peace was settled and the way was open, solicited the preachers to come among them, and so the work followed them to the west. In the years 1791–1810 occurred the great movement of population from Virginia to Kentucky and from Carolina to Tennessee. It was reckoned that one fourth of the Baptists of Virginia had removed to Kentucky, and yet they hardly leavened the lump of early frontier barbarism. The Presbyterian Church, working in its favorite methods, devised campaigns of home missionary enterprise in its presbyteries and synods, detailing pastors from their parishes for temporary mission service in following the movement of the Scotch-Irish migration into the hill-country in which it seemed to find its congenial habitat, and from which its powerful influences were to flow in all directions. The Congregationalists of New England in like manner followed with Christian teaching and pastoral care their sons moving westward to occupy the rich lands of western New York and of Ohio. The General Association of the pastors of Connecticut, solicitous that the work of missions to the frontier should be carried forward without loss of power through division of forces, entered, in 1801, into the compact with the General Assembly of the Presbyterians known as the "Plan of Union," by which Christians of both polities might coöperate in the founding of churches and in maintaining the work of the gospel.

In the year 1803 the most important political event since the adoption of the Constitution, the purchase of Louisiana by President Jefferson, opened to the American church a new and immense field for missionary activity. This vast territory, stretching from the Mississippi westward to the summits of the Rocky Mountains and nearly doubling the domain of the United States, was the last remainder of the great projected French Catholic empire that had fallen in 1763. Passed back and forth with the vicissitudes of European politics between French and Spanish masters, it had made small progress in either civilization or Christianity. But the immense possibilities of it to the kingdoms of this world and to the kingdom of heaven were obvious to every intelligent mind. —*Bacon*, "*A History of American Christianity*," *pp. 219-221.*

(2) **Value of the Revivals.**—The widespread revivals of the first decade of the nineteenth century saved the church of Christ in America from its low estate and girded it for stupendous tasks that were about to be devolved on it. In the glow of this renewed fervor, the churches of New England successfully made the difficult transition from establishment to self-support and to the costly enterprises of aggressive evangelization into which, in company with other churches to the South and West, they were about to enter. The Christianity of the country was prepared and equipped to attend with equal pace the prodigious rush of population across the breadth of the Great Valley, and to give welcome to the invading host of immigrants which before the end of a half-century was to effect its entrance into our territory at the rate of a thousand a day. It was to accommodate itself to changing social conditions, as the once agricultural population began to concentrate itself in factory villages and commercial towns. It was to carry on systematic campaigns of warfare against instituted social wrong, such as the drinking usages of society, the savage code of dueling, the public sanction of slavery. And it was to enter the "effectual door" which from the beginning of the century opened wider and wider to admit the gospel and the church to every nation under heaven.—*Bacon, Ibid, p. 244-45.*

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FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **MEDIÆVAL MISSIONS IN EUROPE.**—Missions, Anskar, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Bulgaria, Moravia, Russia, Poland, Hungary.
20. **THE REFORMATION. MARTIN LUTHER.**—Saxons and Latins, Turning point, Licentiousness, Venality, Ignorance, Purification, Secession, Luther.
21. **THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.**—Wycliffe; The Bible, Henry VIII., Martyrdoms, Puritans, Pilgrims to America.
22. **RESULTS OF THE REFORMATION.**—Mother of republics, The Germans, Dutch, Swedes, Huguenots, and Pilgrims in America, Influence on literature, education and preaching.
23. **THE AMERICAN CHURCH — COLONIAL PERIOD.**—Transfer of European conflicts to America, The religious motive, Territorial distribution, Political changes, The great awakening.
24. **THE AMERICAN CHURCH — NATIONAL PERIOD.**—Voluntarism, French infidelity, Timothy Dwight, Revival, Missions, The Westward movement.



Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop, Cardinal, and Prime Minister for Henry V., of England.

QUESTIONS.

19. *How were the remoter parts of Europe evangelized? Sketch the life of Anskar. How did Methodius work? How late were the Wends converted?*

20. *What was the racial basis of the Reformation? Name some contributors to the Reformation. What importance for history had the Reformation? What need for it was there? What part did Luther play in it?*

21. *Describe the work of Wyclif. What was his greatest service? How did Erasmus contribute to the Reformation? What part did Henry VIII. play? How did Cranmer influence reform? What three bishops were burned? How many Protestants in all were burned? What did the Puritans desire? How did Elizabeth regard them? Who were the Brownists? Whither did they emigrate?*



John Calvin, Protestant Reformer, 1509-1564.

22. *What influence upon politics had the Reformation? Sketch the rise of the Dutch Republic? What part did religion play in the colonization of America? How were language and education influenced? How was the gospel now preached? How was the press affected?*

23. *What conflicts marked religious life in America? What was the supreme motive in colonization? What other motive must be recognized? Describe the territorial distribution of Spaniards, French and English. What influence upon subsequent history did this distribution exercise? Describe the revival and subsequent decline of the eighteenth century. How did its moral effects appear in Northampton?*

24. *Relate the rise of voluntarism. What State, what denomination, and what person inaugurated the movement? Whence did infidelity spring? How pervasive did it become? Who led the reaction from it? How were the colleges influenced? Name some results of the revival. Discuss the Westward movement. How did the Churches act?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Mediæval Missions and their lessons for Modern Missions.*
2. *The fate of the Latin peoples since the Reformation.*
3. *Influence of the Bible in the vernacular.*
4. *The relation of Protestantism to education.*
5. *The rhythm of religious life.*
6. *The present condition of America.*

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The original documents of the Catholic Christian Church may be consulted in the general and national collections of councils, the collections of papal letters and regesta, the rules of monastic orders, in the "Mémoires" of Tillemont, the vast "Annals" of Baronius, and in extensive general histories like those of Fleury, Natalis, Alexander, Stolberg, Rohrbacher, and others. The most necessary helps for the finding and study of the original documents may be found in De Smedt, (C) "Introductio Generalis ad historiam ecclesiasticam critice tractandam," Paris, 1876. The following works are systematic treatises on the basis of the above mentioned:

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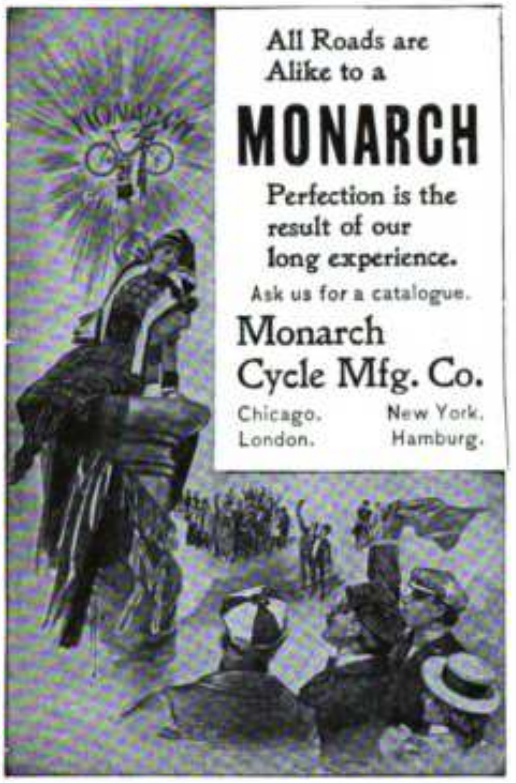
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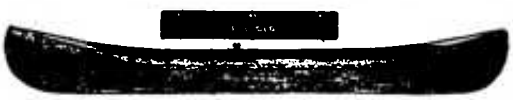
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THE BAPTISTS OF AMERICA.

BY

ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN, D. D., LL.D., Professor of Church History, McMaster University, Toronto, Canada.

1. THE BAPTISTS OF AMERICA.

ANTECEDENTS and Principles.—Protests against infant baptism as without Scriptural warrant and as perversive of the nature and purpose of an ordinance of Christ were common but by no means universal among mediæval evangelical parties. Petrobrusians and Henricians (1104-48), Arnold of Brescia probably (1139-55), and many Waldenses and Bohemian Brethren (thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) opposed infant baptism and insisted upon believers' baptism. Insistence on regenerate membership, on the imitation of Christ in his humility and self-denial, and on the practical carrying out of the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount; the rejection of oaths, magistracy, warfare, capital punishment, as contrary to the spirit of the gospel; and maintenance of freedom of the will and faith working by love, almost invariably accompanied rejection of infant baptism in the mediæval time.

These principles became far more aggressive and influential in connection with the Protestant Revolution of the sixteenth century. From 1521 onward in Germany and from 1524 onward in Switzerland, radical reformers revolted from the partial and compromising measures of such politico-ecclesiastical reformers as Luther and Zwingli, and insisted on unconditional return to apostolic Christianity. Chief stress was laid upon believers' baptism as alone fulfilling the purposes of the ordinance and as requisite for regenerate membership. Ideas of social reform accompanied this radical religious propaganda. In a few years the movement had spread throughout southern, eastern, western and central Europe, and many thousands had been won to its support. Protestants and Catholics vied with each other in remorseless efforts at extermination. The Moravian Anabaptists adopted a communistic mode of organization and their membership at one time is said to have reached seventy thousand. In the Netherlands the party reorganized by Menno Simons about 1536, was for some years the chief representative of evangelical Christianity. Many Anabaptists were driven by relentless persecution to take refuge in millennarian expectations and were precipitated into the vortex of fanaticism (Münster Kingdom). While immersion was recognized by Protestants and Anabaptists alike as the apostolic form of baptism little stress was laid upon it by either party. A few cases of immersion among Anabaptists are recorded, but sprinkling or pouring seems to have been the prevailing practice. Liberty of conscience was earnestly advocated by leading Anabaptists, at a time when nearly all Protestants and Catholics regarded it as entirely inadmissible.

Anabaptists from the Continent appeared in England in small groups from time to time from 1534 onward. They were cruelly persecuted and had little opportunity to form permanent churches or to exert any considerable influence on the native population. It is possible that in some cases they came into relations with surviving Lollard communities and influenced these to reject infant baptism. That some English accepted their views in the times of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, we have reason to believe. It is probable that the large Dutch population found in the west

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of England in Elizabeth's reign contained many Anabaptists and, in the opinion of leading Congregational scholars and others, exerted a decisive influence on Robert Brown, the father of English Congregationalism.

In 1606 a Separatist congregation that had been formed at Gainsborough, England, under the leadership of John Smyth, a Cambridge graduate, were driven by the persecuting measures of James I. to Amsterdam, where a church of English dissenters had for years sojourned. Smyth and his followers (among whom were Thomas Helwys and John Morton), became convinced that the Separatist congregations were inconsistent in withdrawing from the fellowship of the Church of England as an apostate church, and yet accepting as valid the baptism and the ordination received in that body, and in insisting on regenerate membership and yet baptizing unconscious infants. Accordingly, they repudiated their baptism, ordination and ordinances, introduced a new believer's baptism (or what they considered such, for it is probable that immersion was not employed at this time) and reorganized on what they considered a New Testament basis (1609). From the Mennonites and Remonstrants they imbibed Arminian forms of doctrine.

Smyth and a majority of the church soon became dissatisfied with their introduction of a new baptism and sought admission into the Mennonite fellowship. Helwys, Morton, and others adhered to the principle on which they had acted and returned to England in 1611 to propagate their views there. These also cultivated the fellowship of the Mennonites and like the latter became strongly Socinian in their views. About 1626 there were five small congregations in different parts of England. From 1614 to 1620 they published several able pleas for liberty of conscience. It is probable that they had increased to some extent by 1640. It is not certain that any member of this party (afterwards to be known as General Baptists) practiced immersion up to 1640.

In 1616 Henry Jacob, who had been pastor of an exiled congregation of English dissenters at Middelburg, Zeeland, returned to London and organized a church at Southwark. Out of this church, through successive withdrawals and redivisions there arose from 1633 to 1644 seven antipedobaptist congregations that were afterwards known as Particular (Calvinistic) Baptist churches. Part of these became convinced (about 1640) that baptism "ought to be by dipping the body into the water." They were also disinclined to introduce the apostolic form independently. So far as they knew, "none" had "then so practiced in England to professed believers." Being informed of an immersionist body in Holland they sent over one of their brethren to receive the ordinance. He returned baptized and large numbers were immersed early in 1641 or 1642. These Baptists published a confession of faith in 1644, which embodies the views of the great mass of modern Baptists.

The principles of Baptists may be summarized as follows: Supreme authority of Scripture (this excludes from doctrine and practice whatever is without Scriptural warrant); regenerate membership; democratic government with recognition of the headship of Christ and the universal priesthood of believers; believers' baptism (immersion alone being regarded as true baptism); absolute liberty of conscience; separation of Church and State.

Historical Outline.—The first in America to advocate Baptist principles, so far as we are informed, was Roger Williams. Born about 1600, educated at Cambridge (B. A. 1627), he became an ardent non-conformist and at great personal sacrifice emigrated to New England to escape the persecuting measures of Archbishop Laud. He was immediately invited to supply the pulpit of the Boston church, but he declined because it was "an unseparated church" and he "durst not officiate to" it. He incurred the ill will of the Massachusetts authorities at this time by denying the right of the magistrate to punish any sort of "breach of the first table," such as idolatry, Sabbath-breaking, blasphemy, etc. During his pastorate at Plymouth he spent much time among the Indians, mastering their language and seeking to

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promote their moral and spiritual welfare. As pastor of the Salem church (1634-35) he became involved in local controversies and in controversies with the Massachusetts authorities. Apart from his opposition to the Massachusetts churches as "unseparated," he objected to the charter, which involved recognition of the right of kings "to take and give away the lands of other people;" denounced the administration of oaths to the unregenerate as involving blasphemy, and the freemen's oath of allegiance in general as involving usurpation of divine prerogatives on the part of the government; and at last disfellowshipped the other churches for refusing to discipline their representatives in the Court for unrighteous conduct and his own church for refusing to join him in this action. As advocating opinions dangerous to the common welfare he was banished in 1635. He made his way amid winter's hardships and perils to Narragansett Bay where he was joined by a number of Massachusetts sympathisers and founded a colony on the basis of soul-liberty, which with the coöperation of John Clarke and others was developed into Rhode Island. His defense of the principle of liberty of conscience in "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution" and "The Bloody Tenet Yet More Bloody" was the most elaborate and complete that had ever been made and was epoch-making. This rinciple was defended with equal ability by John Clarke in his "Ill News from New England."

By 1639 Williams had become convinced that infant baptism was unwarranted by Scripture and a perversion of a Christian ordinance, and with eleven others introduced believers' baptism, and formed at Providence the first American Baptist church. Coddington, who was on Rhode Island at the time, accused Williams as at one time insisting on immersion and as Williams remained with the Baptists only a short time, it is natural to apply his remark to the time of the introduction of believers' baptism. This church, after Williams' withdrawal continued for years in an exceedingly weak state. The General Baptist type of teaching, with insistence on the laying on of hands as an ordinance of Christ, came to prevail by 1652, and the opponents of this view withdrew to form a new congregation.

The second American Baptist church was that formed at Newport, about 1641, under the leadership of John Clarke. Clarke arrived at Boston in November, 1637, when persecuting measures were being inaugurated against Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and her followers on account of their antinomian teachings. How far he sympathized with Mrs. Hutchinson's views at this time we have no means of knowing. But he cast in his lot with the persecuted party and led them in seeking a new home in unsettled territory. Through the kindly offices of Roger Williams they secured from the natives a title to Aquidneck Island. Here they founded a government in which the headship of Christ was recognized and which was purely democratic in form. This colony united with Williams's Providence colony in procuring a charter in which civil and religious liberty was fully provided for. Clarke deserves quite as much credit as Williams for this feature of Rhode Island polity, and his services in England on behalf of the colony were quite as distinguished. For some time Clarke, who was physician and theologian as well as statesman, ministered to the entire community in religious things. About 1641 or earlier Clarke and a number of his fellow colonists became "professed Anabaptists," and began to hold their meetings apart. In what form and under what circumstances they introduced believers' baptism we are not informed; but about 1644 Mark Lucar, who was among the English separatists that were immersed in 1641 (1642) became a member of the Newport church. If immersion was not practiced from the beginning, it was no doubt introduced on Lucar's arrival. The Newport church was full of missionary zeal. Members of this body sought to form a Baptist church at Seekonk, Massachusetts, in 1649, but were thwarted by the authorities. In 1651 Clarke and two of his brethren suffered severe treatment at the hands of the Massachusetts authorities for conducting religious services at Lynn. Clarke narrates these sufferings and denounces Massachusetts intolerance in "Ill News from New England" (1652).

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2. THE BAPTISTS OF AMERICA (Continued).

As already indicated, the Massachusetts government pursued a policy of extermination toward Baptists and no permanent organization of Baptist life was allowed until late in the century. Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard College (1640-55), was obliged, under circumstances of great hardship, to relinquish his position because of his persistence in opposing the baptism of infants. In 1663 John Myles, a Welsh Baptist pastor, emigrated to Massachusetts with his church, secured a grant of land near the Rhode Island frontier, and established a settlement and church, which they named Swansea. Here they enjoyed a considerable measure of freedom. The First Baptist Church of Boston was organized in 1665 and for years suffered grievously at the hands of the authorities. In 1682 a small band of Baptists, several of whom had been members of the Boston church, formed an organization at Kittery, Maine. Driven from Maine soon afterward they settled in South Carolina, and formed the Charleston church about 1684. In the Quaker colonies, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, Baptists appeared about 1682, and by 1707 at least six churches had been organized. They were largely Welsh, but included a considerable number from New England. The Philadelphia Association was formed in 1707 and became a chief means of extending and conserving Baptist influence. As late as 1729 there were in New England only three Calvinistic Baptist churches, while there were two Sabbatarian and thirteen General Baptist churches. The latter had for some time held annual associational meetings. The Charleston church had also come under Arminian influence and had been almost wrecked by internal strife. It is not probable that the entire Baptist membership in America much exceeded 500 at the beginning of the Great Awakening (1733).

With few exceptions, the Baptists of 1740 were not aggressive or enterprising. They held aloof from the Great Awakening led by Edwards, Whitefield, the Tennents, etc., refusing in some cases to open their churches for evangelistic services. And yet no denomination profited more largely by the revival. The Philadelphia Association from 1750 onward exerted a stimulating and molding influence on the feeble Baptist churches in Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, and secured the organization of many new churches and the formation of associations for the conservation and advancement of Baptist life.

In New England many Separate or "New Light" Congregational churches were formed by reason of the opposition of ministers and churches to the revival, and many of these "New Light" churches came to feel that their demand for regenerate membership logically involved the abandonment of infant baptism and accepted the Baptist position. In some cases whole congregations, with their pastors, became Baptist. In other cases churches were divided. The older Baptist churches gave little encouragement to the "New Light" Baptists and for a long time would have no fellowship with them. But a new vital force had come to the Baptist cause, and in a few years the evangelistic Baptists were greatly in the majority in New England and throughout the South.

The excessive enthusiasm of the Separate Baptists was everywhere tempered by the conservative missionary influence that emanated from the Philadelphia Association. Highly educated men went forth in every direction from the Philadelphia body. Hezekiah Smith as evangelist, financial agent for the college, pastor, and army chaplain, disseminated the Philadelphia influence throughout New England and elsewhere. The influence of this body, exerted persistently and through many channels, broke down the middle wall of partition between Baptists of the old and new types, and at last secured everywhere associational organization and conservative but aggressive denominational life.

In Virginia Separate Baptists led in the glorious struggle for civil and religious

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liberty (1775-99) and secured the coöperation of the Regulars. The two parties united in 1785. The Virginia Baptists were largely instrumental in securing religious liberty for all, and at last in compassing the disestablishment of the Episcopal church and the confiscation of its glebe lands, etc. To them also was due in part the ample provision for liberty of conscience in the United States Constitution. In New England, Separate Baptists, like Backus, coöperated with Baptists of the Philadelphia type, like Manning, Smith, Davis and Stillman, in an equally heroic but less successful struggle for absolute religious liberty and equality. The services of American Baptists in the cause of civil and religious liberty are acknowledged by scholars of other denominations.

By 1812 American Baptists numbered about 172,972, of whom 32,272 were in New England, 26,155 in the Middle States, and the rest in the South. Rhode Island College (Brown University) was still the only Baptist institution of higher learning. Most of the numerical increase had been secured through the labors of illiterate evangelists, and the Baptist population in the South and West, apart from a few churches in Virginia, the Charleston Association, some churches in the neighborhood of Savannah, and the Georgia Association, was strongly prejudiced against an educated ministry and against missionary work of any kind conducted by Boards and supported by contributions from the churches.



Adoniram Judson.

Since the beginning of the century Baptists in Boston and vicinity, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston and a few other places had taken a practical interest in the missionary work of Carey and his associates in India. The conversion to Baptist views of Adoniram Judson and Luther Rice, who had gone to India to open up a mission for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, in 1812, thrust upon the denomination the obligation to enter upon organized, independent work in the foreign field. Local mission societies were formed in many of the more intelligent communities, largely through the efforts of Rice, who had returned for the purpose of providing a basis of support for a Baptist mission, and in 1814 representatives of such societies met in Philadelphia and formed the Triennial Convention. This meeting brought together the leading Baptist ministers from all parts of the country. Within a few years there grew up in connection with this national organization for foreign missions, home-mission, publication and educational societies.

The more intelligent portions of the denomination were greatly stimulated by the foreign-mission movement. State conventions were formed in nearly all the States (1821 onward) for the promotion of missionary and evangelical work. Denominational colleges and theological seminaries sprang up with wonderful rapidity. Baptist newspapers arose and multiplied. Sunday-school work was carried forward with vigor. The introduction of so many innovations alarmed the ignorant and unprogressive elements of the denomination, and a large proportion of the Baptists of the South and Southwest zealously antagonized the missionary movement, with all its accessories. Yet the party of progress triumphed.

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3. THE BAPTISTS OF AMERICA (Continued).

Relation to Other Christian Denominations.—At the beginning of their modern history as a denomination Baptists stood practically alone in their advocacy of uncompromising adherence to Scripture precept and example in respect to doctrines and ordinances; in insisting upon absolute liberty of conscience and denying the right of the civil power to interfere in matters of religious belief or worship; and in contending for churches made up exclusively of those baptized on a personal profession of saving faith. It is highly gratifying to Baptists that some of the principles that were originally distinctive have become the common possession of evangelical Christendom. Most evangelical denominations now profess to make the Scriptures the norm of faith and practice, yet, on grounds that seem to Baptists inadequate, they refuse to follow the leadings of the best evangelical scholarship of the age as regards the subjects and mode of apostolic baptism.



John A. Broadus. Late President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. (Perhaps the greatest man the Baptists have produced.)

Baptists have always been divided on the set of doctrines that distinguish Arminianism from Calvinism. Every shade of view on these questions could, no doubt, be found at present in Baptist churches; but the great majority of Baptists hold to what may be called moderate Calvinism.

Baptists have been among the stanchest defenders of congregational church government; but they have latterly made the fullest use of coöperative methods in missionary work, etc. Associations, state conventions, missionary societies, etc., are important features of Baptist polity.

The attitude of Baptists toward Christian union is often misconceived and adversely judged by their brethren of other denominations. The fact is, that they most earnestly desire to enter into the closest allowable fellowship with all true Christians, and would make any amount of personal sacrifice to this end; but they consider that loyalty to Christ makes it incumbent upon them to protest against erroneous doctrine and practice to the extent of refusing to enter into church fellowship with those that, in their opinion, are walking disorderly. They maintain that efforts for Christian union, to be permanently efficacious, must be along the line of a better understanding of the Word of God and more complete loyalty thereto, rather than along the line of compromise. They are ready at any time, through accredited representatives, to confer with representatives of other evangelical denominations as to the meaning of Scripture in relation to doctrine and practice, and they profess to be willing to abandon at once any position that is made to appear out of harmony with apostolic precept and example.

That the leading scholars of nearly all denominations, including Anglican, Lutheran and Reformed, are so nearly in agreement regarding the main features of apostolic church order, such as the nature of church organization, the character and functions of church officers, the number and nature of the ordinances; and that the

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concensus of scholarship is so nearly in accord with the Baptist position, encourages Baptists to believe that the development of Christian doctrine and practice will be in the direction of greater uniformity, and that the church of the future will more and more closely approximate the Baptist position.

Meanwhile, Baptists themselves are being influenced by the non-Baptist Christian life and thought of the time, and are coming to appreciate more and more all that is true and Christ-like in the teachings and the lives of other types of Christians, to magnify the elements of agreement and to minify the elements of disagreement. They are ready to coöperate with their brethren of other denominations in all forms of philanthropy, and to a considerable extent in evangelistic and other forms of Christian work.

It may be said, in closing, that the insuperable bar to anything like organic union, or even federation, with most other evangelical bodies of Christians is the practice by the latter of infant baptism, regarded by Baptists as not only without Scriptural warrant but as a perversion of a Christian ordinance, and the refusal of the latter to conform to the mode of baptism that the scholarship of the time declares to be apostolic. Baptists do not consider these points mere matters of ritual, but rather they regard believers' baptism as an important ordinance of Christ and a valuable means of securing regenerate church membership, which also seems to them to be a fundamental requirement of the gospel. That members of different denominations should thoroughly understand each others' position and history is indispensable to correct judgment and intelligent charity.



William R. Harper, Ph.D., LL.D., President of the University of Chicago.

The Regular Baptists of the United States, according to the latest statistical report, number 4,055,806, and are divided into three great sections: the Northern, the Southern, and the Colored. These divisions affect only the home and foreign mission work of the denomination. The Southern Baptists organized separately in 1845 on account of the anti-slavery agitation. They have their missionary and Sunday-school organizations. The Northern Baptists unite in the work of the American Baptist Missionary Union and the American Baptist Home Mission Society. The American Baptist Publication Society seeks to serve all parts of the denomination. The Baptist Young People's Union takes in North and South alike. So does the American Baptist Education Society. The denomination has six great theological schools (Newton, Rochester, Hamilton, Crozer, Chicago and Louisville), colleges and universities too numerous to name, including Brown University, the University of Chicago, Vassar College, Colgate, Rochester, Colby, Wake Forest, Denison, Franklin, Richmond, Furman, Mercer, Howard, Georgetown, Kalamazoo, Bethel, Des Moines, Central, South-Western, Baylor and William Jewell. It has periodicals multitudinous. It has produced a literature, religious and general, that in quantity and quality compares favorably with that of the other leading denominations. That it is active and aggressive is evident from the fact that the increase in membership during the past year amounts to 231,768.

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CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

BY

SEPTIMUS J. HANNA, Editor of The Christian Science Journal, Boston, Mass.

4. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.

THE Reverend Mary Baker G. Eddy, Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science.—The discoverer and founder of Christian Science and author of its only text-book (*Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*), Rev. Mary Baker G. Eddy, was born in Bow, near Concord, New Hampshire. Her parents, of Scotch and English extraction, were Mark and Abigail Baker. Among her more distinguished ancestors were Sir John Macneil, of Scotland, Gen. John Macneil, the New Hampshire general who won distinction in the War of 1812, and Gen. Henry Knox, of Revolutionary fame. Mrs. Eddy was educated at Ipswich Seminary, Sanbornton Bridge Academy, and by private tutelage of Prof. Sanborn, author of Sanborn's Grammar, and her brother, Hon. Albert Baker, an alumnus of Dartmouth College. Her chief studies beyond the rudimentary were natural philosophy, chemistry, astronomy, Watts' "On the Mind," Blair's Rhetoric, Whatley's Logic, moral science, Locke's Metaphysics, and an irregular course of Latin, Greek, Hebrew and French. She united with the Congregational Trinitarian Church at about the age of twelve years, continuing in this communion until she established the First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Mass., in 1879.

Mrs. Eddy began writing for the press at sixteen, and wrote many years under various *noms de plume* for leading magazines in the North and South. In 1843 she married Col. George W. Glover, of Charleston, S. C. After his death she married Dr. Asa G. Eddy, of Lynn, Mass.

Mrs. Eddy became early engaged in various works of a religious, philanthropic and patriotic character, being connected by membership with many societies, among which may be mentioned the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Boston; the Society for Suppression of Vice, New York City; the Victoria Institute, London, England; and the Daughters of the Revolution, having been made a life member of the two latter.

Prior to the discovery of Christian Science, and before any woman had been admitted to the Medical Society, Mrs. Eddy studied Homœopathy, but did not receive a diploma, her refined and sympathetic nature preventing her from entering the dissecting-room. Mrs. Eddy never was, as some have erroneously asserted, a student of the magnetic doctor, the late P. P. Quimby, but on the contrary has disapproved his methods of practice, as her works show. Her discovery of Christian Science was some time after his death.

Mrs. Eddy, however, continued her study and experiments in homœopathy for several years before discovering Christian Science, or metaphysical healing. She began teaching Christian Science in 1867. In 1881 she opened and was president of the Massachusetts Metaphysical College in Boston. In 1876 she also founded and became president of the first Christian Scientist Association. For a number of years in the early history of the movement Mrs. Eddy was the publisher of her own works and editor and proprietor of the *Christian Science Journal.*

Mrs. Eddy now resides in Concord, N. H., where in the seclusion of a suburban home, she conducts the religious movement of which she is the head. Her character is an exalted one, her life consecrated to God and humanity. With tireless devotion she labors to re-establish the primitive Christianity of Jesus of Nazareth and make practical his teachings in healing the sick and overcoming sin.

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The Movement Inaugurated by Mrs. Eddy.—The origin of Christian Science is traceable to the year 1866, when Mrs. Mary Baker G. Eddy began a systematic investigation of the Scriptures, with a view to their higher and more spiritual understanding. By permission of the author (the book being copyrighted), we here quote from her work called "Retrospection and Introspection": "The discovery came to pass in this way. During twenty years prior to my discovery I had been trying to trace all physical effects to a mental cause; and in the latter part of 1866 I gained the scientific certainty that all causation was Mind, and every effect a mental phenomenon.

"My immediate recovery from the effects of an injury caused by an accident—an injury that neither medicine nor surgery could reach—was the falling apple that led me to the discovery how to be well myself and how to make others so. Even to the homœopathic physican who attended me and rejoiced in my recovery I could not then explain the *modus* of my relief. I could only assure him that the Divine Spirit had wrought the miracle—a miracle which later I found to be in perfect Scientific accord with divine law. I then withdrew from society about three years—to ponder my mission, to search the Scriptures, to find the Science of Mind, that should take the things of God and show them to the creature and reveal the great curative Principle, Deity.



Mary Baker G. Eddy

"The Bible was my text-book. It answered my questions as to how I was healed; but the Scriptures had to me a new meaning, a new tongue. The spiritual signification thereof appeared, and I apprehended for the first time, in their spiritual meaning, Jesus' teaching and demonstration and the Principle and rule of spiritual Science and Metaphysical Healing—in a word, Christian Science. I named it *Christian*, because it is compassionate, helpful and spiritual. God I called *Immortal Mind*. That which sins, suffers and dies I named *mortal mind*. The physical sense or sensuous nature I called *error* and *shadow*. Soul I denominated *substance*, because Soul alone is truly substantial. God I characterized as individual entity, but His corporeality I denied. The real I claimed as the spiritual and eternal; hence matter, its antipodes, or temporal, must be the unreal."

The Theology of Christian Science.—The foregoing illustrates in fair epitome the basic principles of Christian Science. From this standpoint Mrs. Eddy prepared her text-book, "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures," wherein is fully set forth the entire system of theological therapeutics which she teaches. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to say that nothing short of a thorough and comprehensive study of this text-book will enable the student or investigator to get other than a superficial grasp of this subject. The text-book is a systematized presentation of the author's spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures; hence it is apparent that only a study and comparison of this text-book with the Scriptures will convey a correct or adequate conception of the scope and intent of the system.

The first inquiry of Christian Science is: What is God? To the answer to this question the greater part of the text-book is directed, for in this question are included the correlative questions: What is man? What is the universe?

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5. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE (Continued).

From page 578 of the text-book, "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures," we copy the following glossarial definition of God:

"The great I AM; the all-knowing, all-seeing, all-acting, all-wise, all-loving and eternal; Principle; Mind; Soul; Spirit; Life; Truth; Love; Substance; Intelligence."*

All through this book God's omniscience, omnipresence and omnipotence, as well as His absolute supremacy, are elaborated and insistently dwelt upon. Does this imply an impersonal God? Only in the sense of a limited corporeal, or anthropomorphic God. The personality of Infinity, Life, Truth, Love, Intelligence, is most strongly emphasized.

In what sense is God, as Principle, understood to be personal? Principle is one of the synonyms used to designate God. To illustrate: God is the *Soul* of the universe and man. God is the *Life* of the universe and man. God is the *Love* of the universe and man. God is the *Principle* of the universe and man—of all that really is. He is creative Principle.

In this we get a different conception from that which charges upon Christian Science a lack of belief in God because He is held to be "a principle" rather than a person, The Christian Science teaching is not that He is "a principle" merely, but Divine Principle in the highest and broadest sense of the term. It is this that gives Him His oneness, His supremacy, His all-presence and all-power. It is by bringing ourselves into intelligent communion with this all-existent, all-present, all-active Divine Principle—"the same yesterday, to-day and forever"—that we are enabled to heal sickness and overcome sin. The prayer of the Christian Scientist is not so much a supplication to God that He will respond to the human need, as a realization that, by virtue of His all-ness He has already provided the remedy, and it remains only for men to bring themselves into such spiritual relationship to Him that His ever-existing law becomes operative in the human consciousness, and the practical results follow, as in the case of compliance with any law or condition. In this sense Christian Science teaches that healing disease and removing or overcoming the sins of the flesh are rather divinely natural than supernatural. In other words, these results are accomplished under universal law and order rather than by an overruling or suspension thereof.

It was his understanding of this all-ness of the Father that enabled Jesus of Nazareth to heal sickness and destroy sin. It was in this sense that he and the Father were one. His oneness with the Father consisted in his being "about his Father's business"—doing the Father's will. In the measure that he reflected the Father's nature and character he was one with Him. He was, according to his own declarations, at once the Son of God and the Son of Man.

The primal teaching of the Christian Science text-book is that mortals can be saved from sickness and sin only by the most implicit obedience to the teaching, example and practice of Christ Jesus; that there is no other way of salvation.

How is he to be followed? Not by worshiping his personality or deifying his humanity, but by being "about the Father's business," as he was about the Father's business, so far as his teaching and practice are understood. To take up the cross and follow him, means doing the works he did and taught should be done. What were these works:

"And as ye go, preach, saying, the kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils: freely ye have received, freely give."

"Go ye, therefore, and make disciples of all nations; . . . and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. He that believeth on me, the

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works that I do shall he do also; and greater works shall he do; because I go unto my Father. . . . These signs shall follow them that believe: in my name shall they cast out devils; they shall speak with new tongues; they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing, it shall in nowise hurt them; they shall lay hands on the sick and they shall recover."

Were these commands addressed to and intended only for his immediate disciples? Evidently not. He said: "These signs shall follow *them* that believe." Equivalent to saying *all* that believe. Jesus' personal disciples did not understand his teaching to be limited to the few, for they healed the sick and raised the dead. And so likewise, according to the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, or the early Christian Apologists, did their disciples, down to the end of the third century. There is, therefore, no warrant for the assumption that the teaching of Jesus was intended only for his immediate followers. Rather were they for all peoples and all times. It is observable also that Jesus prophesied the doing of greater works than he had done, because he would go to the Father. It is evident that none of his disciples did greater works, or as great works, as he did.

Have those greater works yet been accomplished? We have no record thereof. Then, either these greater works must be *in futuro* or the Master's prophecy was a failure. Is it not more consistent with Jesus' teaching and prophecy to rest on the assurance that the Divine Principle of healing will yet be so well understood and so fully demonstrated that indeed greater works will be made manifest? This is the Christian Science premise, and even a casual study of Scripture in the light of this premise, leaves no doubt of the Scriptural warrant therefor.

The Healing Work.—We cannot, of course, go into detail here on the subject of healing and what Christian Science has thus far accomplished.

It will be sufficient to say that for more than thirty years the work of healing the sick has been in progress. For many years it was almost unknown, but within the past ten years it has spread with great rapidity until now there are few places in this country where its healing results are not known. It has also reached many parts of Europe and the East.

There is scarcely a form of human illness that has not been cured through its method. Cases innumerable, pronounced incurable by the medical profession, have been completely healed. These cases are now easy of ascertainment and proof. The time for questioning them has long since gone by. The cases of healing from sin, as the term is commonly understood, are also numerous. The drinking and smoking and tobacco-chewing habits have been radically cured in many hundreds of cases, while reformation from deeper forms of vice have been frequent and most satisfactory.

Organization of the Church.—In the spring of 1879, a little band of earnest seekers after truth went into deliberations over forming a church without creeds, called the "Church of Christ, Scientist." Being members of evangelical churches and students under Mary Baker Eddy in metaphysics or Christian Science and its application to the treatment of disease, they were known as "Christian Scientists."

At a meeting of the "Christian Scientists' Association," April 19th, 1879, on motion of Mrs. Eddy, it was unanimously voted: To organize a Church to commemorate the word and works of our Master, which should reinstate primitive Christianity with its lost element of healing. Mrs. Eddy was appointed on the committee to draft the Tenets of the Church—the chief corner-stone whereof is the fact that Divine Science, as taught and demonstrated by our Master, casts out error, heals the sick, and will restore the lost Israel.

The charter for the Church was obtained June, 1879, and the same month the members, twenty-six in number, extended a call to Mary Baker Eddy to become their pastor. She accepted the call, and was ordained A.D. 1881. This Christian Science Church, organized in Boston, is the first of its denomination known to the world.

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6. CHRISTIAN SCIENCE (Continued).

The Church Edifice, and Branch Churches.—In 1894 there was erected in Boston a beautiful and costly church edifice designated as the "Mother Church" and officially called The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Mass. It is a substantial structure built almost entirely of granite and iron. The valuable lot of ground on which it stands was, several years ago, donated for church purposes by Mrs. Eddy. The total present value of the property is estimated to be $250,000. There are about four hundred branch churches in this country, Canada, and Europe, these being auxiliary to the Mother Church, which stands as the Vine or parent church. Upwards of thirty church edifices have thus far been erected, while many more are in process of construction or projection. Some of these are costly and commodious buildings, notably those of Chicago, Detroit, Minneapolis, and others.

In 1898 the Mother Church, The First Church of Christ, Scientist, has a membership of nearly twelve thousand, and is growing with great rapidity. The total present membership, including the branches, is nearly fifty thousand. There are certain conditions attaching to admission to the Mother Church which cause delay in the reception of members from the branches.

The Church Services—A unique feature of the service is this, that there is no personal preacher or personal preaching. Early in 1895 Rev. Mary Baker G. Eddy was elected pastor emeritus of the Mother Church, and at this time she ordained the Bible and "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures" as the "impersonal pastor" of this Church and all its branches. That is to say, the sermon or discourse is selected from these books alone. The services are conducted in other respects much as in the churches of other denominations, but in lieu of the usual sermon, a "lesson-sermon" is made up of alternate selections from the Bible and the Christian Science text-book—"Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures"—such selections being in corroboration and elucidation of the lesson-text constituting the ground-work of the lesson-sermon. This lesson-text—with the exception of an occasional lesson prepared for special service—is that selected by the committee preparing the International Bible-Lesson Series. These lesson-sermons are prepared by a committee of Christian Scientists appointed for that purpose. This order has recently been changed in this, that the lesson-sermon for the morning service dispenses with the lesson-text, and substitutes therefor a selection of Scripture for responsive reading, while the passages selected from the Bible and "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures," are in elucidation of a subject proposed as the basis of each lesson-sermon, such, for instance, as God, Life, Truth, Love, and Substance. In the Mother Church, and most of the branches, the selections are read by a male and female reader. Thus it occurs that the same discourse is rendered in the Mother Church and all of her branches each Sabbath.

The Church Tenets.—Following are the Tenets of the Mother Church. They obtain also in all the branches:—

Church Tenets and Rules of the First Church of Christ, Scientist. To be signed by those uniting with The First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston, Mass.

1. As adherents of Truth, we take the Scriptures for our guide to eternal Life.
2. We acknowledge and adore one Supreme God. We acknowledge His Son, and the Holy Ghost, and man as the Divine image and likeness.
3. We acknowledge God's forgiveness of sin in the destruction of sin, and that sin and suffering are not eternal.
4. We acknowledge the atonement as the efficacy, and evidence of divine Love, of man's unity with God, and the great merits of the Way-shower.
5. We acknowledge the way of Salvation demonstrated by Jesus, to be the power of Truth over all error, sin, sickness, and death; and the resurrection of

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human faith and understanding to seize the great possibilities and living energies of divine Life.

6. We solemnly promise to strive, watch and pray for that Mind to be in us which was also in Christ Jesus, to love one another, and to be meek, merciful, just, and *pure.* REV. MARY BAKER EDDY.

Growth and Numbers.—The growth of the Christian Science movement has been almost without precedent, especially during the past three years. There are at hand no reliable statistics from which the actual present number of adherents may be accurately ascertained. But in 1898 a rough estimate fixes the total following at a half million in this country, Canada and Europe. By this is meant, those who believe in this system of healing and religion more than in any other, although many of them have not yet taken an open stand.

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FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **THE BAPTISTS OF AMERICA.**—Middle Ages, Reformation, Communism, Millenarianism, Liberty of conscience, Appearance in England, Persecution, Immersion, Principles.
2. **THE BAPTISTS OF AMERICA (Continued).**—Roger Williams, The bloody tenet of persecution, The first American Baptist Church, John Clarke and the second Church, Civil and religious liberty in Rhode Island, Lucar and immersion, Massachusetts persecution, Baptist membership in 1733, Baptists in 1740, Accessions from Congregationalism, Struggle for religious liberty, Statistics in 1872, Condition in the South and West, Unifying and progressive influence of missionary work, Rapid growth.
3. **THE BAPTISTS OF AMERICA (Continued).**—Three traits of Baptist belief, Influence on other Churches, Arminianism and Calvinism, Polity, Attitude to Christian union, Bar to federation, Grounds therefor, Membership, Societies, Education.
4. **CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.**—Mrs. Eddy's education and experience, The new significance of the Bible, Definitions.
5. **CHRISTIAN SCIENCE (Continued).**—God, Prayer, Law, Jesus' power, Sickness and sin, The sign of healing, Healing both of sickness and sin still in progress, Church edifices.
6. **CHRISTIAN SCIENCE (Continued).**—The impersonal pastor, The weekly service, Six tenets, Growth, Present statistics.

QUESTIONS.

1. *When did protests against infant baptism begin? When did they increase? Into what did persecution drive many Anabaptists? How was liberty of conscience treated? How were Anabaptists treated in England? Name some early leaders. When was immersion adopted?*
2. *Sketch the life of Roger Williams. What books defended liberty of conscience? Who formed the first American Baptist Church? Who the second? Sketch the career of John Clarke. When was immersion introduced? What was the entire Baptist membership in 1733? How did Baptists act towards the Great Awakening? Whence did many accessions come? What influence was exerted by these? How was religious liberty promoted? State the membership in 1812. Describe its condition in the South and West? What influence had missionary activity? What opposed, and with what success?*
3. *Wherein did Baptists originally stand alone? How far have these traits become common? What set of doctrines dominates? What polity is practised? Discuss the attitude of Baptists to other churches. What forms the bar to federation? State the present membership.*
4. *Sketch the early life of M. B. G. Eddy. What occasioned the discovery of metaphysical healing? In what book was the explanation sought and found? Define God, man, sense, soul, and the real.*
5. *What is God? What does communion with him confer? How is prayer properly understood? How did Jesus heal sickness and sin? How can we? What evidence of this doctrine has been given?*
6. *State the distinctive features of the service. State the six church tenets. Give the present statistics.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *History and value of liberty of conscience.*
2. *The close of religious persecution in America with that of the Baptists.*
3. *Are the obstacles to Christian federation insuperable. (This topic can be dealt with only piecemeal, as the various denom. national sketches are perused.)*
4. *The dependence of theory upon experience.*
5. *The various theories of prayer.*
6. *Read and estimate "Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures."*

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THE CHRISTIANS OF AMERICA.

BY

J. J. SUMMERBELL, Editor of "Herald of Gospel Liberty," Dayton, Ohio.

7. THE CHRISTIANS OF AMERICA.

AMONG the minor denominations in the United States and Canada, there is a people rejecting all names but *Christian*. Their real attitude toward the religious world is such that some of their own ministers contend that they are not a denomination, except in the sense of being named. Speaking as one of them, the writer states their general position as follows: "The Bible is our only rule of faith and practice, to the exclusion of human statements, creeds or confessions; Jesus Christ is our only leader; we accept no name but Christian; Christian character is our only test of fellowship; individual interpretation of the Scriptures is allowed to everyone; and we seek the union of the followers of Jesus." This last purpose has been expressed more prominently within a few late years than before. In the beginning, the assertion was rather of liberty.

On November 1, 1792, a General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was held at Baltimore. During the session Rev. James O'Kelly, a presiding elder, offered a resolution providing that ministers dissatisfied with the charges to which they were assigned might appeal to the conference, and if the appeal were sustained, the bishop should make another assignment. The resolution was lost, after animated debate. The next day O'Kelly and about thirty other ministers resigned from the conference. The next year, Christmas day, they met at Manakin, N. C., and organized a body known as "Republican Methodists," not intending fully to cut themselves off from the Methodist Church. But within a year, at Lebanon Church, Surry county, Virginia, at the suggestion of Rev. Rice Haggard, they voted to bear only the name "Christian," to take the Bible as their only creed, and to allow each church to govern itself.

In the year 1801, Rev. Abner Jones, trained among the Baptists, organized the first Christian church in New England, at Lyndon, Vt. In 1801 and 1802, occurred the great Caneridge revival, in Kentucky, following which Barton W. Stone, David Purviance, and others of the Presbyterian Church, came out on the ground virtually occupied by the brethren of the east and south already spoken of. These western ministers were largely influenced by the conduct of many young converts of the revival, who, when solicited to unite with the churches, hesitated; expressing the wish to remain simply Christians, to take Christ for their only leader, and the Bible for their only creed, and to have equal fellowship for *all* Christians.

These three bodies of people, in their several districts, were ignorant of the springing up of a people in any other locality teaching the same doctrines. A few years later, when learning of each other, they recognized their oneness, and organized somewhat loosely. There was thus what was practically a simultaneous revolt against the three great American churches; against the Methodists in North Carolina and Virginia, against the Baptists in New England, and against the Presbyterians in Kentucky and Ohio. We are the manifestation of an important religious movement that is wholly American. Yet the common phrase, "the Bible our only creed," ever drives us for inspiration, for law, and for doctrine, to Palestine. Though we sprang up in the wilderness, we refer to chapters xi., xii. and xiii of Revelation for explanation of that fact. Yet though our origin has been largely rural, our history has shown a spirit of leadership not merely in early home missionary activities, but a pioneership in subjects of public thought. We established the first religious newspaper; we established the first college (Antioch) giving fully equal rights and honors to both sexes, etc.

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THE CONGREGATIONALISTS OF AMERICA.

BY

WILLISTON WALKER, Ph. D., D.D., Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary, Conn.

8. THE CONGREGATIONALISTS OF AMERICA.

WHAT are known as the Congregational Churches of America and of Great Britain are not the only churches which are congregational by organization. The Baptists, the Christians, the Unitarians, and several other religious bodies, have substantially the same polity, so that nearly thirty-eight per cent of all assemblies for public worship in the United States are of this type of government. But the group of churches known by the title of "Congregational" are so one in history, faith, character, worship, missionary activities and responsible mutual relationship that they constitute as distinct a denomination as any in America.



John Winthrop, Governor of Connecticut, 1657-76.

American Congregationalism had its origin in England in the reign of Elizabeth. Many English Protestants felt that the Reformation, as introduced under that great queen, had not gone far enough toward the realization of what they believed that the Bible taught that a Christian church should be. These seekers for a more perfect Reformation were of two classes,—the Puritans, a large party who believed in the possibility of a reformed National Church, and the Separatists, a comparatively small and radical party, who agreed in general with the Puritans as to the direction in which churchly reforms should be sought, but held that Christians should separate from the National Church and organize local congregations composed exclusively of persons of professed Christian experience.

The first to proclaim these Separatist views successfully was Rev. Robert Browne, a graduate of Cambridge University. In 1580 he formed a Congregational Church in Norwich. A similar church completed its organization at London in 1592, and another came into being at Scrooby, one hundred and fifty miles north of London, in 1605 or 1606. The latter had Richard Clyfton, John Robinson, William Brewster and William Bradford among its members. Persecution compelled all these churches to fly from England to Holland. That formed at Scrooby settled at Leyden in 1609, and a considerable portion of its membership, under the lead of Brewster and Bradford, crossed the Atlantic in the "Mayflower," and founded the first permanent settlement in New England at Plymouth in 1620.

Not long after Congregationalism was thus brought by Separatists to America, political and ecclesiastical tyranny in England induced many prominent Puritans to emigrate to New England. Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire were settled by Puritans, and beginning with the formation of a Congregational Church substantially like that of Plymouth at Salem in 1629, Congregational Churches were spread by Puritan settlers over the New England colonies. By 1637, when they held their first synod, or general council, they numbered 22; by 1646, when the Cambridge Synod formulated their polity, they had grown to 53. In 1760, there were 530 Congregational Churches in New England. By 1816, they had multiplied

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to 1,000; and at the present time the churches of the denomination in the United States number 5,625; their ministers about 5,500, and their communicants 630,000. As late as 1820, four-fifths of the Congregational Churches were in New England. Now nearly three-fourths are in other parts of the United States.

Some few of the way-marks of this long history have been, Eliot's efforts for the conversion of the Indians, from 1646 onward; the "Great Awakening" under George Whitefield and other evangelists, 1740-41; Jonathan Edwards and the New England theology; home missions organized, 1798; the first theological seminary opened (Andover), 1808; the American Board of Foreign Missions formed, 1810; the Triennial National Council instituted, 1871; the Christian Endeavor Society inaugurated, 1881; the International Congregational Council, 1891.

Congregationalism has always believed in popular education. Its first school (Boston) was opened in 1635. The first of a long series of colleges (Harvard) was founded in 1636; and the list of such institutions of higher learning essentially related to Congregationalism now embraces forty-one, besides seven theological seminaries.

The founders of Congregationalism believed that the New Testament contains a minute and authoritative pattern of what a church should be in organization and government. Few of their present successors would make so sweeping a claim; but Congregationalists generally hold that the Scriptures set forth certain broad principles of Christian life and practice which should dominate the government and worship of a church as truly as the conduct of an individual believer. While Congregationalists freely recognize that all Christians, throughout the world, are spiritually, but not governmentally, one—the Church universal—they have held from the beginning that the proper organized form of the Church is not national, synodical or diocesan, but in self-governing congregations—hence the name, Congregationalist. Each of these congregations—or, more properly, churches—is to be composed exclusively of members of professed Christian faith and experience, united one to another, and to their Lord, by a covenant, assent to which is required on admission to the church. (1, *for which cf. p. 648.*) Of each congregation Christ is the immediate Head, hence no superior human authority can interfere with its control of its own concerns. It chooses its own officers, regulates its own worship, formulates its creed and covenant in words of its own selection, and conducts all its business by the votes of its membership, either directly or through committees. Hence Congregational Church government is spiritual democracy.

The officers of a Congregational Church were originally a "pastor," a "teacher," one or two "ruling elders," and several "deacons." In theory, and in practice in one instance of early Congregational history, "widows" or deaconesses were to be added to the officers named, all being thought to be required by the New Testament. But these officers were speedily felt to be too numerous, and the official equipment of a Congregational Church usual for more than two centuries past has been a pastor and deacons. Besides the deacons, from two to eight in number customarily, churches of size have a "prudential" committee to aid the pastor in administration; but no act is final unless approved by the church itself. Congregationalists have always felt that religious knowledge was no monopoly of a few, but the privilege of all; hence they have emphasized learning in the pews as well as in the pulpit. Their churches have been characteristically of a missionary spirit; and their worship has been, and is still essentially, of a non-liturgical character.

But while each Congregational Church is independent and self-governing, it is not alone. Since Christ is the immediate head of each church, these churches are equal, they are like brothers and sisters in one family. As members of a Christian household, they owe one to another counsel in perplexity, advice in important decisions, aid in poverty, and admonition when in error. Hence arises the Congregational thought of responsibility, as well as local independence.

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9. THE CONGREGATIONALISTS OF AMERICA (Continued).

This responsibility finds expression in "advisory councils"; *i.e.*, in all matters of importance, like organizing a church, settling a pastor, or healing a quarrel within the church, Congregationalists believe that the advice of the representatives of other Congregational Churches, assembled by invitation, should be sought. Besides these occasional councils, which are summoned only to advise on the particular question under consideration and are not permanent bodies, Congregational fellowship finds expression in local "conferences" and "associations," often embracing the churches of one county; in state conferences; and in the Triennial National Council. In these permanent bodies the churches are represented by delegates. None of these bodies are judicial; but though merely advisory their counsel has great weight.

While each Congregational Church can express its conception of Christian truth in words of its own choosing, Congregationalists, gathered in their public conventions, have never hesitated to give testimony to their faith. Thus, in 1648, the Cambridge Synod approved the doctrinal sections of the Westminster Confession; in 1680, a council representative of the churches of Massachusetts approved the modification of the same Confession made by the English Congregationalists in 1658. Similar action was taken by the churches of Connecticut in 1708. The National Council in 1865 adopted a statement of belief, and a creed was put forth, in 1883, by a commission appointed by the National Council in 1880, which was further approved for publication in its model "Manual" for a Congregational Church by the same body in 1895. No Congregational Church is required to subscribe to this creed, but many have adopted it as their expression of faith, and it represents as fairly as any statement could the position to-day of the great majority of Congregational Churches and ministers. (2)

The missionary work of these churches is mainly conducted through six societies, viz.: the "American Board"; (3) the "American Missionary Association"; (4) the "Congregational Home Missionary Society"; (5) the "Congregational Church Building Society"; the "Congregational Education Society"; and the "Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society." The total gifts to objects other than the home expenses of the contributing churches, in 1896, were $2,129,456.

Congregationalists believe this system to be peculiarly illustrative of the fraternal spirit of the Gospel; they regard it also as admirably adapted to the intelligent, self-governing communities of democratic America, to the development of whose characteristic institutions it has contributed much in the past. But the Congregational Churches of America have never claimed to be the only true churches; and they stand ready to unite in federal coöperation, as far as opportunity may offer, with churches of the Protestant type of faith commonly known as "evangelical." (6)

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9. THE CONGREGATIONALISTS OF AMERICA.

(1) **Various Early Church Covenants.**—The "Cambridge Platform" thus declares:

"A Congregational-church is . . . a part of the militant-visible-church, consisting of a company of Saints by calling [*i.e.*, actual disciples of Christ], united into one body by a holy covenant, for the publick worship of God, & the mutuall edification one of another, in the Fellowship of the Lord Jesus."

Most of the early covenants were very simple. That at Salem in 1629 was: "We covenant with the Lord and one with another, and doe bynd our selves in the presence of God, to walke together in all his waies, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed word of truth."

The form recommended (in 1896) by the committee appointed by the National Council to prepare a "Manual" is as follows:

"Acknowledging Jesus Christ to be our Saviour and Lord, and accepting the Holy Scriptures as our rule of faith and practice, and recognizing the privilege and duty of uniting ourselves for Christian fellowship, the enjoyment of Christian ordinances, the public worship of God, and the advancement of his kingdom in the world, we do now, in the sight of God and invoking his blessing, solemnly covenant and agree with each other to associate ourselves to be a Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, as warranted by the Word of God. We agree to maintain the institutions of the gospel, to submit ourselves to the orderly administration of the affairs of the Church, and to walk together in brotherly love. And this we do depending upon the aid of our heavenly Father, who so loved the world that he gave his only begotten

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Son for our salvation, and of Jesus Christ who hath redeemed us with his blood, and of the Holy Spirit, our Comforter and Guide."

(2) The Creed of the "Council Manual."—As printed in the "Council Manual" (1896) this creed is as follows:

"I. We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible,

And in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord, who is of one substance with the Father; by whom all things were made;

And in the Holy Spirit, the Lord and Giver of Life, who is sent from the Father and Son, and who together with the Father and Son is worshiped and glorified.

II. We believe that the providence of God, by which He executes His eternal purposes in the government of the world, is in and over all events, yet so that the freedom and responsibility of man are not impaired, and sin is the act of the creature alone.

III. We believe that man was made in the image of God; that he might know, love, and obey God, and enjoy Him forever; that our first parents by disobedience fell under the righteous condemnation of God; and that all men are so alienated from God that there is no salvation from the guilt and power of sin except through God's redeeming grace.

IV. We believe that God would have all men return to Him; that to this end He has made Himself known not only through the works of nature, the course of His providence, and the consciences of men, but also through supernatural revelations made especially to a chosen people, and above all, when the fulness of time was come, through Jesus Christ, His Son.

V. We believe that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the record of God's revelation of Himself in the work of redemption; that they were written by men under the special guidance of the Holy Spirit; that they are able to make wise unto salvation; and that they constitute the authoritative standard by which religious teaching and human conduct are to be regulated and judged.

VI. We believe that the love of God to sinful men has found its highest expression in the redemptive work of His Son; who became man, uniting His divine nature with our human nature in one person; who was tempted like other men, yet without sin; who by His humiliation, His holy obedience, His sufferings, His death on the cross, and His resurrection, became a perfect Redeemer; whose sacrifice of Himself for the sins of the world declares the righteousness of God, and is the sole and sufficient ground of forgiveness and reconciliation with them.

VII. We believe that Jesus Christ, after He had risen from the dead, ascended into heaven, where, as the one meditator between God and man, He carries forward His work of saving men; that He sends the Holy Spirit to convict them of sin, and to lead them to repentance and faith, and that those who through renewing grace turn to righteousness, and trust in Jesus Christ as their Redeemer, receive for His sake the forgiveness of their sins, and are made the children of God.

VIII. We believe that those who are thus regenerated and justified, grow in sanctified character through fellowship with Christ, the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and obedience to the truth; that a holy life is the fruit and evidence of saving faith; and that the believer's hope of continuance in such a life is in the preserving grace of God.

IX. We believe that Jesus Christ came to establish among men the kingdom of God, the reign of truth and love, righteousness and peace; that to Jesus Christ, the Head of this kingdom, Christians are directly responsible in faith and conduct; and that to Him all have immediate access without mediatorial or priestly intervention.

X. We believe that the Church of Christ, invisible and spiritual, comprises all true believers, whose duty it is to associate themselves in churches for the maintenance of worship, for the promotion of spiritual growth and fellowship, and for the conversion of men; that these churches, under the guidance of the Holy Scriptures and in fellowship with one another, may determine—each for itself—their organization, statements of belief, and forms of worship; may appoint and set apart their own ministers, and should coöperate in the work which Christ has committed to them for the furtherance of the Gospel throughout the world.

XI. We believe in the observance of the Lord's Day, as a day of holy rest and worship; in the ministry of the Word; and in the two sacraments which Christ has appointed for His church: Baptism, to be administered as the sign of cleansing from sin, of union to Christ, and of the impartation of the Holy Spirit; and the Lord's Supper, as a symbol of His atoning death, a seal of its efficiency, and a means whereby he confirms and strengthens the spiritual union and communion of believers with himself.

XII. We believe in the ultimate prevalence of the kingdom of Christ over all the earth; in the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; in the resurrection of the dead; and in a final judgment, the issues of which are everlasting punishment and everlasting life."

(3) Foreign Missions.—Foreign missions, in many lands; the most conspicuous being Turkey, India, China, and Japan. In 1897 the Society had 543 missionaries and 2,956 native helpers in service. Its income for 1897 was $642,781.

(4) American Missions.—Labors chiefly among the negroes, Indians, Chinese, Eskimos, and the Mountain Whites of the South, supports 116 schools, employs about 650 teachers and missionaries; income (1897) was $401,371.

(5) Home Missions.—In nearly every State and Territory. Aids in the support of over 2,000 pastors, and maintains preaching in 3,800 places. Income in 1897 was $588,318.

(6) Fellowship with Other Churches.—The National Council of 1865 incorporated this declaration in its statement of faith:

"We rejoice that through the influence of our free system of apostolic order, we can hold fellowship with all who acknowledge Christ, and act efficiently in the work of restoring unity to the divided Church, and of bringing back harmony and peace among all 'who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.'"

Thus recognizing the unity of the Church of Christ in all the world, and knowing that we are but one branch of Christ's people, while adhering to our peculiar faith and order, we extend to all believers the hand of Christian fellowship upon the basis of those great fundamental truths in which all Christians should agree."

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THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

BY

R. V. FOSTER, D.D., Professor in Theological Seminary, Lebanon, Tenn.

10. THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

ORIGIN.—The Cumberland Presbyterian Church originated in the remarkable revival of religion, which began in 1797 to develop itself in Kentucky, under the labors of James McGready, a minister of the Presbyterian Church. It has long been known as "the revival of 1800." It rapidly grew to such proportions as to create a demand for Presbyterian ministers of the gospel beyond the ability of that church to supply. This circumstance caused the Cumberland Presbytery, of the Presbyterian Church, to ordain certain men who could not quite meet the doctrinal and educational requirements of the Confession of Faith and Form of Government to which the Presbytery was amenable. The doctrine to which particular exception was taken was that contained in the famous third chapter of the Westminster Confession, relative to "the eternal decree" and "preterition." The correlated doctrine of "a limited atonement" was also involved, of course. This action of the Cumberland Presbytery produced discussion in the Synod of Kentucky, of which it was a member. In 1806 the Cumberland Presbytery was dissolved by the Synod, some of its members having been placed already under prohibition to preach the Gospel and administer its ordinances. The Presbytery had also taken the ground that this proscribing act was unconstitutional and void. These proscribed ministers waited patiently and loyally for some years, hoping that the Synod would at last redress their grievances. As a last resort and in order to save what they had represented to the General Assembly as "every respectable congregation" in that part of the country, three of these ministers, Finis Ewing, Samuel King, and Samuel McAdow met and reorganized the Cumberland Presbytery, or more properly speaking, perhaps, organized themselves into a Presbytery bearing the name of the one which had been dissolved. This event occurred in what is now called Dickson County, Tennessee, February, 1810. Hence the name "Cumberland Presbyterian Church." This action of the proscribed ministers was apparently a hazardous one, but it was taken after long and patient waiting and much prayer, and the step seems to have been abundantly justified by subsequent events.

Statistics.—The new church began its life hopefully. Local churches here and there enrolled themselves under its standard. In due course of time other persons were ordained to the ministry. The evangelical activity of both old and young was great. New local churches were rapidly multiplied. Other Presbyteries were organized. The first Synod, known as the Cumberland Synod, was organized in 1813 and the General Assembly in 1829. The Form of Government to which these early ministers had been accustomed, viz., the Presbyterian, was retained. At present there are 129 Presbyteries, 15 Synods, 2915 churches (reported), 1571 ministers (reported), and 175,642 communicants, 293 churches making no report. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church extends from Pennsylvania to California, Oregon and Washington, and from the Lakes to the Gulf States. It is strongest in Tennessee, Texas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Illinois. Its principal schools and colleges are Cumberland University, Lebanon, Tennessee; Waynesburg College, Pennsylvania; Lincoln University, Illinois; Trinity University, Texas; Missouri Valley College, Marshall, Missouri; and the Theological Seminary, Lebanon, Tennessee.

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Doctrines.—The Cumberland Presbyterian Church at the very outset of its history set forth a synopsis of its theological system, which "for substance of doctrine," has continued the same to this day.

1. It was thought that the Westminster symbols implied the doctrine of eternal reprobation, whereas the Cumberland Presbyterians explicitly repudiated this.

2. The Westminster system teaches that although the atonement of Christ is "sufficient" for all men, it is prevented by an eternal decree from being "efficient" in the case of all men; the Cumberland Presbyterians agreed that the atonement would not be efficient in the place of all men, but they denied that the cause lay in the unconditional, eternal decree, at least in the sense in which they understood the word unconditional.

3. The Westminster implied that some infants dying in infancy were lost—or all as to that, so far as the logic of the system gave any right to affirm the contrary. The Cumberland Presbyterians did not like this, and, in harmony with their rejection of the doctrines of "preterition" and "the limited atonement," consistently affirmed that all infants dying in infancy are saved.

4. The Westminster taught that the reason why the Holy Spirit does not on the basis of the atonement, bring saving grace to the heart of every sinner is the fact of the restriction placed on his work by the "eternal decree"; whereas, the Cumberland Presbyterians denied this, and affirmed that the reason lies in the fact that every sinner does not make a right use of the "common" grace which is bestowed upon all.

As to the relation of these Cumberland Presbyterian principles both to the ecclesiastical and the general public, there is, of course, no doubt, that they are acceptable thereto. The Westminster symbols as modified by the Cumberland Presbyterian Church constitute the only type of Presbyterian doctrine which one could wisely promulgate from the pulpit; and on this type of doctrine the Cumberland Presbyterian Church would, no doubt, cheerfully agree to become organically one with the other Presbyterian Churches of America, thus constituting one great Continental Presbyterian Church of America. This ought to be the objective point of all Presbyterian movements in our country, but no argument is needed to show that if this point is reached, it will be on the basis of some such modification of the Westminster as that held by Cumberland Presbyterians. (1)

10. THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

(1) **Presbyterians and Cumberland Presbyterians.**—But times change, and men and churches change with them. It is no secret that for years Presbyterian pulpits have either been drifting or consciously moving toward Cumberland Presbyterianism. Thousands of them are already in the same harbor. Statements that were once bitterly denounced, and for the making of which the Cumberland Presbyterians were excluded by the Presbyterian leaders from sitting at the same Lord's table, are now on everybody's tongue. Monuments in memory of the slain prophets are being erected by those whose fathers slew them. Cumberland Presbyterians have never denied that God is just. That the just Judge of all the earth will do right, is indeed one of their cardinal principles. But both in their Confession and in their pulpits they bring into bold relief that other aspect of the same truth wherein it is said that "God is love." And in reply to the question, How is it, in view of manifold teachings of his Word interpreted in the light of that idea of eternal right with which he himself has endowed us, how is it that God could create some men and angels for no other purpose than to damn them for his own good pleasure? it has never been regarded as sufficient to say, "It is a part of the plan." No church can stand more reverently in the presence of holy and inscrutable mysteries than can the Cumberland Presbyterian; but it creates no mysteries, and for the most part it stands silently, the only mystery which it parades, either in its books or in its pulpit, being the mystery of God's redeeming wisdom and love. The distinction between the preterition, or reprobation, of adults and of infants is one that can exist only in words; for if one was eternally reprobated, he was of course eternally reprobated in infancy and all the other stages of his life, regardless of the time when he should die. Shall we think of God reprobating, or as even negatively passing over, any human being simply on condition that that human being did not die in infancy? That is what it amounts to. But the Presbyterian pulpit and the Presbyterian theological schools and press now abound in vigorous rejection of the severe elements of Calvinism which the Cumberland Presbyterian Church disowned long ago.—*"American Church History," Vol. XI., pp. 306, 307.*

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THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.

BY

REV. B. B. TYLER, D.D., Vincennes, Ind.

11. THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.

THE religious people who are generally known as Disciples of Christ, or Christians, represent a movement in the church in the interest of unity, peace and union, by a return in faith and in life to the Christianity described in the New Testament. The inspiration of this movement is found in the words of our Lord recorded in John xvii. 20-21, as follows:

"Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word; that they may be one as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."

This movement began in the early part of the present century in different parts of the country.

In 1891 the General Convention of the Disciples of Christ met in Alleghany, Pa. In that convention the standing committee on Christian union made a report which was adopted without a dissenting vote. This report suggested as a basis of union 1. the primitive creed; 2. the primitive ordinances; 3. the primitive life.

The primitive creed is this: *I believe in my heart that Jesus is the Christ the Son of the living God.* The primitive ordinances are two—baptism and the supper of the Lord.

A movement which has for its object the union of Christians ought to occupy a position out of the region of controversy. The Disciples occupy such a position. In answer to the question, what is baptism? their reply is: "Baptism is the immersion in water of a penitent believer in the name of the Lord Jesus, and into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit." That this is baptism is denied by no one. Some do indeed say that there are other ways of being baptized, but no one says that the penitent believer who has been immersed in water, in the name of the Lord Jesus, and into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, has not been baptized. Persons who have been thus baptized are received into the fellowship of all the churches. No person is denied membership in any church, as above explained, on the ground that he has not been baptized. The Disciples, then, so far as baptism is concerned, occupy undisputed and indisputable ground. The baptism of infants, of unbelievers, is a subject of controversy; but not the baptism of penitent believers. Sprinkling, as a mode of baptism, is in debate; immersion is not.

The supper of the Lord is a feast of love for such as are disciples of Jesus. This is clear from the testimony of Holy Scripture, "And as they were eating Jesus took bread, and blessed it, and brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body.' And he took the cup and gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying, 'Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.'" (Matthew xxvi. 26-28.)

The primitive life is the life that takes the man Christ Jesus as the model. The Christian life is not a life of rules and regulations, saying, "thou shalt not," and "thou shalt." It is a life inspired by devotion, a devotion inspired by faith and love to the Sinless One. The real Christian tries to be and to do in all things, in all places, and at all times, whatever the Lord Jesus would like him to be and do. That life is most truly Christian which is most like the life lived by the Son of God in the flesh and when he was among the sons of men.

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12. THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST (Continued).

This, in brief, is the origin, the position, the aim of the people who are known as Disciples of Christ. The movement evidently was inspired by God. It was not planned by any man, nor by any company of men. The above facts clearly demonstrate the absolute accuracy of this statement.

The movement is remarkably popular among the people. They have responded to its call with great rapidity. The number of names together is now, according to the last report of the statistical secretary, made to the General Convention in Indianapolis, in October, 1897, more than one million.

Their organizations for aggressive evangelistic or missionary work are as follows: "The American Christian Missionary Society," "The Christian Woman's Board of Missions," and "The Foreign Christian Missionary Society."

The Disciples of Christ in the United States raised last year $444,337.53 for mission work at home and abroad. The report of the statistical secretary shows that there are 10,029 churches, 1,051,079 communicants, and 5,780 ministers of the gospel among the Disciples of Christ. They gained last year 422 churches, 47,407 members and 420 preachers, The number of scholars and teachers in their Sunday-schools is 676,949. The value of their church property is $16,586,677, a gain during the last year of $781,230.

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12. THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST (Continued).

Three Independent Movements. — In 1792 the Rev. James O'Kelley, dissatisfied with the authority of the Bishops in the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which he was a member, withdrew and organized a body known as "Republican Methodists." This name, however, was not satisfactory. After a time the movement was called the "Independent Christian Baptist Church." At a later period, its members agreeing to take the Bible, and the Bible alone, as a book of authority, called themselves "Christians." This movement prevailed chiefly in Virginia and North Carolina.

Dr. Abner Jones was, in 1800, a member of the regular Baptist Church in Hartland, Vt. During the last few years of the last century he is said to have "had a peculiar travail of mind in regard to sectarian names and human creeds." In the year above named, as a result, he gathered a church of twenty-five members in Lyndon, Vt. In 1802 he gathered another in Bradford, Vt., and in March, 1803, another in Pierpoint, N. H. These churches took the Bible alone as their guide in faith and practice and the name Christian as a sufficient designation.

The third movement in the direction of the position and aims of the Disciples of Christ had its origin among the Presbyterians in Kentucky and Tennessee during the years 1800-4. In the midst of an extraordinary interest in religion that prevailed, B. W. Stone and other ministers of the Presbyterian denomination preached the doctrine of a free salvation. Charges of heresy were preferred against Mr. Stone and four or five other ministers. They, when they saw that they were about to be condemned, withdrew and organized the Springfield Presbytery. But this existed for only a year. At the first annual meeting the Presbytery was dissolved, and Mr. Stone, in the month of June, in the year 1804, organized a church at Cane Ridge, in Bourbon county, Ky., accepting the Bible alone as possessing authority in the religious life and the name Christian as a sufficient designation of all who believe in Jesus to the saving of the soul.

In 1807 the Rev. Thomas Campbell came from Ireland to the United States. He was a minister in the Seceder branch of the Presbyterian Church. In his own country, before his removal to America, he labored to bring about a unity and union between the various branches of the Presbyterian denomination. His efforts were in vain. In his field of labor in the United States, which was the region of Washington, Pa., he attempted to promote unity among Christian people by the organization of the "Christian Association." This organization was for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the neglected, and the distribution of the Bible among the poor. The basis of this united evangelistic effort was to be the accepted facts, truths, principles, precepts, promises and warnings of the Gospel.

Meanwhile the work inaugurated by Stone in Kentucky prospered. About twenty thousand persons had enlisted in his Christian Union movement. He and the Campbells and their friends became acquainted. The Campbells had invaded Kentucky with their plea for union. A protracted correspondence between Alexander Campbell and Barton W. Stone revealed the fact that they were laboring for the same result—the union of Christians—for the same purpose—the successful evangelization of men—and that their plan was substantially the same. The result was a formal union in Lexington, Ky., in 1832. Some of those who had been taught and influenced by Mr. Stone declined to come into the union. The descendants of these constitute what is now known as "the Christians," in some places "the Christian Church," and sometimes "the Christian Denomination," or "the Christian Connection." The Century Dictionary speaks of them as "Unitarian Baptists." Belcher, in his History of Religious Denominations, a book published more than thirty years ago, speaks of them in the same way. They are not the same as the Disciples of Christ, nor are they to be identified with the people generally known as the Christian Church.

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Church Societies.—"The American Christian Missionary Society" is the national home missionary organization of the Disciples of Christ. It has organized more than two thousand one hundred churches. It had in its employ last year more than seventy agents or evangelists. More than thirty thousand persons have by its evangelists been baptized into Christ. It has been instrumental in collecting and disbursing between two and three millions of dollars to make the people of the United States and Canada morally and spiritually better. The time for the annual collection is the first Lord's day in May.

"The Board of Church Extension" is the creation of "The American Christian Missionary Society." It was organized in 1888. It now has on hand a fund of one hundred and fifty-two thousand dollars. Its secretary, G. W. Muckley, Kansas City, Mo,, says that there must be a quarter of a million of dollars in the treasury of this board by the year 1900. Why not? The time for the annual collection for "The Board of Church Extension," is the first Lord's day in September. The money contributed to "The Board of Church Extension" is loaned to poor churches, to weak congregations, to recently organized bodies of Disciples, to enable them to secure houses of worship, at four per cent. interest per annum and for a term of five years. Three hundred and seventy churches have in this way been assisted in securing homes. The money, moreover, has been so wisely handled that not one dollar has been lost. "The Board of Ministerial Relief" is another board in connection with "The American Christian Missionary Society." A. M. Atkinson, Wabash, Ind., is the secretary. All days are sacred to this sweet service. "The Board of Ministerial Relief" ministers to the necessities of aged and disabled ministers and their families.

The Christian Woman's Board of Missions was organized in 1874. Their society has the distinction of being the first organization of women for world-wide evangelistic and educational work entirely independent of men. Since its organization the Christian Woman's Board of Missions has collected and disbursed in the prosecution of its beneficent work six hundred and three thousand nine hundred and two dollars and fifty-nine cents. It carries on educational, medical and gospel or evangelizing work at home and in foreign lands. Indianapolis, Ind., is the headquarters of this board, and Miss Lois A. White is the corresponding secretary. The first Sunday in July is the time for the annual offering.

The Foreign Christian Missionary Society was organized in 1875. Its purpose is to make disciples of all the nations. As its name implies, it works in foreign lands. Its income last year was one hundred and six thousand two hundred and twenty-two dollars and ten cents. There are now in its employ one hundred and sixty-two missionaries.

SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **THE CHRISTIANS OF AMERICA.**—Christians only, Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian contributions, Religious Journalism, Coeducation.
8. **THE CONGREGATIONALISTS OF AMERICA.**—Definition, Puritans and Separatists, Robert Browne, The Mayflower, Statistics, Eliot, Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, The American Board of Foreign Missions (the first in America), the Christian Endeavor Society, Education.
9. **THE CONGREGATIONALISTS OF AMERICA (Continued).**—Spiritual Democracy, Conferences, Associations, Triennial Council, Various Confessions, Societies, Federation.
10. **THE CUMBERLAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.**—Doctrinal and Educational Differences, Proscription and Secession, Statistics, Doctrines, Trend towards the Cumberland position.
11. **THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.**—Motive, Origin, Basis of Union, Primitive Creed, Baptism, Lord's Supper.
12. **THE DISCIPLES OF CHRIST (Continued).**—Primitive Life, Popularity, Societies, Statistics.

QUESTIONS.

7. *Why was the title Christian adopted? State the three sources of the movement. What innovations have been made?*
8. *Distinguish Separatists from Puritans. What effect had persecution? State some first-class achievements of Congregationalism. Relation to education?*
9. *How is local independence harmonized with general assemblies? And with a common doctrine? How is Congregationalism specially adapted to America?*
10. *In what circumstances did the Cumberland Presbyterian Church arise? What is the present membership? State its four distinctive doctrines. How has Presbyterian opinion changed since the secession?*
11. *What forms the inspiration of this movement? Of what elements was it composed? State its doctrine of baptism. State that of the Lord's Supper.*
12. *State its doctrine of the primitive life. What is the present membership?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Where does just ground for the existence of a sect cease?*
2. *The growth of the missionary impulse since its inception in 1810.*
3. *The typical American church.*
4. *Secessions as an indication of nascent general belief.*
5. *Reformations of all sects to meet changed conditions.*
6. *The modern emphasis on life.*

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THE GERMAN BAPTIST BRETHREN (Dunkers).

BY

GRANT MAHAN, Mount Morris, Ill.

13. THE GERMAN BAPTIST BRETHREN (Dunkers).

IN 1708 a small company—eight persons—met on the bank of the Eder at Schwarzenau, Germany, and were baptized. This was the beginning of a new religious sect. A desire to follow more closely in the footsteps of the Master, and the conviction that this was impossible in any of the religious bodies of the time, led this company to take this step. Alexander Mack, one of the eight, was the first minister chosen by this band. The church increased rapidly in numbers; but even in Witgenstein, where so many had found refuge from persecution, they were not allowed to dwell in peace. Mack and Hochman traveled and preached in many parts of Germany. Later they went to Holland, and while there they met William Penn. He was then greatly interested in his colony in the new world, and invited the Dunkers to settle in it. The desire to escape persecution led them to accept the offer, and in 1719 they began to emigrate to America. December 25, 1723, the first Brethren church was organized in America, the first members were received by baptism, and the first love feast was celebrated. This was at Germantown, Pa. Peter Becker was the first elder of the church in America. In 1729 Alexander Mack came. Divine services were held in private houses until 1770, when the members built themselves a house of worship in Germantown. This building is still standing. Since then the Brethren have built churches in nearly every State and territory of the Union. They also have missions in Denmark and Sweden, in Asia Minor and in India.

During the century and three-quarters which has passed since their organization at Germantown there has been no change in their creed. The New Testament is their only creed, and as that does not change they do not change. They hold that faith, repentance and baptism are essential to salvation. They believe that trine immersion is the apostolic method of baptism, and receive none as members without baptizing them in this way. The *agape*, or feast of love, as instituted by Christ and practiced by the early church, they restored in 1708. Just before partaking of this meal they engage in the ordinance of feet washing, the brethren washing the feet of brethren and the sisters those of sisters. In connection with the feast of love they receive the communion of bread and wine. After the supper, and while still seated at the tables, the right hand of fellowship and the kiss of charity are extended, by the brethren to the brethren and by the sisters to the sisters.

The Brethren teach and practice plain dressing. The wearing of gold for ornament is forbidden. The Brethren never go to law with each other; and they are not allowed to go to law with others without the consent of their congregations. They do not go to war, for their Master is the Prince of Peace and brought to this world a gospel of peace. Obeying the command of Jesus and James, they "swear not at all." When called upon to give testimony, they affirm, but never under oath. No member of the church is allowed to belong to any secret society. They believe that the marriage tie can be broken by death alone. Following the command of James, they anoint the sick with oil. They keep their own poor. More than a hundred years ago they forbade any member of the Brethren church to manufacture or sell intoxicants. They forbid the use of alcoholic or malt liquors as a beverage. They are opposed to the use of tobacco. In 1782 they called the slave trade unchristian, and decided that no member could purchase or hold slaves.

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THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

BY

REV. S. P. SPRENG, Editor of the Evangelical Messenger, Cleveland, Ohio.

14. THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

HISTORY.—Jacob Albright, who was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, May 1, 1759, and born again, in 1790, was the human instrumentality through which, in the providence of God, that branch of the Church of Jesus Christ, known as the Evangelical Association, was called into being. Mr. Albright grew to manhood surrounded by a deplorable religious decline. In fact, chaos reigned among the hundreds of thousands of Germans who were then filling the forests of William Penn's great reservation, driven thither by religious intolerance on the continent of Europe. These Germans had a form of godliness but denied the power thereof. Though church communicants, but few of them possessed vital religion. As the pulse of the religious life ran low, their morals naturally sank also. Corruption was spreading and there was no salt to check it. The light was dim, the darkness profound.

No sooner, however, had Mr. Albright, at the age of thirty years, experienced the saving grace of God by true repentance and a living faith in Jesus Christ, than he began to feel deeply the need of spreading the light among his fellow-countrymen, for whom practically nothing was being done, the great awakenings of the time occurring mostly among the English-speaking people. In 1796 Jacob Albright began to preach the gospel to his brethren in eastern Pennsylvania with marked effect. Conversions occurred. In 1800 the first local organizations were made. In 1803 the first General Council was held; in 1807 the first Annual Conference was organized. Jacob Albright died in 1808, but the work went on. In 1816 the first General Conference was held.

In the course of years the work spread beyond the bounds of Pennsylvania into Ohio, New York, Canada, and on westward to the Pacific Coast. In 1850 missionary work was begun in Europe, the purpose being to revive vital godliness among the dead formalists of the Fatherland. In 1875 the first mission was established among the heathen in Japan.

In 1891 the Church had 150,000 communicants. Through a rupture caused by administrative differences, some 40,000 members were lost, though the property and all the general institutions of the Church, as well as all the foreign work, remained intact. The dispute was settled in the civil courts, which established forever, in their decisions. the right of ecclesiastical self-government.

Polity.—The Evangelical Association has adopted the Episcopal form of government and the connectional form of organization. Her polity is neither hierarchical nor congregational. By a graded system of church officers, with regularly assigned territorial and ecclesiastical spheres of jurisdiction the great number of local organizations are formed into a solidarity. The church at large, which is represented quadriennially by the general conference composed of delegates and general church officers, and which is the supreme court of law in the Church, is divided for administrative purposes into Annual Conference composed of ministers. These are divided into districts presided over and superintended by a Presiding Elder, elected and assigned by the Annual Conference. These districts are subdivided into charges, or stations, circuits and missions, presided over by a preacher in charge, or pastor, who is assigned to the charge by the bishop presiding, for one year, at the Annual Conference session. But a pastor may serve four consecutive years on one charge. The charges again are often composed of several local congregations, which once more

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may be subdivided in classes, presided over by a class leader elected by the class itself, with the approval of the preacher-in-charge. The business of a charge is in the hands of the Quarterly Conference, which meets four times a year, is composed of lay officials, and the pastor, and is presided over by the Presiding Elder.

The bishops are elected by the General Conference for a term of four years, and may always be re-elected. They superintend the entire Church, and are highest in authority. They preside at the Annual Conferences, which are assigned to them in rotation, and in the General Conference they have a voice and vote, when not in the chair. The Episcopacy is not an administrative office, not a prelatical order; it is itinerant not diocesan.

Doctrine.—In doctrine, the Evangelical Association is Arminian, with the Wesleyan modification. The Apostles' Creed is the confession of faith of this Church. This practically expresses the whole fact. This Church holds no peculiar views, but aims to lay special emphasis upon the essential truths of experimental religion; true, practical repentance, personal faith in Jesus Christ, which results in conscious justification and conscious regeneration by the power of the Holy Ghost, and this work of grace is completed, sooner or later, in the grace of entire sanctification. We believe in sound, thorough conversion, spiritual worship and holy living.

Institutions.—1. The Publishing House of the Evangelical Association, located at Cleveland, Ohio, was established in 1816, and possesses property valued at $600,000. It issues twenty-two different periodicals, among which the "Evangelical Messenger," and "Christliche Botschafter," are the official organs of the Church, published weekly, the former in English, the latter in German. There is also a German literary monthly, "The Evangelical Magazine," and an English holiness monthly "The Living Epistle," besides young people's papers and an entire complement of Sunday-school publications.

2. The Missionary Society.—The bishops in a message to a recent General Conference declared this society to be "the heart of the Church." It operates both in the home and foreign field. Its annual income is nearly $150,000. It keeps above 600 missionaries in the field. The average contribution per member for missions is $1.45 per annum. The Society is managed by a General Board representing all parts of the Church.

3. The Ebenezer Orphan Home at Flat Rock, Ohio, where 150 orphans are maintained, trained and educated.

4. The Young People's Alliance, organized in 1891, with a membership of nearly 33,000.

6. The Woman's Missionary Society, organized in 1883, and highly prosperous.

7. North Western College and Union Biblical Institute at Naperville, Ill., Schuylkill Seminary, Fredericksburgh, Pa., The Evangelical Preacher's Seminary, Reutlingen, Germany, and The Evangelical Training School, Tokio, Japan. Also the Evangelical Correspondence College, located at Reading, Pa.

Worship.—In worship we are nonritualistic, simple, spiritual. We believe in the universal priesthood of believers, and expect our members to pray, speak, and sing in public services, yet with the motto "Let all things be done decently and in order" always in mind. In the churches of the Evangelical Association, all the pews are absolutely free, being so written in the organic law of the Church. It thus becomes emphatically a people's Church.

Moral Reform.—On all questions of public morals this denomination has always taken the highest ground. As early as 1809, the principle of prohibition in reference to intoxicating liquor was incorporated in the Discipline, and to this day no habitual drunkard, much less a saloon-keeper has ever been continued in Church membership. On the question of human slavery the Church has been equally pronounced. No slaveholder was ever received or tolerated as a member of the Evangelical Association.

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THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

BY

PROFESSOR ALLEN C. THOMAS, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

15. THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE Society of Friends arose in England about the middle of the seventeenth century. Though none of its doctrines can be called original, some of them had been almost lost sight of, some had been practically rejected by many branches of the Christian Church, and they had not been proclaimed as a whole, since apostolic days, until George Fox set them forth. He is therefore rightly called the Founder of the Society.

The early Friends accepted the fundamental doctrines as held by the great body of Christians, but dwelt, far more than others, on the Priesthood of all Believers; on the Direct Communication of the Will of God to the individual; and on the Immediate Guidance of the Holy Spirit. It is upon these doctrines that most of the distinctive features of the Society depend. Fox placed the whole life upon one plane—the loftiest aspirations and the humblest duties to be alike governed by the same divine law.



George Fox, 1624-90.

The Society has at different times issued "Declarations of Faith," but has never adopted a creed.

The Friends hold that spiritual baptism and spiritual communion are alone essential, and that no rites were instituted by Christ; that true worship is of the spirit, and that no ritual can take the place of the reality; that by meeting in silence for the purpose of worship, the Spirit has opportunity to speak directly to the heart without human mediation, and to call upon whom He will to speak, or to pray vocally. Ministers are called and qualified of God irrespective of sex, and the exercise of their gifts should be independent of education or special training, though the former is not to be undervalued in itself. A minister is "recorded" as having, in the judgment of the Church, "received a gift in the ministry," but there is no ordination or necessary relinquishment of other occupations. There may be, therefore, more than one minister in a congregation.

The Friends believe that oaths of any kind are contrary to the direct command of Christ, and that war is wholly opposed to the spirit of the Gospel. Simplicity in dress, and strict truthfulness in language, are deemed religious duties. Uniformity in dress, not thought of by the early Friends, was the product of a later age. and is now practically abandoned.

The organization is democratic; there is no division into clergy and laity. The executive body is the "Monthly Meeting"; several of these form a "Quarterly Meeting," and several of these latter constitute a "Yearly Meeting," which is the legislative body, from which there is no appeal. The bounds of a "Yearly Meeting" are generally determined by geographical considerations. "Yearly Meetings" are independent, though there is at present (1898) a movement looking towards some sort of a union with limited legislative powers. There are also in many places some modifications in the manner of holding meetings for worship.

The early Friends were full of missionary zeal, and Europe, Asia, Africa, and

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America were visited by them, George Fox himself coming to America in 1672. The first recorded visit to America was that of Ann Austin and Mary Fisher, who came from Barbadoes to Boston in 1656. The Puritans treated these women shamefully, imprisoned them for five weeks, and sent them back. In spite of persecution and the death of four on the scaffold, on Boston Common, Friends kept coming to Massachusetts, until their endurance and persistent faithfulness to what they believed to be their duty, won, not only in Massachusetts, but elsewhere in America, religious liberty for themselves and for all others. Of all the colonies, except the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, which were settled by William Penn and other Friends, Rhode Island alone at all times offered them a safe place of residence. Besides in New England, communities sprang up in Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina. and New York.

When persecution ceased, the ardor of the Society somewhat cooled. Attention was paid more to the enforcement of church discipline, and to work within the membership than to evangelistic labor; and the Society soon began to decline in numbers. During the past thirty years or more, with renewed activity in missionary and evangelistic work, the Society has grown steadily in membership.



William Penn, 1644-1718. Penn was an English Friend, and became a preacher to the Friends in 1668, being several times arrested under the Conventicle Act. He received the grant of Pennsylvania in 1681, and in 1682 came in person to America, founded Philadelphia, and made his famous treaty with the Indians. He returned to England in 1684, and revisited Pennsylvania during 1699-1701.

The Friends were among the very first to urge prison reform. It was the first denomination as a whole to see the iniquity of slavery, and before the end of the eighteenth century, not a Friend in America owned a slave. The Friends became the most earnest advocates of the general abolition of slavery, and, owing to this, three-fourths of their membership in the southern states emigrated to the then western states of Ohio and Indiana. Two-thirds of the entire membership today are west of the Alleghanies. A lamentable division on doctrinal grounds took place in 1827-28; much the larger part held to evangelical views, though each body claims the name of Friends.

The existence of the Society for over two hundred and fifty years is the strongest proof of the vitality and practicability of its principles. It is true that all which the early Friends hoped for has not been realized, but much of what was first reaffirmed or proclaimed by them has become common property; as, for instance, the privilege of affirmation in the place of judicial oaths; the equality of woman in the church; religious liberty, not simply toleration; a practical belief in the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit.

Friends have from their very constitution been unable to unite with others, except on the broadest grounds. It is difficult to see how a federal union with other bodies could be made, except upon a basis which would allow Baptism and the Supper to be reckoned as non-essential; which would recognize the "recording" of ministers (both men and women) as equivalent to ordination; and which would dispense with a formal creed.

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THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL SYNOD OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY

REV. F. MAYER, Ph. D., Detroit, Mich.

16. THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL SYNOD.

THE German Evangelical Synod of North America is based on the union between the two great branches of Protestantism—the Lutheran and the Reformed Church, as the same was effected since 1817 in the different German states. The founders of the Evangelical Synod were missionaries, sent during the third decade of our century to America by the Mission Houses of Basel and Barmen. These two institutions are supported alike by Lutherans and Reformed Congregations in Germany and Switzerland, and both denominations are also represented in the Board of Directors. It was therefore only natural for the pupils of these schools to organize a church here in America as similar as possible to their mother church in Germany. On October 15, 1840, seven of these missionaries assembled at Gravois Settlement, near St. Louis, Mo., and organized as an association, which has become known as The German Evangelical Synod of North America.

Doctrine.—The following declaration of faith was adopted by the founders and still serves as its confessional basis: "The German Evangelical Synod of North America means by the term Evangelical Church *that* church community which acknowledges the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as the Word of God, and as the only true and infallible standard of Christian doctrines and precepts (1) and accepts as its confession that interpretation of the Holy Scriptures which is laid down in the symbolic books of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, among which the Augsburg Confession, Luther's Minor and Major Catechism, and the Heidelberg Catechism are the principal ones, so far as they agree; but in points of difference the German Evangelical Synod adheres solely to the passages of Holy Scriptures alluding to them, observing that liberty of conscience existing in the Evangelical Church."

According to these articles of faith the German Evangelical Synod accepts as its doctrine the *consensus fidei* of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. We confess, in entire harmony with the Church of the Reformation, God as the Almighty Creator of heaven and earth; his omnipresent providence in the guidance of men; the doctrine of the fall of man, of original sin, of redemption through the atoning blood of Christ; and the Christology, as the same was formed by the ecumenical councils of the first centuries. We confess that sanctification is not our work, but is initiated by the agency of the Holy Spirit, by means of the divine word and the sacraments, and is a process that reaches its end only with the close of life. This declaration expresses the union of the Lutheran and Reformed branches of Protestantism. As is well known, both have always agreed in all fundamental doctrines of Christian life and faith, and on all subjects and facts clearly expressed and stated in the Holy Scriptures, and on all articles of faith pertaining to our salvation. The controversy between the two *German* denominations centers around the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. (2) Our position on this question is the following: The German Evangelical Synod believes and confesses, that in the Holy Supper the faithful and penitent communicant receives in the bread and wine the body and the precious blood of Christ and therewith forgiveness of sins, life and salvation; but the unbe-

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liever and unworthy receives damnation. The other question: *How* is this done? *how* is it possible? *how* is this miracle performed? the Synod leaves unanswered, since the Scripture gives us no explanation. But we believe in the fact, in the actuality of the miracle; we believe that bread and wine in the Holy Supper is the body and the blood of Christ, for Christ plainly said so.

Polity.—Every congregation binds itself voluntarily to the doctrine and precepts as laid down in the statutes of the German Evangelical Synod, when it joins that body.

Our relation toward other churches has ever been governed by the so-called Augustine motto: "*In necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus charitas.*" We show friendly interest in all undertakings for a confederation of different denominations such as the International Evangelical Alliance, and prior to that organization the "Evanglischer Kirchentag" in Germany. We support international Bible associations and like work in different directions.

Let us say a few words on the management of our Church. Every congregation is independent in its local affairs; the Synod acts more in the character of a counsellor or advisor. A number of congregations within certain geographical boundaries constitute a "district," whose ministers and lay delegates meet annually in a district conference. All the districts meet together in the "General Synod," which is composed of one out of every nine ministers, and one lay delegate out of every nine congregations, elected at district conferences. It convenes every three years.

Institutions.—The Synod owns a theological seminary founded 1850 at Marthasville, Mo., removed to St. Louis, Mo., 1883, which has three professors and about seventy-five students. The preparatory college for students proposing to enter the theological seminary, is at Elmhurst, Ill. It was founded 1871 and has 130 students and seven professors. In connection with the college is the seminary for the education of teachers for our parochial schools.

The German Evangelical Synod has its own mission field in the Central Province of India. There are seven missionaries and fifty native preachers. The annual expense is about $10,000, while a much larger sum is expended for home missions. A harbor mission in Baltimore, Md., for the benefit of emigrants, has been during the last ten years a blessing to many. There are orphanages at Detroit, Mich., at Chicago, Bensenville, and Hazleton, Ill., at St. Louis., Mo., and at Lincoln, Neb., also deaconess-homes in seven of the States. Eden Publishing House is at St. Louis, Mo., and publishes all kinds of church papers and books of worship. The official organ is the "Friedensboten," with a circulation of 25,000, besides which are seven other papers.

Statistics in 1897.—Districts, 17; ministers, 878; congregations, 1,130; communicants, 194,618. Value of church property, $6,000,000. President of General Synod, the Rev. J. Zimmermann, West Burlington, Iowa.

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16. THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL SYNOD.

(1) **Tradition is Rejected.**—Rev. E. L. Nablau, one of the founders, speaking on the articles of faith, said: The only true word of God is the foundation on which our congregations build and to which the members of our society cleave through the grace of God. Not "tradition" is our salvation. The eternal word of the truth shall be freely confessed, and the centre of this word is the beginning, middle and end of our church, namely, the Lord Jesus Christ, the incarnated Son of God, in whom alone is salvation for the sinners and the Church.

(2) **Exact Agreement in Theology not Necessary.**—General President J. Zimmermann writes: The Holy Spirit by means of the Gospel vivifies and enlarges the Church. To this living Church belong the Lutheran and the Reformed alike. The experience of centuries teaches that the best and most pious Christians are always ready to live in brotherly love and act as peacemakers. Christians, whose opinions about the Holy Supper do not exactly agree, may at the same time go together to the same table and receive the Holy Supper. This is proven by the example of Luther and Melancthon. Though the latter had changed the Augsburg Confession and made concession towards the reformed party, against Luther's wish, they both lived in the bonds of union of heart and love. And we rejoice over the union of these two great men in the kingdom of Christ. Both men acted in an entirely Biblical and evangelical way. We follow their example, remembering: "We are all one in Christ Jesus."

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THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE.

BY

ABRAHAM S. ISAACS, Ph.D., Professor of German Literature in New York University, and Editor of "The Jewish Messenger."

17. THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE.

THE history of Judaism in America is a record of growth and development, of successive changes in custom and ritual, of large advance in educational and benevolent activity, as the Jewish settlers chiefly of Spanish origin coming in scattered numbers previous to the War of Independence were strengthened by immigration from Germany, Poland, Roumania and Russia until at the end of 1896 the Jewish population of the United States reached fully a million.

Doctrine.—The customs and doctrines of Judaism which have never been reduced to ironclad dogmas for all Israel, despite occasional codification, have always admitted of greater or less variation in different lands, according to clime and circumstance. (1) The same conditions were to be experienced in America with similar results. The earlier immigrants of Sephardic stock who settled in the North American colonies after harsh treatment in South America and varying fortunes in the West Indies, were conservative after the fashion of their fathers, all the memory of martyrdom giving halo and beauty to olden traditions. Many of their descendants two centuries later are no less strict observants of the Spanish and Portuguese ritual and practice. The English and earlier Polish settlers of a subsequent generation have hardly as yet entirely lost their British and Polish conservative associations. The German immigrants of the decade of 1848 who were reared in the school of German liberation were inclined to be less scrupulous of old fashions, and adapted forms and customs to the newer-day environment. Their children have naturally developed along the same progressive lines. The still more recent Jewish landslide from Europe is Russian and Galician in its conception of Jewish doctrine and rite, including a contingent of pronounced radical views.

While, therefore, American Judaism suffers from this stratification, due to successive immigrations of different nationalities, it has never had its authoritative council or synod to promulgate opinion, to ratify or to abolish. There have been associations among rabbis and laymen, but these have not been ecclesiastical in character. Their views have been simply individual, of interest, of course, as evidencing the trend of thought but of no binding force. While Jewish congregations may unite and coöperate for education and charity, the antonomy of each is strictly maintained and every pulpit is purely its own spokesman. Hence there are all shades of sentiment in American Israel, all varieties of interpretations, the two forces of stability and movement being steadily at work and developing phases of conservatism and progress. Considering, however, the essential principles of representative Jewish leaders in pulpit and press, which are practically the same, even if they differ as to observances and the authority of the rabbinical ceremonial code, these may broadly be stated as embracing the unity of God (2) and the unity of mankind. (3) The religious ceremonials in home and synagogue, held more or less strictly, the righteous life impelling to breadth of view, brotherly love to all, and the realization of the highest ideals of American citizenship;—such are the corollaries of American Jewish principles.

The Future.—The heterogeneous nature of the American Jew and the lack as yet of a distinctly homogeneous class, due to his composite character, in which trait he resembles the American in general, makes it difficult to realize Jewish ideals. The great mass are still foreign, with the atmosphere of Europe and Ghetto conditions; and their Americanization is a slow process, for the parents perhaps impossible. On the other hand, there is a large body of American-born Israelites,

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apathetic and without sympathy for the synagogue. Yet there are hopeful signs, particularily in educational movements, a more conservative tendency among our representative men, and the awakening of the American Jewess to her duty and opportunity. With coöperation, unselfish effort, and intelligent direction, American Judaism can expect to attain a high degree of usefulness and to realize under providence some of its ideals that will bless and elevate humanity.

Relation to Christianity.—As to the question of federal union with other churches, that is impossible so long as church remains church and synagogue synagogue. The Jew is no propagandist and has no desire to Judaize. He rejoices that the best elements in the church aim to translate into life the ideals of the Jewish prophet. While religious federation is wholly impracticable, church and synagogue do unite for civic purposes, for general educational and charitable progress. In many cities Jew and non-Jew unite on Thanksgiving Day. The Jewish pulpit is freely open to the non-Jewish preacher. Young Men's Hebrew Associations have often called Christian clergymen to their platform. Synagogues have been freely placed at the disposal of Christian congregations whose churches were destroyed by fire and the courtesy has been reciprocated. These indications of mutual esteem and good will cannot but spread more and more, particularly as national movements for education, charity, civic reform, and congresses of religion increase and rally the broad and thoughtful of all creeds on the same platform. But the most advanced and liberal Jew will not consent to federation, if it means extinction and absorption, and surely the more conservative will be least inclined for such a step. The mission and message of Judaism are not superfluous even in our end-of-the-century, but not end-of-the-world era. So long as swords are not turned to ploughshares, and idolatries are still worshiped, while the nations and creeds are competitors, not partners, the Jew must be sentinel on the watch-tower, however lonely the post, and wait for the dawn. He has survived two thousand years of crucifixion. The Arch of Titus preserves the story of what is termed his nation's fall. But Judaism awoke when the Temple vanished; and the Jew in losing Palestine, has secured the world for the law and the prophet.

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17. THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE.

(1) **No Jewish Creed.**—Jewish theology, being dependent on knowledge, and being as progressive as the mind, cannot be cast into fixed molds. Many have tried to formulate a Jewish creed and failed. Even the notable efforts of Maimondes gave no universal satisfaction. His thirteen articles of faith have for us merely a historical value, showing one particular stage in the development of Jewish theology. It is of constant interest to know that his articles specified belief in God as creator, His unity, spirituality, eternity, the worship of Him alone, the authenticity of prophecy—the distinction of Moses from the other prophets, the law of Mosaic origin, the immutability of the law, God's omniscience, reward and punishment, the Messiah—resurrection and future life. Some Jewish philosophers increased the number of these articles, while others reduced them to as low a number as three. But there was never agreement as to whether these three doctrines were revelation, reward and punishment or creation, omniscience and Providence, or God, revelation and immortality. Some deny reward, others revelation, and still others the immutability of God's law. There is no agreement as to a fixed creed in Judaism.—*Rev. Dr. Jos. Silverman, in "Sermons by American Rabbis."*

(2) **Unity of God.**—Our faith in the unity of God, the chief cornerstone of Judaism, is now conceived of far more in its conclusive than in its exclusive bearing. Faith in the One Father in heaven imposes upon us the obligation to seek the brotherhood of man on earth. The fear of losing our identity and, with it, our faith, by the free intercourse with our neighbors haunts us no longer. Our allies count by the millions, and science is on our side. But even if the danger still existed, we could not, for that reason, recede from the position we have taken toward our fellow-citizens. If the unity of God does not lead to the brotherhood of man, perhaps the brotherhood of man will lead to the unity of God. But whether or not—what but good can come from the cultivation of kindly feelings between a man and his neighbor, and from the acknowledgment of the equal rights of all men in the High Court of Eternal Justice.—*Dr. Gustav Gottheil, in "Sun and Shield."*

(3) **Unity of Mankind.**—Between Judaism and philosophical Hellenism, as between Judaism and Christianity weakened to Unitarianism and Universalism, there yawns a deep chasm. We believe in only *one* God, a Divine Providence, ruling the world, in whose sight all men are equal. We cannot add anything to this belief, as, for instance, ascribing divine qualities to a human being, nor can we give up any part of it as, for instance, endowing our God with human accidents. —*Rev. Liebman Adler, in "Sabbath Hours."*

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THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY

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18. THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

NAME.—In the Great Reformation of the sixteenth century, the adherents of Luther were nick-named "Lutherans" by the Romanist, Dr. Eck, after the Leipzic Disputation in 1519, and so spoken of by Pope Hadrian VI. in 1522. They were first termed "Protestants" at the Diet of Spire in 1529. Luther strongly protested, and disapproved that his name should be borne by his fellow-confessors: in Europe they were and are called "The Evangelical Church"; in this country they are commonly known as "The Evangelical Lutheran Church."

Sources and Growth: Seventeenth Century.—The first Lutherans who made permanent homes in America came among the colonists from Holland, who settled (1612-1622) for traffic with the Indians on Manhattan Island and the Hudson River. Though brought by the spirit of trade, they were the first in this country to suffer persecution on account of their faith. England's supremacy in 1664 gave them religious liberty. Whilst there are no Dutch Lutheran congregations in the United States to-day, there are a number of Dutch origin, mostly along the Hudson.

Gustavus Adolphus, the King of Sweden, had projected a colony to America, both for the religious welfare of the natives and for the glory of his realm. The glorious victory at Luetzen in 1622, immortalized "The Lion of the North," and left to his Great Premier, Oxenstiern, the furthering of the colony. In 1638 two ship-loads from the Lutheran land of Sweden purchased lands of the Indians and established themselves on the banks of the Delaware. Others followed and all prospered.

They built churches; their pastor, Campanius, translated Luther's catechism into the Delaware dialect, and also gave religious instruction to the Indians. For over forty years previous to the arrival of William Penn they had lived and labored among them in the greatest peace and prosperity, and by their good name and offices greatly promoted the success of Penn's famous Treaty with the Indians under the Great Elm at Philadelphia in 1683. By the close of the following century, through political changes, but mainly from lack of English-speaking Lutheran pastors, these people with their church edifices came into the hands of the Episcopalians.

Eighteenth Century.—Not being a sea-going people, previous to the eighteenth century few Germans came to America. During this century, being compelled by persecution and suffering, or encouraged by the plans and prospects of Penn's colony, many thousand German Lutherans sought homes in the New World.

Impoverished by the Thirty Years' War, and in constant dread of invasion, many of the wretched inhabitants of the Rhenish Palatinate sought refuge in England, whence aided by the Government and Queen Anne, they came as colonists to New York, Pennsylvania and North Carolina (1707-1712).

Forced into exile in mid-winter, 30,000 men, women and children from the Austrian Archbishopric of Salzburg went to Prussia, Holland, Sweden and England. The English, by parliamentary aid and public contributions, assisted many of the fellow believers of those who bound themselves in the "covenant of salt" to found the Lutheran colony at Ebenezer, Georgia, under the devoted pastors, Bolzaus and Gronau (1731-1734).

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THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **THE GERMAN BAPTIST BRETHREN (DUNKERS).**—Mack, Penn, Germantown, Expansion, Missions, Trine Immersion, The *Agape*, Feet-washing, Kiss of Charity, Dressing, Law, War, Oaths, Divorce, The sick, The poor, Drinking and smoking, Slavery.
14. **THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.**—Religious decay, Jacob Albright, Government, Organization, Arminianism, Experimental religion, Missions, Worship, Morals.
15. **THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.**—Origin, Distinctive doctrines, Creed, Distinctive practices, Fox, Austin, Fisher, Persecution, Decline, Slavery, Division, Mission, Federation.
16. **THE GERMAN EVANGELICAL SYNOD.**—Basis, Introduction to America, Creeds, Particular doctrines, especially that on the Holy Supper, Give the statistics.
17. **THE JEWISH SYNAGOGUE.**—Doctrine, Spanish and Portuguese, British and Polish, Germanic and Russian, Unity of God, Unity of man, Corollaries, The future, No federation, Swords and Idolatries.
18. **THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.**—Name, Colonists from Holland and Sweden, from Germany and Austria.

QUESTIONS.

13. *How did the Dunkers arise? Why did they immigrate into America? State the distinctive beliefs of the Dunkers. State the distinctive ceremonies of the Dunkers. State their judgment on certain national moral issues.*



First Church of the Brethren (Dunkers) in America. (Built by the Members at Germantown, Pa., in 1770.)

14. *Describe the conditions under which the Evangelical Association arose. What did Albright do? On what is special emphasis laid? What is the "heart of the Church"? What position is taken towards moral reform?*

15. *Who founded the Society of Friends? Has it a creed? Relate the distinctive doctrines of the Friends. What practices were required? Describe the early experiences of the Friends in America. What moral reform were Friends the first to promote? What service has the Society done to religion? How could federation be made?*

16. *On what was the German Evangelical Synod founded? What creeds does it confess? State its view of the Lord's Supper. Describe its polity. State its present statistics.*

17. *How has Jewish doctrine varied? What immigrants alone were progressive in religion? Discuss the prospects of the Jews. How are Jews related to Christians? What is the mission of Judaism?*

18. *Explain the origin of the term Lutheran. What title is used in Germany? Who were the first Lutherans in America? What first led Swedes to America? How did they influence Penn's treaty with the Indians? What impelled many Germans to emigrate to America?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Discuss the pros and cons of the Dunker position, as expressed by Alfred Tennyson:*

> *"And so the Word had breath and wrought*
> *With human hands the creed of creeds,*
> *In loveliness of perfect deeds,*
> *Excelling all poetic thought.*

2. *Discuss as number 1, viz.: Can experimental religion dispense with doctrine or with culture?*
3. *Discuss as numbers 1 and 2.*
4. *The prospects of organic union of Christian Churches, as based on the experience of the German Evangelical Synod.*
5. *The influence of various national cultures upon a religion.*
6. *The influence of migration upon the spread of religion.*

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19. THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (Continued).

Unscrupulous agents traversed Germany in the interests of shipping companies, and by fabulous tales of plenty, wealth, honor and titles so easily secured in the New World, lured the simple-minded people from their homes. Pennsylvania was the paradise generally sought. In the summer of 1749, 12,000 German immigrants landed at Philadelphia, many of them Lutherans, and for years the tide continued. Many died on the long voyages in the poorly-supplied and overcrowded vessels. On landing the captain advertised the arrival of those too poor to pay the passage charges, and at auction sold men, women and children for three, six, ten or more years, who were taken for service to New England, Pennsylvania and other colonies. Families were separated never again to meet. Whilst character and industry often elevated these servants to the place of masters, and maids betimes married their purchasers, yet, despite the laws for their protection, it was only to protracted slavery, with its wretchedness and abominations, that many of the "redemptorists" were doomed during their enforced labor.

From Waldoboro, Maine, to Ebenezer, Georgia, in 1735 there were but eight pastors for the whole Lutheran population. The people generally were poor, their speech alien, themselves strangers in a strange land. Some made use of devotional books brought from the Fatherland. Here and there an earnest layman assembled his countrymen and read a sermon. Churches were few; barns, mills and stable lofts, carpenter shops, or their rude cabins, were the usual places for worship; the services and ministrations of the Church were seldom enjoyed. Clerical impostors, base men, devastated and deceived the congregations. The religious training of the young was sadly neglected. Distressing in the extreme was the general spiritual condition.

"The Patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America," a graduate of the University of Goettingen and sent from Halle, the Rev. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg, in 1742, reached Philadelphia, Pa. His apostolic life; his faithful, untiring and blessed labors, his piety, ability, tact and sagacity, inspirited the people, reduced chaos to order and laid solid foundations for the future of the Church. In 1748, Muhlenberg with five other pastors and lay representatives from twenty pastoral districts, organized the Ministerium or Synod of Pennsylvania and adjacent States. In 1786, the second Synod, that of New York, was organized.

The French and Indian wars, and the War of the Revolution, destroyed churches, devastated communities and scattered congregations. Infidelity, deism and rationalism poisoned by their evil influences. Throughout the Colonies religion reached a very low ebb. The German Lutheran population greatly suffered in the general spiritual degeneration and destitution. At the close of the century the New York Synod had decreased in its pastoral roll nearly one half; in the Carolinas six pastors remained; there were less than seventy in all the United States.

Nineteenth Century.—Though diminished by our own Civil War and the wars of Europe a flood-tide of immigration brought multitudes to the United States during the nineteenth century, and a large proportion of the mighty host were Lutherans in their religious faith.

To secure homes and material good brought many; others came to enjoy religious liberty. In Germany the plan of King Frederick William III. to bring by law the Lutheran and the Reformed into a "United Church," 1817-1830, worked protest and division. In 1839, under Pastor Grabau, one thousand "Separatists" settled at Buffalo, N. Y., and in 1845 organized the "Synod of Exiles from the Lutheran Church of Prussia," or the Buffalo Synod. Five shiploads of Saxon "Separatists" sailed in 1838. Nothing was ever heard of the "Amalia;" but in 1839, the others located at St. Louis, Mo. Amid perils and poverty unspeakable, in a log cabin they at once established a classical school for the training of ministers

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and in 1847 organized at Chicago, Ill., the "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States." Prof. Carl F. W. Walther, D.D., was the first President and Father of the Missouri Synod. In 1854, at St. Sebald, Iowa, the "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa and other States," was founded. A school was instituted, and the ingathering of immigrant Germans and missions among the Indians begun. Other German Synods; the Texas, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Michigan, Wartburg, Augsburg, Nebraska and Immanuel have since been organized.

For nearly two centuries few Swedes found their way to America. Several families came in 1841; in 1850, the Rev. Lars Paul Esbjörn, "the Founder of the Swedish Church," with ten members organized the first regular Swedish Lutheran congregation. Over a million of Swedes are in the United States. The Swedish Lutheran Augustana Synod was founded in 1860. In 1834 a little band of Norwegians came to Rochester, N. Y., finally settling in La Salle Co., Ill. Though not so numerous as the Swedes, Norwegian Lutheran churches have been established from Maine to Oregon, from Manitoba to Texas. Five Synods have been organized; in 1890 three of them joined in forming the "United Norwegian Church," to which the Hauge Synod is friendly; the Norwegian inclining toward the Missouri German Synod. In the United States there are more than five score thousand Danes, 10,000 Icelanders, 80,000 Finlanders, and several thousand Slavonian, Hungarian, French, Scottish, Wendt and Bohemian Lutherans. The Danes have two Synods, the Icelanders and the Finns one each; the others whilst having congregations, are not in Synodical organizations of their own tongue.

Lutheran pioneers are usually blessed with goodly families. Inured to the hardships and inheriting the spirit of their fathers, as the home hive filled up, the hardy sons and daughters swarmed and sought new abodes. Southward and westward they spread. This migration beginning in the eighteenth, grew with the growth of the country in the present century; each successive wave passing beyond its predecessors. Into the rich valleys of Virginia, into the Carolinas and Tennessee; beyond the Alleghanies in Pennsylvania, into Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa and to the West, descendants of German Lutherans made their way. Pioneer traveling missionaries, self-sustained or sent by the Pennsylvania and other Synods, sought to keep these children of the Church supplied with the Word and Sacraments.

Preaching circuits were opened, missions founded, congregations organized, churches built, Synods formed, and schools, colleges and theological seminaries established; the forefathers at the East and the children in the West coöperated in the work. The Synod of New York grew to four Synods; Pennsylvania has eight; Maryland, one; Virginia, two; each of the Carolinas, one; Tennessee, two; Mississippi and Georgia, each one; in Ohio there are five; in Indiana, two; in Illinois, four; and one each in Iowa, Wisconsin, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorada and California. English is the usual language for worship and in the transactions of these Synods, except in two, though in these it is much used. The largest share of the membership in nearly all these Synods are descendants of German Lutheran immigrants. They have fifteen or more colleges, ten theological seminaries, and many academies, schools and charitable institutions under their care. They number 2,391 pastors, 3,408 congregations, 355 parochial schools, 517,101 communicant members.

Polity and Organization.—In its government the Lutheran Church in the United States is not episcopalian, congregational, presbyterian or methodist, though it has certain terms and usages which are akin to some existing in these ecclesiastical organizations. It is somewhat like the government of the United States.

Jesus Christ is the Supreme Head of the Church. A congregation, consisting of the pastor and his people, joined in organization, constitute the unit. From the Supreme Head the congregation has power to maintain and administer in their purity the Word of Christ and His Sacraments. With the advice and counsel of the Synod, when requested or needed, it manages its own affairs.

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20. THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (Continued).

Synods are organizations made up of congregations, within the limits prescribed by their constitutions, as agreed upon and subscribed, for the furtherance of the duties and good of the church at large, such as education, the training of pastors, missions, home and foreign, providing books for worship, etc. In the Synod, the congregation is entitled, in addition to its pastor, to at least one lay representative from each parish; in all synodical transactions these laymen have a parity and equal rights and privileges with the pastors. The Synods plan, manage and promote what the single congregation is unable to do, the educational, eleemosynary, mission and general activities of their churches; advise and counsel with them, as constitutionally agreed upon, in some Synods, as with the Swiss referendum, the resolutions of the Synod being in force only when approved by the votes of their congregations. Of the sixty-two Synods in this country, seventeen are independent; the others have united in general bodies. Their relation to the Synods and churches, and their powers, are defined and determined by the constitutions agreed to and under which they are established.

Made up of several nationalities, accustomed to various and differing usages in worship and otherwise as Lutherans are, their languages, cults and questions largely of practice have brought about and shaped the union of Synods into these general bodies, as the status also of these bodies toward each other, and also that of the independent Synods and congregations toward each other and to the larger organizations. All agree, however, in accepting the church's historical Augsburg Confession; and there is no just ground for the contention that the church in this country is made up of seventeen different and distinct kinds of Lutherans. Difference in the faith, not in language, cult or practice, makes and marks the separate church.

Doctrine and Life.—The Lutheran as an historical Church accepts the Oecumenical creeds, and her own Unaltered Augsburg Confession; and declares the "Apology of the Augsburg Confession, the Smalcald Articles, the Catechisms of Luther and the Formula of Concord, with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, to be in the perfect harmony of one and the same Scriptural faith." The Canonical books of the Old and of the New Testament she receives as the Word of God, and the only and all-sufficient standard and rule of doctrine and duty. For all men she insists upon and claims the right and obligation to possess, to read and to study this Word.

The Lutheran Church believes in the Trinity; Father, Son and Holy Ghost, three Persons, one God; and in the divine and the human nature forever united in the person of Jesus, the Christ. She teaches, with utmost emphasis, that in Him men are justified by faith alone; and demands good works as fruit of true obedience. The Lutheran Church receives the Sacrament of the Holy Supper and the Sacrament of Baptism; and believes that, in a way not defined, in the Holy Supper the Lord Jesus gives His true Body and His true Blood to the communicant; and that ordinarily Baptism is "necessary to salvation and that by Baptism grace is offered." She confines the rite of Baptism to no one form, and gladly admits infants to this "washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost."

The Lutheran Church holds that the Holy Spirit ordinarily reaches and acts upon the souls of men through the Truth, and mediately, through the Word of God and the Holy Sacraments as the only and appointed means of grace. She believes in the spiritual priesthood of all true Christians; but insists that only they who have been rightly called shall teach in her pulpits and minister at her altars. The Lutheran Church in her worship is liturgical; but accords freedom, and does not teach that the unity of the Church depends upon a uniform ritual and service. The Lutheran Church teaches that through the Fall man's nature is changed and debased; that because of sin, mankind is under the sentence of Divine condemnation and spiritually dead; that only through the means of grace, the Word and the Sacra-

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ments, by the gracious help of the Holy Spirit, is it possible for man to know and accept God's offered mercy, receive spiritual life, perform acceptable service, and attain the glorious resurrection of the body and eternal salvation.

The passing "isms" of the day but little affect Lutheran pastors and people; steadily and quietly they prosecute the practical duties of a living, loving Christianity, as enjoined and illustrated in the teachings and life of her adorable and exalted Saviour and Head. She has prosperous missions among the natives of America and in foreign lands. Her work in these fields has been retarded and weakened by the vast home mission labors forced upon her, in order somewhat to meet the overwhelming demands and necessities of her own immense hosts of spiritual sons and daughters, who by immigration and migration seek homes in the wide borders of the United States. She leads in home-missionary activity; she initiated among the Protestants of America, and successfully promotes deaconess institutions and hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, epileptics, etc.

By a few, the Lutheran people of this country have been aided and prayed for; by many they have been assailed and preyed upon. Notwithstanding the humble place which her children took on first reaching these shores, and the extreme difficulties against which they had to contend, the Lutheran Church in the United States has a strong hold upon her people, and secures their hearty support. She makes fair provision and zealous effort for their ingathering and spiritual welfare. She has grown with the years greatly in numbers and good works, so that the Lutheran Church ranks among the foremost in the land; by her conservative positions, by her Scriptural foundation and by her conformity in government and worship to the trend and habit of thought in free America, she has exerted by God's favor and will exert an increasingly powerful influence for good in and among the Christian forces of this land, whether within the family, the community, or the State. By reason of her several nationalities and different tongues, her various cults and diverse customs, the Lutheran Church has within her own wide borders matters of grave measure and greatest moment for the best thought and wisest counsels of her most sagacious, learned and godly leaders. She prays and hopes for, and in God's own good time will realize, full unification in her own household of faith.

The Lutheran Church has sought no alliance with Christians of another name. She holds that not by tolerating or by ignoring positive differences and divergences in faith and practice, but only in and through the Truth can the real unity of the holy Christian Church be found; she assures herself also, that when realized, this blessed unity will have been attained only by the most earnest, devout and prayerful study of the Divine Word, and the honest acceptance of its sacred teachings, through the gracious aid and guidance of the Holy Spirit of God.

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THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY

Rev. JAMES MUDGE, D.D., Lowell, Mass.

21. THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

SMALL, indeed, the beginnings, but steady the growth and mighty the present stature of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Figures gathered nearly two years ago (the latest accessible) make the total ministry and lay membership of the church at that time 2,842,928. Allowing simply for the usual increase, the present strength of the denomination would be just about three million communicants. The same authority (Methodist Year Book, 1897,) makes the total value of church and parsonage property $126,521,608, or in round numbers, at the present time, $130,000,000 for these two items alone.

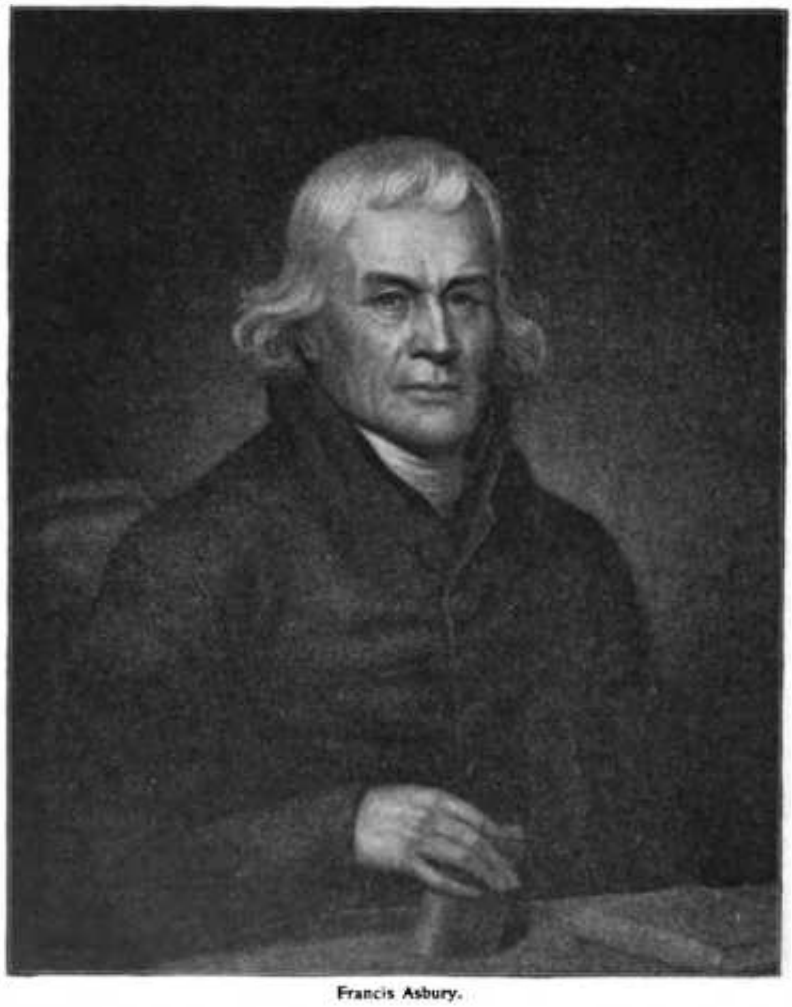
Introduction to America.—This is certainly a sizable tree. From what sort of a seed did it spring, and how did it get rooted? A young Irish carpenter, Philip Embury, is believed to have delivered what may be fairly called the first Methodist sermon in America, to a congregation of five persons in his own humble house in New York. He had been licensed as a local preacher among the followers of Wesley in Ireland, but had made no move religiously during the six years of his residence in the New World, until stirred thereto in 1766 by the strong exhortations of a fellow immigrant, Mrs. Barbara Heck. The start proved to be timely, and in the order of God. The numbers soon increased, a more commodious room was hired, and the excitement rapidly spread. Early in 1767 another Wesleyan local preacher, Capt. Thomas Webb, of the British army, recently appointed barrackmaster at Albany, hearing of the struggling society at New York, hastened to its aid. A stone chapel, the first Methodist meeting-house in America, was dedicated October 30, 1768, and soon crowded with hearers. Thus the movement grew.

Francis Asbury.—And now most naturally the eyes of the little company looked for aid to their great father over the sea. Wesley being appealed to sent a couple of preachers, October, 1769, and eight more came in the five years following, but none of them stayed long or were very successful except Francis Asbury. His name is the greatest in the history of Methodism on this side of the water. Dr. Leonard Woolsey Bacon, writing "A History of American Christianity" this year, says of him: "It may reasonably be doubted whether any one man from the founding of the church [meaning of the church of Christ] in America until now has achieved so much in the visible and traceable results of his work." Though only a peasant boy, without education, he proved to be a general of consummate ability, invincible energy and wide-reaching plans. He kept the preachers on the march, and wonderfully aroused the people. Under his wise guidance Methodism passed through the troubled years of the Revolutionary War without a check to its progress, and in 1784 there were 15,000 members, 84 itinerant preachers and probably not less than 200,000 attendants on worship.

Independence Gained.—The Methodist Episcopal Church, strictly speaking, in its distinctive organized form as an American institution, began in the closing week of the year 1784. Up to that time the Methodists here had been an offshoot of British Methodism, more or less subject to the control of its founder, John Wesley, and the societies which had been established were in no proper sense a church. This inchoate and unsatisfactory condition of things had been endured with exemplary patience, though not without agitation, until the securement of the independence of the republic. This brought matters to a crisis. Wesley took the right steps. He clearly discerned the signs of the times and believed he had the guidance of the

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Spirit. He dispatched his right-hand man, Dr. Thomas Coke—having first, in connection with two other presbyters, ordained or set him apart as general superintendent or bishop—to arrange matters. The American Methodist ministers assembled in conference at Baltimore, proceeded, in accordance with the counsel of Wesley, to form themselves into an episcopal church, with superintendents or bishops, elders or presbyters, and deacons, the episcopal office being elective and the elected bishops being amenable to the body of ministers. Coke and Asbury were unanimously elected first incumbents of the office. General rules were adopted, twenty-five Articles of Religion, abridged by Mr. Wesley from the thirty-nine of the Church of England, were accepted, a variety of minor regulations were passed and the shaping of the new ecclesiastical edifice was, for the time, finished, with remarkable oneness of spirit and great practical wisdom.



Francis Asbury.

The Doctrines.—The doctrines of the new church cannot, of course, be stated here with any fullness, yet since they have been one of the main elements, if not chief of all, in its growth, a paragraph must be devoted to them. Calvanism was vigorously repudiated from the start. The doctrines of election, predestination, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and final perseverance of the Saints as set forth by those who accounted themselves the only orthodox, were stoutly opposed in every Methodist pulpit, and the common-sense of the people soon ranged itself with them. On the positive side Methodism gave emphasis in its preaching to the doctrines having closest connection with the spiritual life, and this also powerfully appealed to the people, meeting their needs and capturing their assent. It promoted revivals by preaching strongly the lost condition of humanity without Christ, the freedom of His grace to all who seek and the assurance of present salvation by simple faith in the Saviour. It secured thoroughness of religious experience in vast numbers of cases by urging its converts on to complete consecration, which they were taught would be accompanied by a correspond-

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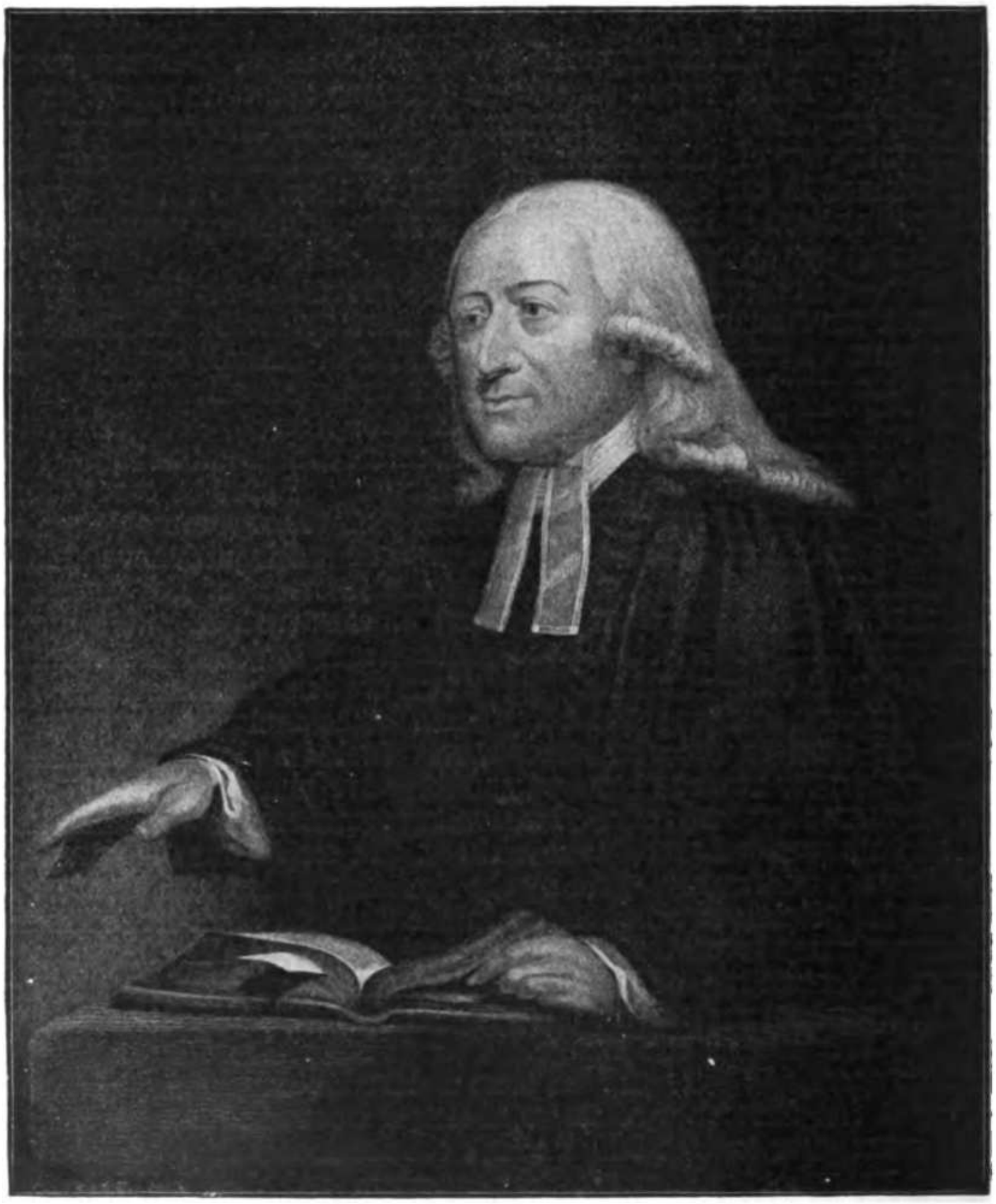
ing purification from sin. A bright, joyous, active type of religion was thus produced, very attractive to the multitudes and very effective as a means of church advancement. A free, a full, and a present salvation, which was the early rallying-cry of the Methodist hosts, proved amazingly productive of extensive as well as permanent results. A reasonable religion, being joined with a very earnest religion, swept the country. The freedom of the human will was emphasized rather than the absolute sovereignty of God. God's love was dwelt upon rather than His justice, though by no means to the exclusion of the latter. The depravity of man was not regarded as being total in any ordinary sense of that word, since God's spirit works in all and gracious ability to accept the offers of mercy is freely supplied to all. Methodism is not sacramentative or sacerdotal, but takes a moderate view of the ordinances. It believes that the baptism of infants should be retained in the church, and it offers in theory to all its converts who have not been baptized in infancy their choice as to sprinkling, pouring or dipping: but in practice nearly all are sprinkled.

The Polity.—Another large element in the growth of Methodism has been its form of church government. This, therefore, must be briefly sketched. It has a marvelous system of conferences and a complete set of officials carefully graded, all interlocking in a way to secure close supervision and great efficiency of movement, without seriously or needlessly infringing personal liberty. The General Conference, which has supreme jurisdiction over the entire denomination, and is the only legislative body in it, meets on the first Wednesday of May in every fourth year and continues in session about a month. Since 1812 it has been a delegated body, at first wholly of ministers, but since 1872 a part of the delegates have been laymen. It makes such laws, rules and regulations as the interests of the church seem to require, elects the Bishops and other general officers, such as publishing agents, editors and secretaries, supervises all the connectional societies and maintains fraternal relations with other churches. Its powers are somewhat restricted by a constitution, but in most matters it has a free hand. The annual conferences, meeting once a year, are next in order of importance. Including mission conferences and missions, they number now one hundred and forty-five, and are in almost all parts of the world. They are composed entirely of traveling preachers, have only administrative functions, and are presided over by the Bishops. In each Annual Conference there are several District Conferences, held by the Presiding Elders and composed of the preachers and lay officials of all churches in the districts. Finally, each church or pastoral charge (where several small churches are under one man) has its own Quarterly Conference (consisting of local preachers, exhorters, class leaders, stewards, trustees, Sunday-school superintendents and presidents of Epworth Leagues), which supervises the interests of the charge. The duties of these various lay officers cannot be here specified; but since the most distinctive characteristic of the Methodist economy is the itinerancy of its ministers, a word should be said as to this feature. It sprang up providentially through the necessities of the early days, but it has proved a marvelous labor-saving arrangement. At first the preachers were moved, as a rule yearly, in some instances every six months, though there was no law against their indefinite reappointment to the same place. Then (in 1804) a rule was made that no preacher should be allowed to remain in one station more than two years successively; in 1864 it was changed to three years and in 1888 to five years, the present limit. The Bishop presiding at the conference is authorized to fix the appointments, but he is aided in this arduous duty by information furnished him from both churches and ministers, chiefly through the Presiding Elders, whose business it is to travel all the year, having general oversight, each one of a District comprising from twenty to seventy churches. This system distributes evenly, with very little friction, the talents of the ministry, and supplies every church with a preacher and every preacher with a church all the time.

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22. THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (Continued).

Growth.—After being fully organized, as described, the church proceeded on its widening way, not without difficulties, perplexities and occasional dissensions, but on the whole with marvelous success. In 1789 Methodism, under the leadership of Jesse Lee, was introduced into New England, it having previously been confined to



John Wesley, the Founder of Methodism. 1703-91.

the Middle and Southern States. It pushed westward with great vigor, by means of its itinerant, circuit-riding preachers with their headquarters in the saddle, who kept pace with the advancing tide of emigration. It was the first religious body to congratulate Washington on his inauguration to the presidency in 1789. It was the first to establish, develop and recognize the vast importance of Sunday-schools. It very early laid great emphasis on camp-meetings, and has been more largely identified with this useful means of grace than any other church. Its first literary institution, Cokesbury College, in Maryland, opened 1787, was burned down in 1795. It was some time before the church, in its poverty, rallied from this blow,

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but after a while attention was turned anew in this direction, colleges and academies began to be founded, and in the last fifty years (especially the last twenty-five years) great strides have been made. There are now not far from one hundred and fifty high-class institutions in this country under the various names of university, college, institute, seminary, academy, together with about eighty more of diverse grades in the foreign mission fields. The total value of grounds, buildings and endowments is put in the last reports at $29,538,931, with 44,393 students in attendance. Chief among these institutions are the American University at Washington, the Northwestern University at Chicago, the Boston University at Boston, the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., the Syracuse University at Syracuse, N. Y., the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, Ohio, De Pauw University at Greencastle, Ind., and Dickinson College at Carlisle, Pa. A general Board of Education, chartered in 1869, looks after this interest.

Missions.—The Methodist-Episcopal Church has been thoroughly missionary from the start so far as the evangelization of this country is concerned, and has expended immense sums on the frontiers, in the cities, among the colored people of the South, the Indians of the West, and the various foreign races that have come to our shores. Its Missionary Society was not regularly organized till 1819, and its first foreign mission, that to Liberia, was not entered upon till 1833. Next it went to South America, 1836, to China in 1847, to Germany in 1849, to India in 1856. It is working now in many parts of Europe (including Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Russia, Bulgaria, Italy, Switzerland, Germany) in East Africa and Central Africa, as well as Liberia; in Peru, Chili, Paraguay, Uruguay, Brazil and Argentine; in Mexico, Japan, Korea, Malaysia; besides five missions in China and five in India. And in these various fields it has about one hundred and seventy-five thousand communicants, besides nearly as many adherents. Nearly a million and a quarter of dollars (sometimes more) have been for a few years past annually raised by this Society, which covers both foreign and domestic missions. There is in addition a Women's Foreign Mission Society, begun in 1869, which raises over $300,000 a year, and a Woman's Home Missionary Society, organized in 1880. The total missionary disbursements of the Methodist Episcopal Church through these three societies are about a million and three-quarters a year, and another quarter of a million is expended by the City Missionary Societies.

The Book Concern.—The publishing agency of the Church (technically called the "Book Concern") was set in motion as early as 1789, and has wonderfully prospered until now it has magnificent headquarters in New York and Cincinnati, with agencies or depositories of large importance at Chicago, St. Louis, San Francisco, Detroit, Pittsburg and Boston. It publishes a large number of periodicals and papers, makes annual sales of two million dollars, and has a capital of nearly three and a half millions. It has passed all financial panics without the slightest interruption or danger; has cleared profits of six million dollars in the last fifty years and has paid out half of this for various church objects.

Societies.—Other organizations dear to the Church and employed by it as instrumentalities of wide usefulness are the Sunday School Union (begun in 1827), the Tract Society (organized in 1852), the Board of Church Extension (incorporated in in 1865), the Freedmen's Aid and Southern Education Society (started in 1866), and the Epworth League (formed in 1889 by the junction of several young people's societies). This latter has at the present time eighteen thousand senior chapters and nearly six thousand junior chapters, or about one million six hundred and fifty thousand members. The Freedmen's Aid Society has expended nearly four and a half million dollars in the South since the war. The Church Extension Board has, during the last twelve years, aided in building nearly twelve thousand new churches, and has a Loan Fund of about a million dollars. The Hospital and Deaconess work has greatly extended during the past few years.

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23. THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (Continued).

Secessions.—Such are a few of the results which exhibit themselves after something more than a hundred years of effort. The detailed history cannot be given here. As already intimated, it has not been entirely peaceful. This would be too much to expect considering the frailty of human nature. There have been a variety of secessions, none of them, it is worthy of notice, arising from strife over doctrines, but all springing out of differences of opinion over administration. James O'Kelley, a flaming Irishman of great ability and extensive influence in Virginia, led off a small following in 1792, because the Conference refused to restrict the power of the bishops in the appointment of the ministers. In 1816 the colored members of Philadelphia and vicinity withdrew and organized the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and a secession from it in 1820 formed the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. In 1830 the Methodist Protestant Church was organized by those who were restive under the power of the bishops, presiding elders and ministers, and had been defeated in their strenuous demand for the incorporation of the lay element in the General Conference. In 1843, many preachers and members, who were dissatisfied with what they deemed the too favorable attitude of the Church toward slavery, withdrew and constituted the American Wesleyan Church. And in 1845 there was organized at Louisville, Ky., the Methodist Episcopal Church South, embracing nearly all the ministers and members in the slave-holding States (about five hundred thousand) who were dissatisfied with the hostile attitude toward slavery exhibited by the General Conference of 1844. These are all the departures of any consequence. For the last fifty years matters have moved on smoothly. There has been agitation looking towards various changes in polity, some of it successful, some unsuccessful, but there has been no further split, and is not likely to be. The most recent conflicts have been for the purpose of changing the composition of the General Conference so that the laymen shall be as numerous as the ministers, and women delegates may be admitted as well as men. It is probable that both changes will be secured in the near future, as a large majority favor both.

The Last Half Century.—The progress in the last half century has been uniform and great. In 1848 there were but six hundred and forty-two thousand nine hundred and twenty-seven communicants lay and ministerial. There are now, as before said, just about three million. And the encouraging feature about it is that the latest years have shown the most rapid advance. In 1883, fifteen years ago, we had eighteen thousand seven hundred and forty-one churches; there are now about twenty-seven thousand. In 1883 our total membership was one million seven hundred and sixty-nine thousand five hundred and thirty-four; we had in our foreign missions forty-three thousand one hundred communicants; the total value of church and parsonage property was $79,238,085. It will be seen from these figures compared with those given before for the present that the Church seems to be just beginning to grow.

Nor do we find on examination that this outward prosperity has been won by any sacrifice of spiritual life or any criminal conformity to worldly folly. Outward methods and habits are different but the heart is in no less sound and true. Revivals are still of constant occurrence, and there is very deep interest on all subjects pertaining to the higher Christian life. There has been no lowering of the rigid standard of morals for which from the start Methodism has been nobly conspicuous. It still occupies the foremost position on the the temperance question, it still pronounces strongly against demoralizing worldly amusements. Dr. Buckley, one of the latest historians of the Church, asking at the close of his volume, "Has Methodism lost to a dangerous degree its original vital impulse?" finds himself able to answer it in the negative. He says, "The flames of pure devotion burn upon many an altar, accessions by conversion are numerous, many preachers deliver truth in

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the power of the Holy Ghost, and every society contains those who cry continually, 'Wilt thou not revive us again, that Thy people may rejoice in Thee.'" He thinks that the many institutions which have been superadded to the simpler methods and forms of the fathers are being made tributary to the great work for which Methodism was established. We are quite certain that this is the case, and that the original purposes of the Methodist Episcopal Church are still being carried out under changed conditions. It started in the language of the Discipline, "to evangelize the continent and spread Scriptural holiness over these lands." It is still doing this, and is likely to continue it with unabated efficiency. Its sources of strength, under God, are in itself, its record has been every way creditable, and its future seems bright. Its progress has not been due to any government aid, nor to members received from emigration, nor to prestige on account of great wealth, social position or superior educational facilities. All these things have been against it. It has been the church of the masses. Its growth has been due to its reasonable doctrines, its earnest piety, its military form of church government. It has been, and still is, a church thoroughly missionary in its organization and well adapted to avail itself promptly of all favorable openings, filled with reverent fire and burning with a zeal to bring men to God, brotherly and social in its spirit, identifying itself with all classes and making them feel at home within its walls, liberal in its opinions yet high-toned in its spiritual life, and admirably adapted every way to the wants of the new nation in which Providence placed it. How could it, being thus, do anything else but thrive as Church never throve before.

Dr. J. M. Buckley says, "The most potent forces which account for the numerical increase of Methodism, the mutual labors of pastors and people in the local societies, are incapable of historic description. Yet without them the visible fabric of Methodism would be as the log-hut in which the fathers preached compared with the elaborate ecclesiastical structures which prosperity has made possible."

Bishop Charles H. Fowler says, "What does Methodism mean? It has the fecundity of the acorn. It shall wave on the mountains like the forests of Lebanon. It shall whiten all seas and all worlds with the sails of its spiritual commerce. It has the enlightening power of the school; it shall shine into every dark corner, driving all superstitions and all goblins from the earth's surface. It has the vigilance of the invisible police; it shall expose with the glare of its searchlight every stealthy criminal. It has the compact organization of an army, it shall march with its swing of conquest through every known valley and plain, and plant the cross of the Redeemer on every hilltop and mountain peak."

Dr. Abel Stevens, the principal historian of Methodism in this country, at the close of the last of the four volumes in which he narrates the rise and development of the Methodist Episcopal Church, says, "This lowly Methodistic story is but the reproduction in substance, of the apostolic history, and presents, in full vitality, that original, that only example of evangelical propagandism, which, when all dogmatic conflicts and hierarchical pretensions, with their wasted passions and pomps, are recorded as historical failures, will bear forward to universal triumph the ensign of the cross by a Catholic, living, working church of the common people."

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THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

BY

M. B. CHAPMAN, D.D., Pastor of Walnut Street Methodist Church, Louisville, Kentucky.

24. THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.

THE movement called Methodism originated one hundred and fifty years ago in England, when the Wesleys and Whitfield began their evangelical preaching to the masses. "The field-preaching of Wesley and Whitfield, in 1739," says Isaac Taylor, "was the event whence the religious epoch, now current, must date its commencement." The The first Methodist Conference was held in the Foundry, London, beginning June 25th, 1744. In 1760, Robert Strawbridge came to America and settled at Sam's Creek, Maryland. Soon after he built the first Methodist Church in the United States. In 1766, Philp Embury, a local preacher, organized a Methodist society in New York, being assisted by Barbara Heck. From these beginnings Methodism contined to grow until 1773, when the first annual conference in America was held in the city of Philadelphia. In December, 1784, in Baltimore, at Lonely Lane Chapel, the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized, and Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury were elected and ordained bishops. The Methodist Episcopal Church prospered and grew until 1844, when the agitation on the subject of slavery, which had been going on for some years, culminated in the division of the church. A short time previous to the General Conference of 1844, Bishop James O. Andrew, of Georgia, had married a lady possessed of slaves. Soon after their marriage, in order to free himself from any ownership in these slaves, he had secured them to her by a deed of trust. But the sentiment against his position was so strong among the delegates from the Northern Conferences that when the General Conference met, by a vote of one hundred and ten to sixty-eight, they passed a resolution that: "It is the sense of this General Conference that he (Bishop Andrew) desist from the exercise of this office so long as this impediment remains." The result was a protest from the southern delegates, followed by a long discussion, which resulted in the adoption of a "Plan of Separation." Under the provisions of this plan, the delegates from the Southern Conferences met in Louisville, Kentucky, in May, 1845, and organized the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Since that time this church has gone forward with its work, being faithful to the traditions and principles of Methodism, until now it numbers nearly a million and a half communicants, and six thousand traveling preachers.

While Methodism accepts the great cardinal doctrines of Christianity, snch as are crystallized in the Apostles' creed, there are several distinctive features in her doctrine and polity. Perhaps the most noticeable thing in Methodism is the broad condition of its membership, including all those who desire to flee from the wrath to come. This is the only condition required for admission into the M. E. Church, South, the pastor being authorized to receive them as soon as he is satisfied of their sincerity.

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Methodism places emphasis on a personal experience and teaches that it is the privilege of every Christian to have a conscious knowledge of the pardon of sin. This doctrine of a conscious conversion, and of a direct witness of the Spirit testifying to the heart of the believer that he is a child of God is, as has been said, "the true key" to Methodist theology.

The doctrines of universal redemption and of the freedom of the human will are cardinal principles in Methodism. The M. E. Church, South, in common with all other branches of Methodism, teaches that the sacrifice of Christ derived infinite value from the divinity of his person, and is therefore intrinsically sufficient to expiate the sins of the *whole* human race; that He "died for all men," and that salvation does not depend on an arbitrary decree, but upon the willingness or unwillingness of each man to comply with the gospel conditions of salvation. A natural inference from this is the absolute freedom of the human will. Methodists believe in justification by faith. "Justification is the divine judicial act which applies to the sinner believing in Christ the benefit of the atonement, delivering him from the condemnation of his sin, introducing him into a state of favor, and treating him as a righteous person." It is a judicial act, something done *for* the sinner because of his faith, as regeneration is something done *in* him, the two being part of the one work of conversion. The *originating cause* of justification is the love of God; the *meritorious cause* is the atonement of Christ; the *instrumental cause* is the personal faith of the believer.

Regeneration is an important Methodist doctrine, and is the new birth, a change of heart. All Methodists teach that "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the Kingdom of God." It is the work of the Holy Spirit and is a conscious change in the heart and life.

Methodism teaches that there are but two sacraments—baptism and the Lord's supper. The Methodist Church holds that the three modes of baptism—pouring, sprinkling, or immersion—are equally valid, but that the vast preponderance of evidence is in favor of pouring or sprinkling. Methodism also teaches the baptism of infants.

The chief feature of Methodist polity is the itinerant system. Every itinerant Methodist preacher is a member of some annual conference, and the bishop presiding over each conference appoints every preacher to some pastoral charge for one year. No preacher can be appointed to the same pastoral charge for more than four consecutive years in the M. E. Church, South. From fifteen to twenty pastoral charges constitute a district, over which a presiding elder is appointed whose duty it is "To travel through his appointed District, in order to preach and to oversee the spiritual and temporal affairs of the Church." No presiding elder can be appointed for more than four years to the same district. In every pastoral charge, a quarterly conference, composed of the official board and local preachers, is held every three months; a conference of all the members of a church may be held monthly; a District Conference, composed of the preachers and delegated laymen of a District, is held annually; an Annual Conference, composed of all the preachers and lay delegates in the bounds of that Conference, is held once a year; and a General Conference, composed of one preacher and one layman for every forty-eight clerical members of an Annual Conference is held every four years. The business of the General Conference is: 1. The election of Bishops when deemed necessary. 2. To create and re-adjust the boundaries of the Annual Conferences. 3. To revise the laws and rules of the Discipline. 4. To superintend the interests of Foreign Missions. 5. To elect the various connectional officers of the Church.

The principles and polity of Methodism have borne the test of one hundred and fifty years, and no branch of Methodism has grown more rapidly than the M. E. Church, South. She stands to-day for a pure and aggressive Christianity, and claims that her mission is to "Spread scriptural holiness over this land."

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FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (CONTINUED).**—Immigration, Auction, Religious condition, Muhlenberg, Religion at low ebb, Flood of immigration from Europe, Growth, Present statistics, Government, Congregation.
20. **THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH (CONTINUED).**—Synod, Differences, Unity, Creeds, Doctrine, The means of Grace, The liturgy, Man, Salvation, "Isms," Home missions, General condition, Unification, Alliance.
21. **THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.**—Present membership, F Asbury, T. Coke, Independence, Certain doctrines opposed, Revivals, Consecration, God's love.
22. **THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (CONTINUED).**—General annual and quarterly conferences, Bishops, Presiding elders, Preachers, Itinerancy, Growth, Sunday-schools, Camp-meetings, Education, Missions, The Book Concern, Societies.
23. **THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH (CONTINUED).**—Secessions, Recent conflicts, The last half century, Preservation of ideals, Sources of progress, Church of the people.
24. **METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.**—Slavery, Division, Conscious conversion, Universal redemption, Freedom, Itinerancy, The presiding elder, Conferences.

QUESTIONS.

19. *Explain the auction of many Germans. Describe the religious condition of Lutheran settlers. Who became "Patriarch of the Lutheran Church"? Describe religious conditions at the close of the eighteenth century. What brought many Lutherans in the nineteenth century? From what peoples did they come? Describe the westward movement. Give the present statistics.*

20. *Define the congregation and the synod. In what respects do Lutherans differ? In what respect do they agree? What creeds does the Lutheran Church accept? What do Lutherans believe concerning the Trinity, Faith, the Lord's Supper, and Baptism? What does the Lutheran Church hold concerning grace, man and conversion? How does it regard current movements in theology? What has retarded her foreign missions? What internal problem confronts her?*

21. *How was Methodism introduced? What contribution did Francis Asbury make? When and how was independence gained? Define the office of bishop. What doctrines has Methodism opposed? What doctrines has it supported? How does it view the ordinances?*

22. *Describe the various conferences. Name the lay officers. How has the term of the itinerancy varied? What is the advantage of the system? What means of growth has it used? Enumerate its chief educational centres. What funds are contributed to its missions? How are the profits of the "Book Concern" used? Name the various societies of the church.*

23. *On what grounds have the various secessions been made? How is the composition of the General Conference likely to be changed? What has been the progress in the last half century? What has, nevertheless, been preserved intact? How does the Discipline define the purpose of Methodism? To what three traits has its progress been due?*

24. *For what reason did the Southern Conferences separate from the Northern? What is the "true key" to Methodist theology? What are cardinal doctrines in it? Describe the distinctive trait in Methodist polity.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The ebb and flow of religons.*
2. *The relative indifference for progress of church polities.*
3. *Isolation of a church from contemporaneous movements in theology.*
4. *Reaction from doctrines when carried to their logical extreme.*
5. *The relative merits of itinerancy and incumbency.*
6. *Elements of a popular church.*

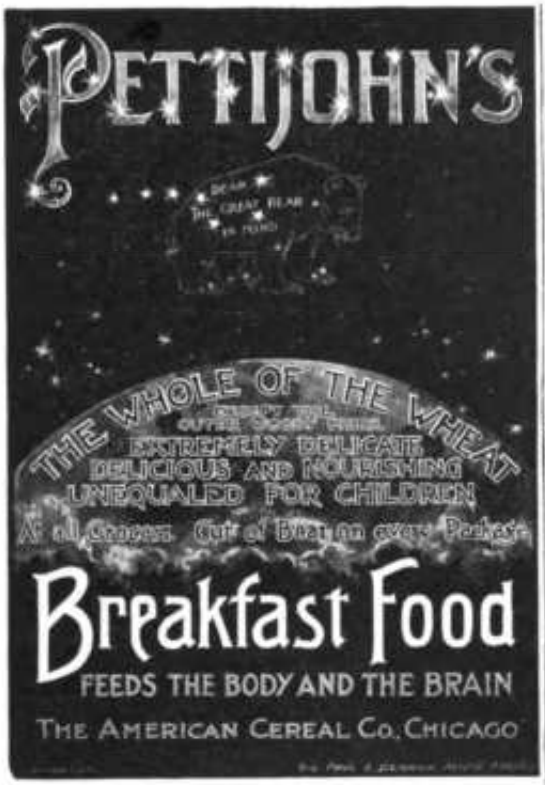
BIBLIOGRAPHY.

It will suffice in this connection to refer the student to an every-way admirable series entitled "The American Church History Series," and consisting of thirteen volumes, published from 1893 onwards. The series is divided as follows:

Vol. I.—"The Religious Forces of the United States." This indispensable work was based on the U.S. census for 1890, and written by H. K. Carroll.
Vol. II.—The Baptists.
Vol. III.—The Congregationalists.
Vol. IV.—The Lutherans.
Vol. V.—The Methodists.
Vol VI.—The Presbyterians.
Vol. VII.—The Protestant Episcopalians.
Vol. VIII.—The Dutch Reformed, the German Reformer, and the Moravians.
Vol. IX.—The Roman Catholics.
Vol. X.—The Unitarians and the Universalists.
Vol. XI.—The Methodists South, the United Presbyterians, the Cumberland Presbyterians, and the Presbyterians South.
Vol. XII.—The Disciples, the Friends, the United Brethren, and the Evangelical Association.
Vol. XIII.—"A History of American Christianity." This last provides a summary and interpretation of the combined denominational histories, from the pen of Leonard W. Bacon, 1897.

N. B.—For the use of the beautiful and rare portraits of Francis Asbury and John Wesley in the lessons on Methodism, the University Association is indebted to the courtesy of the "Northwestern Christian Advocate," of Chicago, Ill.

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THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY

J. TAYLOR HAMILTON, Professor in the Moravian Theological Seminary, Bethlehem, Pa., and Editor of the "Moravian."

1. THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

THIS Church was known as The United Brethren before the term Moravian Church came into vogue. The latter appellation is derived from the land in which the church in question was formerly the chief representative of the evangelical faith, and from which refugees came to Saxony in 1722, to accomplish its resuscitation after it had been almost extirpated by persecution. Evangelical loyalty to the essentials of the Christian faith, combined with an unwillingness to bind men's consciences to the exact phraseology of a humanly constructed creed in reference to mysteries of the truth, and an exaltation of the value of devout Christian life above professed adherence to symbols apprehended by the intellect, have been characteristic of the Moravian Church from the first, and, since 1732, it has realized that its special calling is to carry the gospel to the neglected heathen, whilst in home lands its members fraternize with all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.(1)

In accordance with these characteristics and purposes the Moravian Church has consistently shunned every effort at proselytism in Christian lands, though it has freely expended men and means to foster vital religion within State churches in Europe, without seeking to withdraw members from fellowship in those churches.

Founded by spiritual descendants of John Hus in Bohemia in 1457, the Moravian Church was almost extirpated in consequence of the Thirty Years' War, although it had previously spread widely throughout Bohemia, Moravia, Poland and Prussia.(2)

Providentially resuscitated in Saxony during the years from 1722 to 1727 by refugees who were harbored on the estates of Count Zinzendorf, himself destined to become identified with it as a future bishop,(3) its attention was turned to America by two causes. Persecutions at home suggested the wisdom of securing an asylum where religious liberty might be enjoyed; the possibility of inaugurating missions amongst the Indians and the negro slaves became a call of duty. "From the trustees of Georgia Count Zinzendorf obtained a grant of five hundred acres of land, on the Ogeeche River, and Spangenberg another of fifty acres, forming part of the present site of Savannah. In the spring of 1735, the latter began a settlement, on his tract with a number of Moravians." (*Moravian Manual, pp. 38, 39.*) This settlement proved a failure, largely owing to the war between England and Spain. The remnant of the Moravian colonists in Georgia, in 1740, came to Philadelphia as passengers in George Whitefield's sloop. "At the invitation of Whitefield they proceeded in May to the Forks of the Delaware, the present Northampton County, where he had purchased a domain of five thousand acres, embracing what is now Upper Nazareth Township, and began to build a large house destined to be a school for negro children. Ere long, however, doctrinal differences, fostered by the inhabitants of the Scotch-Irish settlements, produced an open rupture between the Moravians and Whitefield, who ordered them to leave his land forthwith. In this extremity Bishop Nitschmann came from Europe commissioned to begin a settlement in Pennsylvania. Ten miles to the south of Whitefield's domain, he purchased an extensive tract, on the Lehigh River." (*Moravian Manual, p. 40.*) The settlement founded here was named Bethlehem. "It was originally intended

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as a center for the Indian Mission "—begun in 1740 at Shekomeko near the Stissik Mountains, between New York and Connecticut.(4) "But other immigrants having arrived from Germany, a church-settlement was organized, June 25, 1742, strictly on the plan of those established by Zinzendorf in his native land, with all their appliances of exclusivism." (*Moravian Manual, p. 40.*) In addition to maintaining an Indian mission, which spread in New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and later in Ohio, an extensive itineracy was undertaken amongst white settlers—Germans, Swedes and English, as well as amongst the negro slaves; but no effort was made to extend the Moravian Church as such amongst those who had not been identified with it in Europe. Rather were applicants for admission to fellowship discouraged, it being the aim of the Moravian evangelists to promote vital Christianity and not to build up a sect. Just here the Moravians failed to recognize the difference between the religious characteristics of this land free from the trammels of a State church, and their old conditions of operation in Europe; and this failure largely accounts for the numerical weakness of the Moravian Church in America to-day. Between the years 1742 and 1748 the Moravians in Pennsylvania devoted themselves, aside from their missions amongst the Indians, to an effort to bring about an organic union amongst the German-speaking Christians of the colony, no German denomination having as yet effected actual organization. But this laudable effort failed.(5)

Accordingly, the Moravian Church in America was compelled to recognize the leadings of Providence and assume definite denominational form. Its leaders chose to bring the groups of affiliated persons in seven of the original thirteen states into as close an affinity as possible with the German congregations of the Church in Europe, and to model their life after the pattern of the exclusive settlements of the Unity there, so as to constitute the Moravian villages spiritual retreats cut off from the rest of the world, where pious souls might cultivate their own Christian life and be mutually helpful in promoting growth in grace. In 1753 a tract was purchased in North Carolina, and here too the life in Pennsylvania was duplicated, the chief centers now being Bethlehem, Nazareth and Lititz in Pennsylvania, and after 1766 Salem in North Carolina.

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1. THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

(1) *Cf. Results of the General Synod of 1889*, pp. 1 to 7 and 9 to 12.

(2) *Cf. Moravian Manual*, pp. 14 to 30, and *The History of the Church Known as the Unitas Fratrum*, by Edmund de Schweinitz, S. T. D., pp. 693.

(3) *Cf. Moravian Manual*, pp. 30 to 38, and *History of the Protestant Church of the United Brethren*, by the Rev. John Holmes, Vol. I., pp. 159 to 279.

(4) See *Moravians in New York and Connecticut*, by Wm. C. Reichel.

(5) See *Moravian Manual*, pp. 41 and 42, and Reichel's *Early History*, pp. 96 to 112, 158 to 162, 200 to 226.

(6) **Resolutions on Union.**—

WHEREAS, Our Brethren of the Protestant Episcopal Church have invited us and all sister Protestant Churches in America to unite with them in a conference to be held with a view to promote godly union and concord among all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity and truth; and

WHEREAS, The Fathers and founders of the Unitas Fratrum, in the Century before the Protestant Reformation of the Sixteenth Century, did, in the interests of what they accepted as the Faith of Christ and His Apostles, secure for themselves the Historic Episcopate; and

WHEREAS, From the beginning our Moravian Church has, in all the centuries of its existence and activity in all portions of the Christian and heathen world maintained a position of most cordial recognition of and fellowship with the Brethren of the various Churches of Christ, in these parts, of varied name and constitution.

3. *Resolved*, That we hail with joy any effort put forth, in good faith, to secure closer fellowship and communion between the Churches of Christ in our country.

4. *Resolved*, That to this end a Committee, consisting of the five Bishops of the Northern District of the American Province, and of three ministerial and two lay Brethren in the District, be appointed to confer with similar Committees of Conference at such time and place as may be agreed upon.

5. *Resolved*, That we invoke upon the Churches in our land, the blessing of Him who hath said: "One is your Master, even Christ; and all ye are Brethren."

6. *Resolved*, That this Preamble and these Resolutions with the names of the Committees of Conference be communicated to the Secretary of the Commission by the Secretary of Synod.

—"*Journal of the Provincial Synod of 1888.*" *pp. 88, 111.* A Moravian committee was appointed, but thus far no results have followed from this reaching forth towards union.

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2. THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

The following were the characteristics of the Moravian villages: "None but members were allowed to hold real estate, although others might lease houses. In each settlement there was a public inn and one or more mercantile establishments or trades, belonging to the Church, the profits of which went towards its support. This arrangement did not exclude private enterprise and trades, of which there were many. The settlements were governed by a council called the "Board of Overseers," elected by the adult male members of the Church. At the head of a council stood a Deacon, who bore the title of 'Warden,' and was its executive officer. On business of importance a general meeting of the adult male members was convened. The purpose of this exclusive system was to keep out of the congregation, as much as possible, the follies and sins of the world, and to promote sober, righteous and holy living. By the blessing of God this was accomplished in a great degree. The peculiar institutions belonging to a settlement were the Brethren's, Sisters' and Widows' Houses. In a Brethren's House unmarried men lived together, and carried on various trades and professions, the profits of which were applied to the support of the establishment and of the Church in general. A Sisters' House was inhabited by unmarried women who engaged in different kinds of work. In each House there was a common refectory, dormitory and prayer-hall. Daily religious services were held. There was nothing monastic in the principles underlying these establishments, or in the regulations by which they were governed. The inmates were almost invariably such as had no other homes, and stayed in them at their own option, gaining an honest and decent livelihood, and enjoying the advantage of regular religious instructions. In many instances they were training schools for missionaries. A Widows' House was a home for indigent or other widows, supplying the inmates with all the comforts which they needed at moder-charges, and enabling the poorest to live in a respectable manner. Each house had a spiritual and temporal superintendent—females in the case of Sisters' and Widows' Houses." (*Moravian Manual, 55 and 56.*)

Up to the middle of the present century, when this whole system was abolished, the Moravian Church in America practically formed merely an outpost of the Moravian Church in Germany. Constitutional changes were effected in 1857. Since then the American province of the Church is independent so far as its own internal administration is concerned, and has pursued a natural policy of church extension. It now has congregations in Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Dakota, North Carolina, Virginia, Indian Territory, and Alberta Territory, Canada. The entire membership in America numbers 22,345. There are two provincial synods in America, which elect "provincial elders" as the executive boards, having headquarters at Bethlehem, Pa., and Salem, N. C. But the American Moravian Church forms an organic whole in union with the Moravian bodies in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe. The highest legislative body is the General Synod, meeting once in ten years, and constituted of representatives of the three provinces and of the missions among the heathen which constitute the joint enterprise of the entire Moravian Church. The general Synod reviews the life, regulates the statements of doctrine, orders the ritual—liturgical in form, elects bishops, receives a report of the entire management of the missions, and elects the mission board, which has its headquarters at Berthelsdorf.

The missions amongst the heathen, with an entire membership of about ninety-five thousand, are divided into the fellowing missionary provinces: Greenland, Labrador, the Indian mission in North America, Alaska, Jamaica, the eastern islands of the West Indies, Nicaragua, Demerara, Surinam, Cape Colony, Kaffraria, German East Africa, Victoria, North Queensland, the Western Himalayan, and the

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Leper Hospital in Jerusalem. More than four hundred missionaries, foreign and native, are employed. Last year the cost was four hundred and four thousand two hundred and eighty-two dollars and fifty cents. In addition a work of evangelization is carried on in Bohemia and Moravia, in which all the "provinces" participate.

The doctrinal standpoint of the Moravian Church is thus set forth by the General Synod.(1)

That the American Moravian Church will in the near future unite organically with any other American church is very unlikely. She cannot do so without detriment to her chief form of usefulness, which she shares with the European divisions of the Moravian Church—the work of evangelization amongst the heathen. At the same time she is ready to fellowship with evangelical believers of every name. In testimony of this her Provincial Synod held at Bethlehem, Pa., in 1888, passed the following resolutions. (2)

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2. THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

(1) **The Doctrines of the Moravian Church.**—1. We esteem every truth revealed to us by God as a precious treasure, and heartily believe that such a treasure dare not be let go, even though we could thereby save our body or our life (*Luke ix., 24*). But most especially do we affirm this of *that one* doctrine which the Renewed Brethren's Church has from the beginning regarded as her chief doctrine, and over which she has hitherto, by God's grace, kept guard as a priceless jewel: That "Jesus Christ is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the whole world." (*1 John ii., 2.*) For "Him who knew no sin, God made to be sin on our behalf; that we might become the righteousness of God in Him" (*2 Cor. v., 21*); or as we sing in one of our hymns—

> Whosever believeth in Christ's redemption,
> Will find free grace and a complete exemption
> From serving sin!

2. With this our leading doctrine, the following facts and truths, clearly attested by Holy Scripture, are linked in essential connection, and therefore constitute, with that leading doctrine, the most prominent and main features of our understanding and our proclamation of the way of Salvation:

(*a*) The doctrine of the *total depravity of our human nature; i.e.*, that since the Fall there is no health in man, and that he has no powers left by which to save himself. (*John iii., 6. Rom. iii., 23; vii., 18; i., 18-32; iii., 9-18. Eph. ii., 8-13.*)

(*b*) The doctrine of the *love of God, the Father, to the fallen human race*, according to which He "chose us in Christ, before the foundation of the world," and, "so loved the world, that He gave His only begotton Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish, but have eternal life." (*Eph. i., 3, 4; ii., 4. John iii., 16. (1 John iv., 9.*)

(*c*) The doctrine of the *real Godhead* and the *real Humanity of Jesus Christ; i.e.*, that the only begotten Son of God, He by whom all things in heaven and earth were created, forsook the glory which He had with the Father before the world was, and took upon Him our flesh and blood, that in all things He might be made like unto His brethren, yet without sin. (*John i., 1-3; i., 14; xvii., 5. Phil. ii., 6, 7. Heb. ii., 14, 17; iv., 15. Col. i., 17-19. 1 John v., 20.*)

(*d*) The doctrine of our *Reconciliation unto God* and our *justification before Him through the Sacrifice of Jesus Christ: i.e.*, that Christ "was delivered up for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification," and that alone by faith in Him "we have through His blood forgiveness of sin," "peace with God," and freedom from the service of sin. (*Rom. iii., 24, 25; v., 1. 1 Cor. i., 30. Heb. ii., 17; ix., 12. 1 Peter i., 18, 19. 1 John i., 9. 2 Cor. v. 18, 19.*)

(*e*) The doctrine of the *Holy Ghost and the operations of His Grace; i.e.*, that without Him we are unable to know the truth; that it is He who leads us to Christ, by working in us the knowledge of sin and faith in Jesus, and that He "beareth witness with our spirit that we are children of God." (*John xvi., 8-11, 13, 14. 1 Cor. xii., 3. Rom. viii., 16.*)

(*f*) The doctrine of *Good Works as the fruit of the Spirit; i.e.*, that in them faith manifests itself as a living acting power, which induces us, out of love and gratitude to him who died for us, willingly to follow the commandments of God (*John xiv., 15. Rom. vi., 11-14. 1 Cor. vi., 20. Gal. v., 6, 22-24. 1 John v., 3-5. Eph. ii., 8-10. Jas. ii., 17.*)

(*g*) The doctrine of *the fellowship of believers one with another; i.e.*, that they are all one in Christ Jesus, the Head of His body, and are all members one of another. (*John xvii., 21. Matt. xxiii., 8. Eph. iv., 4.*)

(*h*) The doctrine of the *Second Coming of the Lord in Glory, and of the Resurrection of the dead, unto life or unto judgment.* (*Acts i., 11. John vi., 40; xi., 25, 26; iii., 36; v., 25-29. 1 Thess. iv., 14-17.*)

3 Whilst we do not draw up and set forth these truths and our acceptance of them in a strictly formulated creed, our apprehension of the chief substance of Christian doctrine has found in a special way its expression in what has been solemnly declared by our church year by year, for more than one hundred years past, in our Litany on Easter morning.—"*Results of the General Synod of the Brethren's Unity, 1889,*" *pp. 13-15.*

(2) **Resolutions on Union.**—*This note is transferred to Lesson 1, note 6.*

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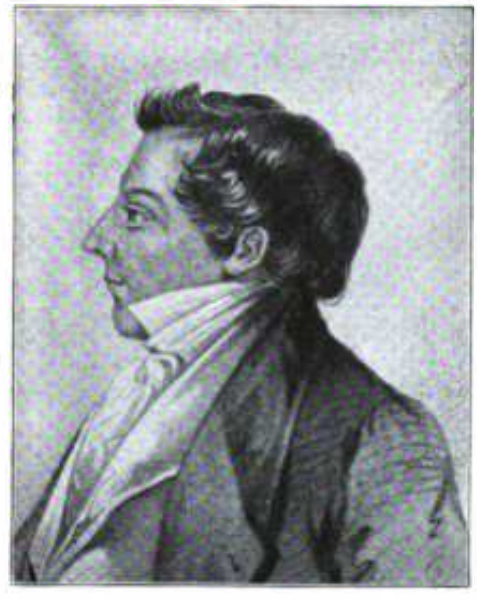
THE MORMON CHURCH.

BY

ELDER FRANKLIN D. RICHARDS, Salt Lake City, Utah.

3. THE MORMON CHURCH.

THE Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, commonly called the "Mormon" Church, was organized April 6th, 1830, at Fayette, Seneca County, New York, Joseph Smith, Junior, being accepted as the First Elder and Oliver Cowdery as the Second Elder of the Church. The members composing the body of the Church were believers in God the Father, in Jesus Christ His Son and in the Holy Ghost. They had repented of their sins and had been baptised by immersion in water for the remission of sins and were confirmed members of the Church by the laying on of the hands of the Elders, who sealed upon them the gift of the Holy Ghost, with the privilege of receiving and enjoying all the gifts and powers which came from the possession of that spirit in olden times. This was done by revelation and commandment of the Most High God, who, with Jesus Christ His Son, had appeared to Joseph Smith in heavenly vision. An Angel of God had also appeared to the youthful Prophet and disclosed to him the spot where records of the original inhabitants of the American Continent were hidden, which, after repeated visits and instructions from the Angel, were delivered into his hands. They consisted of a number of metallic plates having the appearance of gold, on which were inscribed on both sides hieroglyphics narrating the history, travels, rise and fall of a colony brought upon this continent at the scattering of people from the tower of Babel, and of a latter migration, of Israelites from Jerusalem, when Zedekiah was king of Judea. The religion of those people was described and particulars were given of the establishment of the Church of Christ among them, by his appearance in person after his resurrection and ascension. With the plates was the Urim and Thummim, by means of which and the gift and power of God, Joseph Smith translated a portion of the record which had been abridged and compiled by a Prophet among those ancient people named Mormon. The book thus translated is therefore called the Book of Mormon, and it has been published in several languages.



Joseph Smith, 1805-1844.

Previous to the organization of the Church, Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery had been visited by John the Baptist, who conferred upon them the Aaronic Priesthood, with the authority to baptize for the remission of sins; and also at a later date by Peter, James and John, who ordained them Apostles of Jesus Christ, with authority to confer the Holy Ghost upon baptized, repentant believers, by the laying on of hands; also to organize and establish the Church of Christ in all its fullness preparatory to the second advent of the Savior. Guided by the spirit of revelation, the Prophet, Seer and Revelator Joseph Smith proceeded to fulfill his mission. The Gospel was preached, the Holy Ghost was poured out upon converts and was manifested in healings, miracles, tongues, interpretations, prophecy, visions, and all the

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gifts enjoyed in the primitive Christian Church. Men were called by revelation to fill the various offices of the Church, including Apostles, Seventies, Elders, Priests, Teachers and Deacons, Bishops, Evangelists, etc., and missionaries were sent out into the world to preach the Gospel without "purse or scrip." People who received their testimony that the Gospel and Church of Christ had been restored to earth, obtained a witness from God, personally, of the truth of these things, and, as the elect of God, gathered from all parts of the earth to the bosom of the Church in America.

Persecution raged against the Church from the beginning. All kinds of misrepresentation were resorted to by its enemies. The Saints were driven from their possessions in Missouri and afterwards in Illinois; many of them were slaughtered by mobs, their property was confiscated, and in 1844, on June 27th, the Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum were shot to death by mobocrats with blackened faces, at Carthage, Illinois. Subsequently the body of the Saints were driven from the City of Nauvoo, which they had built on the banks of the Mississippi, and under the leadership of Brigham Young, who was the President of the Twelve Apostles, the persecuted Saints made their way to winter quarters, on the banks of the Missouri River, near where Council Bluffs now stands. It was there that the Mormon Battalion of five hundred able bodied men were enlisted, at the call of the President of the United States, to aid their country in the war with Mexico. They were the strength of the body of the Church, but were parted with in the true spirit of patriotism. They made an unparalleled march across the deserts to their destination, leaving their families to struggle for existence in that then unsettled region. In 1847 the famous journey from the Missouri River across the plains and mountains was accomplished by Brigham Young and the Pioneers, numbering one hundred and forty-three men, three women and two children. They reached the spot where Salt Lake City now stands, July 24th of that year. The great Temple, costing more than three million dollars, rears its towers on the spot where Brigham Young declared at that time, "Here we will build the Temple of our God."



Brigham Young, 1801-1877.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints has now its branches in all the civilized nations and upon many islands of the sea. It has sixteen hundred Elders in the mission field, laboring without pay. Its membership numbers about three hundred thousand. It has four magnificent Temples, in which are administered ordinances for the living and the dead. It is presided over by Lorenzo Snow, George Q. Cannon and Joseph F. Smith, Apostles of Jesus Christ holding the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, with the binding and loosing power which Christ conferred upon Peter, James and John, and which they restored to earth. It has Twelve Apostles to open the door of the Kingdom in all nations and set in order the affairs of the Church. It has all the orders of the Christian ministry and Priesthood which were in the Church during the first century of the Christian era. It administers the same ordinances and enjoys the same unity, power, spiritual gifts and divine communications as were then bestowed.

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4. THE MORMON CHURCH (Continued).

Mormonism affirms the personality of God and the universal diffusion of His Spirit as the life and light of all things. It teaches that the spirit of man is the offspring of God and existed as a living entity before the incorporation in a mortal body; that it will not only continue after death, but will be clothed upon with a resurrected body in such degree of glory and progress as it shall be fitted for by the deeds done in the flesh; that all mankind will be raised from the dead, and be judged according to their works; that in order to gain the celestial or highest degree of glory, men and women must be born of water, by baptism, and of the Spirit, by the gift of the Holy Ghost, obtained through the laying on of hands, and must then "live by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God"; that punishment will be awarded to the wicked according to their demerits; that while God's punishment is eternal, because he is the eternal lawgiver, sinners receive of that punishment in degree and for the necessary time to bring them to repentance and reformation; that the Gospel preached to men in the flesh is and will be preached to those in the spirit who have departed from the body without the opportunity of receiving the pure truth as revealed from heaven; that the living Saints may officiate in sacred places in behalf of their dead ancestors and relatives in the ordinances necessary for salvation; that the coming of the Savior to reign as King of Kings is near at hand, and that this Gospel of the Kingdom is to be preached to all nations as a witness of His advent; that the kingdoms of this world will become the Kingdom of God and his Christ; that Satan will be bound, the earth be cleansed from corruption and the glory of God will cover it as the waters cover the deep; and that eventually all mankind, with the exception of the sons of perdition who sin against the Holy Ghost after having received it, will be saved in some degree of happiness, usefulness and glory.

Marriage among the Latter-day Saints is a sacrament. It is solemnized for time and for all eternity. It is sealed on earth by one having divine authority, and is therefore sealed in heaven. Death may part the pair for a time, but the bond being eternal, cannot be sundered by death or by any power that is not divine. This union of the sexes is essential to perfect exaltation in the celestial world. The marriage does not take place in or after the resurrection, but in this life, where the parties are tested in their probation. Those persons who arrive at no higher condition than that of angels, are ministering spirits unto the sons and daughters of God, who obtain "a far more and eternal and exceeding weight of glory." The redeemed and sanctified and crowned heirs of God and joint heirs with Jesus Christ dwell in the presence of the Father and the Son, and, at the head of their own posterity "inherit all things" and reign as kings and priests unto God in everlasting glory, majesty and dominion.

ARTICLES OF FAITH.

The Prophet Joseph Smith, when asked for an epitome of the faith of the Latter-day Saints, gave it in the following form:

1. We believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in His Son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

2. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins and not for Adam's transgressions.

3. We believe that, through the atonement of Christ, all mankind may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.

4. We believe that these ordinances are: First, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, repentance; third, baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

5. We believe that a man must be called of God, by "prophecy and by the

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laying on of hands," by those who are in authority, to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

6. We believe in the same organization that existed in the primitive church,viz., apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc.

7. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healings, interpretation of tongues, etc.

8. We believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.

9. We believe all that God has revealed, all that he does now reveal, and we believe that he will yet reveal many great and important things pertaining to the kingdom of heaven.

10. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes. That Zion will be built upon this continent. That Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisic glory.

11. We claim the privilege of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where or what they may.

12. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers and magistrates, in obeying, honoring and sustaining the law.

13. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul, "We believe all things, we hope all things"; we have endured many things, and we hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely or of good report or praisworthy, we seek after these things.—*Joseph Smith.*

As to the personality of God the Father, the Latter-day Saints refer to the following: *Gen. I. 26, 27; 1st. Cor. XI. 7; Exodus XXIV. 9, 10; Heb. I. 3; Col. I. 15.*

The omnipresence of God by His Spirit universally diffused, is thus declared:

"This is the light of Christ, as also he is in the sun and the light of the sun and the power by which it was made; also he is in the moon, and is the light of the moon and the power thereof by which it was made; as also the light of the stars and the power thereof by which they were made; and the earth also and the power thereof, even the earth upon which ye stand; and the light which now shineth, which giveth you light, is through him which enlighteneth your eyes, which is the same light that quickeneth your understandings, which light proceedeth forth from the presence of God, to fill the immensity of space. The light which is in all things, which giveth life to all things, which is the law by which all things are governed, even the power of God who sitteth upon his throne, who is in the bosom of eternity, who is in the midst of all things."—*Revelation to Joseph Smith, December 27, 1832. Gen. I. 2; Job XXVI. 13; Psalm CIV. 30; Ezek. XXXVII. 14; Job XXXII. 8; Joel II. 28; John VI. 63; I. Cor. II. 10.*

That the spirits of men are the offspring of God, is shown in the following:

"And now verily I say unto you, I was in the beginning with the Father and am the first-born; and all those who are begotten through me are partakers of the glory of the same and are the Church of the First Born. Ye were also in the beginning with the Father."—*Revelation to Joseph Smith, May 6, 1833. Heb. XII. 9; John XX. 17; Heb. I. 6; Heb. II. 14-17; I. John III. 2; Job XXXVII. 4-7; Eccles. XII. 7.*

The resurrection of the body, extending to the resuscitation of all who have lived and died on earth, to be judged in the resurrected body for the deeds done in the natural body, is a scriptural doctrine, as may be seen from these texts:

"There is a space between death and the resurrection of the body and a state of the soul in happiness or in misery, until the time which is appointed of God that the dead shall come forth, and be reunited both soul and body and be brought to

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stand before God and be judged according to their works. The soul shall be restored to the body and the body to the soul; yea, and every limb and joint shall be restored to its body; yea, even a hair of the head shall not be lost, but all things shall be restored to their proper and perfect frame."—"*Book of Mormon*," *page 354.*

"Now this restoration shall come to all, both old and young, both bond and free, both male and female, both the wicked and the righteous."—*Ibid., page 267.*

John V. 28, 29; Rev. XX. 12; I. Cor. XV. 41.

That baptism of water and of the Holy Ghost is essential, the following shows:

"Go ye into all the world, preach the Gospel to every creature, acting in the authority which I have given you, baptizing in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned. . . . As I said to mine Apostles, I say unto you again, that every soul that believeth on your words and is baptized by water for the remission of sins, shall receive the Holy Ghost, and signs shall follow them that believe. . . . Verily, verily I say unto you, they that believe not on your words and are not baptized in water in my name for the remission of their sins, that they may receive the Holy Ghost, shall be damned and shall not come into my Father's Kingdom."—*Revelation to Joseph Smith, Nov., 1831. John III. 5; Mark XVI. 15, 16; Acts II. 37, 38; Acts VIII. 12-18.*



Mormon Temple, Salt Lake City.

That this Gospel will be preached to all people, both living and dead, see the following: *I. Peter III. 18-20; Ibid. IV. 6.*

The living Saints may perform ordinances for the repentant dead: *I. Cor. XV. 29; Obadiah I. 21; Heb. XI. 40.*

That the true gospel is to be preached to prepare the way for Christ's coming and the end of the world, see the following: *Matt. XXIV. 14; Rev. XIV. 6, 7.*

That Satan will be bound, the earth be cleansed from corruption, the kingdoms of this world become the kingdom of our God, and that the reign of Christ and his triumph over error and Satan shall be complete and universal, are supported by the following texts: *Rev. XX. 1-3, 13, 14; Rev. XXI. 3, 4; II. Peter III. 10-13; Isaiah XXIV. 1-6, 21-23; Philippians II. 10, 11; Daniel II. 44; Daniel VII. 13, 14; Isaiah LXV. 25; LXVI. 22; I. Cor. XV. 24-28, 41-54.*

As to eternal marriage and the glory and dominion of the redeemed, it will be seen that when the first marriage was performed in Eden, the pair were immortal. Death came by sin, but life was restored through the atonement. Adam and Eve are therefore man and wife for eternity. *Gen. II. 22, 23; Gen. I. 27, 28; I. Cor. XV. 21, 22.*

"Nevertheless, neither is the man without the woman, neither the woman without the man in the Lord." *I. Cor. XI. 11.* See also, *Rev. XX. 4-6; Rev. V. 9, 10; XXI. 3-7.*

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THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH.

BY

REV. L. P. MERCER, Chicago, Ill.

5. THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH.

THE New Jerusalem Church originated in the doctrines of the opened Word revealed to mankind in the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg. Emanuel Swedenborg was the son of a Swedish Lutheran Bishop, a scholar, a practical engineer, intrusted with a high official position, a member of the Swedish diet, a man of science, a philosopher, a theologian, and a seer, who lived between 1688 and 1772. This life of over fourscore years of untiring energy divides itself upon superficial observation into two periods. The first fifty years of it were devoted to the pursuit of natural learning and independent investigation in science and philosophy; the remaining years to an equally diligent discharge of the "holy office" to which he was called by the Lord Himself. With a thorough academic training, he began with the cultivation of the mathematical and physical sciences, and showed such ability in theoretical science, that he was entrusted with a position in the college of mines that gave him practical control of the development of the mineral wealth of Sweden. While in the faithful discharge of his official affairs he was elaborating in private and publishing from time to time the most sublime and extensive philosophical attempts upon which any single mind ever ventured. Of his philosophical writings, beginning with the *Principia*, devoted to a complete natural philosophy of the elemental world, and continuing with his works on the *Animal Kingdom* or the kingdom of the *Anima*, including a rational physiology as the basis of a rational psychology, it is not enough to say that he anticipated by the application of his analytic and synthetic processes, many of the results of subsequent experimental discovery in every realm of science; it must rather be said that he announced philosophical doctrines, which are far more masterful in explaining the larger field of facts awaiting explanation to-day, than they were appreciable to his own generation.

He was during this entire period the precise type of man which this generation delights to honor; strong, keen, self-reliant, practical. Endowed with a hardy constitution, he had a calm, placid disposition; led an active, laborious, cheerful life, traveling continually and keeping himself posted in the developments of science and contributing to its theoretical and practical achievements; composing his works and conducting his literary business unaided; enjoying the confidence of his king and fellow statesmen; discussing politics in the senate and memorializing the government on finance and other weighty matters; while he was elaborating and publishing a system of universal philosophy, more complete and probably more enduring and controlling than any which bears the name of a human author, and to which the logic of events is compelling the attention of the learned after a century and a half of marvelous experimental research. Such was Swedenborg the assessor. A more penetrating and practical, and at the same time laborious and comprehensive man of thought never lived.

At the age fifty-six, in the full maturity of his powers, he was called, as he declares, "to a holy office by the Lord who most graciously manifested Himself to me in person and opened my sight to a view of the spiritual world, and granted me the privilege of conversing with spirits and angels." "From that day forth," he says, "I gave up all worldly learning and labored only in spiritual things according

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to what the Lord commanded me to write." Rightly considered his whole previous career appears to have been a preparation for this work. When he had run the whole circuit of the sciences, he was introduced to a new world of facts and laws by the opening of his spiritual senses, and thus to a spiritual science and philosophy which could never have been discovered without these facts, and can never be understood apart from them.

The fundamental doctrine of his theological writings is the doctrine of the second coming of the Lord. He teaches that the end of God in the creation of the human race is a heaven of angels; and He provides for this by means of the church. It requires three things to constitute a living church; revelation of Divine truth adapted to man's reception, understanding on man's part of the truth revealed, and a life in accordance with it. The Lord provides that there shall always be a church with man. He institutes the church by revealing such divine truths as men need to know and can obey in life. When in process of time they pervert this truth and lose the understanding of the revelation committed to them, the Lord makes a new revelation and begins a new church. There have been four such general churches, and a fifth is foretold which is to be the crown of all the churches and is to endure forever. The first great church which was before the flood is called the most ancient, and in the scriptures Adam, and its consummation is described by the flood. The second which is called the ancient, and in the scriptures Noah, was in Asia and partly in Africa, and was consummated by idolatries. The third was the Israelitish, which is historical. The fourth is the Christian which the Lord established by the Evangelists and Apostles. This church had two epochs; one from the time of the Lord to the Council of Nice, and the other from that Council to the year 1757, when the last judgment was effected in the spiritual world, by means of the new revelation of the interiors of the Word, by which at the same time the Lord made His second advent and institutes a new dispensation or church, which is meant by the New Jerusalem, the glorious hope of the apostles and the expectation of Christians from the beginning—the "day of the Lord" which shall have no end.



EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.
From the portrait which hung in his bed-chamber, now the property of the Academy of the New Church.

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6. THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH (Continued).

The second coming of the Lord, therefore, is not in person as at His first advent; for then He assumed a human nature and glorified it for reasons of redemption and salvation, that he might become in His Humanity the visible God, and acquire to His Humanity "all power in heaven and in earth." What he came to do He perfectly accomplished and needed not to do again; but what was needed was such a revelation of the whole meaning of His Word, as would bring His Divine mind spiritually present in power and glory. The Lord, who is the Word, made His second advent by revealing the spiritual sense and genuine meaning of His written Word, in which the Divine truth is in its light and in which He is continually present. This is His coming "in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory"; for the literal sense of the Word is as a cloud, and the spiritual sense as the glory by which the Lord as the Son of Man is revealed in all things of the Word. The Lord has made this revelation by means of a man whom He had prepared for this purpose from his childhood, and whom He filled with His spirit to teach the doctrines of the New Church from the Word. This is Swedenborg's claim, and the writings which contain the doctrines of the Word revealed for the New Church, he published between the years 1749 and 1771. These doctrines may be summarized as follows:



EMANUEL SWEDENBORG.
From an oil painting in 1761. Now preserved in the Royal Academy of Sciences, Sweden.

1. That Jehovah God, the creator and preserver of the universe, is Love itself and Wisdom itself; that He is one both in essence and in person, in whom nevertheless is the Divine Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Spirit, which are the essential divinity, the divine humanity, and the divine proceeding, answering to the soul, the body, and the operative energy in man: and that the Lord and Savior Jesus Christ is that God. The Father is in Him, and the Holy Spirit is from Him.

2. That the Lord from eternity, who is Jehovah, came into the world and took our nature upon Him; He endured temptations, even to the passion of the cross; He overcame the hells and so delivered man; He glorified His humanity, uniting it with the divinity of which it was begotten; so He became the redeemer of the world, without whom no mortal can be saved; and they are saved who believe in Him and keep the Commandments of His Word.

3. That the Sacred Scripture, or Word of the Lord, is divine truth itself; containing a spiritual sense, hitherto unknown, whence it is divinely inspired, and holy in every syllable; as well as a literal sense which is the basis of the spiritual sense and in which divine truth is in its fullness, holiness and power. The spiritual and natural senses of the Word are united by correspondence like soul and body, every

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natural expression and image including a spiritual and divine idea; and thus the Word is the medium of communication with heaven, and of conjunction with the Lord.

4. That the Lord saves man by the operation of His spirit; but not without man's consent and coöperation. The Lord operates and gives to man to coöperate, that there may be conjunction of the Lord with man and of man with the Lord, and thus salvation. There are two means to this conjunction: the good of love which flows in by an internal way, and the truth of faith which is presented outwardly by means of revelation and instruction. So far as man can be led to accept and live according to the truths of faith as from the Lord, He by an inward and unperceived operation of His spirit conjoins the good of love with those truths, and thus reforms, regenerates and saves.

5. That charity, faith, and good works are unitedly necessary to man's salvation, since charity without faith is not spiritual but natural, and faith without charity is not living but dead, and both charity and faith without good works are perishable, because without use or fixedness.

6. That immediately after death, which is only a putting off of the material body, never to be resumed, man rises again in a substantial spiritual body in the spiritual world, in which he continues to live to eternity; in heaven if his ruling affections and thence his life have have been good, and in hell if his ruling affections and life have been evil.

These doctrines, and the whole government of divine love and wisdom in creation and providence, are opened philosophically to the rational faculty from the interiors of the Word and from the facts and laws of the spiritual world, to the end, as Swedenborg affirms, that the man of the church may enter intellectually into the mysteries of faith and by living according to the light of intelligence be conjoined with heaven and the Lord.

Although Swendenborg affirmed a New Church it was no part of his mission to institute an external ecclesiastical body. Those of his own time who understood or cared to read what he had written, were very few. In 1783 a society was formed in London, England, for the study of his works. His books, which were written in Latin, were translated and the number of believers increased more rapidly, but at first entertained no thought of separate organization. In process of time, however, theological controversies with their old ecclesiastical associates, and the longing for association with those agreed in faith and life, led to the organization of a church. The first society of this kind was formed in London in 1787 and was quickly followed by others in various parts of the kingdom. The name selected was "The Church upon Earth Signified in the Revelation by the New Jerusalem descending from God out of heaven." This cumbrous title has been shortened to "The Church of the New Jerusalem," or "The New Jerusalem Church."

The doctrines were first introduced into America in 1784, and the societies organized from time to time are now grouped into State Associations and these into a General Convention. The government is practically congregational, with a sort of episcopal advisory supervision. The worship in this country and England, and where the church has a foothold in the continent of Europe, is liturgical.

The church is of the least as to actual membership; but is acknowledged as a formative power by virtue of the rationality and virility of the faith of its members, and by the astonishing activity of its publishing societies in printing and distributing the literature of its doctrinal teaching.

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FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S.**—Name, Origin, Characteristics, Proselytism, Emigration, Misfortunes, Becomes a denomination, The village.
2. **THE MORAVIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. (Continued).**—Real estate, Board of overseers, Houses, Non-monastic, Abolition, Union with Great Britain and Europe, Missions, Church union.
3. **THE MORMON CHURCH.**—Organization, Vision to J. Smith, Ancient records, Mormon, Aaronic priesthood, Christian apostleship, Gifts as enjoyed in the Primitive Church, Persecution, Martyrdom of Joseph Smith, Emigration, Brigham Young, Salt Lake City, Branches of the church, Missionaries, Membership, Present practices.
4. **THE MORMON CHURCH (Continued).**—Elements of the Mormon creed, Marriage, Priority in the future world.
5. **THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH.**—Origin, Emanuel Swedenborg, Two periods, Writings, Character, Achievements, Spiritual calling, Second coming of the Lord, The five churches, The last judgment and second advent.
6. **THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH (Continued).**—Second advent, Clouds of heaven, Swedenborg, God, Incarnation, Scripture, Salvation, Works, Resurrection, Church organization, Characteristics.



Michael Schlatter, 1716-1790. *Cf. p. 717.*

QUESTIONS.

1. *What relative value is placed on life and dogma? How is proselytism regarded? Could this be maintained in America? What was the purpose of Moravian villages?*

2. *State the traits of a Moravian village. Is this system maintained in America? With what result? With whom is organic union maintained? Why hinders union with other churches?*

3. *When and where was the Mormon church founded? What vision appeared to Joseph Smith? What was the origin of the Book of Mormon? What remarkable phenomena attended the mission of Joseph Smith? How did he close his life? How many elders has the Mormon church in the mission field? What is its present membership? What forms the type of its church polity?*

4. *What does Mormonism teach about offices for the dead? What about marriage? What is essential to exaltation in the celestial world? Show from Scripture that marriage is eternal.*

5. *How did the New Jerusalem church originate? State the various accomplishments of Swedenborg. Describe his "Principia" and "Animal Kingdom." What type of man was he? Describe some of his achievements. What happened to him when fifty-six years old? To what did he subsequently devote himself? What was his chief doctrine? What purpose does a church serve? What happens when one grows corrupt? How many have there already been? Name the two epochs of the Christian Church. What was really effected at the foundation of the fifth church in 1757?*

6. *Why did the Lord not need to come again in person? In what sense did he come again? What human medium did he choose to this end? State some characteristic doctrines, especially that of the Sacred Scripture. When and why was the New Jerusalem Church founded? Wherein is it distinguished?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Advantages of the Moravian village system.*
2. *Grounds for the abolition of the village system.*
3. *The rise and abolition of polygamy in the Mormon Church.*
4. *Compare the character and experiences of Joseph Smith with those of Mohammed.*
5. *The influence of visions upon the founders of religions.*
6. *The precise content and actual value of this "spiritual sense" declared by Swedenborg.*

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THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A.

BY

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7. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A.

IN dealing with the history of the Presbyterian Churches in America, it will be helpful to note first, the constituent principles of the Presbyterian system of theology, worship and government, the relation of these principles to the formation of the American Republic, and the several Churches which are the exponents of the system.

1. **The Presbyterian System.**—The doctrine of the divine sovereignty is the controlling idea of the Presbyterian System. By this is meant the absolute control of the universe, with all that it has contained, does and will contain, whether visible things or invisible things by the one supreme, omniscient, omnipresent and omnipotent Spirit, for wise, just, holy and loving ends. This sovereignty, however, does not make God "the author of sin, neither is violence offered to the will of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established."—*Westminster Confession, Chapter III., Section 1.*



James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., 1811-1894, President of Princeton University, and author of many philosophical works. *Cf. p. 700.*

The divine sovereignty finds expression in the Presbyterian System in the statement of certain great principles, four of the most important of which are as follows: [*a*] The sovereignty of the Word of God over creed and life. Neither the human reason nor the Church have been vested with power to dictate to men either what they are to believe or how they are to act; this high prerogative belongs alone to God, and his will in all essential matters of belief and practice is contained in the Holy Scriptures, and in them alone. [*b*] The sovereignty of God in salvation; salvation is not of works but of grace; it is not through character but by faith. Faith is the root of character, and works are the outcome of grace. "The principal acts of saving faith are accepting, receiving, and resting upon Christ alone for justification, sanctification, and eternal life, by virtue of the covenant of grace."—*Westminster Confession, Chapter XIV., Section 2.* [*c*] The sovereignty under God of the individual conscience in matters of religion, as expressed in the historic declaration, "God alone is Lord of the conscience, and hath left it free from the doctrines and commandments of men which are in anything contrary to his Word, or beside it, in matters of faith or worship.—*Westminster Confession, Chapter XX., Section 2.* [*d*] The sovereignty of Christ in His Church, "There is no other head of the Church, but the Lord Jesus Christ."—*Westminster Confession, Chapter XXV., Section 6.* This sovereignty of Christ involves the right of all believers to recognition as members of his body, and as entitled to an active

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share in all Church privileges. As a result of the principles just stated, the Presbyterian Church has formulated what it believes to be a system of theology, church government, ethics and worship, in full harmony with the will of God as revealed in Holy Scripture.

a. Presbyterian Principles and the American Republic.—The predominant influence in the history of mankind has always been that resident in ideas. It is this fact which gives to truth its supreme worth. The ideas above referred to, and which are of the essence of the Presbyterian System, were the controlling ideas of the Protestant Reformation, and found expression in the documents known as the Westminster Standards. These Standards were framed by the world-famous Westminster Assembly of Divines, at London, Great Britain, in 1647. Doctrinally, the system of thought found in them bears the name of Calvinism, from its chief theologian, John Calvin, of Geneva. Politically, the system is the chief source of modern republican government. Bancroft speaks of "the political character of Calvinism, which, with one consent, and with instinctive judgment, the monarchs of the day feared as republicanism." The English Calvinists, commonly known as Puritans, early found a home on American shores, and immigrants of the Protestant faith of other nationalities, were their natural allies. The majority of the early Colonists were Calvinists. They brought with them to the new land those doctrinal ideas which exalt in the human mind the sovereignty of God, which bring all lives and institutions to the test of the Holy Scriptures, which teach that the divine being is no respecter of persons, and which lead logically to the conclusion that "all men are born free and equal." Further, the early British settlers, whether Presbyterians or Puritans, were all believers in the Westminster Confession, for that creed was adopted by the Congregationalists in 1648, and by the Baptists, except as to Baptist peculiarities, in 1677. The German and Dutch Calvinists in the Colonies were also in full sympathy with its doctrines. These facts made the principles of the Confession dominant in the formation of the American Republic. Those who maintained them, for one thing, demanded and provided for popular education. The first two European countries to establish free schools were Calvinistic Scotland and Holland, and the first organizers of the public school system in the United States were Calvinists, as they were also the founders of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton Universities. Further, Baptists and Presbyterians, laboring together, aided greatly in securing the absolute separation of Church and State, and that untrammeled religious liberty which is the peculiar glory of American institutions.

Again, Presbyterians fostered and maintained popular representative government. It was the privilege of the American Presbyterian Church, through its General Synod, to be the first body, either ecclesiastical or political, to organize on the American continent a federal Republic. Several of the early American colonies were substantially democracies, but they were independent each of the other. Until the meeting of the Continental Congress in 1774, the only body which exercised control in the majority of the Colonies, and which was a definite American bond of union, was the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. This Church is the oldest of American Republics, and the federal principles which characterize its government are practically the same as those which control the government of the United States. In brief, it can be said with Bancroft, the historian, that "The Revolution of 1776, so far as it was affected by religion, was a Presbyterian measure. It was the natural outgrowth of the principles which the Presbyterianism of the Old World planted in her sons, the English Puritans, the Scotch Covenanters, the French Huguenots, the Dutch Calvinists, and the Presbyterians of Ulster." This statement finds support in the claim that of the three millions of American Colonists in 1776, nine hundred thousand were of Scotch or Scotch-Irish descent; four hundred thousand were German or Dutch Calvinists, and six hundred thousand were English Puritans.

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8. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A. (Continued).

3. The Several Presbyterian Churches in the U. S. A.—American Presbyterianism as a whole, is as diverse in its origin, as are the peoples who have blended to form the American nation. There are eleven important denominational Churches in the United States, whether designated as Presbyterian or Reformed, which stand for Presbyterian principles. Of these three are traceable to the influence of immigration from the Continent of Europe; the Reformed Dutch Church, and the Christian Reformed Church, both of which originated in Holland; and the German Reformed Church whose beginnings were in Switzerland and Germany. Four Churches are directly connected with the Secession and Relief movements in the Church of Scotland during the eighteenth century, viz., the United Presbyterian Church, the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, the General Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, and the Associate Reformed Synod of the South. Whatever of English Presbyterianism there was in the Colonies, and in addition the few French Protestant or Huguenot churches, combined at an early day with Scotch and Scotch-Irish elements to form the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., the largest of the Churches. The Cumberland Presbyterian Church and the Presbyterian Church in the United States (South) are branches of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., the first separating in 1810, and the second in 1861. The youngest of the Presbyterian Churches, the Welsh, originated in the Principality of Wales, where the denomination is known as the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church. However these Churches may differ in matters of practice and worship, they are substantially one in government, and with the exception of the Cumberland Presbyterian, maintain unmodified the principles of the Presbyterian System, as contained either in the Canons of the Synod of Dort, the Westminster Confession, or the Heidelberg Catechism.



The Log College. The first Presbyterian institution for the education of ministers.

The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.—The largest of the American Presbyterian Churches is the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, and its history concisely stated, is given under the following heads:

The Period of Isolated Churches.—The earliest American Presbyterian churches were established in New England, Maryland, Delaware and Virginia. John Robinson, the pastor of the Plymouth Pilgrims while in Holland, has left on record the following declaration of Church principles—"Touching the ecclesiastical ministry, viz., of pastors for teaching, elders for ruling, deacons for distributing the church's contributions, we do wholly and in all points agree with the French Reformed Churches." The Virginia Puritans were driven out by persecution between 1642 and 1649. The English Presbyterian element in Maryland and the Colonies to the northward was strengthed by the advent, from 1660 to 1690, of a large element of Scotch Covenanters. The earliest Presbyterians in New York were the Dutch Calvinists, who founded a Church in 1628; English-speaking Presbyterians being first found there in 1643, with the Rev. Francis Doughty as their minister. In 1680, the Presbytery of Laggan, Ireland, in response to a letter from Wm. Stevens, a member of the Council of the Colony of Maryland, sent to the United States the Rev. Francis Makemie as a missionary. His arrival in 1683 was an epoch in the ecclesiastical history of the Colonies. Mr. Makemie became the apostle of American Presbyterianism, giving himself unreservedly to the work of ecclesiastical organization, enduring persecution and daring imprisonment in behalf of the cause which he most worthily represented, and at last succeeding in bringing into organic unity the scattered churches in the Colonies.

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The Colonial Presbyterian Church.—The first Presbytery of the Church was organized in the year 1705 or 1706. The exact date cannot be determined, owing to the loss of the first pages of the records. The ministers of the judicatory were six in number representing about twenty-two congregations, not including the Presbyterians of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The place of meeting was Freehold, N. J. The growth of the country, and especially the increasing number of immigrants from Ireland and Scotland, so added to the numbers of the churches, that in September, 1716, the Presbytery constituted itself into a Synod, with four Presbyteries. In 1729,this General Synod passed what is called the Adopting Act, by which it was agreed that all the ministers under its jurisdiction should declare "their agreement in and approbation of the Confession of Faith, with the Larger and Shorter Catechisms of the Assembly of Divines at Westminster," and also "adopt the said Confession as the Confession of their faith." In the same year the "Synod denied to the civil magistrate power over the Church," and also the "power to persecute any for their religion." It was the Presbyterian and not the Congregationalist who gave definite ecclesiastical form to the distinctively American and true doctrine of the independence of the Church from control by the State. In 1745 questions of policy as to revivals and education, produced a division in the Church. The "Log College," founded by the Rev. William Tennent, Sr., for the training of ministers, was one of the causes of the contention, and his son, the Rev. Gilbert Tennent, with the celebrated evangelist, the Rev. George Whitefield, were prominent in the controversy. The parties were known as "Old Side" and "New Side," which terms are not in any manner equivalent to the terms "Old School" and "New School" in use a century later. In 1758 the divided bodies reunited upon the basis of the Westminster Standards pure and simple, and at the date of reunion, the Church consisted of ninety-eight ministers, about two hundred congregations and some ten thousand communicants. It was during the period of this division that the "New Side" established the institution now known as Princeton University, for the purpose of securing an educated ministry. In 1768, John Witherspoon was called from Scotland and installed as President of Princeton, and also as Professor of Divinity. This remarkable man exercised an increasing and powerful influence not only in the Presbyterian Church, but through the Middle and Southern colonies. Though Scotch of birth, he was American at heart, and never hesitated to do what he regarded as his duty in political as well as religious affairs. He was one of the leaders in the joint movement of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, effected in 1766, to resist the establishment of the English Episcopal Church as the State Church of the Colonies. He was also a member of the Continental Congress, and the only clerical signer of the Declaration of Independence. Religious forces were among



John Witherspoon, D.D., LL.D., 1722-1794, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and President of Princeton College.

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the chief influences operating to secure separation from Great Britain, and the opening of the Revolutionary struggle found the Presbyterian Churches to a man on the side of the colonies. The General Synod called upon the churches to "uphold firmly the resolutions" of Congress, and let it be seen that they were "able to bring out the whole strength of this vast country to carry them into execution." At the close of the war, the Synod congratulated the churches on "the general and almost universal attachment of the Presbyterian body to the cause of liberty and the rights of mankind." No body of Christians has a more honorable record in the development of American Institutions, or is more in sympathy with them, than the Presbyterian.

The Constitution of 1788.—With the restoration of peace in 1783, the Presbyterian Church, gradually recovered from the evils wrought by war. The need of further organization was deeply felt. The Church had always been independent, having no organic connection with European and British Churches of like faith. The independence of the United States, however, had created new conditions for the Christian Churches as well as for the American people. Presbyterians were no longer merely tolerated, they were entitled equally with Episcopalians to full civil and religious rights. In view, therefore, of the new conditions, the Synod in May 1788, adopted a Constitution for the Church containing the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, the Form of Government, the Book of Discipline, and the Directory for Worship. Certain changes were made in the Confession, the Catechisms, and the Directory, concerning which it is sufficient to say that they were in the direction of liberty,—of liberty in worship, of freedom in prayer, and above all of the liberty of the Church from any control by the State. The Form of Government was altogether a new instrument, and established the General Assembly as the governing body in the Church.

The Presbyterian form of government is in all essential things similar to that of the government of the U. S. A. Where, in civil government, Americans have the Township Committee, the County Board, the State Legislature, and the Congress of the United States, the Presbyterian Church has the session of the particular church, the Presbytery, the Synod and the General Assembly. These judicatories further, are representative in the fullest sense, their members being chosen to office by the people. Concerning the Presbyterian Government, one of the Roman Catholic Archbishops of New York, the Rev. John Hughes, wrote: "that for the purposes of popular and political government its organization is little inferior to that of Congress itself. It acts on the principle of a radiating centre, and is without equal or rival among the other denominations of the country." Further, this form of government, as a system of rules, has the privilege of possessing in the Westminster Confession, a statement of the principles for which the Church stands, in which it has the advantage of the Nation, the latter possessing no such document. The National Constitution is simply a body of regulations, the Presbyterian Constitution contains both principles and regulations.

The Period of the Plan of Union.—The first important movement in the Church, after the adoption of the Constitution, was the formation of the Plan of Union with the Congregational Associations of New England, which began with correspondence in 1792, and reached its consummation in the agreements made from 1801 to 1810 between the General Assembly and the Associations of Connecticut and other States. This plan allowed Congregational ministers to serve Presbyterian Churches, and *vice versa*; and also permitted mixed churches and members of both denominations, with the right of representation in Presbytery. It remained in force until 1837, and was useful to both Churches, in relation to the results flowing from the great revivals of religion throughout the country from 1799 to 1802; and also in connection with the cause of both Home and Foreign Missions.

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9. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A. (Continued).

The Period of the Plan of Union (Continued).—What is known as the Cumberland separation took place during this period. The Presbytery of Cumberland ordained to the ministry persons who, in the judgment of the Synod of Kentucky, were not qualified for the office either by learning or by sound doctrine. The controversies between the two judicatories resulted in the dissolution of the Presbytery by the Synod in 1806, and finally in 1810, in the initial steps in the establishment of what is now known as the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. The growth of the Church during the period (1790 to 1837) was very decided, the membership increasing from eighteen thousand to two hundred and twenty thousand five hundred and fifty seven. Further, in it, the first Theological Seminary of the Church was founded at Princeton, N. J., (1812), with Archibald Alexander as first professor; the Boards of Home Missions (1816) and of Education (1819) were established, and at its close the Board of Foreign Missions came into existence.



Archibald Alexander, D.D., LL.D., 1772-1851, first Professor of Princeton Theological Seminary.

The Period of Division.—About the year 1825, the peace of the Church began seriously to be disturbed by controversy respecting the Plan of Union, and the establishment of denominational agencies for missionary and evangelistic work. The Pittsburgh Synod, as early as 1831, founded the Western Foreign Missionary Society. The Foreign Mission work of the Church had previously been accomplished mainly through the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, located at Boston, Mass, and much of the Home Mission work was done through the American Home Missionary and the American Education Societies. The party standing for denominational agencies and opposed to the Plan of Union, was known as the "Old School" and that favoring the continuance of the Plan as the "New School." Questions of doctrine were also involved in the controversy, though not to so large an extent as those of denominational policy, and led to the trial for heresy of the celebrated Albert Barnes. The "Old School" majority in the Assembly of 1837 brought the matters at issue to a head, by abrogating the Plan of Union, by resolutions against the interdenominational societies, by the excision of the Synods of Utica, Geneva, Genesee and the Western Reserve, and by the establishment of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. When the Assembly of 1838 met, the "New School" Commissioners protested against the exclusion of the delegates from the four exscinded Synods, organized an Assembly of their own in the presence of the sitting Assembly, and then withdrew. The controversy came before the civil courts through a suit, on the part of the "New School," to determine whether the persons chosen by its Assembly were the legal "trustees of the General Assembly." The final decision in the case was in favor of the "Old School."

From 1838 onward, both branches of the Church grew slowly but steadily, and both made progress in the organization of their benevolent and missionary work. The growth of both was checked, however, by disruption. The New School Assembly of 1857 took strong ground in opposition to slavery, with the result that several Southern Presbyteries withdrew and organized the United Synod of the Presbyterian Church. In May, 1861, the Old School Assembly met at Philadelphia, Pa., with but thirteen Commissioners present from the States which had seceded from the Union. Dr. Gardiner Spring of New York offered in the judicatory, resolutions professing loyalty to the Federal Government, which were passed by a decided majority. The minority of the Assembly, however, while to a large degree in favor of the Union, were actuated by the feeling that an ecclesiastical judicatory had no right to determine questions of civil allegiance. The "Spring Resolutions"

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were the alleged reason for the organization of the Presbyterian Church in the Confederate States of America, which met in General Assembly at Augusta, Georgia, in December, 1861, was enlarged by union in 1863, with the United Synod above referred to, and upon the cessation of hostilities in 1865 took the name of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. Its members were increased in 1869 and 1874, by the adherence of those portions of the Synods of Kentucky and Missouri, which protested by "declaration and testimony" against the action of the Old School Assembly in the matter of the Christian character of the ministers and members of the Presbyterian Church South.



Chas. Hodge, D.D., LL.D., 1797-1878, theologian and church-leader.

The Period of Reunion.—The first step towards the reunion of the "Old School" and "New School" was taken in 1862 by the establishment of fraternal correspondence between the two Assemblies. A second step was the organization by the "New School" in 1863 of its own Home Mission Work. In 1866, committees of conference with a view to union, were appointed, and on Nov. 12, 1869, at Pittsburgh, Pa., reunion was consummated on the basis of the "Standards pure and simple." In connection with the movement, a memorial fund was raised, which amounted to $7,883,983. From the year 1870 the Church has made steady progress along all lines, and its harmony has been seriously broken only by the controversy (1891-1894) as to the "authority and credibility of Holy Scripture," as a consequence of which Prof. Chas. A. Briggs of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, and Prof. Henry P. Smith, of Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio, were suspended from the ministry, after formal process in Presbytery and final judgment by the General Assembly. Despite this controversy, the Church has doubled membership during the past thirty years, and numbers now nearly one million communicants. Its contributions for all purposes for the year ending March 31, 1898, were $13,938,561, of which the sum of $3,158,991 was contributed for missionary and benevolent work. The organized work of the Church is conducted through eight Boards: Home Missions, Foreign Missions, Education, Publication and Sabbath-school work, Ministerial Relief, Missions for Freedmen, Church Erection, and Aid for Colleges and Academies.

The mission work was conducted in 1897 by one thousand, four hundred and sixteen Home Missionaries, with three hundred and eight teachers; seven hundred and eight Foreign Missionaries, with one thousand, eight hundred and two native helpers, located in fifteen different countries; one hundred and seventy-five Freedmen's missionaries, with two hundred and four teachers; and seventy-six Sabbath School missionaries; being a total of four thousand, four hundred and eighty-five persons. There are also two Women's Missionary organizations, the one for Home, the other for Foreign missions, which have been greatly prospered, and raise at present each year more than $300,000 each for evangelistic work. There are also thirteen Theological Seminaries, located in different parts of the country, and under the supervision of the General Assembly. The future of the Church, judging from the past, will be one of constant progress, and of enlarging membership, influence, resources, and missionary activity.

The denomination stands for great and abiding theological truths, for the rights of the people in church government, and for that true catholicity, which cheerfully accords to others, whatever opinions they may cherish, their full rights of conscience. It illustrates the fact that strength of conviction and true liberality are co-ordinate, not antagonistic things; and that Calvinism is a living power in Christendom.

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10. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A. (Continued).

Movements toward unity with non-Presbyterian Churches.—The Presbyterian Church, as already indicated, entered at the beginning of the century into a Plan of Union with the Congregational Churches, which endured for nearly forty years. Such a plan would not be acceptable to either of the denominations at the present time, for each has realized its own individuality, and its properly independent work in the Kingdom of Christ. In 1887 the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U. S., and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church respectively, appointed committees with a view to possible unity. After seven years of negotiation, the General Assembly directed its Committee to suspend further correspondence with the Protestant Episcopal Commission, until that Commission should secure "from its General Convention instructions to accept and act upon the doctrine of mutual recognition and reciprocity." This the Episcopal Convention of 1895 declined to do. The Presbyterian Church recognizing as it does the ministry of all evangelical Churches, and holding that "the universal visible Church consists of all those throughout the world who profess the true religion, together with their children," could not take any other ground than that above indicated. As the Assembly of 1894 declared, "mutual recognition and reciprocity between the different bodies who profess the true religion is the first and essential step towards practical church unity." Presbyterians, recognizing the spiritual unity of the Church as an existing fact, do not regard "organic union" with other churches as a necessity. They emphasize the rather, fraternity and charity.

The Alliance of the Reformed Churches.—The year of the Reunion of the Old and New School branches of the Presbyterian Church, 1870, was the year in which the Rev. Dr. McCosh, the President of Princeton University, made the first proposition looking towards what is commonly known as the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance. This world-wide organization came into formal existence at London, England, in 1875, and held its first General Council at Edinburgh, Scotland, July, 1877. It includes in its membership at this date (1898) about ninety Presbyterian or Reformed Churches, denominational and national, found on all the five continents. The number of communicants and adherents of these Churches is about twenty-two millions, constituting next to the Lutherans, the largest body of Protestants in the world. The Alliance is not a federation, its Councils have no authority, and the delegates thereto meet simply for a comparison of views and the creation of a true and enduring sympathy between their respective Churches. Its motto is "in essentials unity, in non-essentials, liberty, in all things charity," and its rule of fellowship is best stated by the phrase, "coöperation, without incorporation." As a result of the work of the Alliance, the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches throughout the world have drawn closer together, have concentrated their Foreign Mission work in several countries, have realized their strength, and move forward shoulder to shoulder in support of the doctrines of grace and of civil and religious liberty. They constitute the only body of Christians, except the Roman Catholics, having congregations on all the continents, and in nearly every country.

The Western Section of this Alliance includes the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches of North America, and their names and statistics of membership (1898) are as follow:

The Presbyterian Church in the United States of America	975,877	The Reformed (Dutch) Church in America	110,713
The Presbyterian Church in the United States	217,075	The Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America	9,990
The United Presbyterian Church of N. A.	126,339	The Associate Reformed Synod of the South	11,090
The Cumberland Presbyterian Church	180,635	General Synod, Ref. Pres. Church	4,031
Christian Reformed Church in America	10,000	The Welsh Presbyterian Church	12,000
The Reformed (German) Church in the United States of America	226,532	The Presbyterian Church in Canada	205,992
		Church of Scotland in Canada	10,000

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THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SOUTH, IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY

T. C. JOHNSON, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia.

11. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SOUTH, IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE Presbyterian Church in the United States of America had, owing to the prevalence of latitudinarian views in theology and ecclesiastical polity, been divided, in 1838, into the Old School, and the New School Churches. The New School Church suffered another division in 1857, the Southern department, which refused to regard slaveholding as a sin, establishing the Synod of the South. The Old School retained its integrity and conservative tone till 1861. But in that year the Assembly, sitting at Philadelphia, was overcome by the prevailing secular and war spirit. It subordinated the kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ to political ends, and thus violated the constitution of the Church and usurped the prerogatives of the Divine Master. It adopted the Spring Resolutions, wherein it attempted, as Dr. Charles Hodge and his fifty-seven fellow-protestants said, "to decide the political question, to what government the allegiance of Presbyterianism was due," and "to make that decision a condition of membership in the Church."

In consequence of this course, forty-seven Presbyteries in the then Confederate States of America, each for itself, dissolved connection with the Assembly during the summer of 1861. On December 4, 1861, their representatives met in Augusta, Ga., and formed the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, South.

This constituting Assembly adopted the constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America as its own constitution; but sloughed off the unpresbyterian machinery with which the old church conducted its missionary and other operations. For the cumbrous and irresponsible boards of the mother church it substituted the Church itself, God's appointed instrumentality for evangelizing the world, and established the necessary executive committees to carry out the will of the Church—small bodies immediately responsible to the General Assembly.

In a letter "to all the churches of Jesus Christ throughout the earth," this Assembly asserted that the consequences of the proceedings on the part of the recent Philadelphia Assembly—its opening "the door for the worst passions of human nature in the deliberation of church courts"—had justified separation, as had also the *de facto* existence of the Confederate States of America within whose bounds they were. This Assembly also claimed as distinguishing features of its Church, "Witnessing for the non-secular character of the Church and its headship of Christ, or, in other words, for a strict adherence to the constitution," and "the complete organization of the Church, obviating the necessity of boards and societies."

The numerical growth of the church has been very rapid. Its forty-seven presbyteries have become seventy-seven; its seven hundred ministers, one thousand three hundred and ninety-three; one thousand churches, two thousand eight hundred and sixteen; its seventy thousand communicants, two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and eighty-four; its contributions to home and foreign missions are more than four times as large; and it has kept pace in developing other branches of enterprise. This advance has been made, too, in spite of the exodus of about ten thousand colored communicants, who went, for the most part, to the Northern Presbyterian Church.

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12. THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SOUTH, IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

This growth is explained by: 1. The Church's having taken into organic union with itself many smaller bodies of sound Presbyterians. Thus it took in "the Independent Presbyterian Church (1863), the United Synod of the South (1864), the Presbytery of Patopsco (1867), the Alabama Presbytery of the Associated Reformed Church about the same time, the Synod of Kentucky (1869), the Associated Reformed Presbytery of Kentucky (1870), and the Synod of Missouri (1874). The union with these churches brought in about two hundred and eighty-two ministers, four hundred and eighty churches, and thirty-five thousand six hundred communicants. 2. The energetic use of the evangelistic arm of the Church's service. Particularly, since 1866, presbyterial evangelists have been, in increasing numbers, preaching to the weak and destitute.

In 1880 the Synod of Kentucky entered upon the pioneer enterprise of synodical evangelism. Not less than eight or ten synods have subsequently inaugurated some form of synodical work. 3. Pastors and people have been generally faithful and so preached Christ.

The development of the Church's agencies has also been gratifying. Foreign Missions have had a large place in the heart of the Church. It has planted stations in China, Italy, the United States of Colombia, Brazil, Mexico, Greece, Japan, the Congo Free State, Cuba, and Corea. In its several missions it has to-day about one hundred and fifty ordained and unordained missionaries, and can look on a total of three thousand one hundred and fifty-six communicants and an immense effect of a general kind predisposing heathendom to receive Christianity.

Home Missions have also had a large place. The general objects for which the Assembly's Executive Committee has labored; are: 1. To aid feeble churches in support of their pastors and to secure a competency to every laboring minister; 2. To aid in the support of missionaries and evangelists; 3. To assist weak churches in obtaining suitable edifices in which to worship; 4. To assist laborers in getting from one field to another when they are without the means of doing this of themselves; 5. To raise and disburse an invalid fund. This committee took oversight also of the work among the negroes till 1891 when the Executive Committee of Colored Evangelization was established.

The Church has maintained a highly educated ministry. Its plan for securing such a ministry, styled variously as "a beneficiary or eleemosynary," or "stipendiary" plan, is a good scheme if faithfully carried out by the Presbyteries; but seems to be tolerated only because of the necessity of some such scheme. The Church has five good theological schools under its care, one being the Tuscaloosee Instititute for negroes, a still greater number of colleges and universities, besides academies.

The Publication Committee, located at Richmond, Va., has done a most important work. A number of able journals advocate the principles and give information concerning the work of the Church.

So much for the growth of the Church, a word now with reference to the way in which it has stood by its principles. 5. The Church has remained true to the Calvinism of its creed. It is, perhaps, more thoroughly Calvinistic than in 1866. The changes in polity have been considerable. They have sprung from a more solid conviction of *jure divino* Presbyterianism, and have resulted in a clearer statement of the ruling elder's rights and duties, and a more adequate and scriptural exposition of the deacon's duties and relations. It has given a noble testimony to the independence of Church and State. In all its formal and well-considered views of the subject from 1861 to 1870, it testified to the non-secular character of the Church and the headship of Jesus in Zion. During the war it did, indeed, falter in its testimony to the non-secular character of the Church; but its falterings were

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transient inconsistencies, as formal testimonies of the time show and as sorrow for these missteps, evinced by its implicit and explicit confessions in 1866, 1870 and 1876, show. This Church still holds to an inerrant Bible, and to the approvableness of Bible morals, and opposes womanism in the official work of the Church.

How far these principles shall prevail in the future a prophet is needed to tell. The principle of Church and State ought to prevail; and so, according to the common judgment of our Church, every other one of its principles. Hence it does not ask whether they shall prevail, but whether they *ought* to prevail. Its action should be guided by the right rather than by the achievable.

This Church would unite with others in federal union on condition of their receiving evidently *con amore* its own standards. The Assemblies of 1893 and 1894 declined to enter the "Federal Union between the Reformed Churches in the United States holding the Presbyterian system." It has maintained fraternal correspondence with several ecclesiastical bodies of like faith and polity. Owing to the non-secular character of the Dutch Reformed Church, its thoroughly Calvinistic theology and Presbyterian polity, this correspondence developed, in 1875, into a "plan of active coöperation," in publication, home missions, foreign missions and education. In 1889 the Northern Presbyterian Church entered into a similar plan of coöperation with ours. The great body of Southern Presbyterians is profoundly attached to its own principles, and while unchurching no evangelical body, seeks formal external union only on the basis of its own creed.

SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A.**—Idea, Word of God, Salvation, Conscience, Church, Westminster Assembly, Calvinism, The American Republic.
8. **THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A. (Continued).**—Eleven Denominations, Three Confessions, Isolation, The Colonial period, The Constitution of 1788.
9. **THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A. (Continued).**—The Periods of Union, of Division, and of Reunion.
10. **THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN THE U. S. A. (Continued).**—Union with Other Churches, The Pan-Presbyterian Alliance.
11. **THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SOUTH, IN THE UNITED STATES.**—Philadelphia Assembly, Secession, Non-Secularism, Complete Organization, Growth, Its Grounds.
12. **THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, SOUTH, IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).**—Various Agencies, Principles, Attitude on Union.

QUESTIONS.

7. *What is the controlling idea of the Presbyterian system? With what limitation? State four principles flowing from this idea. What are the Westminster standards? Name their doctrine. Of what politics has it proved the chief source? Who were the Puritans? How was education regarded? How religious liberty? What was the first American federal republic?*

8. *Name the component parts of American Presbyterianism. Name their three historic confessions. Sketch the period of isolation. Sketch that of the Colonial Church. What was new in the Constitution of 1788?*

9. *Sketch the period of union, of division, and of reunion.*

10. *Describe the correspondence with the Protestant Episcopal Church. Describe the Pan-Presbyterian alliance.*

11. *In what did the Philadelphia Assembly seem to err? What consequent action did Presbyteries in the then Confederate States take? What distinguishing traits are claimed? How may the rapid growth be explained?*

12. *What changes have been made in creed and polity? To what does the church still hold? On what condition would it unite with others?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Relation of religion to politics.*
2. *The influence of leaders, here such as Makemie, Witherspoon and McCosh.*
3. *The controversy as to the authority and credibility of Holy Scripture.*
4. *The real hindrances to reunion of the Churches.*
5. *The complementary side to No. 1.*
6. *The conditions of religious conservatism.*

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THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY THE

REV. GEORGE WOLFE SHINN, D.D., Rector of Grace Church, Newton, Mass.

13. THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

BEFORE the American Revolution the organization now designated by the above title was known as "The Church of England in the American Colonies." It is a very curious fact that the name which has come to be official was never formally adopted by the organization itself. The first use of the title was in 1779, in Maryland, where a law was passed by the colonial government recognizing the identity of "The Protestant Episcopal Church" with the Church of England. In 1789 a Constitution was adopted which provided that there should be a General Convention of "The Protestant Episcopal Church." The name by that time had become quite firmly fixed, although never formally adopted. It has never been regarded by all persons as a particularly appropriate title. It seems to suggest the idea of a sect, growing up in modern times, whereas this Church is a branch of the historic Church. It traces its origin through the Church of England back to the days of the Apostles.

In the Preface to the Prayer Book, adopted in 1790, it is stated that "the Protestant Episcopal Church is indebted, under God, for her first foundation and long continuance of nursing care and protection to the Church of England," and that "this Church is far from intending to depart from the Church of England in any essential point of doctrine, discipline or worship, or further than local circumstances may require." Whatever, then, is the history of the Church of England in the preceding centuries is also a part of the history of this Church, and whatever arguments may be cited for the Apostolicity of the Church of England may be cited for this Church. No one knows when Christianity was introduced into England, but the Church was early established there, so early that three English Bishops were at the Council of Arles in A.D. 314, and in A.D. 325 English Bishops attended the Council of Nice.

This independent branch of the Catholic Church in England resisted the gradual encroachments of the later Roman mission under Augustine, but was finally brought into subjection to the Roman obedience. Many protests were made from time to time against the usurpation of power over the English Church by the Roman Bishops, but they were ineffectual until the reign of Henry the Eighth. His quarrel with the Pope led to the overthrow of the usurped dominion which the Roman See had exercised over the English people and their Church, and the overthrow of this power in England facilitated the Reformation. In 1534 the Convocation of Canterbury declared that "the Roman bishop hath no greater jurisdiction given him by God in this Kingdom than any other foreign bishops." Other like declarations followed, and at length the Church of England emerged from the subjection and the errors to which she had so long reluctantly yielded. No new Church was established at the time of the Reformation in England. There was simply a return to what was historic, and so this Protestant Episcopal Church traces its origin back through the Church of England and finds itself a branch of that Church which began with Apostles. It is historically connected with the Church which existed in the very first ages of Christianity. It is impossible to understand the spirit of the Episcopal Church and its attitude unless this much of its history is considered, for it places a high value upon its lineage. It regards its historic continuity as one mark of its divine origin.

In addition to this the Episcopal Church, in its older form as the Church of

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England, can claim to have been the oldest religious organization in this country. Englishmen were the discoverers of the mainland of North America, and there is reason to believe that the Cabots had English Chaplains on their first voyages, as the younger Cabot did on the later voyages, so that the earliest Christian services held on this continent were after the manner of the Church of England. When the later English explorers turned their attention to establishing colonies in this new world they declared their purpose "to carry God's Word into those very mighty and vast countries." It is true that they failed in making lasting settlements, but their struggle was not in vain, for they drove the Spaniards from our northern coast, and opened the way for the later permanent English settlements. The first buildings for religious services in New England and in Virginia were those of the English Church.

In 1697 and in 1701 two societies were formed in England which had much to do with the spread of the Gospel in this new world. The older of the two was "The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." Its aim was to supply the colonists with Bibles, prayer books, church histories, sermons and other good books. It still exists as the S. P. C. K., after two hundred years of active labors. The other, still in existence and known popularly as the S. P. G., sent out missionaries to different parts of the new country and paid their stipends, either wholly or in part. At the outbreak of the American Revolution there were two hundred and fifty Church of England clergymen in this country, of whom seventy-seven were missionaries of the S. P. G. After one hundred and fifty years of colonial life the parishes and missions of the English Church had extended from the chief towns and settlements on the seaboard to many new places. Its greatest strength, however, was in the middle and southern states, where the prejudices against it were not so strong as in Puritan New England.

The great defect of the English Church in this country in the colonial period was the entire lack of the Episcopate. No Bishops were sent here, although repeated requests had been made to the mother Church to consecrate Bishops for America. An Episcopal Church without Bishops is somewhat like an army without general officers. The Episcopate implies leadership, consolidation and aggressive work. There were many difficulties in the way of securing Bishops, and their lack here made it necessary to send candidates for Confirmation and Ordination to England. For two centuries no man was confirmed or ordained and no church edifice was consecrated on these shores. Among the reasons for the failure to supply Bishops for the colonies was the steady opposition made by many who were not Churchmen, and the fact that, at the time, Bishops were not only officers of the Church, but also officials of the State, Church and State being united. Their coming here was dreaded by many, and opposed openly by some, as involving political complications.

When the colonies separated from the mother country their independence carried with it the independence of the Church in the Colonies. It became free from the control of the mother Church. Movements were at once made to adapt the Church to the new conditions brought about by the success of the Revolution. Changes were made in the Prayer Book, a Constitution was adopted, and steps were taken to secure the Episcopate. The first Bishop, however, was secured before any formal responsive action was taken by the English Church. As soon as the war ended, Connecticut elected Dr. Samuel Seabury as Bishop and sent him to England for consecration. Not caring to wait the slow permission of the government to authorize the English Bishops to set him apart to this high office, he proceeded to Aberdeen in Scotland, where, in 1784, he was consecrated by the non-juror Bishops then residing in that country. Two years later, 1786, a law passed the British Parliament permitting the consecration of Dr. White, of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Provoost, of New York, without requiring them to take the usual oath of allegiance to the British government.

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14. THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

The American Prayer Book, being a revision of the Prayer Book of the Church of England, was set forth in 1789, and in the same year a Constitution was adopted. Thus with Bishops of its own, with a service book adapted to its needs, and with a Constitution providing for the union and communion of its different parts in this country this Church began its career as an independent organization. While it became independent, however, it did not lose its links of connection with the English Church through which, as has been seen, it is connected with the Church of the first Christian centuries.

Its history since 1789 may be divided into two parts. The first extends to 1820 and may be called The Period of Recuperation. It had to recover from the disintegration occasioned by the Revolution. The second part of its history runs from 1821, when the Missionary Society was formed, down to the present. This may well be called The Period of Growth and Development. It took a quarter of a century for the Church to recover from the calamities brought upon it by the war. Its valuable lands in some sections had been forfeited, its buildings had fallen into decay, numbers of its parishes had been broken up, and many of its clergy and people were scattered. The most bitter prejudices had been excited against it because of its English origin and because of the attitude of many of its adherents before and during the great conflict. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that all of its members were opposed to the Revolution, for some of the leading patriots, and a majority of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were Churchmen. Only gradually, however, did this Church convince the American people that it was not un-American, and still more gradually did it establish the fact that it was worthy of confidence as an exponent of the simple religion of the Divine Master.

Its successes have been won in the face of most decided opposition, but it has grown from a condition of contempt and obscurity to one of prominence and usefulness. Very worthy of notice is the fact that when it realized its mission to the world outside of its hereditary membership it began to make firm strides forward. The organization of its missionary society thus marks its determination to adapt itself to the needs of all sorts and conditions of men and to become a helpful factor in American life and progress.

It has not been the popular religion of the land, nor is it so to-day in many sections. In fact it is still well-nigh unknown in some parts of the country. But with the growing intelligence of the American people and the decay of old prejudices, and especially with the new life pervading every part of the organization, making it earnest and aggressive for good wherever it goes, it awakens attention and wins favor. Our American people are beginning to see that the Episcopal Church has been of great value to this nation, and that it possesses most important features which demand respect and affection. Among these matters which have never been as fully considered as they deserve are the following:

First: The Way for the American Revolution was Paved by this Church while it was a Colonial Branch of the Church of England.— Said Bishop Meade: "The vestries, who were the intelligence and moral strength of the land, had been slowly fighting the battles of the Revolution for one hundred and fifty years. They objected to the arbitrary appointment of ministers, and those old controversies had as much to do with loosening the bonds between England and the Colonies as did the town meeting in New England." Said W. C. Rives, of Virginia: "Without denying to other religious bodies their full and glorious share in the early struggles for political liberty in Virginia, the leaders and chief actors were members of the Established Church."

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Second: Many Churchmen were Patriots. Not all Churchmen were Tories.—Allusion has already been made to the fact that the majority of the signers of the Declaration of Independence were members of this Church. They were representative men and men of influence. Washington, the leader of our forces, was a Churchman, and the placing the command in his hands gave a national character to a movement which otherwise might have been but a sectional struggle.

Third: The Influence of Churchmen was Felt in the Moulding of the Civil Government when the War was Over.—It is largely to the wisdom and conservative spirit of these men that our civil government was so wisely planned, so generous and so comprehensive. Not only in that formative period of new national life, but ever since much has been due to Churchmen. They have been the friends of true refinement and education, lovers of liberty and honor, and so have vindicated the claims of culture as opposed to money-making and the greed for place and power.

Fourth. This Church has Always Stood Firmly for a Simple Faith and a Sober Piety.—In days when great whirlwinds of religious excitement swept over the land it held up the truth that religion is character. The views of Christian nurture for which it contended have been gradually adopted by other religious bodies. Much, too, that is now commendable in the improved conditions of religious life, can be traced to the influence of this Church. It surely deserves credit for better styles of architecture, for better music, for the observance of sacred seasons other than Sunday, and for many measures of benevolent activity whereby the condition of once neglected classes has been improved. In a word the Episcopal Church has become a strong and wholesome influence for truth and righteousness in this land.

One unique distinction belongs to it and that is the stand it has taken in favor of Church unity. It has always prayed in its appointed services that "all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the way of truth and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace and in righteousness of life." Whenever its celebrates the sacrament of Holy Communion, the prayer is offered that God "would inspire continually the universal Church with the spirit of truth, unity and concord that all who profess Thy holy name may live in unity and godly love."

One of the most important steps in the religious history of modern times was taken in 1886, when its Bishops set forth four simple propositions, as in their judgment, essential to the reunion of Christians. These are as follows:

I. The Holy Scriptures as the revealed Word of God.
II. The Apostles' Creed as the Baptismal symbol, and the Nicene Creed as the sufficient statement of the Christian Faith.
III. The Two Sacraments: Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, ministered with the unfailing use of Christ's words of institution and of the elements ordained by Him.
IV. The Historic Episcopate locally adapted, in the methods of its administration, to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of His Church.

Nothing more liberal could be suggested, if anything is to be retained as essential. Rites, customs, fasts, festivals, usages, however dear to Churchmen, are not even mentioned as essential to unity. Surely this Church has earned the distinction of being willing to ignore much that is precious to it for the sake of a united Christendom. The setting forth of these four simple propositions has not yet awakened the interest which might have been expected from the various Christian bodies. In some instances there has been the hasty, almost petulant, expression of a disinclination to consider the subject in a broad and generous way. In some there has been the renewal of the old incredulity as to reunion. The fact is that this whole matter of Christian Unity has not yet taken very strong hold of many Christian people, and there is yet much educative work to be done before it will receive the consideration it deserves.

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15. THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

In the meantime the generous attitude of the Episcopal Church has drawn the attention of many to the principles of the organization itself. As they examine it, what do they find?

First: They Cannot fail to see that this Church Reveres the Word of God.—Nearly three-fifths of the Prayer Book are taken from the Bible, and two-fifths of the worship at each service are in the words of the Scriptures. The books of the Divine Library are not regarded as a mere mass of ancient literature, but as containing a revelation from God to man of things pertaining to salvation, and especially a revelation of the promised Deliverer, the incarnate Lord. The humblest member of this Church may know what God has revealed for the old truths are so constantly repeated that the teachings of the Church and the teachings of the Scriptures must ever coincide. "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation," says the sixth of the thirty-nine articles, and in one of the Collects we pray that we may read, mark, learn and inwardly digest what God has caused to be written for our learning.

Second: This Church Holds a Simple Faith.—Its position is that man is a religious being and has needs that can be supplied only by religion. It claims that the principles of religion have been clearly revealed through the incarnation of the Son of God; and that by the life of faith in Christ and discipleship of Him man attains excellence here and is prepared for highest happiness hereafter. In other words, this Church clings to the old Creeds—the Apostles' and the Nicene. These two are "simple, unelaborated and unargued statements of facts." No hindrance is put to free discussion, but the facts must be received. There is nothing in them contrary to reason, although there is much that we, with our present powers, may not be able to explain. We are not compelled to explain anything. We may hold theories, but may not press them as if religion were mere theological propositions, for after all there is something higher even than human reason. There is such a thing as the spiritual assimilation of truth, the growth of conviction in the soul, the inworking of the Spirit of God through Whom spiritual verities make their indelible impression upon the religious nature.

The Church's Faith is simple. It draws the distinction between matters of opinion and matters which must be received as essential. Of the latter there are but few, and they are summed up in these two Creeds. What this Church deems to be essential to a right faith is contained within the few lines of these old symbols of the early Church. There are other truths which the Church teaches, but not in the same way. They are not pressed as necessary, however desirable, to be received. The Church presses the truths in the Creeds because they relate to the very heart of religion, and that is Christ, the revealer of God, the friend and brother of man, the incarnate Lord.

Third: This Church Clings to and ever Honors the two Sacraments of Christ's own Appointment.—There is no doubt that He appointed Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Nor is there any doubt that He intended them to be continued. The first sacrament, whatever else it does, brings the soul into the midst of spiritual influences, and the second strengthens the spiritual life begun in the soul. In Baptism we become members of Christ, that is, of His body the Church, and there is brought about that change which is called regeneration. It is not of necessity a moral change, for that is conversion, but regeneration, in the sense in which the word is to be understood, is the being born again into new conditions, coming into new possibilities, being admitted to a new environment. There has been much needless perplexity in trying to give accurate definitions of regeneration, and the perplexity has been increased when regeneration and conversion have been con-

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founded. It is enough to think of regeneration as a change of condition, the being called into a state of salvation. It is not a moral change of the spiritual nature, but it makes man capable of a moral change and renders spiritual growth possible. Baptism is thus highly valued. It is not thought of as a meaningless ceremony, nor as a superstitious charm, but as a Sacrament, divinely appointed as the channel of grace and blessing.

This Church administers this Sacrament to infants. It finds no prohibition in the Scriptures, or in the nature of the Sacrament. It knows from history that the baptism of infants appears to have been usual in the early centuries, and it sees many advantages in its early administration. Surely the Christian Church was intended to be as generous as the Jewish and the latter received children by circumcision into covenant relation with God. Surely our Lord's receiving the little children when He was here on earth, suggests this formal consecration of children to Him now that He may bless them. Surely if none but adults were to be baptized there would have been some express prohibition of children, and some clearer and less confusing statements in Scripture than that such and such households were baptized, for a household suggests the presence of children. Surely a usage which began so early, and which has so extensively prevailed, demands something very strong and positive to indicate that it is not in accordance with the Lord's will. We know of nothing to create even a doubt as to the propriety of infant baptism.

As there has been much needless perplexity over infant baptism, so there has been much over the *mode of baptism*. Some claim that there is but one valid mode, and that is by immersion. This Church adopts two methods, immersion and pouring, and regards each as equally valid. The symbolic relation between baptism and burial is retained whether water is poured on the body, or the whole body is immersed, for the symbolic burial of a dead body, with the Church's ritual, is the scattering of earth upon the remains as the words "earth to earth," etc., are uttered. In such a case the symbolism is satisfied with less than the filling in of the grave.

Then, too, we cannot find anything in history to show that immersion was the only method. It may have been the method very frequently used, but some of the oldest pictorial representations show the administrant in the act of pouring water on the head of the candidate, even after both had gone down into the water. Nor can the matter be settled by texts of Scripture and the meaning of Greek prepositions, for the equivalent words for Baptism sometimes mean immersion and sometimes pouring. And so this Church accepts any Baptism as valid if water be used with the words of the formula given by our Lord: "In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost."

The other Sacrament, which is Honored and Used, is the Holy Communion.—This Church teaches that it was "ordained for the continual remembrance of the sacrifice of the death of Christ, and of the benefits which we receive thereby," and that in it "our souls are strengthened and refreshed by the Body and Blood of Christ, as our bodies are by the Bread and Wine." There is agreement with all Christians in regarding this Sacrament as a means whereby Christ is remembered, according to His own command, but beside this this Church thinks of it as subserving other purposes. The Communion becomes the chief means of grace whereby spiritual nourishment is imparted to the believing soul. In this sacrament they feed on Him by faith. Then, too, it becomes the significant appeal to God to behold the sacrifice which His Son offered for sinful men. They show the Lord's death till He come when, with these elements, they keep this Feast, and seek mercy and blessing in the name of the Crucified.

Finally the Communion becomes a bond of fellowship between Christ and believing souls, and between all those who acknowledge Him as Lord. They have

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communion with Him and with all His people. This Church makes no effort to explain the mysteries connected with this Sacrament. It rejects as unsatisfactory the view that the Lord's Supper is solely a help to memory, and refuses on the other hand to accept the view that there is an actual change in the elements whereby the bread and wine become veritable flesh and blood. It believes in a presence of the Lord, in the Sacrament, but it is spiritual and only perceptible by the spiritual nature of those who come by faith. It believes in the sacredness of the observance and teaches reverence and holy awe, as it bids men prepare themselves to draw near to the Lord's Table. It encourages frequent receptions of the Communion in that it makes provision for frequent celebrations and calls men to the oft receiving of it while they are in health.

The ritual of this sacrament allows room for great simplicity and also for great elaboration, and consequently we find many variations in the details, as we compare parish with parish. But, however it is celebrated, it becomes the Sacrament of Blessing, and men who come to it with faith go from it with uplifted mind and heart.

Fourth: This Church Retains the Apostolic Order of the Ministry.—That is, its ministry consists of three ranks: Bishops, Priests and Deacons, and it declares that these three Orders of Ministers have always existed in Christ's Church. It further declares its unwillingness to regard any man as a lawful Bishop, Priest, a Deacon *in this Church*, unless he has been Episcopally set apart. This declaration of the Church brings before us what is often spoken of as "The Historic Episcopate," and draws a line of separation between it and the surrounding Protestant bodies. It makes a distinction between the ministers of this Church and other ministers. It asserts a difference. Its own ministers have had Episcopal ordination. These other ministers have not had it, and therefore, whatever else they may be elsewhere, they are not received as ministers of this Church, because this Church follows the method of the early centuries in ordination. If they are received they must be Episcopally ordained.

If this position seem to be harsh, it must be remembered that no judgment is expressed as to their right to officiate in their own denominations. Nothing is said as to their piety and attainments. It is simply declared that not being Episcopally ordained they are not Episcopal ministers. Admitting now that they are not Episcopally ordained, does this invalidate their right to preach the Gospel and to do the work of Christ? Upon this point this Church utters no judgment whatever. The proving of their commission is with them. This Church simply says that it will cling to that which was Apostolic, and which has come down to the present. In its judgment of what is best for the Church at large, it proposes that all shall accept the Historic Episcopate with whatever local and special adaptations may be possible.

When we ask for some clear definition of what is meant by the Historic Episcopate, we find ourselves in the region of controversy. The constituted authorities have not adopted any definition thus far, and there are diversities of view among Episcopalians as to what is really contained in Episcopacy, what is the difference between the being and the well-being of the Church, what is Apostolic succession and many like points. There is, however, agreement among all in this Church (and the view is shared by many outside of it) that as a fact in history, there have always been the three Orders in the Christian Church. If so, there come two questions: As they have always been, why should they not continue? And is there not some way by which non-Episcopal ministers may become united with this Historic Episcopate?

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16. THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

Fourth: This Church Retains the Apostolic Order of the Ministry (Continued).—This Church has virtually left this matter of the Historic Episcopate in the shape indicated by these two questions. It has not put it into any dogmatic form. Its own members are not yet agreed upon its definitions. Perhaps there are as many divergent views in the Episcopal Church on some questions arising from a consideration of the Historic Episcopate as are held outside of the Church. This point, while it emphasizes the clear historic fact, suggests that many of the connected questions need not be settled in advance of the union which it advocates. Inasmuch as many of its own members differ in their explanation of the Historic Episcopate, may it not be sufficient for others outside to accept the one fact that Episcopacy was primitive, and that it provides a bond of union?

There have always been these three Orders of Ministers. The Bishops have always exercised supervisory powers in the Church. Can we not all get back to this old way and so become one?

It is a mistake to suppose that the Episcopal Church, in urging the acceptance of the Historic Episcopate, is urging all bodies of Christians to become "Episcopalians" in the sense of being absorbed in the present organization, and of adopting everything as it now stands in that organization. Christian Unity does not mean merely a larger Protestant Episcopal Church. Attention has already been called to the fact that this Church has expressed itself willing to leave out of consideration much that is precious. For example, it would not insist upon the use of vestments or the same liturgical services. It would not make all parishes alike. It would recognize a diversity of "uses," leaving all persons free to adopt what they thought best, provided, of course, that the substance of the Faith be kept entire.

There would be no crystallization of the Church into any one form. There would be variety, diversity, commensurate with the different judgments of its adherents, always, however, within the lines of loyalty to the truth. There would be no greater attempt to secure a uniform interpretation of the Historic Episcopate than there would be to have one definition of inspiration in accepting the Holy Scriptures as the Word of God, or one explanation of the Sacraments, or one interpretation of every article of the creed.

The generous character of this Church is indicated in the view which is held as to what constitutes membership in the Christian body. It does not rebaptize them if they have been already baptized with water in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. It recognizes all such baptized persons as already members of Christ's body—the Church.

Then note how it refers, in most courteous terms, to "the different religious bodies of Christians in these States as being at liberty to model and organize their respective churches. Of course it uses the word "Churches" here without invalidating its own claim to be a branch of the historic Church, for later on it defines what it believes to be essential to the integrity of this Church as a branch of the Historic Church.

If it appears exclusive and unsympathetic because it will not permit the ministrations of ministers who have not been Episcopally ordained, it must be remembered that it stands by this law to retain Episcopacy as one of the valuable features which have been transmitted to the present from the Apostolic Age. It has no more right to relinquish, or to undervalue Episcopacy, than it has to give up the observance of the Lord's Day. It must transmit the office and that for which it stands to the next generation as it has come down to this from past generations. The disposition of this Church towards other bodies of Christians is kindly and

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sympathetic, and among no other body is there found to-day so much that is tolerant and generous.

It is true that not all of its own members really understand the true position of their Church towards all who profess and call themselves Christians, and it is also true that sometimes views are expressed which seem to be arrogant and repellant, but they are the views of individuals or of parties, not of the Church as a body.

The Difference Between Individual Opinions and what the Church Teaches.—There is always to be made a distinction between what men teach as individuals, and what is set forth by the Church in its collective capacity. No man, no party, no combination of men or of parties, can speak for the Church with authority. What they deliver is simply their view of the Church's teachings. As has already been noted, this Church holds a very simple Faith—a few facts clustering around our Savior Christ—which it sets forth as essential. Besides this it announces a number of truths as important to be received, but does not press them as vital like the others. It also allows much range of interpretation of the truths it delivers. But the Church can make no change in any essential principles of the Christian Faith. They never become antiquated. There is no new Gospel to be delivered. There is ever but one faith, one Lord, one Baptism, one God and Father of all. The Church does not attempt to set forth new doctrines, for the religion of Christ is not a discovery or an invention of man's. It is a revelation to man. Holding to essentials men may be loyal to the Church, even though they differ as to non-essential points. They may adopt different usages, and hold even opposite opinions. Hence there are parties and schools of thought. It is a tolerant Church. A stranger casting his lot in with it finds in himself certain tendencies of thought and feeling which may incline him to favor one school of thought or another, or to ally himself with others who in some way express his present views, but his future studies and broader experiences may bring him closer to others. It must never be forgotten, however, that the Church itself is broader and more generous than all the parties in it, and the Church's generous attitude is an appeal to each to cultivate a like spirit towards all who call Christ their Lord and who seek to serve Him. It is the fervent prayer of many that this Church may become a bond of union between all who profess and call themselves Christians, and thus be helpful in the realization of the purpose of Christ that "they all may be one."

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THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA.

BY

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17. THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA.

THE Reformed Church in America, formerly the Reformed Dutch Church, is the oldest religious body, having a Presbyterian form of government, on the Western Hemisphere. It inherited its doctrinal symbols from the Reformed Church of Holland, viz., the Belgic Confession, in 1561, the Heidelberg Catechism, 1563, and the Canons of the Synod of Dort, 1619. These are of a Calvinistic character in general. Its ministers, however, are expected to present chiefly the features of doctrine contained in the Heidelberg Catechism, which elaborates the system under the aspect of the *comfort* to be derived therefrom. Its first question and answer are the key to the whole system:

"What is thine only comfort in life and in death?" *Answer:* That I, with body and soul, both in life and death, am not my own, but belong to my faithful Savior, Jesus Christ, who, with his precious blood, hath fully satisfied for all my sins, and delivered me from all the power of the devil; and so preserves me that without the will of my Heavenly Father, not a hair can fall from my head; yea, that all things must be subservient to my salvation; and, therefore, by His Holy Spirit, he assures me of eternal life, and makes me sincerely willing and ready henceforth to live unto Him."

The first congregation was organized in New Amsterdam in 1628 by Rev. Jonas Michaelius. Within thirty-six years after this event, occurred the English conquest of New York, namely in 1664; but in this brief period, a dozen churches had been organized, which had been served by fourteen ministers. Only six of these were in actual service at the time of the surrender. Excellent terms were secured by the Dutch as to their own form of religion, their modes of inheritance, and some other customs; and these terms alone saved this little body from complete annihilation, during the English domination. At the beginning of the Revolution this Church had grown into a hundred congregations, with about thirty-three ministers. At the present time (1898) it reports six hundred and thirty-four churches, six hundred and fifty-four ministers, and one hundred and eight thousand communicants; with contributions, for home expenses and benevolence, approximating a million and a half dollars, not including the income from endowments for educational purposes.

From the English conquest until American Independence, a period of one hundred and twelve years, the Dutch Church occupied the peculiar position of being religiously under the care of the Church of Holland, while politically her people were subjects of Great Britain. This gave occasion to not a little legal entanglement. The relations of Church and State in New York were more complicated and gave rise to more lawsuits and judicial decisions than in any other colony. The Dutch always had a large majority in the Civil Assembly, and this fact greatly restrained the English government in their attempts to enforce their Secret Instructions, especially in regard to religious matters. The governors almost continuously sought to impose the English Church Establishment upon New York, which the Dutch as continuously and vigorously resisted. In 1626, the church in New York City, after repeated failures for ten years, succeeded in securing a charter for itself, which, by its terms, made that church, in religious matters, quite independent of governmental interference. Most of the other Dutch churches, sooner or later, secured similar charters, while these were denied to all other congregations, except the Episcopal, until after the Revolution.

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18. THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA (Continued).

When civil rights were thus secured, the Church began to turn its attention toward obtaining certain ecclesiastical rights from the Church of Holland. They could neither educate young men for the ministry nor ordain them in America. Candidates for this office were obliged to go to Holland for these advantages. It was not until 1747 that partial ecclesiastical autonomy was secured. But in 1755 the Church became divided on this subject, to its own great detriment, and the division lasted until 1770, when the parties united and substantial independence was secured. In this same year a charter was secured in New Jersey for Queen's College [now called Rutger's], located at New Brunswick, N. J. In 1784 the Rev. Dr. John H. Livingston was elected Professor of Theology—the first appointment of this kind in America. In 1810 the Theological Seminary was also permanently located at New Brunswick, N. J., and is now well-endowed, having large grounds, suitable buildings, and a splendid library.

In 1846 began a new Dutch emigration from Holland, which made the state of Michigan the chief center of its settlements and operations. The Hollanders in New York at the English conquest were only about ten thousand. This recent immigration to the West, during the past fifty years, must have considerably exceeded one hundred thousand. The increase in this country has also been very large, and has occasioned overflow into the neighboring states. Most of these immigrants, at first, fell naturally into the fold of the old Dutch Church, and these are now represented by more than one hundred congregations. But there is also another body, identical in faith and government, among these recent Hollanders, called THE CHRISTIAN REFORMED CHURCH, composed also of about one hundred congregations. Those connected with the Reformed Church in America have Hope College and a Theological Seminary at Holland, Michigan, which are becoming well-endowed, and the germs of other similar institutions at Orange City, Iowa.

In the work of Foreign Missions the Reformed Church in America has been remarkably successful. Her operations began in 1819, when the Rev. John Scudder, M.D., went to India, as a physician, but was soon ordained by a union of Methodist, Baptist and Congregationalist ministers in Ceylon. She has now flourishing missions in Arcot, India; in Amoy, China; and in various parts of Japan; while a new mission has recently been started in Arabia. More than one hundred thousand dollars are raised annually for these missionary enterprises.

This Church has always been noted for its steadfast adherence to what is known as Evangelical Religion. This has led not a few ministers of other denominations, when dissatisfied with certain modern tendencies, to seek admission into her fold. About one-half of her ministry, during the present century, have been trained in other institutions than her own; yet no attempt has ever been made to amend her Doctrinal Standards. Attempts to change her Liturgy have never succeeded beyond the correction of grammatical errors, although a few additional Forms have been added to meet new necessities; but all the Liturgical Forms, except the Sacramental, are optional as to use. Yet the Church is far from being illiberal. She has always been a pioneer in the movement of all the great Union Societies, and a liberal friend in supporting them in the spread of Evangelical Truth.

Repeated efforts have been made for more than a century by this Church to effect union or closer relations with other Churches of our land. Indeed, as early as 1743, while the efforts above alluded to, to organize some sort of an Ecclesiastical Assembly for self-government, were pending, the Classis of Amsterdam sought to effect a union of the Dutch Church with the German and Presbyterian Churches in America, but the effort did not succeed. In 1764, the Coetus party in the Church invited the German Church to unite with them and form a new and independent body; but the Germans then felt under too great obligations to the Classis of Amsterdam to

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cast off their authority. In 1794 further suggestions of union were made; and frequent allusions to the same subject occur for a half-century, but none of them developed into practical form. In 1848 a complete plan of union was drawn up, and was on the point of consummation, when certain circumstances suddenly brought about its failure. In 1886, again, every arrangement had been made for union, when certain technical errors in the reporting of the classical votes necessitated the delay of the matter for a year, when it was defeated.

Efforts to unite more or less closely with the Associate Reformed (Scotch) and the Presbyterian Churches were begun in 1785; were renewed in 1800, and were on the point of consummation in 1816, when a trivial difference of opinion on a minor point, caused one of the parties to withdraw. In 1822 special articles of fraternity were entered into with the Presbyterian Church, and delegates have been exchanged almost yearly ever since. But it was in 1873 that the most comprehensive effort for unity was made by the Dutch Reformed, the German Reformed, and the two Presbyterian bodies, North and South. Large committees were appointed and meetings were held extending over two years. But again a circumstance occurred which defeated the scheme.

The Reformed Church in America has held correspondence during the past century with more than thirty different denominations, including a few in Europe. While decided in her attachment to Evangelical Truth, she recognizes the importance of closer unity among the different branches of the Church of Christ in order to secure the conquest of the world for Him. And we firmly believe that when the time comes for a simpler Creed—one not forged in the furnace of polemics and under the shadows of a state-churchism, she will stand shoulder to shoulder with the other Evangelical Churches of our land and of the world, in framing a Confession, having for its starting point DIVINE LOVE, yet not ignoring the Holiness and Justice of God. She has long been ready for some wise plan of federation, and we trust the day is not far distant when God will raise up some genius capable of being the successful advocate of such a scheme.

THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.**—English antecedents, S. P. C. K and S. P. G., Bishops.
14. **THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).** Recuperation, Growth, The Revolution, Reunion.
15. **THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).** The Word, Faith, Baptism, Holy Communion.
16. **THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).** The historic episcopate, The individual and the Church.
17. **THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA.**—Comfort, Statistics, English Church.
18. **THE REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA (Continued).**—Autonomy, Expansion, Missions, Evangelicism, Reunion.

QUESTIONS.

13. *Sketch the connection of the Protestant Episcopal Church with that of the Apostles. Sketch the introduction of Episcopacy into America.*
14. *Sketch its history since the Revolution. How did Churchmen promote the Revolution? State the Episcopal basis of Union.*
15. *State the doctrine concerning the Scriptures, Faith, Baptism and the Holy Communion.*
16. *Why is Episcopal ordination required? What is not required?*
17. *Under what aspect is doctrine viewed? Sketch the relations with the English Church.*
18. *For what has the Church been noted? Relate the overtures for union.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The marvelous world-wide work of the S. P. C. K.*
2. *The grand style and rich content of the Prayer Book, especially the Communion service.*
3. *The universal acceptance and central significance of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.*
4. *The terms upon which episcopacy could be accepted by American churches.*
5. *The various aspects under which any system may be viewed.*
6. *The character of the genius that shall reunite Christendom.*

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THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY

J. H. DUBBS, D.D., LL.D., Professor of History, Franklin and Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.

19. THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE Reformed Church in the United States (formerly known as the German Reformed Church) is the American representative of the Reformed Church of Switzerland and Germany. The latter is the earliest of the group of national churches derived from the religious movement in the sixteenth century, of which Zwingli and Calvin were the most distinguished leaders. In Germany it received its distinctive form in the reign of Frederick III., Elector of the Palatinate.

The Swiss Reformation, as inaugurated by Zwingli, was distinct from that of Luther, and was from the beginning marked by decided peculiarities. Luther refused to recognize the Swiss churches on the ground that they did not agree with him with regard to the nature of Christ's presence in the Lord's Supper; but it is easy to see that in any event it would have been difficult to secure complete unity. The German princes disliked the Swiss republicans, and the Church of Switzerland was literally compelled to become "the free church in the free state."

The teachings of John Calvin differed in some respects from those of Zwingli, but in 1549 Calvin joined with Henry Bullinger—Zwingli's successor at Zürich—in a common Confession of Faith. In this Confession—known as the *Consensus Tigurinus*—Zwingli's doctrines were more fully elaborated, and it was found that existing differences were not essential. In this way the German and French elements in the Reformed Church were practically united. Calvin's doctrine of the Sacraments was generally accepted; but on the doctrine of the decrees the Germans were not disposed to take the advanced ground which was held by the Church of Geneva.

By this act of union the Reformed Church was greatly strengthened. In Germany, where it had hitherto been of little importance, it gradually made its way until it became the leading religious organization along the whole course of the Rhine. In 1559, Frederick III., Elector of the Palatinate, declared his adhesion to the Reformed Church, and his example was followed by several other German princes. It was, however, not until 1613 that John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg—the ancestor of the present imperial family of Germany—accepted the Reformed faith.

The Heidelberg Catechism was prepared at the direction of the Elector Frederick III., and published in 1563. Its chief authors were Caspar Olevianus and Zacharias Ursinus. The former was a Calvinist, and the latter had been a disciple of Melancthon, many of whose disciples had been literally driven into the Reformed Church by the great sacramental controversy which was then raging among the Lutherans. The Catechism which was thus produced has ever since its appearance been recognized as the chief confession of faith of the Reformed Churches.

For many years the Reformed Church of Germany was "a church under the cross," and it was not until the treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, that it was officially recognized as one of the three authorized "Confessions" of the empire. Though it had suffered greatly during the Thirty Years' War, its trials did not cease with the conclusion of that terrible struggle. In 1689 the Palatinate was devastated by a French invasion, and thousands of the people fled to other lands.

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Switzerland was overcrowded with refugees, so that the poverty of the people became extreme. The German princes manifested neither piety nor patriotism, and seemed to care nothing for the sufferings of their subjects. In the Palatinate the court changed its religion four times in as many reigns, and those of the people who were too conscientious to imitate their rulers became the victims of persecution.

The defeat of the French by Marlborough and Prince Eugene at Blenheim may be said to have concluded the period of invasions, but the misery of the fatherland was not diminished. For several years the harvests failed, and the winter of 1708-9 was the severest that had ever been known. At the time of the greatest suffering it was reported that Queen Anne had invited the destitute Palatines to seek a home in her American colonies. "Then," says an early writer, "men looked into each other's faces and said, 'Let us go to America, and if we perish we perish.'"

From the great German and Swiss migration of the eighteenth century the Reformed Church in the United States is mainly derived. There had been isolated Germans among the Dutch and Swedes, and it is on record that Peter Minuit, the leader of the Swedes on the Delaware, had been a deacon of the Reformed Church in the German city of Wesel. It was not, however, until about 1710 that efforts were made to establish German Reformed Churches in America. In that year the Rev. John Frederick Hager began to preach to the Reformed Palatines on the Hudson, and the Rev. Henry Hoeger performed the same office at New Berne, N. C. In the same year the Rev. Paulus Van Vlecq, a Dutch Reformed minister, did some missionary work, partly in the interest of the Germans, at Skippack and White Marsh, in Pennsylvania. A Reformed Church was erected in Germantown in 1719. In 1720 John Philip Boehm was preaching at Falkner Swamp, Skippack, and White Marsh; in 1727 George Michael Weiss organized a Reformed Church in Philadelphia. About a dozen churches appear to have been organized between 1730 and 1735. In 1731 the whole number of Reformed people in Pennsylvania was estimated at 15,000.

That the people were religiously in a destitute condition cannot be doubted. They were generally too poor to support a settled pastor, and the visit to Europe in 1729-30 by the Rev. G. W. Weiss and an elder named Reiff, for the purpose of soliciting aid for the destitute churches of Pennsylvania, was abundantly justified. It was a period of great confusion, and ministers labored independently of all ecclesiastical authority. The man who toiled most earnestly to establish order was John Philip Boehm, to whom the church is indebted for its earliest congregational constitution. It was also greatly due to his efforts that the Church of Holland took charge of the German Reformed Churches of Pennsylvania, and effectually aided them in effecting a general organization.

Michael Schlatter (1716-90) was sent to America in 1746 by the Synods of Holland, with a commission as Missionary Superintendent. In 1747 he succeeded in organizing an ecclesiastical body, known as the *Coetus*, which was like a synod, except that its acts were subject to revision by the Synods of Holland. Twice he visited Europe and collected a fund of £12,000, which was invested in Holland for the benefit of the Reformed churches of Pennsylvania. This was the origin of the "Holland stipend," which was for many years paid to American ministers. Schlatter was also instrumental in the collection of a large fund for the establishment of "Charity Schools" in Pennsylvania, and of these schools he became the first Superintendent.

The most advanced and promising portion of the Church soon joined the *Coetus*, but some ministers remained independent. The most eminent of the latter was the Rev. Dr. John Joachim Zubly, who labored energetically in the South, and was in 1775-6 a member of the Continental Congress.

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20. THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

The connection with Holland, which was at first a blessing, became in time an intolerable burden. As every act of the *Coetus* had to be reported for revision, years sometimes passed before, in important cases, a decision was reached. The Synods of Holland occasionally sent missionaries to America—the last two in 1786; but they refused to grant to the *Coetus* the privilege of conferring the rite of ordination. At last, in 1793, correspondence with Holland ceased and the *Coetus* resolved itself into an independent Synod.

The history of the Reformed Church in the United States since the organization of the first Synod in 1793 may be regarded as consisting of three plainly marked periods: *a*, to the founding of a Theological Seminary in 1825; *b*, to the Tercentenary Celebration and the organization of the General Synod in 1863; and *c*. to the present time.

The condition of the Church during the first period was in many respects discouraging. The supply of educated ministers from Europe had almost ceased, and there were none who were properly qualified to take the place of those who were passing away. An attempt to found a college in junction with the Lutherans, in 1787, had proved a failure, and it was long before the Church recovered from its disappointment. The introduction of the English language into the services of many churches caused disturbance, and some congregations were lost to the Church. In 1824 the churches west of the Alleghenies, about eighty in number, organized a separate Synod. In 1825 the communicants of the entire Church numbered 23,291.

During the second period the life of the Church centred in the Theological Seminary at Mercerburg. In that little mountain village labored such men as Drs. Lewis Mayer, F. A. Rauch, John W. Nevin, Philip Schaff, Henry Harbaugh, and others whose names are known in all the churches. There Rauch wrote his "Psychology," Nevin published his "Mystical Presence," and Schaff began his series of Church Histories. The Church was rapidly advancing in general intelligence and maintained a number of periodicals, including a German and an English literary and theological review.

The Tercentenary Celebration of the Heidelberg Catechism, in 1863, was an important historical epoch. Two large conventions were held, besides many local celebrations, and a splendid edition of the Catechism was published. Benevolent contributions were largely increased, and the Church manifested extraordinary energy in its missionary work.

The present period has continued and developed the prosperity which was thus inaugurated. A long controversy concerning the use of a responsive Liturgy was concluded in 1879; and the Church has now reached a position which may be described as moderately liturgical, though perfect freedom in worship is allowed. The Reformed Church now consists of one General Synod, eight district Synods, and in round numbers 1,000 ministers and 230,000 communicants. It supports a flourishing mission in Japan. In this country its missionaries have labored successfully among the German and Hungarian immigrants. Three Orphan Homes are supported. Of its eight Synods three are prevailingly German. It sustains nineteen literary and theological institutions and publishes twenty-eight periodicals.

A chief cause for the recent prosperity of the Reformed Church must be sought in its liberal and comprehensive character. Practically its faith is based on the ancient creeds which are the common possession of Christendom. It holds as firmly as did the Great Synod of Berne, in 1532, that "Christ is the centre of Christian teaching," and that "God Himself can be known only as He has revealed Himself in Jesus Christ." During its whole history the Reformed Church has taken the most advanced ground on the subject of Christian union, and it is still ready to go more than half way to meet those who seek to actualize the ideal of the Master.

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THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

BY

RT.-REV. SAMUEL FALLOWS, D.D., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.

21. THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE Protestant Episcopal Church is the parent body of the ecclesiastical organization known as the Reformed Episcopal Church.

The Rt.-Rev. George David Cummins, D.D., who had been Assistant Bishop of Kentucky in the former communion, separated from it in a communication dated November 10, 1873, to the Rt.-Rev. Dr. Smith, its Presiding Bishop. To this step Bishop Cummins, who was a man of singular eloquence, elevated purity of character, marked organizing ability and of unswerving devotion to evangelical truth, was, as he avers, most painfully but conscientiously led. Among the reasons which caused him to take the step of separation, he states the following, in his letter to Bishop Smith:



Rt.-Rev. George D. Cummins, D.D.

"I have lost all hope that this system of error, now prevailing so extensively in the Church of England and in the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, can be, or will be eradicated by any action of the authorities of the Church, legislative or executive. The only true remedy, in my judgment, is the judicious yet thorough revision of the Prayer Book, eliminating from it all that gives countenance, directly or indirectly, to the whole system of Sacerdotalism and Ritualism: a revision after the model of that recommended by the commission appointed in England under royal authority in 1689, and whose work was indorsed by the great names of Burnet, Patrick, Tillotson and Stillingfleet, and others of the Church of England—a blessed work, which failed, alas! to receive the approval of Convocation, but was taken up afterwards by the fathers of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, and embodied in the Prayer Book of 1785, which they set forth and recommended for use in this country.

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"I propose to return to that Prayer Book, sanctioned by William White, and to tread in the steps of that saintly man, as he acted from 1785 to 1789.

"One other reason for my present action remains to be given. On the last day of the late Conference of the Evangelical Alliance I participated in the celebration of the Lord's Supper, by invitation, in the Rev. Dr. John Hall's church, in the city of New York, and united with Dr. Hall, Dr. Wm. Arnot of Edinburgh, and Professor Dorner of Berlin, in that precious feast. It was a practical manifestion of the real unity of 'the blessed company of all faithful people' whom 'God hath knit together in one communion and fellowship, in the mystical body of his son Jesus Christ.' The results of that participation have been such as to prove to my mind that such a step cannot be taken by one occupying the position I now hold, without sadly disturbing the peace and harmony of 'this Church,' and without impairing my influence for good over a large portion of the same Church, very many of whom are within our own diocese.

"As I cannot surrender the right and privilege thus to meet my fellow-Christians of other churches around the table of our dear Lord, I must take my place where I can do so, without alienating those of my own household of faith.

"I therefore leave the Communion in which I have labored in the sacred ministry for over twenty-eight years, and transfer my work and office to another sphere of labor. I have an earnest hope and confidence that a basis for the union of all evangelical Christendom can be found in a communion which shall retain or restore a primitive episcopacy and a pure scriptural liturgy, with a fidelity to the doctrine of justification by faith only—*Articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiæ.*"

On the second day of December, 1873, certain clergymen and laymen, formerly connected with the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, met in New York and organized the Reformed Episcopal Church, with Bishop Cummins as its first Presiding Bishop.

The following *Declaration of Principles* constituted its basis:

I. The Reformed Episcopal Church, holding 'the faith once delivered to the saints,' declares its belief in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God, and the sole rule of faith and practice; in the Creed, commonly called the Apostles' Creed; in the Divine institution of the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper; and in the doctrines of grace, substantially as they are set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion.

II. This church recognizes and adheres to Episcopacy, not as of divine right, but as a very ancient and desirable form of church polity.

III. This church retaining a liturgy which shall not be imperative or repressive of freedom in prayer, accepts the Book of Common Prayer, as it was revised, proposed, and recommended for use by the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, A. D. 1785, reserving full liberty to alter, abridge, enlarge, and amend the same, as may seem most conducive to the edification of the people, 'provided that the substance of the faith be kept entire.'

IV. This church condemns and rejects the following erroneous and strange doctrines as contrary to God's Word:

First. That the church of Christ exists only in one order or form of ecclesiastical polity.

Second. That Christian ministers are "priests" in another sense than that in which all believers are a "royal priesthood."

Third. That the Lord's table is an altar, on which the oblation of the body and blood of Christ is offered anew to the Father.

Fourth. That the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a presence in the elements of bread and wine.

Fifth. That regeneration is inseparably connected with baptism.

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22. THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH (Continued).

In justification of the action taken, writers in the interest of the Reformed Episcopal Church point to the prevalence of the errors and excesses of the Tractarian school in the parent Church. They contend that the drift is increasingly in that direction. Altars, super altars, crucifixes, candles, incense, many colored vestments, genuflections, prostrations, confessions and the like, abound. They assert that the extremists have a logical ground on which to stand in the Prayer Book; that until it is revised Protestant-ward, it is in vain to hope to check the retrogressive tendency. They refer to the efforts which have been repeatedly made to procure revision, but each time with a decreasing minority, until there is absolutely no hope for success.

Doctrines and Usages.—The doctrines of the Reformed Episcopal Church may be in general considered as those of orthodox and evangelical Protestantism. The old Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England and the Protestant Episcopal Church were revised to make them more distinctive and adapted to present life and thought. These articles have been compressed into Thirty-five. The famous Seventeenth Article, "*Of Election, Predestination and Free Will*," has been made the Eighteenth, and reads as follows:

"While the Scriptures distinctly set forth the election, predestination and calling of the people of God unto eternal life, as Christ saith: 'All that the Father giveth me shall come to me;' they no less positively affirm man's free agency and responsibility, and that salvation is freely offered to all through Christ.

This Church, accordingly, simply affirms these doctrines as the Word of God sets them forth, and submits them to the individual judgment of its members, as taught by the Holy Spirit; strictly charging them that God commandeth all men everywhere to repent, and that we can be saved only by faith in Jesus Christ."

Thus clergymen of the Calvinistic and Arminian type of thought are equally at home in this Christian organization.

Worship.—The Reformed Episcopal Church is Liturgical in its character. Its Prayer Book has been revised so that everything of a sacerdotal character is eliminated. It is therefore claimed to be Protestant, Evangelical, and Scriptural. In its services the people are expected always to take part. Provision is made for free prayer, and meetings for extempore worship are encouraged.

Government.—Its government is Episcopal. Its Bishops are first among equals, the first among Presbyters. They are Presbyters in *orders*, but Bishops in *office*. To them belongs the conferred right to confirm, ordain, and consecrate. Their Succession is an equally historic one with that of the Church from which they are descended.

Relation to Other Churches:—With the congregational character of the individual parishes, in whose affairs communicants and contributors participate; with its freedom of extempore prayer; with its recognition of the ministerial character and standing of clergymen, and of the Christian character and standing of members in other churches; with its Episcopal government and adherence to a Liturgy; with its broad fellowships and practical sympathies, it affords a meeting ground for a common Christendom.

The Future.—Holding a unique position in the Christian world, the Reformed Episcopal Church, with the lapse of years, will gain adherents, strength, and influence. Conservative, and yet progressive, she has both the statics and the dynamics of progress in her constitutional unfolding and development.

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REORGANIZED CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

BY

JOSEPH SMITH, Editor of the "Herald," Lamoni, Iowa.

23. THE REORGANIZED CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.

THE Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in doctrine, practice and organization, is the successor of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, which was organized by Joseph Smith, Jr., Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and three others, April 6, 1830, at Fayette, Seneca county, New York, by command and direction of God.

The Church removed from New York to Ohio, in 1831, settling at Kirtland, then Geauga, now Lake county. Settlements were also made in Jackson county, Missouri, from which the members were driven by persecution to Ray, Clay and Caldwell counties in 1833; and later by order of L. W. Boggs, Governor of Missouri, from the State, in 1838, upon pain of extermination.

Joseph and Hyrum Smith, with others, were arrested and imprisoned, charged with high crimes, kept confined for months without trial, and finally allowed to escape in being transferred from one county to another. Those driven from the State in the late fall and early winter of 1838 found a refuge in Illinois, and were joined by the leaders in the Spring of 1839, and settled at Commerce, afterward Nauvoo, in Hancock county, Illinois.

This colony flourished remarkably, though the Church and its leaders were still persecuted, until there was an estimated membership of one hundred and fifty thousand to two hundred thousand in 1844. On June 27 of that year, Joseph and Hyrum Smith, while in jail upon the charge of treason, with the personal pledge of Gov. Thomas Ford guaranteeing them safety and a fair trial, were assassinated by a mob, disguised to prevent recognition. Contention as to who should succeed to the lead of the Church began in the fall after the assassination, the principal contestants being Brigham Young, who claimed it for the quorum of apostles of which he was president; Sidney Rigdon, one of the first Presidency as Counselor to Joseph Smith, who claimed it by virtue of such counselorship; James Jesse Strang, who claimed it upon an alleged appointment by Joseph Smith in a private letter. These contestants were active and bitter, each party against all the others. Rigdon led his party to Pittsburg, Pa., where, in the Cumberland valley, it went to pieces, and he finally died at Amity, Pa., about 1876. Strang established a colony at Voree, near Burlington, Wis., and founded an ecclesiastical kingdom, himself being king, on Beaver Island, in Lake Michigan. This was broken and its members dispersed upon the death of Straug by assassination in 1856. The larger number of those who had gathered at Nauvoo were induced to accede to the claim of Brigham Young; though it was not until the whole were driven from Illinois in the fall of 1846, and a settlement in the valley of Salt Lake was determined on, that Brigham Young had himself chosen president to succeed the fallen prophet, December, 1847. The Church was thrown into confusion. Brigham Young, leading officer in the second quorum of the Church, assumed the control, though this was objected to by many.

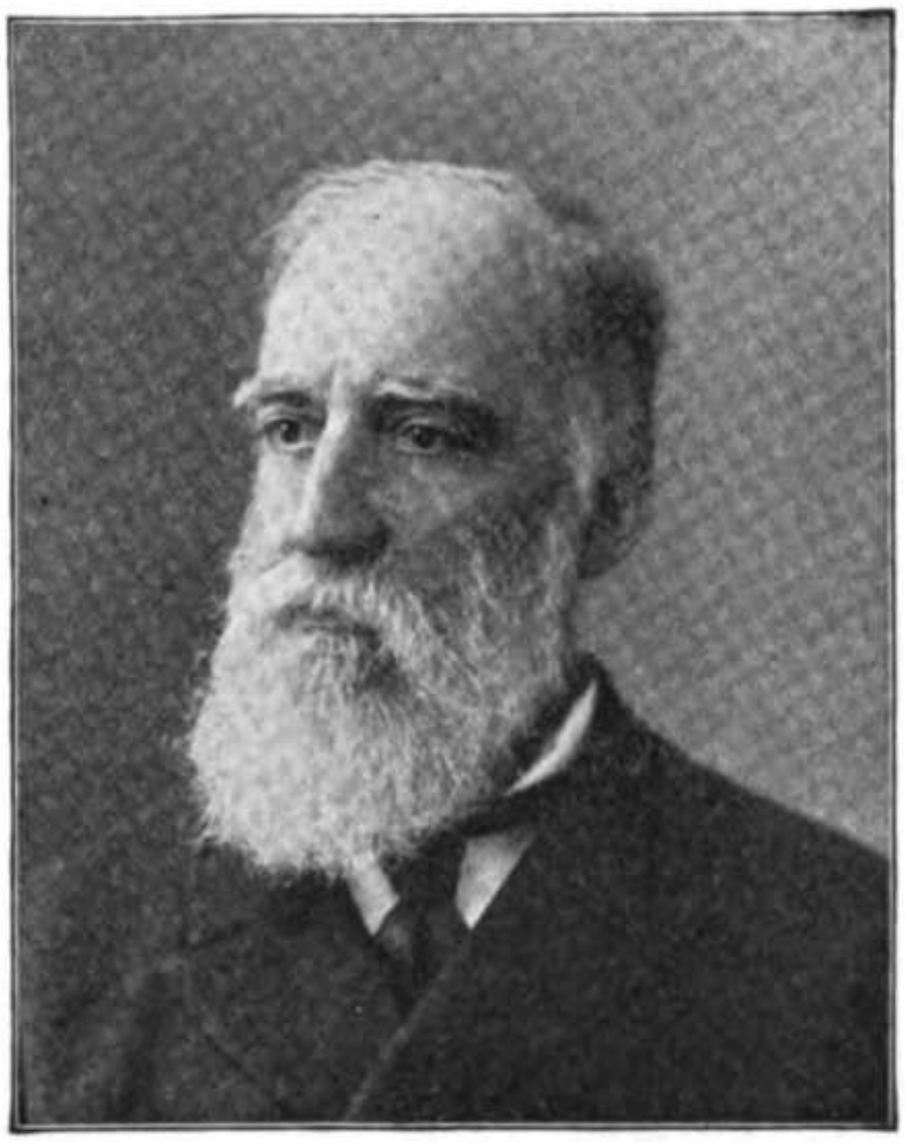
The administration of President Young was not acceptable to a great many of the members; the doctrines taught by him, the practices and procedure in church affairs introduced and fostered under his rule, were many of them contrary to the constitutional laws and rules of the Church under the presidency of Joseph and Hyrum Smith. Disaffection resulted and the protestants left the body as controlled

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by President Young, and either settled down to watch the trend of affairs, or joined one of the several factions that sprang up opposed to him. Of the former class there were members all over the northwest, notably in Southern Wisconsin, northern Illinois and Iowa; among whom were the family of the dead prophet, his mother, a brother and three sisters with their families, none of whom would accept the rule of President Young or the dogma of plural marriage.

In 1851 some of those waiting for "the Lord to move," by agreement of a few, among others, Jason W. Briggs, Zenos H. Gurley, David Powell, Wm. Aldrich, and John Gaylord, met and upon consideration decided that it was needful and timely to call the scattered members together for mutual benefit. A conference was called and held at Zarahemla, Wisconsin, June 12, 1852. The presidency of Brigham Young and the doctrine of spiritual wifery, or plural marriage, was formally declared against, and the faith of the original church publicly asserted by resolution and vote.

From this date conferences were held at different places in Illinois, Iowa and Wisconsin, an organization was effected, and a corps of missionaries sent out to warn the scattered people of the work being done. In October, 1859, at a conference held in Fox Township, near Sandwich, Illinois, many who were members at the death of Joseph Smith, united with the movement; William Marks, Zenos H. Gurley, both members of the Church and officers under the Smiths, and William W. Blair, were made a Publishing Committee; a paper was authorized, and Isaac Sheen, of Cincinnati, also an old member, was appointed editor; publication of *The Saints' Herald* began January, 1860.



Joseph Smith, oldest son of the Prophet, and Editor of the Herald, Lamoni, Iowa.

In April, 1860, a conference was held at Amboy, Lee county, Ill., at which Emma, the widow of the Prophet, and her son Joseph, oldest son of the Prophet, joined the movement. Joseph had been blessed by his father to the prophetic office, and baptized by the same authority. It had been prophesied that he would be at the conference and his coming was hailed with enthusiasm. He was received upon his blessing and baptism, ordained to the priesthood and chosen to preside over the Church. Under his presidency the original faith was reaffirmed, the plural marriage doctrine and practice, with some other dogmas taught by the Church in Utah under President Young, were denounced as false and innovations upon the original faith and the appointment of Brigham Young as President of the Church in 1847 was declared to be contrary to church law and a usurpation. Then began an active period of propagandism. A press was established at Plano, Illinois, in 1863, and in 1866 Joseph Smith was given editorial charge and has been continued up to date. An incorporation under the name of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints was effected. The Church now numbers nearly fifty thousand membership, with over four hundred branches, as congregations are called. Its principal place of business is Lamoni, Decatur county, Iowa, where Joseph Smith, his brother Alexander H. Smith, Patriarch and Connselor, E. L. Kelley, Bishop and Counselor, with many other officers, reside. There are over two hundred missionaries in the field, and great progress is being made.

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24. THE REORGANIZED CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS (Continued).

The beliefs of the Church as formulated are:

We believe in God the Eternal Father, and in His Son Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.

We believe that through the atonement of Christ, all men may be saved by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the gospel.

These laws and ordinances are: Faith in God and in the Lord Jesus Christ: Repentance: Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins: Laying on of hands for the gift of the Holy Ghost.

We believe in the Resurrection, that the dead in Christ will rise first, and the rest of the dead will not live again until the thousand years are expired.

We believe in the doctrine of Eternal Judgment, which provides that men shall be judged, rewarded, or punished, according to the degree of good or evil they have done.

We believe that men must be called of God to be authorized to act as ministers for Christ; that the organization of the Church now should be the same as in the primitive Church, viz., Apostles, Prophets, Pastors, Teachers, Evangelists, etc.; that the Bible contains the word of God; that the canon of Scripture is not full, and that God will continue to reveal His word to man until the end of time; that the gifts of the gospel should be manifested in the Church: faith, wisdom, discerning of spirits, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, tongues, interpretation, charity, brotherly love; that marriage is ordained of God, and that the law of God provides for but one companion in wedlock, for either man or woman, except where the contract is broken by death or transgression.

We believe that a plurality and community of wives are opposed to the law of God, as revealed in the Bible.

The voice of revelation to us is:

"Wherefore, my brethren, hear me, and hearken to the word of the Lord; for there shall not any man among you have save it be *one wife*, and concubines he shall have none, for I, the Lord God, delighteth in the chastity of women. And whoredoms are an abomination before me, saith the Lord of hosts."—*Jacob ii.*, 6-9, *Book of Mormon.*

"Whoso forbiddeth to marry, is not ordained of God, for marriage is ordained of God unto man; wherefore it is lawful that he should have one wife, and they twain shall be one flesh, and all this that the earth might answer the end of its creation; and that it might be filled with the measure of man, according to his creation before the world was made."—*Doctrine and Covenants, xlix, 3.*

We believe that in all matters of controversy upon the duty of man toward God, and in reference to preparation and fitness for the world to come, the Word of God should be decisive and the end of dispute; and that when God directs man should obey.

We believe that the religion of Jesus Christ, as taught in the New Testament Scriptures, if its precepts are accepted and obeyed, will make men and women better in the domestic circle, better citizens of town, county and State, and better fitted for the change which cometh at death.

We believe that men should worship God in spirit and in truth; and that such worship does not require a violation of the constitutional law of the land. We claim the privilege of worshiping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience; and that all men should be allowed the same privilege, let them worship how, where, and what they may.

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In regard to **civil governments:**

We believe that governments are instituted of God for the benefit of man, and that God will hold men accountable for their acts, either in making or administering laws for the good of society. That no government can exist in peace, except such laws are framed and held inviolate as will secure to each individual the free exercise of conscience, the control of property, and the protection of life. It is the right and duty of all governments to enact and enforce such laws as will secure the public interest, at the same time holding sacred the freedom of conscience.

In August, 1891, a suit was begun by the *Reorganized Church* in the Circuit Court of the United States for the Western District of Missouri, for the recovery of a piece of land, called the Temple Lot, held at the time by a small body of believers called "The Church of Christ," before John F. Philips, Judge. The following is from his opinion after the trial, dated March 16, 1894:

"Justice Caton in Ferraria *et al.*, *vs.* Vanconcellos *et al.*, 31 Ill. 54, 55, aptly states the rule to be, 'That, where a church is erected for the use of a particular denomination, or religious persuasion, a majority of the members cannot abandon the tenets and doctrines of the denomination and retain the right to the use of the property; but such secessionists forfeit all right to the property, even if but a single member adheres to the original faith and doctrine of the church. This rule is founded in reason and justice. . . . Those who adhere to the original tenets and doctrines for the promulgation of which a church has been erected, are the sole beneficiaries designed by the donors; and those who depart from and abandon those tenets and doctrines cease to be beneficiaries, and forfeit all claim to the title and use of such property.

"'No matter, therefore, if the Church at Nauvoo became a prey to schisms, after the death of Joseph Smith, and presented as many frightful heads as did the dragon which the Apostle John saw in his vision on the Isle of Patmos, if there was one righteous left in Sodom, the promise of the covenant and of the law of the land is to him.

"'A considerable number of the officers and members of the church at Nauvoo did not ally themselves with any of the factions, and wherever they were they held unto the faith, refused to follow Brigham Young to Utah, and ever repudiated the doctrine of polygamy, which was the great rock of offense on which the Church split after the death of Joseph Smith.

"'In 1852 the scattered fragments of the Church, the remnants of those who held to the fortunes of the present Joseph Smith, son of the so-called "Martyr," gathered together sufficiently for a nucleus of organization. They took the name of the "Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," and avowed their allegiance to the teachings of the ancient Church; and their epitome of faith adopted, while containing difference in phraseology, in its essentials, is but a reproduction of that of the Church as it existed from 1830 to 1844.

"'Decree will go in favor of the Complainant, establishing the trust in its favor against Respondents, removing the cloud from the title, and enjoining Respondents from asserting title to the property, and awarding possession to the Complainant.'"

Subsequently, on appeal to the Court of Appeals the decree was set aside as to the possession of the property in question, upon the ground that the Complainant Church had not begun their action to recover soon enough; but affecting the opinion and decree of Judge Philips in no other particular.



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FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.**—Zwingli, Calvin, Expansion, Persecution, Emigration, Dependency.
20. **THE REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).**—Independence, Disturbances, Mercerburg, Prosperity.
21. **THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH.**—Bishop Cummins, Sacerdotalism, Fellowship with other churches, Secession, Principles, Repudiations.
22. **THE REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH (Continued).**—Tractarian School, Revision of the Thirty-Nine Articles, Calvinism and Armenianism, Extempore and liturgical worship, Government, Toleration.
23. **THE REORGANIZED CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS.**—Origin, Persecution, The Smiths, B. Young, Reorganization, Joseph Smith.
24. **THE REORGANIZED CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS (Continued).**—Orders in the Church, The Canon, Gifts in the Church, Marriage, Civil government.

QUESTIONS.

19. *Distinguish the Reformed from the Lutheran Church in doctrine and politics. Who was the Swiss and who the German leader? What resulted from their union? Relate the facts that led to the emigration of Reformed Christians. Describe their early condition in America.*

20. *Why was independence secured? What influence did the Mercerburg Seminary exert? Characterize the present period, and state its cause.*

21. *What was the Anglican Prayer Book believed to need? What formed the immediate occasion of Bishop Cummins' withdrawal? When was the Reformed Episcopal Church organized? On what ground is episcopacy retained? What doctrines are condemned?*

22. *Recite the non-Protestant practices of the Protestant-Episcopal Church. What two types of thought does the article on Election recognize? What various elements appear in the worship? How are bishops distinguished? What attitude is taken to other Churches?*

23. *Of what was the Latter-Day Saint Church the successor? What part did Brigham Young play? What practice was repudiated at the reorganization? What followed the choice of Joseph Smith to the presidency?*

24. *State the doctrines concerning the canon, gifts in the Church, marriage, and the constitutional law of the land.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The differences between the Reformed and Lutheran Churches.*
2. *The value of scholarship to a Church.*
3. *When does secession become a duty?*
4. *Which Church is most likely to form a nucleus for a united Christendom?*
5. *The continued rise of sects.*
6. *Is the canon still open?*

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It will suffice in this connection to refer the student to an every way admirable series, entitled "The American Church History Series." For titles of the several volumes compare p. 678.

N.B.—For the use of the portrait of Bishop Cummins the University Association is indebted to the courtesy of Dodd, Mead & Co., New York; and for the use of those of A. Alexander and C. Hodge, to the Presbyterian Board of Education.



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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY

RIGHT REV. THOMAS O'GORMAN, D.D., Bishop of Sioux Falls, South Dakota.

1. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

THE history of the Catholic Church in the territory now comprised by the states of the Union is the subject of this sketch. This history has two periods: the Mission period, during which the Church's work was carried on by missionaries imported from Spain, France and England, and holding their jurisdiction from ecclesiastical superiors in those repective countries; and the hierarchical period, which began with the establishment of the Episcopal see of Baltimore and continues down to the present day, during which period the Church's work was and is carried on by a clergy organized in diocesan groups and holding jurisdiction from bishops appointed by the Holy See to govern determined districts known as dioceses. The former period extends from the arrival of Spanish missionaries in Florida, 1521, to the appointment of the Rt. Rev. John Carroll to the see of Baltimore, 1789. There is an overlapping of this dividing line in the case of New Mexico and California for the reason that they came into the Union after the erection of the see of Baltimore.

Spanish missionaries evangelized Florida, Alabama, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, 1521-1848. French missionaries evangelized Maine, northern New York, the southern coasts of the great lakes, the valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi, 1604-1789. There is here an overlapping in the case of Louisiana, which entered the Union in 1813. English missionaries evangelized the Atlantic coast from Maine to Virginia, 1634-1789.

The Spanish Missions.—In 1521 Ponce de Leon brought with him to Florida a certain number of missionaries; but this expedition was driven back by the natives after a very short stay on land. Five years afterwards, 1526, with Vasquez de Ayllon sailed two Dominican Fathers and a lay brother. Ayllon reached the Chesapeake and formed a settlement, San Miguel, not far from the spot where almost a century later the English founded Jamestown. A temporary chapel was erected and the services of the Church were celebrated as long as the settlement lasted. It did not last long. Ayllon died, a severe winter set in, disease came, the settlers quarreled, and the Indians attacked them. When spring came, the colonists, disgusted and despairing, set sail for Cuba. In 1527 another expedition, under Pamfilo de Narvaez, with Franciscan and secular priests, was scattered by the natives and lost at sea. Eleven years later, 1538, in the expedition of Hernando de Soto, most of the priests accompanying him perished in the long weary marches from Florida to Virginia and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, in whose waters the ill-fated leader was buried. Eleven years later, 1549, Luis Cancer de Barbastro, a Dominican, led to the Floridian coast a band of his brother religious, only to meet on landing a martyr's death. Ten years later, 1559, fifteen hundred soldiers, many settlers, and four Dominican fathers, gathered in thirteen vessels, started once more for Florida under the command of Tristan de Luna. A cyclone struck the fleet, destroying eight vessels and scattering the others. Those that escaped the storm remained on land for two years, were picked up by a passing fleet and brought back to Cuba. The

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government of Spain, after so many failures, decided that no more colonizing should be attempted in Florida; but just then France was trying to get a foothold on the Southern Atlantic coast, and, in order to keep France out, Spain made one supreme effort that succeeded in the permanent occupation and evangelization of Florida by Spanish troops and missionaries. In 1565 was founded St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States. Before the end of seventy years the number of Christian Indians was reckoned at twenty-five or thirty thousand, distributed among forty-four missions, under the direction of thirty-five Franciscan missionaries; while the city of St. Augustine, in care of secular priests, was well equipped with religious institutions and organizations. The Indian languages were reduced to grammar, and books of instruction and prayer were written and published by the missionaries for the use of the natives. For one hundred and fifteen years Florida was in the exclusive possession of the Spanish government and the Spanish missionaries. In 1680 the settling of Scotch Presbyterians at Port Royal in South Carolina was the signal for a war of races which went on, with intervals of quiet, until the treaty of Paris, 1763, transferred Florida to the British Crown.

Out of the wrecked expedition of Pamfilo de Narvaez to Florida, 1527, Cabeza de Vaca, with three companions, was saved; and for ten years they wandered among the Indians of the Southwest, finally making their way to Mexico with wonderful reports of the countries they had traversed. Expeditions soon followed into those countries that went by the name of New Mexico. Noticeable are the expeditions of the Franciscan Mark of Nizza, 1539; of Coronadó, 1542, in which the Franciscan monk, John of Padilla, fell a martyr to his zeal for the cause of religion. However, it was only in 1599 that a permanent occupation was effected, and the city of Santa Fe was founded by Don Juan de Onate. The missionary work was undertaken by Franciscan friars. After the first months of hardship and discouragement the work of evangelization went forward at a marvelous rate; most of the natives were reckoned as being within the pale of the Church; not less than sixty friars at once were in the field. Fourscore years after the founding of the colony, 1680, the Indians rose in rebellion against the Spanish government; in a few weeks no Spaniard was left north of El Paso; Christianity and civilization were swept away at one blow. In a few years the Spanish power, taking advantage of the anarchy and the famine which fell upon the Indians after their rebellion, reoccupied the country and the missionaries were brought back. The work of the Gospel did not attain thereafter the success it had before the rebellion. The later history of Spanish Christianity in New Mexico is a history of decline and decay; the white population increased while the Indian dwindled. When New Mexico became part of the United States, the number of missionaries was small, only seventeen, and the Indians were only some twenty thousand out of a total population of eighty thousand.

New Mexico, in Spanish times, comprised a large portion of our present territory of Arizona. Here the Franciscans labored in the conversion of the natives until the rebellion of 1680, after which period the field passed into the hands of the Jesuits until their suppression by the Spanish govetnment in 1767. Their central point was St. Francis Xavier del Bac, where still stands a noble church, and the best known of their missionaries was Father Kino. After the suppression of the Jesuits the missions of Arizona fell back to the Franciscans of New Mexico.

Mission work in Texas began in 1689. H. H. Bancroft ("*North Mexican States and Texas*," *vol. xv., p. 631*) sums up the condition of the Texan missions about the year 1785, naming his authorities. From this summing up it appears that while the Spanish population, pure and mixed, was about three thousand the Christian Indians were only five hundred. The number of natives baptized since 1690 was less than ten thousand, and at no one time had the neophytes exceeded two thousand. The church buildings and decorations that are still in existence to-day show to what efficiency in handiwork the Indians were trained.

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2. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

Though expeditions northward from Mexico along the coast of California were begun as early as 1542, yet it was only in 1769 that a permanent occupation was effected by the Spaniards and mission work was begun by the Franciscans in the present State of California. The founder of the California missions was the famous Juniperro Serra. About him as a man and as a Christian there is complete agreement on all sides; his name stands for what is best in religion and for what is most romantic in Spanish annals. He segregated his Indian converts from the military and the Spanish colonists. The military composed the Presidio, the Spanish colonists the Pueblo, the Indian converts the Mission. This was a wise policy. The neighborhood of the military force was undoubtedly advantageous and frequently necessary for the safety of a mission. The introduction of white colonists was beneficial in putting before the Indians object lessons of agriculture and industry. But whereas soldiers and settlers were not likely to be, at all times, models of the religion they professed, it was prudent to keep the newly converted Indians from too close a contact with the Spaniard. Within the missions only Christian natives resided under the immediate spiritual and temporal government of the Fathers. Clustered around the mission buildings, wherein the children were educated and trained to mechanical and industrial trades, were the thatched huts in which lived the Indians. Forty-three years after the first foundation there were eighteen missions and a Christian native population of fifteen thousand five hundred. Sixty-five years after the foundation there were twenty-one missions with a native population of thirty thousand six hundred. During the first quarter of this century (1808-1824) took place in Mexico the rebellion against Spanish rule and the establishment of the republic. This revolution brought on the secularization of the missions. Secularization meant the confiscation of the mission properties and the expulsion of the Franciscans. The total ruin of the missions and the return of the Indians to savage life were the results of this inopportune policy. (1)

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2. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

(1) **Causes of the Success and Subsequent Ruin of the Spanish Missions.**—Our survey of the work of the Spanish church in the territory of the United States is at an end. In time it extended from 1520 to 1840, and covers, therefore, over three hundred years. In space it extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific, south of the thirty-eighth degree of latitude, and covered our present states of Florida, Alabama, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. Over a hundred thousand of the aborigines were brought to the knowledge of Christianity, and introduced, if not into the palace, at least into the antechamber of civilization. It was a glorious work, and the recital of it impresses us by the vastness and success of the toil. Yet, as we look around to-day, we can find nothing of it that remains. Names of saints in melodious Spanish stand out from maps in all that section where the Spanish monk trod, toiled and died. A few thousand Christian Indians, descendants of those they converted and civilized, still survive in New Mexico and Arizona, and that is all. It is well worth while to inquire what made the success, what the ruin of the Spanish missions.

What made their success? I answer: the blood of martyrs; the zeal of missionaries; the reduction of the roving tribes into fixed communities; the industrial training imparted to the Indians; the patriarchal and paternal character of the friars' government; the generosity of Spain in furnishing the temporal means of subsistence; the military protection given the missionaries; the separation of the Indians from the whites even to the difference of their spiritual guardians; the whites, as a rule, being under diocesan, the Indians under religious priests.

What caused their ruin? I name, as external causes the wilder roving tribes that remained heathen; the English colonists of Georgia and the Carolinas in the southeastern missions; the revolution of Mexico, and the consequent confiscation of funds and secularization of missions in the Southwestern missions; in both regions the withdrawal of that military protection that had been so influential in building them up. I name as internal causes the want of gradual preparation in the passage of the Indian tribes from tutelage to independent manhood, and in the transfer of the missions from the religious orders to the diocesan clergy; the tardiness in appointing bishops, who alone could prepare for the transfer and create the diocesan clergy that would take the place of the early missionaries.

This one glorious truth stands prominent: the Spaniards in the United States did not drive the natives from their homes, or oppress them, much less destroy them. These accusations, if made at all, must fall on some other race.—"*History of the Catholic Church in the United States*," *by Thomas O'Gorman, pp. 111-113.*

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3. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

The French Missions.—The land reached by the Cabots in 1494 was Cape Breton Island, "which name," says Parkman, "found on the oldest map, is a memorial of very early French voyages." There is reason to believe that before the voyage of Cabot French fishermen frequented the banks of Newfoundland; there is evidence that they did so as early as the year 1504. In the year 1524 Giovanni da Verrazano, a Florentine sailor in the service of Francis I., touched the American coast near Cape Fear in North Carolina and skirted it northward as far as latitude 50. In three voyages, 1534, 1535, 1541, Jacques Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence to a great Indian village, back of which rose a majestic mound that Cartier named Mount Royal; he had christened Montreal. For half a century no French expeditions to the Western continent took place on account of the disturbed condition of France. In 1603 Samuel de Champlain made a voyage of exploration up the St. Lawrence as far as Montreal. In 1605 he accompanied an expedition to Nova Scotia as royal geographer, and surveyed our northern coasts as far south as Boston Harbor. In 1608 he laid the foundations of Quebec, and this was the beginning of the great French colony of Canada called New France. In 1614 four Recollects (a branch of the Franciscan order) came out to New France to attend to the spiritual wants of the settlers and convert the surrounding tribes. In 1625 came to Quebec the first band of Jesuits whom the Recollects had called to their aid and to whom they left the field a few years later.

In the days of French supremacy Canada comprised Maine and northern New York. From 1611 till 1760; with short intervals of absence, the Jesuits labored among the Indians of Maine and converted most of them. In the list of their Maine missionaries the two most conspicuous names are Druillettes and Rale; the former by reason of his relations with the colony of Massachusetts, the latter by reason of his death at the hands of Massachusetts troops. In 1726 the Indians of Maine became the subjects of England. After 1760, until early in the present century, they were left without missionaries, yet they did not lose the faith. Perhaps, for all we know, priests from Canada made them stealthy visits, and the Indians frequently visited the Canadian missions. Parents baptized and instructed their children. Every Sunday they assembled in the chapels of their villages, and before the priestless altars chanted Mass and Vespers, the Gregorian melodies being handed down from generation to generation. When the War of Independence was declared the Indians of Maine joined the army of Washington. To-day one thousand descendants of the Neophytes of Druillettes and Rale hold the faith and sing the chants of their Catholic forefathers in the diocese of Portland, Maine.

Northern New York was the home of the fierce Iroquois, who were ever the determined enemies of the French and the allies of the English in the contest of those two nations for supremacy in America. All Canada was in terror of these savages. "No man," says Parkman, "could hunt, fish, till the fields, or cut a tree in the forest, without peril to his scalp." "I had as lief," writes a Jesuit, "be beset by goblins as by the Iroquois; the one are about as invisible as the other; our people are kept in a closer confinement than ever were monks or nuns in our smallest convents in France." These savages first came in contact with the French missionaries, 1642, when they captured Father Jogues on his way to the Huron country, now the province of Ontario. Jogues was run through the gauntlet in every village, was tied to the stake to be gashed and slowly burned, had his hands mutilated and was preserved from final death only to be made a slave. He was released by the kindness and generosity of the Dutch of Fort Orange (now Albany), was sent down the Hudson to Manhattan, and thence made his way to France. The heroic missionary returned to the Iroquois country in 1646, was again put through his former tortures and finally brained by a tomahawk, October 18, 1646. The scene

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of his death was the present village of Auriesville, Montgomery county, N. Y.; a small Catholic chapel marks the spot. Fathers Bressani, 1644, and Poncet, 1653, were likewise subjected to the cruelties of these savages, and by the shedding of their blood prepared the Iroquois soil for the Gospel seed. It was in 1654 that missions were permanently established among them; and they were continued with great success until 1687. During this period God's grace produced marvelous holiness in many a child of the forest; warriors, proud and cruel, were turned into humble and merciful servants of the Cross; women and maidens were made as chaste and virtuous as the female saints and martyrs of the first Christian centuries; the chapels were frequented morning and evening, and the hymns of the old Church resounded throughout the woods of Northern New York. According to the *Relations of the Jesuits*, between the years 1668 and 1678 there were two thousand two hundred and twenty-one baptisms in these missions. These figures, however, give an incomplete idea of the work done, for the reason that it was the policy of the Fathers to lengthen the catechumenate of their dusky disciples so that the number of attendants at instructions and services was far beyond that of the baptized. The political jealousies and the almost constant wars between France and England put an end to this work of God. To-day remnants of the Iroquois tribes, still Catholic, are to be found in Canada to the number of about three thousand.

In the northwest, along the shores of Lake Superior and Lake Michigan, were numerous Algonquin tribes that were first visited by the Jesuit missionaries in 1641. Permanent stations were established among them some twenty years later. In 1661 Father Menard established a mission in Keweenaw Bay, and in 1665 Father Allouez set up a mission in Ashland Bay. Thenceforth missionary work in the west was reduced to a system and central points were chosen for mission sites. Such a point was Sault Ste. Marie, a noted fishing place; for then, as to-day, the rapids were full of whitefish, and Indians from a distance came thither in crowds. Another center was La Pointe (now Ashland). Michili-mackinaw (now Mackinaw) and the great Manitoulin Islands were also chosen as mission sites. There was another spot in that western country famous for fish and game—Green Bay; in its neighborhood were a motley crowd of dusky inhabitants, Menominees, Pottowatomies, Winnebagos, Sacs, Mascoutins, Miamis, Kickapoos, Outaganies. As early as 1669 Allouez founded there the mission of St. Frances Xavier. These were the early mission posts.

The missions of the west do not record the bloody martyrdoms that marked those of the Huron and the Iroquois nations. The absence of any cruelties inflicted on the missionaries is evidence that already Christianity, now in contact with the tribes for many years, had gained their respect and was beginning to soften their fierce natures. But here more than elsewhere the missionaries had to suffer from the rigor of the climate, the dangers of long voyages by water and land, the absence of the comforts of civilization as to food, dwelling, society, and from the opposition and obstacles by which their work was impeded: opposition on the part of the Indians—medicine-men and polygamy; on the part of the French traders—licentiousness and brandy. It is no wonder the success of the missionaries was slow. Moreover, it must be kept in mind that success is to be measured not so much by the number of baptisms at any one period as by the silent influence of Christian teaching on the Indian nature. It must also be remembered that the catechumens always outnumbered the baptized. A few statistics from the *Relations of the Jesuits* gives some idea of the work done: In 1669, at La Pointe, Ashland Bay, two villages out of five were entirely Catholic; in 1677 there were eighteen hundred Catholics at Mackinaw; in 1676 there were five hundred Catholics at Green Bay; in 1670 at Sault Ste. Marie Bruillettes baptized one hundred and twenty children and three hundred adults. Besides mission work the missionaries were occasionally engaged in discovery, and thus were immortalized the names of Marquette and Hennepin.

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4. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

The foundation of Detroit by Cadillac, 1701, brought about great changes in the mission. Cadillac's plan was to gather around this new post all the western tribes east of the Mississippi. His intention was to prevent their trade from going northward to the English in the Hudson Bay country, whither it was coaxed by better prices and cheaper brandy. The Jesuits opposed the policy of Cadillac, holding that the less contact there was between the Indians and the whites the better for the Christianization and civilization of the former. The missions dwindled while Detroit grew and drew the Indians to it. The suppression of the Jesuits by the French government and the surrender of New France to England put an end to the glorious work which the society had carried on in the Northwest for the period of one hundred years. To-day there are about twenty thousand Catholic Indians in our Western States, who are descendants of the tribes evangelized by the Jesuits during those one hundred years.

The Illinois country (Illinois and Indiana as far south as the Ohio) and Louisiana (the territory south of the Ohio to the Gulf) were also the theater of missionary work by the Jesuits and secular priests from Quebec during the period of French supremacy. Little result among the Indians of Louisiana was obtained because the missionaries were almost entirely occupied in the white settlements. In the Illinois country much mission work was done among the Illinois and Miamis, whose population did not exceed eighteen thousand souls. The most successful period of the Illinois missions was from 1725 to 1750. The principal centers were Kaskaskia, Fort St. Louis, Cahokia, Peoria, St. Joseph at the head of Lake Michigan, Fort Chartres, Vincennes, and in later times St. Genevieve and St. Louis. From all this country the Indians have disappeared and the French settlers at the points named have become the nuclei of flourishing Catholic communities. To-day we find traces of the work of the early missionaries among our present Indians, who formerly lived in the East and the Northwest, in Florida and New Mexico; but none among the Indians from the lower Mississippi valley, if we except a small band of Quapaws from Arkansas, now living in the Indian territory. The blame must be laid to the misunderstanding between the Jesuits and the seculars, the Jesuits and the Capuchins of Louisiana, to the want of zeal in the government for the work of the missions, to the suppression of the society just at the time it was entering this field, and, finally, to the political jealousies and wars of the European nations fighting for the mastery of North America. It is a pity; for the Indians whose former home was in that section, are the most civilized, cultivated and wealthy of the two hundred and forty-eight thousand three hundred and forty still remaining in the United States, according to the calculations of the Indian Bureau.

Of this total it is hard to say how many are Catholics. Hoffman's *Catholic Directory* of 1894 says ninety-seven thousand eight hundred and fifty; Saddler's *Catholic Directory* of 1894 says fifty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty; the *Independent* of April 5, 1894, says forty-five thousand one hundred and ten; perhaps it will be safe for us to say fifty thousand. At any rate, this may be said with certainty: that there was not a tribe in all the extent of the United States to which the Gospel was not preached by Catholic missionaries from the year 1520 down to the time of our War of Independence; and again, this, that the missionaries of the old church are now once more at work among the aborigines, parked in their reservations, to preserve the fruits of the labors of their predecessors, and to reclaim to Christianity and civilization the sad remnants of a race once the master of this splendid domain.

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5. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

The English Missions.—After an unsuccessful attempt at the foundation of a colony in Newfoundland Lord Baltimore secured from the English crown, 1632, a grant of land including the present States of Maryland and Delaware. He was to be the lord proprietary ; that is to say, the viceroy of this territory with all legislative and executive powers under the sovereignty of the crown. He could admit to his colony, he could keep out of it whom he choosed. That he, though a Catholic, admitted Christians of all denominations and guaranteed to them religious equality, is a fact that entitles him to the credit of being the originator of religious liberty on this continent. Such was the policy of the Baltimores from the very beginning of their colonization, and the policy was enacted into a law in 1649. The colonists of Lord Baltimore landed from the Ark and the Dove at the mouth of the Potomac, March 25, 1634. With them were two Jesuits, White and Altham. The work of the Church from Virginia to Massachusetts remained exclusively in the hands of the Society of Jesus, from 1624 to 1790, or the space of a hundred and fifty-six years. Their labors extended into Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, and were concerned mostly with the Catholic settlers from Europe. With Indians they had very little to do, for the reason that the whites soon drove the aborigines from those States.

In 1691, the Protestant settlers in Maryland, having become more numerous than the Catholic, Lord Baltimore's act of toleration was revoked, the Anglican was made the established church, and then began for the Catholics of Maryland a period of legal proscriptions and persecutions like those of New England that lasted until the War of the Revolution. In the War of Independence Catholics joined the army and the navy in numbers out of all proportion to their population. Catholic officers from Catholic lands (Ireland, France and Poland) came to offer their services to the cause of liberty. France and Spain were the first to recognize our independence and send legations. Our first diplomatic circle was Catholic ; this accounts for the solemn church services to which the Federal authorities and military officers were invited on great national occasions. Then came to our shores French fleets and French regiments, with their chaplains and religious services. The spirit of intolerance gave way gradually before these Catholic manifestations and a new key-note was sounded in the following words of the Continental Congress, 1774 : "As an opposition to the settled plan of the British administration to enslave America will be strengthened by a union of all ranks of men within this province, we do most earnestly recommend that all former differences about religion or politics from henceforth cease and be forever buried in oblivion."

The Revolutionary war broke the connection of the Catholic communities in the colonies with the Vicar Apostolic of London. A decree making the church of the United States a body distinct from that of England, and appointing the V. Rev. John Carroll Prefect Apostolic of the Church in the United States, was issued by the Propaganda, June 9, 1784. The following year Father Carroll sent to Rome a Relation of the state of Religion in the United States : in Maryland were fifteen thousand eight hundred Catholics, in Pennsylvania seven hundred, in Virginia two hundred, in New York fifteen hundred, in the territory bordering on the Mississippi an unascertainable number destitute of priests ; in Maryland there were nineteen priests, in Pennsylvania five. In November, 1789, Father Carroll was appointed Bishop of Baltimore. When the news reached England, Thomas Weld of Lulworth Castle, a personal friend of Carroll, invited him to allow the ceremony of his Consecration to take place in the chapel of the castle. Carroll accepted the invitation anp was consecrated August 15, 1790, by the Rt. Rev. Charles Walmesley, senior Vicar Apostolic of England. The mission period of the Church in the United States was closed, and the hierarchical period was opened by this event.

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6. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

The Hierarchical Period, 1790–1898.

As it would take too much space to relate in detail the expansion of the Church during this period, we present a single table showing the present condition of the Church in the United States. (1)

It has been stated above what was the Catholic population in the thirteen colonies at the end of the last century. A small accession came with the annexation of Louisiana, Florida and the French possessions on the lakes and in the basins of the Mississippi and the Ohio. In 1830 the Catholic population was three hundred and sixty-one thousand. Since then the annexation of New Mexico and California have added a few thousand (say fifteen thousand); but the chief sources of growth were immigration, so abundant since 1829, and the natural increase of population, admittedly larger with Catholics than with Protestants. We have had some losses, not, however, so extensive as has been claimed. Not only immigration, but conversions also have added to the number of Catholics and have off-set, if not completely, at least in part their past losses. On this point Leonard Woolsey Bacon in "*History of American Christianity*," vol. 13 of "*The American Church History Series*," writes: "It has not been altogether a detriment to the Catholic Church in America that the social status and personal composition of its congregations, in its earlier years, have been such that the transition into it from any of the Protestant Churches could be made only at the cost of a painful self-denial. The number of accessions to it has been thereby lessened, but the quality of them has been severely sifted."

Two memorable movements, one within and one without the Church, Trusteeism and Know-nothingism, were dangers through which the Church passed with some loss but with final triumph. Trusteeism began in New York as early as 1785 and ended in Buffalo in 1852. Within that period it is to be met with in New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New Orleans and Virginia. It consists in the following assumptions; trustees, not content to hold and administer church property, furthermore asserted that the congregation, represented by its trustees, had the right to choose its pastor, to dismiss him at pleasure, and that the ecclesiastical superior or Bishop had no right to interfere beyond confirming the action of the trustees. Such principles are subversive of the constitution of the Church and were fought until they were completely eliminated from the minds of the laity.

"One effect of the enormous immigration," writes Leonard Woolsey Bacon in the work quoted above, "was inevitably to impose upon this Church, according to the popular apprehension, the character of a foreign association. It was in like manner inevitable, from the fact that the immigrant class are preponderantly poor and of low social rank, that it should for two or three generations be looked upon as a Church for the illiterate and unskilled laboring class. An incident of the excessive torrent rush of the immigration was that the Catholic Church became to a disproportionate extent an urban institution, making no adequate provision for the dispersed in agricultural regions.

"Against these and other like disadvantages the hierarchy of the Catholic Church have struggled heroically, with some measure of success. The steadily rising character of the imported population in its successive generations has aided them. If in the first generations the Churches were congregations of immigrants served by an imported clergy, the most strenuous exertions were made for the founding of institutions that should secure to future congregations born upon the soil, the services of an American-trained priesthood. One serious hindrance to the noble advances that have nevertheless been made in this direction has been the fanatical opposition levied against even the most beneficent enterprises of the Church by a bigoted Native-Americanism. It is not a hopeful method of conciliating and naturalizing a

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foreign element in the community to treat them with suspicion and hostility as alien enemies. The shameful persecution which the mob was for a brief time permitted to inflict on Catholic churches and schools and convents had for its chief effect to confirm the foreigner in his adherence to his Church and his antipathy to Protestantism." The Know-nothing movement lasted from 1830 to 1850 and showed its worst features in Boston, Philadelphia, New York and Louisville.

The great Civil War, that assured by an appalling sacrifice of wealth and lives, the faltering unity of this nation, and shattered for a time the seeming unity of many religious denominations, did but bring into clearer evidence the hierarchial unity of the Catholic Church. Its members, it is true, divided off on political grounds; it was their right and, as they supposed, their duty; but there was not any division in organization, discipline, and faith. To both sides of the conflict the Church sent her heroes of charity, and oftentimes; indeed, the same heroes to both sides; detailed her priests from the parish and the college, her nuns from the



Carmelite Convent, New Home of Contemplatives, Boston.

orphan asylum and the schoolroom, to the camp, the hospital, the prison, and the bloody battlefield. Meanwhile her sacred edifices resounded with earnest petitions to Heaven for peace, with solemn requiems for the fallen on the field; and not infrequently they were turned into hospitals for the wounded and the dying brought in from the battle raging near by.

The chief formative forces of the Church's interior life were her legislative assemblies. Councils are ecumenical, plenary or national, and provincial. An assembly of all the Catholic bishops of the world, convoked by the authority of the Pope, or at least with his consent, and presided over by him or his legates, is an ecumenical council. An assembly of all the bishops of a country—say the United States—convoked by the primate or other dignitary commissioned thereto by the Pope, is a national or plenary council. An assembly of all the bishops within the territory known as a province, convoked and presided over by the metropolitan or archbishop, is a provincial council. An assembly of all the priests of a diocese, convoked and presided over by the bishop, is a diocesan synod.

Ecumenical councils define doctrine and deal with matters of discipline concerning the Church in the whole world. Plenary and provincial councils do not define, but at most only repeat the doctrine defined by the ecumenical councils; their chief purpose is to apply by explicit statutes to each country or province the universal discipline determined by the ecumenical councils and the Holy See, or to initiate such discipline as the peculiar circumstances of the nation or province demand. Diocesan synods promulgate and apply more intimately to each diocese the disciplinary enactments of the Holy See, the ecumenical, plenary, and provincial councils,

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emphasizing those enactments which the specific conditions or abuses in each diocese render most necessary.

Numerous diocesan synods have been held in the United States, and not a few provincial councils, at least in the elder provinces ; and three plenary councils have been held within this first century of the organized hierarchy. The collection of the acts of those various assemblies is an important source of our Church history.

The most remarkable Catholic event in the last decade was the establishment of the Apostolic Delegation in Washington. The Pope has the right to be present in the Church of each country through a representative, if he deem it expedient. Legates represent the person of the sovereign pontiff. They are sent to exercise his authority so far as it is communicated to them. They are not sent to seize or lessen or absorb the authority of the local bishops, no more than the papacy itself seizes or lessens or destroys the local episcopate. They are not aliens, like ambassadors to a foreign country; they are, wherever they may be, within the household of the supreme father who sent them, for they are within the Church directly subject to him, they are in the ecclesiastical territory of their sovereign. To the Catholic, wherever he may be, considered from the religious point of view as a Catholic, the Pope is not a foreigner and his representative is not a foreigner.



Most Rev. Sebastian Martinelli, Apostolic Delegate to the Catholic Church in the United States.

Not only is the right to send delegates to the Churches of the world inherent in the papacy, but it has been exercised by the Holy See from the earliest times of Christianity, as might be abundantly proved if that question were the specific subject matter of these pages. It is well to know that the establishment of the Apostolic Delegation in the United States is not due, as many suppose, to accidental and transitory causes, though such may have furnished the occasion; but that it is the natural consequence of the first principles of our Church Constitution, and is in perfect accord with traditional practice of past ages. It is hardly necessary to add that the delegation to the United States is strictly ecclesiastical and not at all diplomatic. The American delegate is accredited to the Church, not to the government of the United States.

6. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.

(1) Present Condition of the Catholic Church in the United States.

Archbishops	11
Bishops	77
Religious Clergy	2,774
Secular Clergy	8,137
Churches	5,946
Missions	3,472
Stations and Chapels	5,105
Universities	16
Secular Seminaries	25
Students in the above	2,002
Religious Seminaries	72
Students in the above	1,871
Colleges for Boys	215
Academies for Girls	614
Parishes with Schools	3,636
Children in the above	819,575
Orphan Asylums	248
Orphans	33,039
Charitable Institutions	757
Catholic Population	9,856,622

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FIRST WEEKLY REVIEW.

1. **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.**—The Mission Period, The Hierarchical Period, The South and West, The North and Middle, The Atlantic Coast, Missions to Florida, to New Mexico.
2. **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).**—Missions to Texas, to California, Juniperro Serra.
3. **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).**—New France, Maine, The Iroquois and Father Jaques, The Algonquins, The Hurons, The Ottawas, Privation of the Missionaries.
4. **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).**—Detroit, Close of the Missions, The Illinois, Louisiana.
5. **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).**—Lord Baltimore, Work of the Jesuits, Proscription, Support of the Revolution.
6. **THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued)** —Chief Sources of Growth, Trusteeism, Immigration, The Civil War, The Apostolic Delegation.

QUESTIONS.

1. *Name the two periods of Catholic work in the United States. Name the regions evangelized respectively by the Spanish, French, and English. Characterize the fortunes of missions to Florida. How did the Spanish government involve missions in New Mexico?*

2. *What was done in Texas? What policy did Juniperro Serra follow, and why? What finally ruined the missions?*

3. *What parts of America were explored and colonized by the French? Sketch the history of the Maine mission. What happened to Father Jaques among the Iroquois? Name some mission stations in the Northwest. What checked the progress of missions?*

4. *What ended the Jesuit missions in the Northwest? What prevented great result from the mission in Louisiana? What now remains from the Illinois mission?*

5. *What credit is due Lord Baltimore? What society ministered to the Catholic settlers? How did proscription arise? What influence upon the Revolution did Catholics exercise? What restored toleration?*



St. Xavier del Bac, Arizona. (*Cf.* p. 728.)

6. *Name the chief sources of growth. Describe Trusteeism. What brought the Catholic Church to be considered foreign and illiterate? What has that Church done to remove those conditions? What was done during the Civil War? Define the Apostolic Delegation.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The fortunes and misfortunes of missions identified with a government.*
2. *The influence of race upon religion.*
3. *Further study of No. 2.*
4. *The small capacity of the American Indian for modern culture, whether secular or religious.*
5. *The respective contributions to political independence and religious liberty made by the various Christian Churches in America.*
6. *The relations of nationalism and education with religion.*

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THE SALVATION ARMY IN THE UNITED STATES

BY

S. L. BRENGLE, Major, New York City.

7. THE SALVATION ARMY IN THE UNITED STATES.

IN 1865 a man, with a heart full of the love and passion of the Man Christ Jesus, stood on Mile End Waste, Whitechapel, London, and began a work among the poor and unchurched masses of the great metropolis that has since grown into the vast movement known as the Salvation Army.

This Army is a body of converted men and women, recruited almost exclusively from the non-church-going classes, thoroughly organized under a military form of government, and constituting a world-wide evangelistic agency to preach the Christ-old gospel and to bring all men to affectionately submit themselves to the claims of God as set forth in the Bible, and especially in the Person, work and teachings of our Lord Jesus Christ.

It holds the great cardinal doctrines of evangelical Christianity, (1) believing in the Trinity; in the fall and the universality of sin "through the disobedience of one"; in the atonement for sin, both original and personal, through the vicarious sufferings of the Son of God, the benefits of which are for all men, conditioned solely upon repentance and "faith which works by love"; in the love and ever-present, agency of the Holy Spirit seen in the conversion of sinners and the sanctification of believers; and in the everlasting blessedness of the righteous and the eternal punishment of those who die impenitent, in the world to come. It accepts the Bible as the inspired and authoritative word of God, and believes in taking the gospel to those who will not attend the ordinary places of worship; to this end it shapes its methods and nomenclature to compel the attention of those whom it seeks to reach. Its military titles, uniforms, bands, etc., are the fruitage of this principle of adaptation. It also believes in the ministry of woman, and has placed every office in its ranks within her reach. It requires of its members total abstinence, industry, separation from the fashions and follies of the world, benevolence, and self-sacrifice for the salvation of all men, and urges its people to purity of life in thought, word and act. (2)

The founder and general of this movement, the Rev. William Booth, was born in Nottingham, England, April 10th, 1829, and was converted among the Wesleyans at the age of fifteen. At an early age he entered the ministry and at once took rank as one of the most successful pastors and evangelists in his denomination, which rank he held until he severed his relation with the church in order to devote his energies to the salvation of the poor in London.

This work, known at first as the Christian Mission, spread rapidly throughout England, and soon burst forth in other countries. In 1872 in Cleveland, and in 1879 in Philadelphia work was begun by converts, who had emigrated to this country, but not until 1880 was the work formally opened in the United States by Commissioner George Railton and seven women officers duly commissioned by the General. Since then the Army's advance in America has been phenomenal, in spite of external difficulties arising from ignorance, indifference, misrepresentation and prejudice, and internal troubles occasioned by the secession in 1884 of Major Moore, (3) who succeeded Commissioner Railton in the chief command, and later in 1896 by the desertion of Commander and Mrs. Ballington Booth.

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7. THE SALVATION ARMY IN THE UNITED STATES.

(1) **Principal Doctrines.**—The following are the principal doctrines of the Army. We believe:

1. That the Scriptures were given by inspiration of God, and that they contain the Divine rule of faith and practice.

2. There is only one God, Who is the Creator, Preserver and Governor of all things, and that He is the only proper object of religious worship.

3. That there are three persons in the Godhead—the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost.

4. That in the person of Jesus Christ, the Divine and human natures are united, so that He is truly and properly God, and truly and properly man.

5. That our first parents were created in a state of innocency, but that by their disobedience they lost their purity and happiness; and that in consequence of their fall, all men have become sinners, totally depraved and as such are justly exposed to the wrath of God.

6. That Jesus Christ has, by His sufferings and death, made an atonement for the whole world, so that whosoever will, may be saved.

7. That repentance toward God, faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and conversion by the Holy Spirit are necessary to Salvation.

8. That we are saved by grace, through faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and that he that believeth hath the witness in himself.

9. That the Scriptures teach that not only does continuance in the favor of God depend upon continued faith in and obedience to Christ, but that it is possible for those who have been truly converted to fall away and be eternally lost.

10. That it is the privilege of all believers to be "wholly sanctified" and that "their whole spirit and soul and body" may "be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." That is to say, we believe that after conversion there remain in the heart of the believer inclinations to evil, or roots of bitterness, which, unless overpowered by Divine Grace, produce actual sin; but that these evil tendencies can be entirely taken away by the Spirit of God, and the whole heart, thus cleansed from anything contrary to the will of God, or entirely sanctified, will produce the fruit of the Spirit only. And we believe that persons thus entirely sanctified may, by the power of God, be kept unblameable and unreprovable before Him.

11. In the immortality of the soul; in the resurrection of the body; in the general judgment at the end of the world; in the eternal happiness of the righteous; and in the everlasting punishment of the wicked.—*General Booth in "Orders and Regulations for Field Officers," pp. 151, 152.*

(2) **Articles of War.**—In joining the Army a soldier is asked to sign what are known as the Articles of War, which set forth the principal doctrines that every soldier is supposed to believe, the main principles on which he is expected to act, and a brief description of the service he will have to render.

ARTICLES OF WAR.

"Having received with all my heart the Salvation offered to me by the tender mercy of Jehovah, I do here and now publicly acknowledge God to be my Father and King, Jesus Christ to be my Savior, and the Holy Spirit to be my Guide, Comforter and Strength; and that I will, by His help, love, serve, worship, and obey this glorious God through all time and through all eternity.

Believing solemnly that the Salvation Army has been raised up by God, and is sustained and directed by Him, I do here declare my full determination, by God's help, to be a true soldier of the Army till I die.

I am thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Army's teaching.

Therefore, I do here, and now, and forever, renounce the world with all its sinful pleasures, companionships, treasures, and objects, and declare my full determination boldly to show myself a soldier of Jesus Christ in all places and companies, no matter what I may have to suffer, do, or lose, by so doing.

I do here and now declare that I will abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquors, and also from the habitual use of opium, laudanum, morphia, and all other baneful drugs, except when in illness such drugs shall be ordered for me by a doctor.

I do here and now declare that I will abstain from the use of all low or profane language; from the taking of the name of God in vain; and from all impurity, or from taking part in any unclean conversation, or the reading of any obscene book or paper at any time, in any company, or in any place.

I do here declare that I will not allow myself in any falsehood, deceit, misrepresentation, or dishonesty; neither will I practise any fraudulent conduct, either in my business, my home, or in any other relation in which I may stand to my fellow men, but that I will deal truthfully, fairly, honorably, and kindly with all those who may employ me or whom I may myself employ.

I do here declare that I will never treat any woman, child, or other person, whose life, comfort, or happiness may be placed within my power, in an oppressive, cruel, or cowardly manner, but that I will protect such from evil and danger so far as I can, and promote, to the utmost of my ability, their present welfare and eternal salvation.

I do here declare that I will spend all the time, strength, money, and influence I can in supporting and carrying on this war, and that I will endeavor to lead my family, friends, neighbors, and all others whom I can influence, to do the same, believing that the sure and only way to remedy all the evils in the world is by bringing men to submit themselves to the government of the Lord Jesus Christ.

I do here declare that I will always obey the lawful orders of my officers, and that I will carry out to the utmost of my power all the orders and regulations of the Army; and, further, that I will be an example of faithfulness to its principles, advance to the utmost of my ability its operations, and never allow, where I can prevent it, any injury to its interests or hindrance to its success.

And I do here and now call upon all present to witness that I enter into this undertaking and sign these articles of war of my own free will, feeling that the love of Christ who died to save me requires from me this devotion of my life to His service for the Salvation of the whole world, and therefore wish now to be enrolled as a soldier of the Salvation Army."—*General Booth in "Orders and Regulations for Soldiers," pp. 41, 42.*

(3) **The Defection of Major Moore.**—Rumors of money misappropriated made it necessary for the general to send two officers to inquire into matters, and as Major Moore was unwilling to publish a balance-sheet—which the Army rules strictly require—his commission was taken away from him and given to Major Frank Smith.—*Mrs. Ballington Booth in "Beneath Two Flags," p. 207.*

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8. THE SALVATION ARMY IN THE UNITED STATES (Continued).

These defections in this most democratic age and country have tested to the utmost the Army's paternal or military principles of government usually assumed to be its most vulnerable point. But instead of weakening, this testing has rather strengthed the conviction in the minds of its people that these principles are from above, are in harmony with the principles of the Divine government, as revealed in the Bible, and in the constitution of the human mind, and are best adapted to secure large and permanent results in dealing with the unchurched and undisciplined masses.

Commissioner Frank Smith succeeded Major Moore, while Commander and Mrs. Ballington Booth were succeeded by Commander and Mrs Booth-Tucker, under whose leadership very remarkable advances are being made in all departments of the work, but especially in the development of the Army's social operations.

The Army's principle of adaptation of methods to the different peoples among whom it labors, has been variously assailed, not however on philosophical grounds; but the success attained by its methods has justified them in the eyes of most serious minded men.

At the time of this writing (September, 1898) there are in the United States twelve chief divisions, four divisions divided into seventeen districts, and one hundred and seventy-four sections, embracing seven hundred and thirty-five corps, with thirty outposts, or missions, under the oversight of a corps; sixteen slum posts in the larger cities; eight out-rider circuits in the far west, and thirteen training schools for officers. These figures represent what is known as the spiritual work of the Army, but besides this there is a large network of social or eleemosynary institutions being established all over the country to meet the special needs of the destitute and criminal classes.

At present there are ten Rescue Homes for the reclamation of fallen women; forty-one Food and Shelter Depots, seven Labor Bureaus, three farms for ex-prisoners, several Children's Homes, Hospitals and Dispensaries, a Poor Man's Lawyer and an Inquiry Department for missing friends.

These evangelistic and social operations are under the oversight of twenty-seven hundred and nine commanding officers who give their whole time to the work and receive a small salary sufficient for simple living expense, though no salary is guaranteed. Private soldiers receive no remuneration for any service they may give.

The Army publishes in this country two *War Cry's* weekly in English, one in Swedish, one in German, and one in Chinese. It also publishes *The Young Soldier*, for children, and *Harbor Lights*, a monthly magazine. The combined circulation of these papers, which is principally among the vicious, non-church going and more illiterate classes, is about six million copies per annum. A large number of books, pamphlets and tracts are also issued by its publishing houses.

"The World for God" is the Army's motto, and such is the faith of its workers in the power of the gospel, and such has been their success with their kaleidoscopic methods, bottomed on changeless Scriptural and philosophic principles, that they look forward with confidence to the day when all men shall accept Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord and be filled with love one to another. They are in no sense antagonistic to any denomination of Christian workers, but on the contrary, are glad to coöperate with all lovers of God and man who believe in present salvation from sin through faith in the blood of Christ and who are seeking the rescue of the lost and the advancement of the Redeemer's Kingdom.

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THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS.

BY

ALONZO T. JONES, Editor of "Review and Herald," Battle Creek, Mich.

9. THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS.

STRICTLY speaking, the denomination of Seventh-Day Adventists originated in 1845. A large number who at that time, or shortly afterward, became Seventh-Day Adventists were formerly Adventists. They had been actively connected with the great Advent movement of 1840-44. The disappointment which they had suffered in the passing of the time at which they had expected the Lord to come in 1844, was caused by the almost universally accepted theory that the earth was the Sanctuary which was to be cleansed at the end of the prophetic periods of the Book of Daniel, which had been the basis of their calculations. When they had given to the subject a more careful study, they found that the sanctuary which was to be cleansed at the end of the prophetic days, was "the sanctuary and the true tabernacle" "in heaven," "which the Lord pitched," and of which the sanctuary built by Israel in the Wilderness was but a figure. *Heb., viii., 1; ix., 11, 23, 24; Rev. xi., 19.*

The study of this subject led them irresistibly to the contemplation of the Ten Commandments, which, "written with the finger of God," were deposited "in the ark of the testament" in both the figure and the true. In this study they were very strongly impressed with the conviction that the fourth commandment of the ten requires the observance of the seventh day, or Saturday, as the Sabbath; and not the first day, or Sunday, as was, and is, the teaching of the churches.

In their proclamation of the soon coming of the Lord in 1840-44, the two messages of Revelation, xiv., 6-8, "Fear God and give glory to him, for the hour of his judgment is come," and "Babylon is fallen," had been the keynotes. And now as they reviewed their positions and more carefully studied the Scriptures they saw that there is a third message following these two, and belonging inseparably with them: being indeed the essential complement of the former two. And in this third angel's message they also read the remarkable words, "Here are they which keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus." Having, in the study of the sanctuary, their attention already directed to the commandments, and their minds so strongly convicted that they were not keeping the fourth commandment, this voice of the third angel, calling upon all to "keep the commandments of God," as well as the faith of Jesus, was to them the irresistible voice of God. They could not hesitate: they at once planted themselves firmly upon the Word in the keeping of all the commandments of God and also the faith of Jesus. From that day forward their motto has ever been the word of the third angel of *Revelation, xiv.*, "Here are they which keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus."

Upon this leading and experience, the positive and clearly defined object, the well-understood purpose of existence, of the Seventh-Day Adventists, has ever been to proclaim to every nation and kindred and tongue and people upon the earth, the three-fold message of God as written in *Revelation, xiv., 6-12.*

The chief subject of this proclamation as there recorded is, in a word, "the everlasting gospel," emphasized by the fact that "the hour of his judgment is come." With this the law of God, the Ten Commandments, is unavoidably interwoven; because that law is the standard in the judgment. All who in that day are found justified by the Gospel—the faith of Jesus—their justification will be witnessed by the Law; and all who in that day are not found justified by the Gospel will be irrevocably condemned by the Law. Men are justified by the Gospel and judged by the Law.

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10. THE SEVENTH DAY ADVENTISTS (Continued).

This everlasting Gospel which we preach, is the whole Gospel for the whole man. It is a Gospel of the salvation of the whole man, "body, soul, and spirit." The body is as certainly a part of the man as is the soul or spirit. Jesus Christ died for the whole man. He redeems the body as well as the soul. This requires that the Christian shall care for his body as well as for his soul.

Accordingly in this Gospel, health of body is a Christian grace; and the recovery and the preservation of health is a Christian virtue ; as it is written, "I wish above all things that thou mayest prosper and be in health, even as thy soul prospereth." *III. John, 2.*

Purity of body, as well as of spirit, is also an essential element of this Gospel; because it is written, "Having these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and of the spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." *II. Cor., vii., 1.* Consequently, tobacco in any form, or any kindred thing, can have no place.

Perfect temperance is likewise an essential of this everlasting gospel ; for when the great apostle was heard "concerning the faith in Christ," he reasoned of "temperance" as well as of "righteousness" and of "judgment to come." *Acts, xxiv., 24, 25.* Wherefore, neither stimulant nor narcotic of any sort can be used by the believer in this everlasting Gospel. Temperance is self-control. Perfect temperance is perfect self-control. The everlasting Gospel aims at nothing short of perfection in all things in Christ Jesus. Therefore, in the total rejection of every kind of stimulant or narcotic, as to the body, and absolute surrender to the Spirit of God, as to the soul, thus being cleansed from all filthiness of the flesh and of the spirit, the believer goes on "perfecting holiness in the fear of God," prospering and being in health even as his soul prospers ; is sanctified wholly, body, soul, and spirit; and so is preserved blameless unto the coming of the Lord. *I. Thes. v., 23.*

So much in brief for the *principles* of the Seventh-Day Adventists.

"How far have these principles been found realizable?"—To a considerable extent, indeed: though not yet to the extent that our profession justly demands.

(*a*) As for the realizing of our principles of temperance, purity and health, and righteousness and holiness, much progress has been made: as we believe every one will agree who understands that in a membership of above fifty thousand, gathered from many nationalities and every condition of life, even to the lowest enslaved, wrecked and abandoned victim of tobacco, strong drink, opium or morphine, it is almost impossible to find one who uses tobacco, very few who use even tea or coffee, and absolutely none who use anything stronger than tea or coffee.

(*b*) As for the realizing of the original and ultimate purpose of our existence as a separate denomination, that is, the proclaiming of the message of God to every nation, kindred, tongue, and people, considerable progress has been made in this also. We have organized conferences in twenty-eight States of the Union, with churches in all the other States and in the Territories ; also in New Zealand, Australia, South Africa, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway, England, Quebec, and Ontario ; churches in Manitoba, Hawaiian Islands, India, Russia, Turkey, Holland, British Guiana, Brazil, Argentina, Chili, in the islands of Trinidad, Jamaica, Ruatan, Pitcairn, Tahiti, Norfolk Islands ; and missions in Fiji, Cook Islands, Tonga, Society Islands, China, India, Matabeleland, and Gold Coast. We have educational institutions—academies or colleges—in Massachusetts, Ohio, Tennessee, Michigan, Nebraska, Texas, California, Washington, New South Wales, Cape Colony, Germany ,and Denmark; and schools in Hawaiian Islands, Japan, Switzerland, Sweden, and Brazil. We have health institutions in Michigan, Illinois, Nebraska, Colorado, California, Oregon, Mexico, Hawaiian Islands, Samoa, New South Wales, Victoria, Cape Colony, India, and Switzerland. We have publishing houses in

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New York, Michigan, California, Australia, Cape Colony, Germany, Norway, and England; and from these are issued publications in more than forty languages.

"How far can these principles be hoped to be realized in the future?"—As for the Christian life itself, the principles can be hoped to be realized even to the absolute perfecting of the individual membership in Christ Jesus. *Eph. iv.*, 7,14. The power of God manifested in the everlasting Gospel is able to save a man from sin, to keep him from sinning, to make him perfect in every good work to do the will of God, and to present him faultless in the presence of God with exceeding joy. This consummation we sincerly expect to see realized in thousands upon thousands of men upon the earth, who thereby shall be prepared to meet the Lord Jesus in peace when he comes in the clouds of heaven in all his glory.

And as for the proclamation of the message—completely to the earth's bounds—since already our evangelical, educational, health, and publishing institutions are all established twice clear round the earth—both north and south of the equator,—it will be easy enough for the principles to spread from these to the earth's bounds, when all who are connected with all the institutions shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost as at Pentecost, for which we are constantly praying and waiting.

"On what conditions would we unite federally with other churches?"—"Federally," upon no condition whatever. Such unity could never be anything but outward or formal, because wholly of human contrivance. We know what has come of such thing ever since that grand scheme was worked in the fourth century. We know that only confusion, tumult, tyranny, and every other evil work to both church and state, the destruction of liberty, both religious and civil, ever did or ever will come of it. A federal union of the churches of the United States, which there is a dangerous probability of being accomplished, will be the creation, when finished, of the very likeness of the hierarchical despotism of the Dark Ages. The best security that our nation has had so far against such a despotism, has lain in the many divisions of the churches, too many of which are only too ready to bid and cozen, and even threaten, in order to secure the support of the civil powers.

However, this is not in any sense to say that we will not unite at all with other Christians, or even with other churches. We are not exclusive: we never expect to be. There is a unity that is genuine, pure and true; because it is inward and is wholly of God. It is "the unity of the Spirit." There is no other that is true, or at all trustworthy. No attempt at unity can ever succeed in which effort is made to unite man with man, or organization with organization, or sect with sect. The only true or lasting unity that can ever be established between man and man, organization and organization, or sect and sect, is, *not* in endeavoring to have man unite with *man*, but in having man to unite with *God*. Unity of man with God is the only true or trustworthy basis of unity of man with man.

Jesus Christ spent no time in trying to unite federally Pharisee, Sadducee, Essene and Herodian; nor yet Jew and Gentile. He did spend all his time, and all his life, even to the pouring it out upon the cruel tree, to unite all these *with God*.

Men, even churches, are alienated from one another because they are first alienated from God. But Christ is our peace, who hath made both God and men one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us, having abolished in his flesh the enmity, to make *in himself* of two (God and man) one new man, so making peace. *Eph. ii.*, *11-14*. It is only when men are made one with God in Christ through the sanctification of the Spirit, that they can be one with one another.

This unity of the Spirit is that which we endeavor everywhere to plant and to keep. Wherever in the world there is a man or a church who has this, we are already united to that man or to that church by "the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Wherever there is not this divine unity to begin with, there never can be any real unity. And wherever there *is* this divine unity to begin with, there is never any need nor any room for any other unity.

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THEOSOPHY AND UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.

BY

CLARK THURSTON, Fellow of the Theosophical Society.

11. THEOSOPHY AND UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.

"Hear me, my brothers. There are three truths which are absolute, and which cannot be lost, but yet may remain silent for lack of speech.

"The soul of man is immortal, and its future is the future of a thing whose growth and splendor has no limit.

"The principle which gives life dwells in us, and without us, is undying and eternally beneficent, is not heard or seen, or smelt, but is perceived by the man who desires perception.

"Each man is his own absolute lawgiver, the dispenser of glory or gloom to himself; the decreer of his life, his reward, his punishment.

"These truths, which are as great as life itself, are as simple as the simplest mind of man. Feed the hungry with them."—"*Idyll of the White Lotus.*"

"There is a canon of interpretation which should guide us in our examination of any philosophical opinion." "The human mind has, under the necessary operation of its own laws, been compelled to entertain the same fundamental ideas, and the human heart to cherish the same feelings in all ages."

The Theosophic philosophy formulates, and by analogies in every phase of manifested life, demonstrates the three great truths regarding the Nature, Method, and Purpose of existence; and these great truths as applied to the human soul are formulated in words which appeal to the simplest understanding in the quotation heading this article from the "*Idyll of the White Lotus*," a work depicting The Tragedy of the Soul in its pilgrimage through space and time.(1)

To include in one short article anything approaching a comprehensive view of the scope of the philosophy would compel a series of staccato-like statements which would invite, if not deserve, the charge of dogmatizing; for the entire range of human thought and endeavor is cognized, and their diversities relegated to the logical value of each as factors in the entire scheme. Evolution, evolution, ceaseless evolution, is the one grand motive, and the nature, method and purpose, from, through, and for which it proceeds, passes before the studious mind, the aspiring heart, like a mighty anthem, voicing man's indissoluble relation as elder brother to the kingdoms below him in consciousness, and his dependence upon harmonious relations with his Elder Brothers who still toil in the advance on the higher levels of evolution. The mighty grasp of Theosophy upon the problems of evolution is based on the three fundamental laws, viz., The Causeless Cause, and its two aspects, Consciousness and Substance; Periodicity of Manifestation; Individualization of Consciousness, which at once explains "Creation" to be simply an outward manifestation of the rays of the inner Divine Root, which contains in itself All both potentially and superconsciously and, "At-one-ment," as the coming back to unity; reaching which, the cycle of labor ends (*St. John, xvii, 21*). (2)

For under the law of periodicity we have the eternity of the universe in its ceaseless alternations from subjectivity to objectivity, and return.

It is the universality of this law of periodicity that compels the reëmbodiment, reincarnation, or returning to objectivity, of the human ego in its evolutionary course to the goal of full individualization of consciousness, or the union of subject and object. Therefore, under the law of the Causeless Cause of all being, "Each man is his own absolute law-giver, the dispenser of glory or gloom to himself; the decreer of his life, his reward, his punishment." (3)

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Thus the law does not admit of any "Vicarious" interposition between the ego of man and his goal; for personal responsibility is the law, and none can shift the burden to another; the law cannot be thwarted. It is only our passions, that are vicarious sacrificial victims and the cross of flesh, upon which our immortal Ego and its divine Root-"Christos," suffers in its attempt to lift the earthly man, which is only his shadow, to the plane of immortality; just as we would lead our straying thoughts into harmony with others and to changeless truth. Ancient religions, including ancient Christianity of the time of Paul, understood the dogma in this sense; and it is proven historically in "The Secret Doctrine." The five stigmata of crucifixion are the five senses.

"Thus life is a journey, a march around the great cycle of experience; this cycle being but one step of a spiral; composed itself of thousands of lesser and ever lessening spirals. Each "pilgrim" has to pass through cycles of waking and sleeping, of life and death, of races, of globes, of rounds, of planets, of systems, of universes, of an ever upward climb, ever enlarging its knowledge of existence, ever placing at greater distance the boundary mark of its finite perceptions; so to an eventual emerging into the pure essence of life, the font at which it had drawn its being."

The three great laws have endless correlations that cannot be detailed here; but the student will find in the foregoing sufficient to suggest that to these correlations are due the infinite diversity of the phenomena of manifested life; and he cannot fail to perceive that it is in this outer field of correlated action that our materialistic investigators are seeking the source of things. Vain quest; let them face about and, proceeding from the universal postulates of the Theosophic philosophy, and applying them to their researches, they will quickly become, as they should be, the benefactors of the human race; for they will discover within their own souls the Power of knowledge and investigation, which transcends any method of vivisection. Their enthusiasm will arise on the discovery of this, to them, new and more sympathetic method; and be charmed with its simple and direct processes. For, as in a friend, we can recognize the soul, responsive to our own and make it even speak, so in Nature can the properly attuned ear hear the forces working in unity with those in man and cause them to speak their knowledge. For Nature is nearer and more similar to man than our five senses disclose; we only dream her to be a stranger, for we and all visible things are only different aspects of the same great One Life.

For the One Life spreads, like a shoreless ocean throughout all space, and in it all things whatsoever are, live and move and have their being; and without it nothing is. Life, life, pulsating, throbbing life, as well in the granite rock as in the viewless air; and in it the all-pervading, One Consciousness, slumbering in the mineral, struggling to expression in the plant, fitfully moving in the instinct of the animal, and at last arising to semi-self-consciousness in primitive animal man, to pass on to full consciousness of Self in the perfected human being.

We assert that in man are seven states of consciousness; or to phrase it differently, in man the one consciousness manifests itself in seven different states or conditions; and the least of these is the lower or outermost, the physical body, the vehicle of the five senses, the cross of crucifixion, and all material science knows of man. The certitude of the presence of a definite spiritual entity back of the manifested body, has as much reason to be denied, as that a thought may doubt its own existence, because it is composed of details. It sometimes may lose itself in details, but it returns to itself, as all thoughts or memories return to the Ego; and as all Egos return to the One Life. Analysis is only one point of view; synthesis is another. And it is very possible that the phenomena of the subliminal self in psychology, as of clairvoyance, clairaudience, telepathy, and so on, are only evidences of some higher synthesis than we have at present.

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11. THEOSOPHY AND UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.

(1) **Sources of the Secret Doctrine.**—The Secret Doctrine was the universally diffused religion of the ancient and prehistoric world. Proofs of its diffusion, authentic records of its history, a complete chain of documents, showing its character and presence in every land, together with the teaching of all its great adepts, exist to this day in the secret crypts of libraries belonging to the Occult Fraternity.

The first installment of the esoteric doctrines is based upon Stanzas, which are the records of a people unknown to ethnology; it is claimed that they are written in a tongue absent from the nomenclature of languages and dialects with which philology is acquainted; they are said to emanate from a source (Occultism) repudiated by science; and, finally, they are offered through an agency incessantly discredited before the world by all those who hate unwelcome truths, or have some special hobby of their own to defend. Therefore, the rejection of these teachings may be expected, and must be accepted beforehand. No one styling himself a "scholar," in whatever department of exact science, will be permitted to regard these teachings seriously. They will be derided and rejected *a priori* in this century, but only in this one. For in the twentieth century of our era scholars will begin to recognize that the *Secret Doctrine* has neither been invented nor exaggerated, but on the contrary, simply outlined; and finally, that its teachings antedate the Vedas.

(2) **Three Fundamental Propositions.**—It is absolutely necessary that the reader should be made acquainted with a few fundamental conceptions which underlie and pervade the entire system of thought to which his attention is invited. The Secret Doctrine establishes three fundamental propositions:

(a) An Omnipresent, Eternal, Boundless, and Immutable PRINCIPLE on which all speculation is impossible, since it transcends the power of human conception, and could be only dwarfed by any human expression or similitude. It is beyond the range and reach of thought—in the words of Mandukya, "unthinkable and unspeakable."

To render these ideas clearer to the general reader, let him set out with the postulate that there is one absolute Reality which antecedes all manifested, conditioned being. This Infinite and Eternal Cause—dimly formulated in the "Unconscious" and "Unknowable" of current European philosophy—is the rootless root of "all that was, is, or ever shall be." It is of course devoid of all attributes and is essentially without any relation to manifested, finite Being. It is "Be-ness" rather than Being (in Sanscrit *Sat*), and is beyond all thought or speculation. This "Be-ness" is symbolized in the Secret Doctrine under two aspects. On the one hand, absolute abstract Space, representing bare subjectivity, the one thing which no human mind can either exclude from any conception, or conceive of by itself. On the other, absolute abstract Motion representing unconditioned Consciousness.

Further, the Secret Doctrine affirms—

(b) The Eternity of the Universe *in toto* as a boundless plane, periodically "the playground of numberless Universes incessantly manifesting and disappearing, called "the manifesting stars," and the "sparks of Eternity." "The Eternity of the Pilgrim" is like a wink of the Eye of Self-Existence (*Book of Dzyan*). "The appearance and disappearance of Worlds is like a regular tidal ebb of flux and reflux."

This second assertion of the Secret Doctrine is the absolute universality of that law of periodicity, of flux and reflux, ebb and flow, which physical science has observed and recorded in all departments of nature. An alternation such as that of Day and Night, Life and Death, Sleeping and Waking, is a fact so common, so perfectly universal and without exception, that it is easy to comprehend that in it we see one of the absolutely fundamental laws of the universe.

Moreover, the Secret Doctrine teaches—

(c) The fundamental identity of all Souls with the Universal Over-Soul, the latter being itself an aspect of the Unknown Root; and the obligatory pilgrimage for every Soul.

(3) **The Law of Rebirth.**—It is only the knowledge of the constant rebirths of one and the same individuality throughout the life cycle; the assurance that the same Monads—among whom are many *Dhyan-Chohans*, or the "Gods" themselves—have to pass through the "Circle of Necessity," rewarded or punished by such rebirth for the suffering endured or crimes committed in the former life; that these very Monads, which entered the empty, senseless shells, or astral figures of the First Race emanated by the Pitris, are the same who are now amongst us—nay, ourselves, perchance; it is only this doctrine, we say, that can explain to us the mysterious problem of Good and Evil, and reconcile man to the terrible and apparent injustice of life. Nothing but such certainty can quiet our revolted sense of justice. For, when one unacquainted with the noble doctrine looks around him, and observes the inequalities of birth and fortune, of intellect and capacities; when one sees honor paid fools and profligates, on whom fortune has heaped her favors by a mere privilege of birth, and their nearest neighbor, with all his intellect and noble virtues—far more deserving in every way—perishing of want and for lack of sympathy; when one sees all this and has to turn away, helpless to relieve the undeserved suffering, one's ears ringing and heart aching with the cries of pain around him—that blessed knowledge of Karma alone prevents him from cursing life and man, as well as their supposed Creator.

Intimately or rather indissolubly connected with Karma, then, is the law of rebirth, or of the reincarnation of the same spiritual individuality in a long, almost interminable series of personality. The latter are like the various costumes and characters played by the same actor with each of which that actor identifies himself and is identified by the public, for the space of a few hours. The inner, or real man, who personates those characters, knows the whole time that he is Hamlet for the brief space of a few acts, which represent, however, on the plane of human illusion, the whole life of Hamlet. And he knows that he was, the night before, King Lear, the transformation in his turn of the Othello of a still earlier night; but the outer visible character is supposed to be ignorant of the fact. In actual life that ignorance is unfortunately but too real. Nevertheless, the permanent individuality is fully aware of the fact, though, through the atrophy of the "spiritual" eye in the physical body, that knowledge is unable to impress itself on the consciousness of the false personality.—"*Secret Doctrine*," *First Edition*, *Vol. I., p. 303.*

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12. THEOSOPHY AND UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD (Continued).

The Entity, the Ego is there; and under suitable conditions can and does act or function in any one of the seven fields or states of consciousness, which may be classified as Spiritual, Intuitional, Intellectual, Emotional, Sensational, Vital, and Physical.

Much of experimental data regarding the four lower states, the emotional, sensational, vital and physical, as they appear to the senses, is already in the hands of physical scientists, but of the three higher states, the spiritual, intuitional and intellectual, the true sphere and habitat of the divine Ego in every human being, practically nothing that is intelligible is as yet in their possession; partly from the fact of their perplexity, as to the proper means of exploration of that region, but in a greater degree from the utter uselessness of their methods of research.

Emerson said, "that to progress is to return to the ancients," and in this saying lie the clues that would lead modern science into those higher realms of consciousness; for it is through and from the ancients and their records that Theosophists of this century have penetrated to these higher sources of knowledge of man's true nature, power and purpose.

It being our purpose to suggest the broad principles, and not to elaborate here the details that are accessible to every student of our literature, we note in passing the importance of the relation of these states of consciousness to the Cyclic Law, for this is the real Nemesis holding man to the dreary round of birth to death, and death to birth again. The rationale of this is that every or any state of consciousness tends to repeat itself until it becomes a fixed habit binding the Ego to the cycle of its recurrence; and, if on either of the four lower planes of consciousness, inevitably to rebirth in the sphere of this earth, to which these four lower planes are limited and confined.

It is only the rare and exceptional men who rise above the Emotional, the highest of the four lower planes of consciousness, to that of pure Intellect; for nearly all the intellection of to-day has its seat in the emotional; the ratiocinating power of the mind being wholly employed in deducing its knowledge of life, and consequent course of action, from the observation of sense perception only.

It is a common misconception that Theosophy seeks to alienate man from these four lower planes of consciousness by its inculcation of aspirations to the higher planes; far from it, its real purpose being to hasten evolution by showing man that he is now a Servitor to these states of consciousness, when he should and shall be King and Ruler of them.

It is the personal man's ignorance of the true nature of these states and his relation thereto, that is wholly responsible for the narrow, shallow and gloomy aspect and aimlessness of modern thought and life.

The relation of Theosophy, as a philosophy, to the organization known as the Theosophical Society, is, to this day, largely misunderstood. Probably for the reason that the philosophy is not yet recognized as having for its basis the fundamental laws of the universe, and a system of research, by which the correlations of these laws may be traced into every phase of manifested life. With this claim in some degree accepted, it would be seen that no organization of society could arrogate to itself the exclusive exposition of this philosophy; and that, therefore, the Theosophical Society cannot be sectarian, or exact a belief in certain teachings, as a condition to membership, except it claim infallibility for its knowledge of the philosophy; for omniscience alone is qualified to thus assert.

Therefore the Society has for the basis of its organization a platform broad enough to unite all men and beliefs in a common cause; and this, its sole condition for membership, is sympathy with, and desire to aid, in the formation of a nucleus of a universal brotherhood without any distinction whatever. This requirement is

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sufficient to secure for its members the widest toleration for their respective opinions and beliefs, while they engage in studying and applying the philosophy, each according to his own condition, station in life, and power of discernment.

That this platform was founded in wisdom, is amply attested by the widespread growth of membership in all parts of the world; for the society, founded by Madame Helena Petrovna Blavatsky at New York, in 1875, has successfully resisted many attempts, both within and without its ranks, to commit it to some form of dogmatic teachings; until now it has acquired a cohesion that effectually bars all further attempts to divert it from its purpose, which is the enfranchisement of men's thoughts, and the uplifting of the race to higher ideals of common life, and its possibilities.



H. P. Blavatsky.

In the twenty-two years of the Society's life the members have distributed a vast amount of literature and voluntarily engaged in lecturing and in explaining the results of their studies in the philosophy, and its adaptability to modern life; until a sufficient body of earnest, devoted and cultured men and women is now prepared to undertake the work of the International Brotherhood League in its practical application of Theosophic laws and methods to the needs of the less fortunate of their fellow beings.

In the light of the past twenty-two years' experience of the Theosophical movement, it is now clearly apparent that it would have been swept away, or rendered powerless for the discharge of its mission, in this century as in every past century within the Christian era, but for the heroic self-sacrifice of its founder, H. P. Blavatsky, and the devoted loyalty of the members to the ideals she transmitted to them. Her successor, William Quan Judge, will, some day, be seen to have also died a martyr's death to the ideals which were so fiercely and heartlessly assailed through him. His successor, Mrs. Katherine A. Tingley, the present Leader of the Theosophic movement throughout the world, has secured the movement upon a still firmer basis, and rendered it more international than heretofore. On June 13, 1896, Mrs. Tingley led what came to be called a crusade of American Theosophists around the world; founding branch societies in the principle cities of Europe, Asia and Australasia, traveling forty thousand miles, and, returning to San Francisco, Cal., in 1897, founded, at Point Loma in Southern California, the School for the Revival of the Lost Mysteries of Antiquity, in which will be taught man's duty to his fellow-beings, and the true philosophy of human endeavor. In 1897 Mrs. Tingley founded the International Brotherhood League, which has Lotus Groups throughout the world, for the training and educating of children by entirely novel methods, as well as other activities indicated by its formulated objects. On February 18th, 1898, at Chicago, Ill., the society reorganized itself as the "Universal Brotherhood," in pursuance of the objects of the original founder, Madam H. P. Blavatsky, with Mrs. Catherine A. Tingley as leader, and official head throughout the world. The headquarters are at 144 Madison Avenue, New York City, where the Literary Department, known as the "Theosophist Society in America," Mr. E. A. Neresheimer, President, is also located.



Wm. Q Judge.

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SECOND WEEKLY REVIEW.

7. **THE SALVATION ARMY IN THE U. S.**—The Army, Doctrines, Adaptation, William Booth.
8. **THE SALVATION ARMY IN THE U. S. (Continued).**—Militarism, Social work, Publications, Other denominations.
9. **THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS.**—Origin, Sanctuary, Ten Commandments, The Sabbath.
10. **THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTISTS (Continued).**—Health of body and soul, Stimulants and narcotics, Progress made, The future, No federal union.
11. **THEOSOPHY AND UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD.**—The causeless cause, Periodicity, Individualization, Reincarnation, Crucifixion, Life's spiral.
12. **THEOSOPHY AND UNIVERSAL BROTHERHOOD (Continued).**—Seven fields of consciousness, The Ancients, Cyclic law, The Theosophical Society, Blavatsky, Judge, Mrs. K. N. Tingley.

QUESTIONS.

7. *When and how did the Salvation Army rise? Define it. Exemplify its methods of adaptation. Sketch its extension to America.*

8. *Discuss its military method. Describe the spiritual and the social work. What is the combined circulation of its papers?*

9. *Sketch the rise of Seventh-Day Adventism. State the three commanding ideas found in Rev. XIV.*

10. *State the Adventist view upon the body. How far have these principles been found realizable? What prospect for the future is entertained?*

11. *Name three laws on which Theosophy is based. What is atonement? What causes reincarnation? What is crucifixion? Define life.*

12. *Name the seven fields of consciousness. Whence was this system learned? Explain cyclic law. What is the purpose of the Theosophical Society? Name the three leaders of this movement.*



General William Booth.

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *The adaptation of religion to the various grades of culture.*
2. *The relation of religion to social morality.*
3. *The function of prophecy in the Christian life.*
4. *Contrast with this view of influence from the body that of Christian Science of influence from the mind.*
5. *Various general conceptions of life.*
6. *The relations of modern American Theosophy to ancient Indian Buddhism.*



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THE UNITARIAN CHURCH.

BY

J. H. ALLEN, D.D., Late Lecturer on Ecclesiastical History, Harvard University, Mass.

13. THE UNITARIAN CHURCH.

THE Church doctrine of the Trinity, which had been defined with extreme precision in the early creeds, was much questioned or denied in the controversies of the Protestant Reformation. The point chiefly at issue was the proper deity of Christ; that of the Holy Spirit appears rarely in the discussion, and is treated with considerable variety and freedom of opinion. The representative names of this period are those of Servetus, a Spaniard, (1509-1553: burned for heresy at Geneva), who held that Jesus, not being God, yet represents to us all of deity that we can know; and Socinus, an Italian (1539-1603), who held that Jesus, not being God, may yet be worshiped as "a god" (a divine person), since he is the appointed agent of the Almighty in effecting the work of man's salvation.

This latter opinion was first made the central dogma of a system of theology, about 1578. Under the personal influence of Socinus a body of something over one hundred congregations in Poland, known as "Socinian," came to be a considerable power, especially in the field of education: its chief college, at Racovia, is said to have had more than a thousand students. It was mercilessly exterminated by a decree of exile in 1660. In Transylvania, or Eastern Hungary, Unitarianism was recognized in 1568 as one of four legal "religions," under a royal charter defining certain privileges, which the Unitarian body there, including one hundred and six congregations, enjoys to this day. Its founder was Francis David (1510-1579), who died in prison, under a malicious charge of innovation in doctrine."

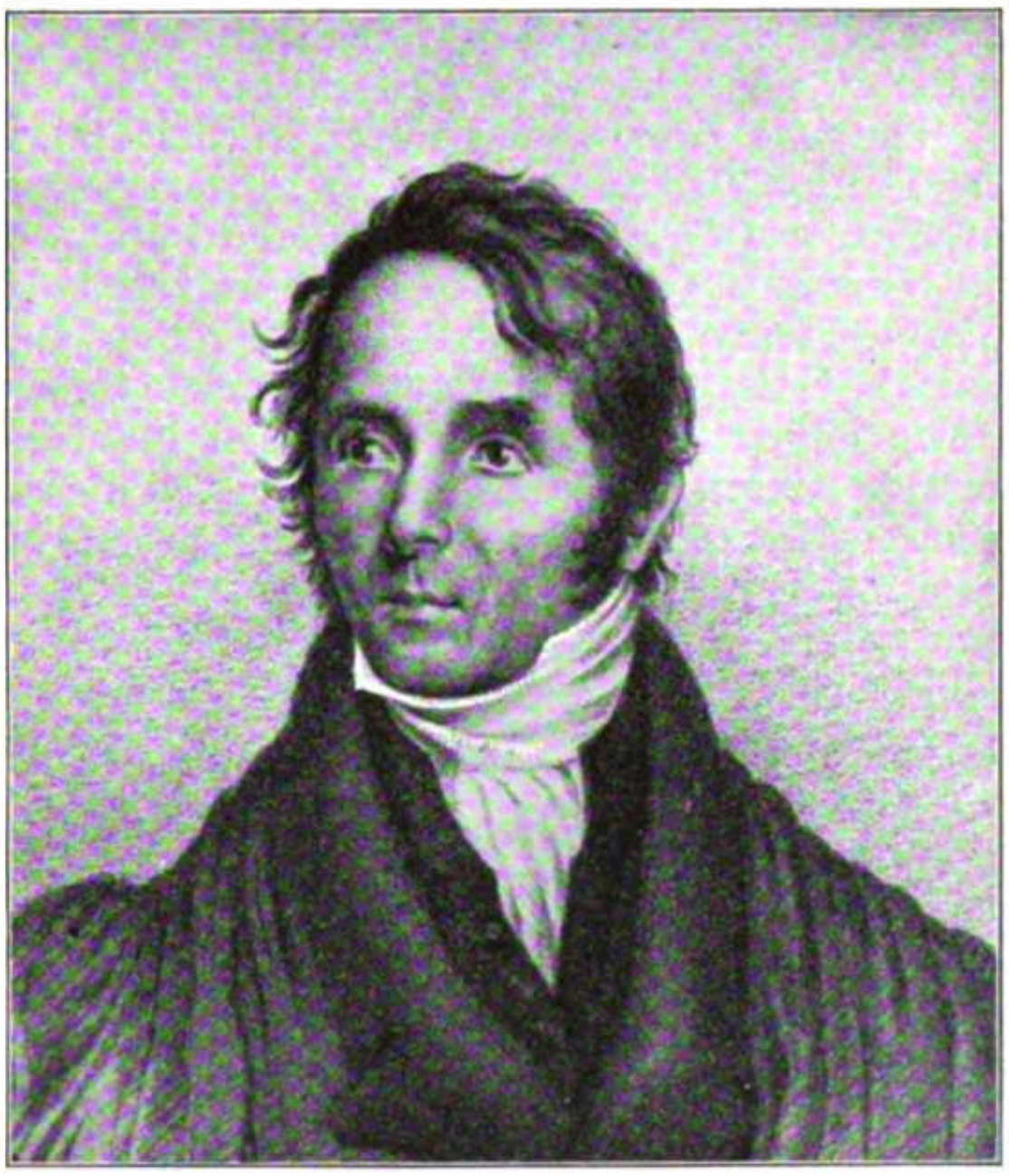
In England the Unitarian opinion appears frequently, both within and without the Established Church, in the first half of the eighteenth century; but was first embodied in a religious organization in 1774 by Theophilus Lindsey (1723-1808), who had withdrawn from the Establishment the year before. As doctrine, its earlier expounders were Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), Thomas Belsham (1750-1829), and Lant Carpenter (1780-1840); and it was held to be allied with the "materialism" of Locke and Hartley. It has since been most brilliantly defended and illustrated by James Martineau (b. 1805), who has associated it with a severely intellectual and ethically noble religious philosophy, and with critical studies which exhibit the extreme breadth of modern liberal scholarship. In the British Islands about three hundred and fifty congregations are known as Unitarian, many of them still retaining, in their official title, their original names as Presbyterian, Baptist, or Congregational.

The Unitarian body in the United States and Canada includes about four hundred and fifty congregations (in thirty-six of the States, besides two Territories and Canada), of which two hundred and sixty-nine are found in the northeastern States. It was not originally constituted as a sect; and, in general, its members would still disclaim belonging to a sect, or holding any system of doctrinal opinions by which it could be defined. The name "Unitarian" had come, in 1815, to be applied to about one hundred and twenty congregational societies of Eastern Massachusetts, with a few others more or less widely scattered, whose pastors had been known as "liberal" in the controversies of the day. It was accepted reluctantly, if at all (except to define individual opinion), by the best known leaders of the liberal body, and is adopted, at this day, in the title of not much more than one-third of its associated churches. The points of agreement among these are: 1. Denial of the trinitarian dogma; 2. A general tendency, in religious opinion, to what is known as "liberalism"; 3. Refusal to be bound by any statement of doctrine as a condition

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of membership; 4. Assertion that character and conduct, not opinion, is the true test of Christianity. Many attempts have been made to frame a statement which might define their position more precisely; but no such statement was ever generally accepted among them, until a National Conference at Saratoga, N. Y., in September, 1896, passed the resolution that "these churches accept the religion of Jesus, holding, in accordance with his teaching, that practical religion is summed up in love to God and love to man."

The two best-known leaders of American Unitarianism have been William E. Channing (1780-1842) and Theodore Parker (1810-1860). These names represent two widely different periods, or types, separated by the sharp and serious division of opinion that prevailed during the discussions of 1840-1850. The name of Channing stands for a religion founded strictly on the superhuman authority of the New Testament, devout and humane in spirit, tending strongly to ethics and philanthropy, wide in sympathy, grave and somewhat austere in temper, attached to forms of piety, as the true means of promoting purity of life. The name of Parker stands for an equal fervor of piety and consecration of life, but a far bolder and more aggressive mental independence, greater vigor in attack on error of opinion or wrongs in the body politic, distinct repudiation of dogmatic or so-called supernatural authority, and a frank acceptance of natural science as the true ally of religious thought. This latter type, blending with the former, almost imperceptibly at first, but with increasing energy, has not only avoided the break of fellowship which it seemed to threaten, but has to a great degree supplanted the other in the common mind. Thus, belief in the Christian miracles, accepted sixty years ago without dispute, has never been openly disavowed by the Unitarian body as such. But no Unitarian would now use miracles to define the fellowship or defend the truth which he calls Christian theism.



William E. Channing, D.D.

So far as can be judged at present, denominational harmony and activity, seem to have been greatly promoted by the distinct acceptance of this position. Whether vigor of church life, or denominational growth, will be equally promoted by it, turns on an experiment wholly new in the religious world, of which it would be idle to predict the issue. As to the possibility of union, or coöperating with other religious bodies, it would seem that the question must be divided. The situation is clearly favorable to individual sympathies, and mutual help in many forms of Christian work. But any attempted fusion or alliance among bodies of widely different opinions and antecedents would probably baffle and weaken such mutual help. So far as Unitarianism has succeeded hitherto, it has been as an intellectual or ethical movement, strong in the individual minds it has enlisted. As a form of ecclesiastical life, or sectarian enterprise, it has been, and probably always will be, relatively weak.

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THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.

BY

REV. D. BERGER. D.D., Dayton, Ohio.

14. THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.

THE Church of the United Brethren in Christ took its origin toward the close of the eighteenth century, in eastern Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, in an evangelical movement conducted by ministers and people of several denominations. The Church was not a product of schism, or in any proper sense an offshoot from any existing denomination, but was formed by the union of people of different churches, who found a common ground in the advanced views of spiritual experience and life which they adopted.

The most conspicuous figure in the formation and early progress of the Church was Philip William Otterbein, a learned German divine, who came to America as a missionary of the German Reformed Church, in the year 1752, he being then twenty-six years of age. He served successively congregations in Lancaster and Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania, Frederick City, Maryland, and York, Pennsylvania, until 1774, when he accepted the pastorate of a newly formed independent Reformed congregation in the city of Baltimore. Holding higher ideas of Christian experience and living than prevailed generally among his brethren, he preached his views freely, and usually with great acceptance to his congregations. He also instituted prayer and experience meetings for the purpose of fostering among them a more earnest spiritual life—forms of service which as a young pastor he had been accustomed to hold before his coming to America. He remained in the pastorate of the Baltimore congregation to the end of his life, a period of nearly forty years.

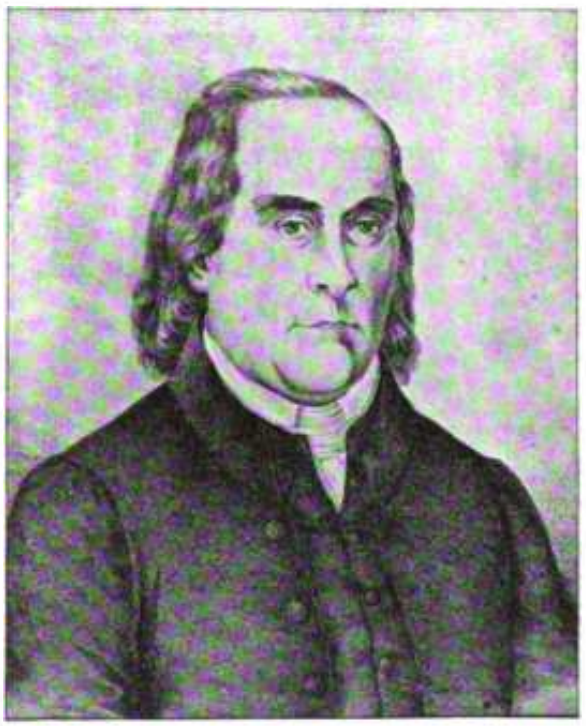
While residing at York, and subsequently in Baltimore, he made frequent visits to other points, where his earnest insistence on the doctrine of the new birth and a more devout type of Christian living gained many adherents to his views. It was during one of these visits that he first met, in a country neighborhood, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, in the summer of about 1768, the Rev. Martin Bœhm, a minister in the Mennonite Church. Mr. Bœhm was preaching on the occasion to a large congregation assembled in a country barn. Without acquaintance with Mr. Otterbein, Mr. Bœhm had for some time been preaching with great zeal the same earnest gospel which Otterbein proclaimed. Otterbein heard with profound interest the warm words of life from Mr. Bœhm's lips, and when he ceased speaking, the tall, courtly German arose, and casting his arms about the slight form of the simple hearted and plainly attired Mennonite, exclaimed with deep feeling, *Wir sind Brueder* "We are brethren." The incident is understood as having suggested the name for the new denomination when it was finally organized.

The preaching of these men led to the true conversion and a better spiritual life of many who held church membership, but whose religious life was chiefly an outward formalism. The converts were organized into bands or classes for Christian fellowship and worship. Persons from among them were appointed as class leaders, whose duty it was to conduct a weekly service and otherwise exercise a spiritual oversight over their brethren. Some of these developed into ministers, and other ministers also joined in the movement. Thus, in time, a considerable body of ministers became engaged in this special work, but for a number of years they remained without organization. Gradually it became desirable to send authorized persons to visit the scattered bands for their spiritual edification, and thus dawned the beginnings of the itinerant system of church supply, which the Church later adopted as one of its permanent characteristics.

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15. THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST (Continued).

It was for many years not the wish of the leaders of the movement to organize a a separate denomination. Indeed, Mr. Otterbein retained his connection with the German Reformed Church to the end of his life, as Mr. Wesley, the founder of Methodism, did in the Church of England. Mr. Bœhm fared differently, his brethren finally, with evident regret, excluding him from their fellowship on account of what they regarded his heretical preaching. But Providence clearly led the way, and against the wishes of these men it became necessary, in time, to effect a formal organization. The first formal conference of ministers was held in Mr. Otterbein's parsonage, in Baltimore, in 1789. Of the fourteen then recognized as associated in the work seven were present. At this conference a brief but comprehensive confession of faith, from the pen of Mr. Otterbein, was adopted; also a series of rules for the government of the ministers and members. A second conference was held in 1791, the number of ministers having now increased to twenty-two. No formal conference was again held until the year 1800. This conference, held near Frederick City, Maryland, assumed a position of much historic interest. A completed organization was now effected, a name for the new body, "The United Brethren in Christ," was adopted, and bishops were for the first time elected, the choice falling naturally upon Mr. Otterbein and Mr. Bœhm. The ministers now numbered thirty-two. No statistics remain showing the strength of their following. But thus organized, and bearing now a definite name, the Church took its place as a distinct body among the early American denominations. Up to this time, and for a number of years after, the preaching was exclusively in the German language. At the present time less than four per cent of the congregations of the Church have their services in German.



Otterbein

In 1815, the work of the Church having followed the lines of emigration westward into Ohio and other regions, a call was issued for the holding of a General Conference. This conference was composed of delegates elected from the different sections of the Church, and was the first of the series of similar conferences held quadrennially, since 1817, to the present time. The conference added two articles to the confession of faith, and amended and further defined the rules of government. The General Conference of 1841 adopted a constitution for the Church which remained in force in unamended form until 1889. A General Conference held in 1885 adopted measures preparatory to a revision of the confession of faith and the amending of the constitution. A commission of twenty-seven men, including the six bishops, was appointed charged with the duty of preparing the proposed revision.

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Their work on being submitted to a popular vote was approved, and the General Conference of 1889 declared the instruments to be duly adopted. The revised confession states in compact form, in thirteen articles, the doctrines of the Church. In theological classification it is Arminian. (See "*Discipline of the United Brethren in Christ*," *pp. 12-14.*)

In general polity the United Brethren Church is classed with the Methodist family of churches. Its ecclesiastical bodies are the general, annual, and quarterly conferences. The General Conference (quadrennial) is composed of ministerial and lay delegates, chosen by the people at large. In it is vested the law-making power of the Church, and it is also the final court of appeals. The annual conferences, also ministerial and lay, have the oversight of the churches within their boundaries, and appoint their pastors. The quarterly conference is the official body of the local church or circuit. The bishops of the Church are elected by the General Conference for quadrennial terms; as are all its general officers. They have a general oversight of diocesan districts, at present four in number, and preside over the annual and general conferences. Presiding elders are elected by the annual conferences, and have the oversight of districts within the conferences. The method of pastoral supply is that known as the itinerant system. Pastors are appointed annually to their charges, but since 1893 may be reappointed to the same charges an indefinite number of times. The presiding bishop and presiding elders are the appointing committee, and appeal from their decision is seldom taken. Women are eligible to ministerial orders, and to seats in all official bodies, including the General Conference. A small number are in the pastoral service.

In educational work the Church is fairly provided for, having thirteen institutions of various grades, including a theological seminary, located at Dayton, Ohio. At this city is also located the Church publishing house, from which the denominational publications, periodical and otherwise, are issued. It is a thoroughly equipped house, with small liabilities, and a net valuation in excess of three hundred thousand dollars. The Church has its Home, Frontier and Foreign Missionary Society, and Woman's Missionary Association, progressive institutions, with headquarters in the publishing house. The foreign mission fields of the Church are in Sierra Leone, West Africa, Germany, China and Japan. The denomination, according to the statistics of 1897, has 4,249 organized churches, 1,775 itinerant and 553 local preachers, and 243,183 members. Its Sunday schools have an enrollment of 288,348 teachers and scholars. Its Young People's Christian Union has 1,592 local societies, with a membership of 61,824.

On questions of reform the Church has long occupied advanced ground. Slaveholding was never tolerated among its members. On temperance, a rule prohibiting the manufacture and sale of ardent spirits by members of the Church was adopted by the General Conference as early as 1841. Earlier stringent action dates back to 1833, and even to 1814, a year before the sitting of the first General Conference.

The primary thought of the founders of the United Brethren Church was that of promoting a more spiritual type of religious experience and life than was generally prevalent at that time in the churches from which they came. The advocacy of any particular dogma or creed, or form of church government, or question of reform, had no place in their thought or purpose. Outward forms of worship and of church government they must needs have, but these held in their view a minor relation. In the matter of forms they exercised a wide toleration. Throughout the history of the United Brethren Church to the present time this larger insistence upon a real conversion of the heart and a true spiritual life has remained a dominant characteristic.

The Church is broadly Catholic in spirit. It affiliates readily with other denominations in all ecumenical work, and would be found ready to join other churches in any general movement looking toward a union of all Christians in such manner and upon such conditions as a general consensus might determine.

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THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY

REV. A. G. WALLACE, D.D., Sewickley, Allegheny County, Pa.

16. THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA.

THE United Presbyterian Church of North America is directly descended from the Scotch dissenting churches, The Associate, and The Reformed. The great immigration from Scotland and Ireland during the last century brought many members of these churches to America in search of personal freedom and permanent homes. They settled chiefly in New York, Pennsylvania and the Carolinas, moving westward to the new lands as these were opened up. They kept up their Church relations, and maintained their spiritual life, by organizing societies for worship and the study of the Word. For many years they were without ministers, but in every group there was a man abundantly qualified to lead in the exercises. At length ministers were sent to them, and on Nov. 2d, 1753, the Associate Presbytery of Pennsylvania was organized, and three years later the Presbytery of New York. The Reformed Presbytery was organized May 10, 1774, near Harrisburg, Pa.

Separated from the original causes of division, living under new conditions, intensely loyal to the cause of the Colonies, these churches soon felt themselves drawn together. During 1780-1782 the several Presbyteries agreed upon a basis of union, and on the first day of November, 1782, the Synod met in Philadelphia, and constituted The Associate Reformed Church. After a few statements concerning the atonement, faith, the Gospel offer and civil government in its relation to the Church, the basis of union declared "that both parties, when united, shall adhere to the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Catechisms and Propositions Concerning Church Government." They separated themselves from the parent churches by declaring "that they shall claim the full exercise of discipline, without dependence on foreign judicatories." At its first meeting the Synod adopted an exhibition of principles, afterwards known as the "Little Constitution," in which, among other things, they said that they held the Chapters of the Confession of Faith relating to the power of the civil magistrate in religion and church affairs, open to consideration and amendment. In relation to discipline they said that notorious violations of the law of God, and such errors in doctrine as unhinge the Christian religion, shall be the only scandals for which deposition and ex-communication shall be passed; and the highest censures of other offenders shall be dissolution of the connection between the Synod and the offender. "The terms of admission to fixed communion shall be soundness in the faith as defined in the Confession of Faith and the Catechisms, submission to the government and discipline of the Church, and a holy conversation." In 1799 the Synod changed the Confession of Faith as to the powers of the civil magistrate, so as to express clearly the principle of religious freedom—"a free Church in a free State."

Some of the Associate Presbytery, at the last moment, refused to enter the union, and continued the existence of the Associate Church. The large immigration from the parent Church increased their number rapidly, congregations were multiplied, and in 1801 a Synod was organized with four presbyteries. In 1804 the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church was organized, with four subordinate synods, and presbyteries extending from New York to the Carolinas on the South, and to Central Ohio on the West. Both churches prospered, occupying the same general field. Many of the congregations of the Associate Church in the South became involved in slavery. In 1811 the Synod directed that all slaves be

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set at liberty, or, at least, be treated as free, and in 1831 all slave-holders were excluded from communion. This, practically, destroyed the Associate Church in the South. Troubles arose in the Associate Reformed Church. The great distance and the fatigue of travel made it impossible for the remote presbyteries to be fully represented in the General Synod, which always held its meetings in the East. Divergencies began to appear, misunderstandings arose, some cases of discipline created dissatisfaction, and the Synod in the West and the Synod in the South withdrew; an attempt was made to unite the remaining synods of New York and Pennsylvania with the Presbyterian Church, with the result of the dissolution of the Synod of Pennsylvania—1820-1822. Thus the Synod of New York, the Synod of the West and the Synod of the South became independent, but coördinate synods. The Synod of the South continues its existence until the present time. In 1841 the General Synod of the West was organized, and in 1855 the Synod of New York and the General Synod of the West united under the name of "The Associate Reformed Church of North America."

Occupying the same territory, composed of the same class of people, having substantially the same standards, the Associate and the Associate Reformed Churches gradually drew together, and after negotiations through many years, they agreed upon a basis of union, the same to be a part of the organic law of the United Church. On the 26th of May, 1858, the union was consummated under the name "The United Presbyterian Church of North America." By common consent, without formal action, the words of one of the moderators on the day of the union became the motto of the Church: "The Truth of God—Forbearance in Love."

The organization was completed by the General Assembly of the next year appointing boards for missions at home and abroad, church building, education, and publication; subsequently, also for missions to the freedmen and for ministerial relief. A general committee on home missions, composed of a delegate from each presbytery, meets one week before the General Assembly, and makes the appropriations for the coming year. The contributions for all purposes average twelve dollars and fifty-one cents per member; the average salary of pastors is one thousand and fifty-six dollars.

At the present time there are twelve synods, sixty-five presbyteries, eight hundred and ninety-five ministers and nine hundred and fifty congregations, with one hundred and twenty-three thousand five hundred and forty-one members. The foreign missions are in Egypt and the Punjab, India. They have been very successful, reporting sixty-five ordained ministers, of whom thirty are natives, eleven thousand six hundred and fifteen members, and thirteen thousand six hundred and forty-one pupils in the schools. In each mission there is a school of high grade, and also a theological seminary. In the missions to the Freedmen there are two colleges, in one of which there is a theological department, and ten other schools with an enrollment of three thousand four hundred and forty-five pupils.

As early as 1794 the Associate Presbytery established a theological seminary, now located at Xenia, Ohio; 1804 the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church opened one in New York City, now located at Newburg, and used as a Summer Training School, and in 1825 the Allegheny seminary was founded by the Associate Reformed Synod of the West. Six colleges are maintained: Westminster, at New Wilmington, Pa.; Monmouth, at Monmouth, Ill.; Tarkio, at Tarkio, Mo.; Cooper, at Sterling, Kan.; and Knoxville, at Knoxville, Tenn., and Norfolk, at Norfolk, Va., for the Freedmen.

The Young People's societies are organized as The Christian Union, under a joint committee of the General Assembly and the Annual Convention, and a secretary appointed by the General Assembly. The committee of management reports annually to the General Assembly. There are nine hundred and ninety societies, with a membership of forty thousand five hundred and twenty-eight.

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17. THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA (Continued).

The United Presbyterian Church holds conservatively the Calvinistic system of doctrine, as exhibited in the Westminster formulas, modified as to the civil magistrate, and in an additional testimony, which was the basis of union. This testimony is designed to set forth more clearly certain doctrines embodied in the Confession of Faith, and to express more definitely the peculiar principles of the denomination. The articles cover the following subjects: The Plenary Inspiration of the Scriptures; The Eternal Sonship of Christ; The Covenant of Works; The Fall of Man and his Present Inability; The Nature and Extent of the Atonement; Imputed Righteousness; The Gospel Offer; Saving Faith; Evangelical Repentance; The Believer's Deliverance from the Law as a Covenant; The Work of the Holy Spirit; The Headship of Christ; The Supremacy of God's Law; Slaveholding; Secret Societies; Communion; Covenanting; Psalmody. Both the antecedent Churches were opposed to slavery, and prohibited membership to any one who held men as property.

The article on secret societies is as follows: "All associations, whether formed for political or benevolent purposes, which impose on their members an oath of secrecy, or an obligation to obey a code of unknown laws, are inconsistent with the genius and spirit of Christianity, and church members should not have fellowship with such associations."

The article on communion is: "The Church should not extend communion in sealing ordinances to those who refuse adherence to her profession, or subjection to her government and discipline, or who refuse to forsake a communion inconsistent with the profession which she makes; nor should communion in any ordinance of worship be held under such circumstances as would be inconsistent with the keeping of these ordinances pure and entire, or so as to give countenance to any corruption of the doctrines and institutions of Christ." The principle is "restricted communion;" that is, communion under the supervision of the session, as against open, or unrestricted, communion. *Minutes, 1868, page 488.* For good order and edification, fellowship in the communion of the Lord's Supper is, ordinarily, extended only to those who are members; on the principle that privilege is bounded by jurisdiction; but a certain discretionary power is held by sessions as to the admission of members of other churches to communion in special circumstances, on their knowledge, or evidence, of the proper Christian character.

The article on psalmody is: "It is the will of God that the songs contained in the Book of Psalms be sung in his worship, both public and private, to the end of the world; and in singing God's praise, these songs should be employed to the exclusion of the devotional compositions of uninspired men."

The spirit of the United Presbyterian Church is conservative as to doctrine, fraternal as to other churches, and evangelistic as to work. The standards are for the members as well as for the ministers, not in the spirit of sect, but to keep up the standard of intelligent faith, and to promote a higher Christian life. The General Assembly is in correspondence with the Associate Reformed Synod of the South as to union, and already has a working plan of coöperation. It is represented in the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system. It has adopted the plan of coöperation in Home Mission work prepared by the Western section of the Executive Commission of the Alliance, and some years ago gave its adherence to the plan for the confederation of the Presbyterian Churches on this continent. The ministers and members are hearty supporters of the reforms of the present time, especially in relation to the Sabbath and temperance. There has been a great awakening of the evangelistic and missionary spirit. A number of the synods have evangelists under regular appointment, and pastors generally make this feature of their work more prominent.

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THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH IN AMERICA.

BY

I. M. ATWOOD, D.D., President of the Canton Theological Seminary, N. Y.

18. THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH IN AMERICA.

Principles.—Universalism is thought of by some as the dogma of the final salvation of all souls. By others it is conceived to be what Leibnitz named a theodicy, or solution of the problem of evil. But it is properly apprehended when it is perceived to be a theory of the universe. The idea of Universalism is that the final cause of the creation is the evolution of the moral order. That evolution involves the attainment successively of right and good ends, and finally of the end of universal right and good. It is part of the same idea that truth is naturally superior to error, right to wrong, good to evil. The logic of the constitution of the world is, that the human experiment must issue in a perfected and harmonious society. The Christian equivalent of this conception is the kingdom of heaven,—a human order conformed to the Divine order by the transforming power of an indwelling moral ideal.

The dogma of the final salvation of all souls is one of several corollaries resulting from the main proposition. The good of the whole not only involves the good of each, but is dependent on it. There can be no perfected human society without the perfecting of the members. And the solidarity of mankind, which is the philosophical formula for the Christian doctrine that God is the Father of all, and all are brethren, compels the conclusion that

> "Not one life shall be destroyed
> Or cast as rubbish to the void
> When God hath made the pile complete."

Historical Sketch.—It is regarded by Universalists as now well established that Universalism was the prevalent doctrine of the Church in the second and third centuries. They find a natural explanation of this fact in the teaching of the New Testament; and of the subsequent decline and condemnation of the doctrine (544), in the causes which led the Church into so many other grave departures from the simplicity of the Gospel.

But organized Universalism, under that distinctive name, belongs to the United States, and dates from the preaching of the Rev. John Murray (1741-1815). Mr. Murray was a disciple of a London Universalist, the Rev. James Relly, who was in turn a disciple of Whitfield. He came to America and preached his first sermon in Good Luck, N. J., in Sept., 1770. The beginning is rendered interesting and even romantic from the circumstance that one Thomas Potter of Good Luck, had built a meeting-house and was waiting for the Lord to send him a minister. Mr. Murray was borne to that shore by stress of weather and was identified by Potter as the one for whom he was waiting.

There were other preachers of Universalism in America, some earlier and some contemporary with Mr. Murray. They existed among the Mystics, the Dunkers, the Moravians, the Episcopalians, the Congregationalists and the Baptists. A number had been driven out from the churches on account of their Universalism and

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were proclaiming their evangel independently. It thus came to pass that not long after Murray began to lift up his voice in the New World he found himself in company with others of like precious faith.

In January, 1779, a number of persons who had been excommunicated from the First Parish Church of Gloucester, Mass., for attending upon the ministry of the Rev. John Murray, met and formed an association under the name of "The Independent Church in Gloucester." This was the first organization of Universalists in the United States; and the house of worship which the members erected in 1780 was the first Universalist Meeting-house built and dedicated in America.

At the beginning of the present century there were about thirty preachers of Universal Salvation in the country and not far from the same number of "societies," or preaching places, with somewhat loosely associated congregations. In 1803 the representatives of these congregations held a General Convention in Winchester, N. H., and adopted the Winchester Profession of Belief. This has been the "creed" of most Universalist churches since, and in 1870 was made the creed of the denomination. After some years of agitation and endeavors to amend the Winchester Profession a Declaration was adopted at the General Convention in Chicago in 1897. This is now the basis of fellowship, though the Winchester Profession is still kept as an historical bond and may be used by any church or association preferring it to the later Declaration.

The Chicago Declaration.—The "Boston Proposition," amended and adopted by the General Convention of 1897, at its session in Chicago, Ill., declares the conditions of fellowship in the Universalist Church to be as follows:

I. The acceptance of the essential principles of the Universalist faith, to-wit:

The universal fatherhood of God.

The spiritual authority and leadership of His son, Jesus Christ.

The trustworthiness of the Bible as containing a revelation from God.

The certainty of just retribution for sin.

The final harmony of all souls with God.

The Winchester profession is commended as containing these principles, but neither this nor any other precise form of words is required as a condition of fellowship, provided always that the principles above stated be professed.

II. The acknowledgment of the authority of the Universalist General Convention and assent to its laws.

Organization. — The polity of the Universalist Church is conformed to that of our civil government. The unit is the local parish. Parishes by their delegates constitute State Conventions. Representatives from the State Conventions form the General Convention, which meets once in two years and is the controlling body of the denomination. A plan of supervision under State superintendents and District missionaries has grown up in recent years, and has culminated this year in the appointment of a "General Superintendent," or bishop. The denomination planted a mission in Japan in 1891, which has expanded into many local churches, a theological school, a girls' school and various other organizations. A Publishing House is established in Boston, with a branch in Chicago. Four colleges, three theological seminaries and five academies have been founded and are maintained by the Church. The Chapin Home in New York, the Bethany Home in Boston, are samples of the charities sustained in whole or in part by the Universalist body.

The aims of the Universalist organization may be said to be two-fold. (a) To persuade the Christian world to return to the original principles of Christianity: to convert the followers of Christ to the religion of Christ. (b) To initiate and gradually institute, in coöperation with other Christian bodies, a religious and moral order on the type furnished by the teaching and the life of Jesus, in which reason shall replace superstition and spiritual ideals shall supplant sensual and material.

The progress of the Universalist Church has not been insignificant either in

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numbers or in organized forces. Yet it must be conceded that its chief work has been wrought beyond its own limits, in modifying the views of God, of man, of religion, and of destiny, held by the various religious bodies and by the general public. Other denominations have uniformly held the doctrines of Universalists to be a valid ground of refusai to fellowship with them, and have not seldom made them a ground of opposition and attack. Sympathy with these doctrines has, however, steadily grown in all the churches, until a much more hospitable feeling prevails. Many signs indicate the approach of au era in which the same fraternity will be shown towards Universalists by other Christians which Universalists have ever been willing to accord to all the disciples of Christ of whatever name.

THIRD WEEKLY REVIEW.

13. **THE UNITARIAN CHURCH.**—Servetus, Socinus, Poland, Hungary, England, United States, the Saratoga Resolution, Channing, Parker.
14. **THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.**—Otterbein, Boehm.
15. **THE UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST (Continued).**—First conference, Methodist polity, Reform, Toleration.
16. **THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA.**—Source, The Associate Church, The Associate Reformed Church, New York, The West, The South, Reunion.
17. **THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA (Continued).**—Secret Societies, Communion, Psalmody, Instrumental music.
18. **THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH IN AMERICA.**—A theory of the universe, The Kingdom of Heaven, Salvation of all, John Murray, Gloucester in 1779, The Chicago Declaration, Organization, Aims, Union.

QUESTIONS.

13. *State the views of Servetus and Socinus. How does Unitarianism prosper in England? State the points of agreement among American Unitarians. Recite the Saratoga Resolution. How did Theodore Parker differ from W. E. Channing?*
14. *Characterize P. W. Otterbein. What need led to organization?*
15. *What Church does the United Brethren approximate? State its attitude to moral reform and to church union.*
16. *What was the source of the United Presbyterian Church? State the leading traits of the Little Constitution. How did the division in South, East and West come about? How did the East and West unite?*
17. *What system of doctrine does the U. P. Church hold? Explain its doctrines on secret societies, communion, and psalmody.*
18. *State the central idea of Universalism. How is this related to universal salvation? How did the organization arise? Recite the Chicago Declaration. State the aims of the Church.*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Why the Unitarian Church does not increase.*
2. *The rise and growth of a religious sect.*
3. *The relative proportions of dogma, ritual and character.*
4. *The effect of the Civil War upon the various denominations.*
5. *The gradual attrition of extreme views by contact with other systems.*
6. *The various religious conceptions of the purpose of human life, and their values.*

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THE SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

BY

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19. LAWS OF DEVELOPMENT.

THE reader of the various *histories* of religions that form the bulk of this work is now in possession of the data that can be elaborated into laws as the *science* of religion (hierology). He should first review the matter found on pp. 30-34, acquaintance with which will be assumed here. The controlling notion of nineteenth century knowledge is, that this earth, with its teeming life, including man both as animal and personal, reached its present condition by development.

The "History of Culture" was introduced on pp. 38-57, to show how this man personal, that is the humanities (industry, science, art, and conduct) did indeed conform to the law of development. This in turn establishes a strong presumption that religion, being also a humanity (an activity proper and peculiar to man), also reached its present condition by development. That this is really so, and at the same time with what limitations of survival and revival of old traits it is so, must have become apparent to every reader of the preceding histories. A comprehensive statement of this fact is attempted in the following laws of development. Though not only development but also its laws apply equally to *all* culture elements (all being but variant expressions of *one* human mind), our task here is to verify them on only their religious side, and as the other culturals affect religion, not *v. v.* For convenience of reference a cultural schedule is prefixed to the cultural laws:

THE CULTURALS (OR HUMANITIES).		THEIR ENVIRONMENT.	
Industry	Speech and Writing.	Land	Isolation or Communication.
	Agriculture and Stock Raising.	Water	
	Handicrafts and Education.	Air	Climate.
	Commerce and Warfare.	Heavens	Time-divisions.
Knowledge	Science.		Orientation.
	Philosophy.	Flora	Food and Clothing, etc.
	History.	Fauna	
Art	Architecture.		
	Sculpture.		
	Painting.		
	Music.		
	Literature.		
Conduct	Morality.		
	Law or Institutions... Family. Tribe. Nation. Humanity.		
Religion	As pluralism, dualism, or monism (monotheism).		

CAUSES OF CULTURAL-DEVELOPMENT.

Direct Causation.—The predisposing cause of the development of a cultural is the potentiality (constitutive norm or principle) of mankind, and more particularly of a single race, people, or man. This is *heredity with variation.* The exciting cause of the same is experienced nature and man. This is *environment.* From their community in these two causes there arises an *analogy* between all cultural-processes.

Indirect Causation.—Each cultural stands in solidarity (organic unity, the being mutually means and end) with each other, and therefore promotes its development. This is *interaction.* Whenever two or more human groups, of various heredities and environments, meet, their mutual comparison, modification and complementation promote development. This is *intercourse.*

TRAITS OF CULTURAL-DEVELOPMENT.

These are *continuity, synthesis, differentiation* with *unification*, and *classification.*

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20. HEREDITY WITH VARIATION. ENVIRONMENT.

Let us now seek to verify the laws posited in the last lesson, in which process it must be borne in mind that the fact chosen to verify a law may depend also on another or several other laws. Man's religious nature, or more specifically in reference to a race, nation, or individual his *heredity* with *variation*, has manifested itself always and everywhere. Ethnologists now hold that no tribe of men has been found without religion, and psychologists show that no beast can be religious. Religion is, therefore, proper and peculiar to man. The inner *growth* of this man is the ultimate cause demanded by the progress which the history of religion records, after all other causes have been allowed due influence.

But this man religions has developed always and only in an *environment* of nature and his fellowmen, both of which have mediated his idea of a God that he never really saw, for all statements to that effect readily reduce to myth, legend, or metaphor. As Leibniz perceived: "There is nothing in mind that was not previously in sense, except the mind itself." These two factors are inseparable, and are precisely the direct or primary causes of development both in rise and growth, while interaction and intercourse are indirect or derived from these, for each cultural also depends on heredity and environment, and intercourse pre-supposes several streams of development. Every explorer of the earliest religions of man admits the presence in this "sense" or "environment" of two proximate sources of religious objects, viz., nature and man, which form the basis respectively of nature-worship and ancestor-worship. Every class of objects in all the wide realm of nature has supplied some demon (inferior deity) or deity to worshiping man. Thus water-worn stones gave him the *phallos* and *kteis* worshiped round the wide world either, as at first, independently, or as later, in connection with a great deity. Trees gave him the *sakaki*, the *pipal*, the oak, the peach, the birch, and the mistletoe. Water has been divine in countless wells, springs, rivers, and seas. Fire has lacked worship in no time or land, while sun and moon, heaven and earth, wind and storm have generally been the source of the greatest gods. Lastly, animals, such as the fox, monkey, cow, jackal, and serpent, received divine honors. The ground for the worship of all these varied objects was some form or other of man's *dependence* upon them, combined with the sense of his own *freedom* that could serve them. E. von Hartmann has shown how the need for *food* probably first drove man to worship. Peschel attributed a chief influence to man's thirst for knowledge of the *causes* of this changing world. F. Max Müller has contended that man's sense for the indefinite or *infinite*, suggested to him by semi-tangible (such as trees and rivers) or wholly intangible (such as wind or sun) objects, was the main avenue of his approach to the being who is still best designated the Infinite. No doubt *all* these motives contributed to impel man to the gods, and besides them the admiration for the glorious *beauty* of the nature-objects did so, while their actions, when once conceived as personal, would involve man's *moral* sense.

The factor coördinate with nature-worship in the rise of religion was man-worship, whether of ancestors or heroes, or sometimes even living men. To account for his seeming temporary absence from the body in dreams, primitive man supposed a separable self, called variously a double, shade, image, or breath. Nothing forbade him to explain death as a *permanent* absence of such spirit, and then to maintain relations with it in which the living offered various personal requisites, while the deceased, now possessing superhuman powers, afforded help and protection. But such a relation is precisely religious, and it has flourished round the world beside, but easily distinguishable from nature-worship. When the deceased was famous in war, invention, learning, or holiness, his cult becomes public concern and thus hero-worship.

Not only did the above objects of worship (creed), but the methods of worship

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(cult) owe their rise to nature and man. Thus among sacred seasons the sun's course fixed festivals at the winter and summer solstices and the spring and autumn equinoxes, besides at the suitable hours, while the moon's period of twenty-eight days divided into a sacred fourteenth and seventh day. Individual man contributed his life epochs: birth, puberty, and death, while the hero gave besides these the dates of his achievements: enlightenment, temptation, etc.

Among sacred places, nature gave the earliest, which were just those around the sacred tree, well, etc., while offerings to earth gods were buried, and those to heaven gods placed on hill tops or burned. Temples were provided only later to shelter idols and symbols of nature-gods or deified heroes. The first sacrificer was the father for the family, and the chief for the tribe, while their first sacrifices were food, drink, clothing, and the like. After the god had enjoyed the essence or spirit, or received a portion by burning or burial, the balance was consumed by his worshipers in what thus became a sacred meal and communion. The accompanying prayer, singing of praise and dancing were each and all conformed equally with the meal to *human* relations. That nature and society should be thus fitted to reveal gods (and finally God), and man be thus capaciated to discern him, constitutes God's primitive revelation of himself to man. That instead of such organic revelation there was a mechanical one by word of angel's mouth, or the like, is a notion suitable to the childhood alike of peoples and individuals, but impossible to the student of hierology, who has seen how the very *concept* of gods and finally of God, was actually formed, and who cannot avoid seeing that the accounts of primitive man, given in Genesis, are simply explanatory myths, though of a very noble type.

Such nature-worship and ancestor-worship we have seen to spring each from its own sufficient conditions, and each is evidenced from the earliest known times. It would therefore prove both useless and erroneous to attempt—as Mr. H. Spencer has done—a derivation of the nature from the ancestor-worship. Nor does it seem either needful or practicable to insist, with Mr. Tylor and Mr. Tiele, on the attribution of a *distinct* soul to nature-objects; for primitive man, like the child to-day, could reason implicitly long before he analyzed himself into soul and body. This notion and worship of a distinct soul in things, whether separable or not from them, is the strict meaning of animism; but since it was based on the experience of dreams and *death*, it easily passes into the meaning of *ancestor*-worship, in which sense it was used on page 31. The view that fetishism was the *original* form of religion is not now held by any reputable writer. Most consider it a degeneration from earlier forms, while Mr. Tiele considers it a secondary but progressive stage. The supreme deity, recognized by most savages, is either a nature or ancestor deity that has outgrown his compeers. He affords no evidence for primitive monotheism.

It is to combined *heredity* and *environment* that the distinctive *traits* of the various religions must be traced. Such traits are the emphasis and elaboration of the future life among the Egyptians; the power and inscrutability of God among the Babylonians; his loftiness and later his ethical holiness among the Israelites; the duty of transforming this world to an ideal state among the Persians; in contrast with this last, the neglect of the world in favor of a mystic and ascetic spiritualism among the Hindus; the embodiment of religious ideals in beautiful form, and their ennoblement by philosophic reflection among the Greeks; and finally the control of religion by state needs and hierarchical orders among the Romans. Besides these national traits, entire races may be characterized. Thus the Semites have conceived their gods predominantly as remote, austere, and self-contained; while the Indo-Kelts have emphasized that other element of religion the immanent, genial, and related. The Mongolians have approximated the Semites.

The predominant influence of environment appears in the estheticism that arose in beautiful Greece, and the pessimism in moist and sultry India, but to heredity must be ascribed the unrivaled attainments in philosophy of these related peoples.

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21. INTERACTION AND INTERCOURSE.

Interaction of religion with the other culturals promotes its development. Thus in *industry* the invention of writing made scriptures possible, and thereby the permanence, progress, compass, and diffusion of religious truth.

Again the growth of *knowledge* has promoted development in religion. The great reforms of the sixth century B.C., in which the pluralism of the spirits and gods was either ignored or decried, and some one Power made supreme or alone, were effected by Laotze, Kongtze, Gautama, and Zenophanes under the guidance of philosophy. The Revival of Greek Learning conditioned the Reformation, and the universities cradled it. The unceasing conflict between science and religion since that time has purified and elevated the latter. Physics and chemistry have banished magic, medicine has displaced exorcism, and psychology exposed divination; while Copernicus and Newton gave vaster meaning to that omnipresence, and Darwin and Spencer to that eternity that are attributes to God. The new "religion of science" is right enough, for it is simply religion in the making, simply the interpreting new science as new revelation. But the best service ever rendered religion by science has been in progress during our own half of the present century in the shape of hierology, which has disarmed both the anti-religious rationalism and anti-scientific dogmatism of the last century by its theory of development. This reveals the essential content of religion in its changing forms, and the correct though unimpressive truth in its crude but vivid symbols and myths, and thus enables the modern to grant relative truth and value to all past and lower faiths than his own, while he cherishes his own though it too is not yet made perfect.

The service of *art* to religion has been and remains simply incalculable. Idols, symbols, and pictures to represent the gods, temples to house them, and music, dance, and drama to entertain them powerfully promoted that ***humanization*** of the nature-gods in which their development precisely consisted. How this could be true for the Greeks is evident even to us from the glorious idols—statues we name them—of a Zeus, Apollo, or Hermes that survive. Though the idol is for the Christian mostly an overcome standpoint, he quite approves ideal pictures of Christ, and these as really promote his religious spirit as did the idol that of the barbarian.

Indispensable too has been the influence of *conduct* upon the development of religion, whether as free morality or as law. The earliest gods reflected the earliest morality. As the latter improved, those gods who had shown cruelty or lust (*Zeus, Krishna*) became objects of criticism, and were either abandoned for a nobler type of deity, as was done in Greece, or vindicated by elaborate apology, as in India. Other gods with better mythical implications (*Apollo, Agni, Jahve, Tien*) were gradually transformed from the nature to the moral type, as their worshipers improved; for by the sixth century B.C. the leading moral principles had been enunciated among each of the historic races (*pp. 128, 140, 205, 213, 262*). To moral progress likewise must be attributed the slow change from ceremonial to moral purity as condition of approach to deity, as also the change from mere continued existence after death to retribution after death. The influence of law upon religion appears at Rome where *religio* consisted chiefly in the sense of a bondage to the gods releasable on precise conditions. National growth has proved a potent source of religious development, for the fortunes of the people were attributable to the god. This process made the Roman *Jupiter* become *Optimus* and *Maximus* over his rivals among the Latin tribes; and the national experiences of Judah lead from monolatry to monotheism (*pp. 491-3*).

Thus all the other culturals have promoted the growth of religion, and capability of further development through them will decide the future fate of the now extant faiths. Religion has also of course reacted upon the other culturals and that

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for both weal and woe. The woe has arisen where religion or indeed any cultural has dominated or excluded another, the weal when each has freely interacted with the others. The opposite opinion arises from a false opposition of the secular to the sacred which it was the precise virtue of the Reformation to deny, when it closed the breach made in the Middle Ages between nature and God. All the culturals are related in Man the image of God, "who hath made everything beautiful in its time." Not even religion may be safely made a nostrum or panacea, for as the great Laureate wrote: "And God fulfils himself in many ways, lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

The combined effect of these other culturals upon religion, viz., man's consciousness of relation to God *via* nature and man, is to develop it to ever and ever nobler terms of *personality*. The trait of religion differencing it from similar personal relations with *men* must therefore consist simply in the *magnitude* of the relation, which in the case of the monotheistic God amounts to infinity. Thus when we *wor*ship, *i.e.*, attribute *worth* to God, we only do in the highest degree what in some degree we do to men; we simply give "glory to God in the highest." There is therefore nothing insane, absurd, or even occult in religion, though there is as much mysterious as must spring up in a finite consciousness of the Infinite. God is Infinite Person (or Absolute Spirit), in which pregnant terms lie every excellence mind can imagine. That our discovery of this Infinite Person was *mediated* by nature and man, and its growth *promoted* by other culturals, can afford no sufficient ground for *reducing* the notion of God to any of these terms. Thus, God cannot be identified with nature, as the pantheist and materialist (D. F. Strauss) would do; nor with humanity, as the positivist (August Compte) would do; nor is religion devotion to science, as J. R. Seeley claims; nor "the *creation* of the spirit" by the same imagination that produces art, as Albert Lange held; nor, finally, is it "ethics heightened, enkindled, lit up by feeling," as Mr. Matthew Arnold taught. This last view has been a particular favorite, owing to the anxiety of Christian advocates to prove the value of religion; but it is equally false with the others so far as it lacks God, or is true only so far as it manages to construe the infinite ethical into the infinite personal. No; religion is unique, is like beauty its own excuse for being; and may by no means be transformed into a superhuman conscience or anything else.

Finally *intercourse* of various human groups promotes development in religion. This has been effected, in the first place, by mere comparison which afforded the superior religion an increased confidence in its worth. Every *ethnic* religion has enjoyed this foil; for all have belonged to migrating peoples that dispossessed aborigines, and their scriptures afford abundant evidence that these peoples profited by the contrast. Again, modification has followed the introduction of a *universal* religion among foraign peoples. It is the liberty loving Teuton that has secured alike Republicanism and Protestantism. Lastly, complementation arose from intercourse when, for example, the Greek religion adopted and improved deities, such as *Herakles* and *Dionysos* from their Semitic neighbors in Asia Minor; or when Judaism during its exile in Persia borrowed from Zarathustrianism its doctrines of a future life and of angels and devils. Even supposing these doctrines to have developed within Judaism, confirmation for them must have been experienced through contact with Zarathustrianism which held them far earlier. On a broad view of it Christianity may be regarded as the complementation of Semitic by Indo-Keltic ideas. Certain it is that the Judaism which formed its immediate source had long been subjected to the influence of the entire Greek culture, and that Greek doctrines and ritual can be traced in its early formations. Now the Semitic religions were dominated by the conception of God as an autocrat before whom man shrinks into insignificance, while the Indo-Keltic religions assign man a relatively important *rôle* with close affinities for God; but Christianity undoubtedly combines these various tendencies in its familiar yet ennobled conception of God as Father.

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22. TRAITS OF DEVELOPMENT.

Let us notice in turn various traits of development. The law of *continuity* means, in the language of Wilhelm von Humboldt, that "man always connects on from what lies at hand." Each step in progress is as much a prerequisite to the next as it is in a walk; and nature never forgets the law, though the visionary reformer often does. When, therefore, the scholar seeks the definition, whether of a word or doctrine or institution, he needs simply to follow backward their forward tracks until they vanish into the prehistoric. Continuity is so valid that even the founders of new religions have achieved their task only by reforms of what preceded.

The law of *synthesis* states that when any mental element exceeds its proportion (thesis) it shall excite the rise of an opposite element (antithesis), and that perhaps of others until the system reaches completion (synthesis). Thus is secured a balance of power in man, whose constitution as one indivisible person is plainly the source of the law. Thus the inevitable tendency of monachism, whether Buddhist, Moslem, or Christian, is to excite license. It is for this reason that the notion of a mean or middle has proved so general a favorite, *e.g.*, with Kongtze, Gautama, and the Greek author of the famous *medan agan*, "too much of nothing." It is to synthesis that the important and world-wide religious modality is owing. Here the interacting elements correspond to the three chief mental functions, *viz.*, volition or action, intellection and emotion. The order given is true for all ethnic religions; but universal religions that begin at antithesis, as Buddhism did, or at synthesis, as Christianity did, will produce the others in due course. Perfection lies, of course, in a synthesis within the individual or sect or religion of all three elements; but this is never more than approximately realized, though mutual criticism constantly promotes that end, and *marked* cases of thesis or antithesis are consequently rare. All existing religions contain these various modes, and toleration by each mode for the others is a needed and safe compromise. Mysticism is probably the religious mode *par excellence*, and those gifted for it are especially liable to raise doubts in the minds of other modists as to their own religious validity. (*Cf. pp. 139, 140*).

The following schedule presents modality in several ethnic and universal religions, representing the three historic races:

MENTAL FUNCTIONS.	RELIGIOUS MODES.	SINISM.	INDISM.	BUDDHISM.	JUDAISM.	CHRISTIANITY.
Volition.	Moralism. Legalism. Sacerdotalism.	Sinism.	Brahmanism as karma-marga.	Bodhism, acc. to the "Larger Sukhavati Vyuha."	Priest.	Romanism. Greekism.
Intellection.	Rationalism.	Kongtze. Chu Hi.	Brahmanism as jnana-marga.	Buddhism. Bodhism, acc. to the "Vagr-akkhedika.	Wise.	Protestantism.
Emotion.	Evangelicism. Pietism Mysticism.	Laotze. Buddhism, acc. to the "Smaller Sukhavati Vyuha."	Hinduism as bhakti-marga.	Bodhism, acc. to the "Smaller Sukhavati Vyuha."	Prophet.	Protestantism.

Differentiation with *unification* of quality between religions accompanies development. Savage and barbarian religions show the little differentiation from each other in religion that they do in the other culturals, no matter whether their low condition depend on failure to progress or on degeneration. In the case of progressive peoples, differentiation has come about in two degrees. First, it has been caused by migration to *separate countries* of the tribes composing the three historic races (*viz.*, Mongolians, Semites, and Indo-Kelts), since this involved differences in each of the causes of development specified in Lesson 19. Thus have arisen the various national religions such as Sinism and Brahmanism, and the universal religions. Further differentiation, but in less degree, has come about from the same causes without local

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separation. Thus have arisen the numerous sects in Shintoism, Hinduism, Judaism, Buddhism, Islamism, and Christianity; for example Hinduism, Islamism, and Christianity have alike divided on the subject of freedom (*pp. 221, 431 and 670*), in interacion with the cultural of philosophy. Later on, and owing to synthesis, there begins a tendency to unification, which is not the original sameness, but harmony in a large system. Thus arise "associations," "unions," "alliances," and the like.

Another trait of development is its various stages. These constitute the best means for the *classification* of religions, and are thus used by all scientific writers, who differ only as to the fittest marks of the various stages. Thus Hartmann prefers natural and redemptive; Siebeck natural, moral, and redemptive; Reville monotheistic and polytheistic; Tiele and Saussaye natural and ethical (more fully, ethico-spiritual revelation), while Whitney and Menzies prefer tribal, national, and universal (or individual). But all these divisions are inexact, for the groups both overlap each other and contain differences in themselves. The national or moral religions extant are Shintoism, Confucianism, Taoism, Hinduism, Jainism, Parseeism, and Judaism; while the extant redemptive or universal religions are Islamism, Buddhism, and Christianity. The differences among the last group are especially marked. Islamism subordinates the present world too little to the future, while Buddhism subordinates it altogether, but Christianity presents, in its doctrine of the Kingdom of God, a due recognition of both earth and heaven. This inclusion is vital to a universal and final religion; for the world cannot satisfy, since it will never be more than approximately redeemed from its evil, and, on the other hand, heaven can never become more than a hope. Again, Islamism became universal only by the power of the sword, Buddhism holds exclusive rule only over Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, and Nepal, but Christianity sways the great Powers of the world. The chief hindrance to the rapid conquest of the world by Christianity is the incompleteness of its sway over these same Powers, which often comes as a religious shock to the minds of the heathen, including those converted heathen who visit Christian lands. The obvious apology that the vicious of these lands mostly do not confess the Christian faith can afford only partial satisfaction to either heathen or Christian. This can be given only when Christendom and Christianity coincide. The religious principles of Christianity are the highest, and its forces consequently the greatest attainable, but both still await correct adjustment to man. To achieve this is the province of science, especially of sociology, the general introduction of which into the curriculum of our theological seminaries is the most hopeful sign of the times. The intimations of a "religion of the future," that are made by many honored scholars, call for no rejection of Christianity, but only for its more intimate interaction with not only science but all the culturals, and this is none other than a continuation of the process which, as we have seen, has all along caused development. This capacity for further self-criticism and self-improvement distinguishes Christianity as much as does its past achievement above all other religions.

Finally, no hierologist supposes that religion will ever perish from among men. The culturals other than religion are indispensable to man, but none the less unsatisfying. In this case man turns to his God and finds there one way or other the solace he needs. Thus religion has made man at home in the world of which God is the Father, and thereby supplied his greatest need as a finite being. The Lord's Prayer expresses this central idea of religion with such incomparable simplicity, purity, and nobility, that with it this sketch may fitly close. It enshrines the best creed and the best cult; its daily use by Christians is of supreme value; and its destiny to final acceptance by mankind assured.

Our Father which 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. Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.

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23. THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

No problems of the human mind are so beset with difficulties as those of the mental process involved in religion, and the objective validity of the same. They close and crown every system of philosophy, and therefore require familiarity with all that proceeds; while they concern the most comprehensive and subtlest functons of mind. Furthermore, H. Siebeck and G. C. B. Pünjer declare even that the function still needs thorough research. Under these circumstances the views of only living or recent writers will be presented here.

First, J. McCosh, B. P. Bowne, R. Flint, O. Pfleiderer, and all explorers in the *history* of religion hold that God is known by inference from his activities in nature and man, very much as we recognize our fellow men through their activities conformable to the personal (rational) norms. Each self knows itself immediately and other selves only by analogy from their manifestations. Yet, no doubt, the inference is of that spontaneous and implicit kind that would easily be mistaken for intuition. Men, children, and animals all make it, each according to its grade of consciousness.

The soul may discover God in nature and man in the following ways corresponding to the five culturals: In *knowing* them (discovering their causes, for all laws are laws of causality) he finds their first cause in God. In *using or adapting* them he finds their supreme, controlling, last or final cause (end or purpose) is God, or is determined by God. In *admiring* them he finds God their consummate artist. In *morally judging* them he finds God their ruler, judge, and savior. Finally he finds in them, as F. Max Müller has devoted himself to showing, suggestions of the Infinite as such, whereas the preceding four signs implied only a supreme finite. (1)

All these five aspects were implicit in early man's conception of the gods as *personal.* Known in modern times as "proofs of the existence of God" ("signs of the nature of God" would be a more adequate notion) they do but correspond to an analysis of the personality of God into five norms or constitutive powers analogous to those found in man's personality. The five culturals, presuppose five forms of potential energy in man, often called "rational intuitions," but better "personal principles," or briefly "norms," which, under stimulus from nature and society, create that culture to which other animals, though in the same environment, do not attain. Each of these norms involves the three mental powers of intellect, sensibility and will, though in varying degree; and each norm, as function of one and the same person, stands in solidarity with each other, which solidarity of norms causes that of the culturals, as explained on p. 761.

Since the time of Kant the above proofs have been subjected to much criticism and amendment, on which account many writers, following the lead of another German, Schleiermacher, have sought to show that religion springs from some *immediate* influence of God. Thus H. Lotze considers that, *besides* the often inadequate evidence afforded through the senses to reason, there are "inner states" which spring from a divine influence, and which form the *chief* basis of religion. The instances given are the feelings of dependence, of beauty, and of morality. It seems to the present writer, however, that these are none other than the norms of the pleasant, beautiful, and right, viewed under their affective phase (as feeling), and functioning, under the influence of the religious norm, beyond the inadequate evidence derivable from nature. Lotze subsequently refers to them as "religious opinion," "the heart," etc. To prove the universal negative proposition that God does not immediately influence man's spirit, would be difficult, but the law of parsimony forbids us to assume it until other theories fail. A few decades ago the consensus of recognized authorities would have declared that these others did fail; but all subsequent research has gone to prove the opposite. Religious doctrines that seemed to require an immediate inspiration have been shown quite explicable on the basis of the factors

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specified above, acting at their full capacity in the religious genius under favorable circumstances. The more intimately *the man and his times* have become known, the more transparently rational or (better) personal, *i.e.* conformed to the personal norms, does his message and conduct appear. This change can bring only gain to religion, for it places the latter upon the same sure basis as that on which other culturals stand, namely, the unalterable constitution of man and of nature, in both of which the Infinite is ever present, though in ever varying degree.

23. THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

(1) **The Theistic Proof Complex.**—In another respect the theistic proof is exceedingly complex and comprehensive. It takes up into itself, as it were, the entire wealth of human nature. The mind can only rise to the apprehension of God by a process which involves all that is most essential in its own constitution. Thus the will is presupposed. Theistic inference clearly involves the principle of causality. God can only be thought of in the properly theistic sense as the cause of which the universe is the effect. But to think of God as a cause—to apprehend the universe as an effect—we must have some immediate and direct experience of causation. And such experience we have only in the consciousness of volition. When the soul wills, it knows itself as an agent, as a cause. This is the first knowledge of causation which the mind acquires, and the most perfect knowledge thereof which it ever acquires. It is a knowledge which sheds light over all the regions of experience subsequently brought under the principle of causality, which accompanies the reason in its upward search until it rests in the cognition of an ultimate cause. . . . . .

But the principle of causality alone or by itself is quite insufficient to lead the mind up to the apprehension of Deity; and an immediate and direct consciousness of far more within us than will is required to make that apprehension possible. The evidences of intelligence must be combined with the evidences of power before we can be warranted to infer more from the facts of the universe than the existence of an ultimate force; and no mere force, however great or wonderful, is worthy to be called God. God is not only the ultimate Cause, but the Supreme Intelligence; and as it is only in virtue of the direct consciousness of our volitions that we can think of God as a cause, so is it only in virtue of the direct consciousness of our intellectual operations that we can think of Him as an intelligence. It is not from the mere occurrence of a change, or the mere existence of a derivative phenomena, that we infer the change or phenomenon to be due to an intelligent cause, but from the mode of the occurrence or the character of the phenomena being such that any cause but an intelligent one must be deemed insufficient. The inference supposes, however, that we already have some knowledge of what an intelligent cause is—that we have enough of knowledge of the nature of intelligence to convince us that it alone can fully account for order, law, and adjustment. Whence do we get this knowledge? We have not far to seek for it; it is inherent in self-consciousness. We know ourselves as intelligences, as beings that foresee and contrive, that can discover and apply principles, that can originate order and adjustment. It is only through this knowledge of the nature of intelligence, that we can infer our fellow-men to be intelligent beings; and not less is it an indispensable condition of our inferring God to be an intelligence. Then, causality and design, and the will and intelligence within us through which they are interpreted, cannot, even when combined, enable us to think of the Creative Reason as righteous; although obviously, until so thought of, that reason is by no means to be identified with God. The greatest conceivable power and intelligence, if united with hatred of righteousness and love of wickedness, can yield us only the idea of a devil; and if separated from all moral principle and character, good or bad, only that of a being far lower than man, which might have reason for worshiping man, but which man cannot worship without degrading himself. The existence, however, of a moral principle within us, of a conscience which witnesses against sin and on behalf of holiness, is of itself evidence that God must be a moral being, one who hates sin and loves holiness; and the light of this, "the candle of the Lord," in the soul, enables us to discover many other reasons for the same conclusion in the constitution of society and the course of history. But if we had no moral perceptions on the contemplation of our voluntary acts, we certainly would not, and could not, invest the Divine Being with moral perfections because of His acts.

There is still another step to be taken in order to obtain an apprehension of God; and it is one where the outward universe fails us, where we are thrown entirely, or nearly so, on our internal resources. The universe, interpreted by the human mind in the manner which has been indicated, may warrant belief in a Being whose power is immense, whose wisdom is inexpressibly wonderful, and whose righteousness is to be held in profoundest admiration and reverence, notwithstanding all the clouds and darkness which may in part conceal it from our view; but not in a Being whose existence is absolute, whose power is infinite, whose wisdom and goodness are perfect. We cannot infer that the author of a universe which is finite, imperfect, and relative, and all the phenomena of which are finite, imperfect, and relative, must be, in the true and strict sense of the terms, infinite, perfect, and absolute. We cannot deduce the infinite from the finite, the perfect from the imperfect, the absolute from the relative. And yet it is only in the recognition of an absolute Being of infinite power, who works with perfect wisdom toward the accomplishment of perfectly holy ends, that we reach a true knowledge of God, or, which is much the same thing, a knowledge of the true God. Is there, then, any warrant in our own nature for thinking of God as infinite, absolute, and perfect, since there seems to be little or none in outward nature? Yes, there are within us necessary conditions of thought and feeling and ineradicable aspirations which force on us ideas of absolute existence, infinity, and perfection, and will neither permit us to deny these perfections to God nor to ascribe them to any other being.—"*Theism*," *by Robert Flint, pp. 64-68.*

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24. THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION (Concluded).

The elaborate and systematic treatment of the mental process in religion by Samuel Harris also fails to prove that it is intuitive. After defining consciousness as intuitive and immediate knowledge, he proceeds to show that, "Man is conscious of God in a manner analogous to that in which he is conscious of the outward world," and cites in illustration the cases of malarial poison and of a tree. (1) But the effects of the former belong to the class of sensations known as organic, and these afford us no knowledge of an external world. (2) They can be traced to it only by use of the sensorium (in the case of malarial fever by long and wide observation of the varying effect of man's habitat upon him), of which man possesses no spiritual analogue, as Mr. Harris admits in saying that "God does not stand out in definite form." As for man's consciousness of a tree, that is indeed of the intuitive kind, but the only parallelism pointed out by Mr. Harris between it and man's consciousness of God concerns action of the perceived and reaction of the percipient, which, however, is a relation that must obtain whether such consciousness be inferential or intuitive, mediate or immediate. That man's consciousness of God is intuitive or immediate can be shown only by citing specific cases where it is so. But the cases of *ethnic* religious consciousness, in fear and trust, cited by Mr. Harris (*pp. 42-43 of* "*The Self-Revelation of God.*") are mediated by nature, as, for example, the interpretation of the deities *Varuna* and *Indra*, given in the present work, pp. 181-2, plainly show; while the cases of *Christian* religious consciousness (*pp. 41-42. Ibid.*) reduce to religious organic sensation, in this case not spiritual malaria, but the flow of spiritual health. These instances once served to convince the present writer of the correctness of Mr. Harris' view, but ceased to do so as he became acquainted with the history and science of religion.

But if all attempt to illustrate a unique relation like that between a finite man and the infinite God be dropped, may not the change involved in conversion and sanctification be considered an *effect* of God's activity. Such is the main contention of L. F. Stearns. (3) But if so, the process would be inference and not intuition or "inner sense." In fact conversion and sanctification are spiritual organic sensation, and, as Mr. Stearns claims (*p. 293*) in opposition to Schleiermacher, Dorner, the Quakers, and mystics generally, "although it (our inner light) is a first hand source of knowledge, it is not an independent source of knowledge." Such source Mr. Stearns finds only in the Scriptures. But the hierologist can trace, by the higher criticism, these Scriptures in turn to men of religious genius (One of transcendent genius), whose sense for the Infinite reacted under the stimuli of nature and man. No one is conscious of the Spirit's presence, and the subsequent attribution to him of what were certainly *also* our own deeds (*Rom. 8 : 15 with 16; 1 Cor. 15 : 10; Eph. 3 : 20; Phil. 2 : 12-13*) is the humble view of a faith that was originally based on God's revelation of himself in nature and man. The immediate consciousness of God claimed by mystics of all religions is nothing else than the functioning of man's sense for the Infinite implicitly, with a minimum of stimulus, and chiefly as feeling, which is the most subjective of all mental functions. Analysis of the mystic's deliverances will always reveal the presence of those invariable exponents of God, namely, nature and man, derived either from tradition or environment. The claim for any direct knowledge of God tends to stultify those who cannot detect its fallaciousness, and to convert into sceptics those that can. The skillful attempt of Newman Smyth to prove a direct perception of God cannot dispense with the stimulus from nature in every example given, and finally concedes its possible necessity to man as now constituted. (4)

But is the evidence of nature and man for God unexceptionable? Alas, no; for every heart knoweth its own deep sorrow, the mystery of which must be traced through nature or man up to God. Hence spring those theodicies, known to every

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religion, written "to justify the ways of God to man." At this point the belief in a good God can be maintained only by a personal choice impelled by a sense of ideal needs. (5 and 6)

24. THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION (Concluded).

(1) **The Religious Process According to S. Harris.**—In German philosophy consciousness is used in a broader sense to denote the intuitive, undiscriminated knowledge of both object and subject, the immediate knowledge in one and the same act of the object known and the subject knowing.

In the proposition that man is conscious of God or that God presents himself in man's consciousness, the word is used in its broader meaning.

Thus, as through the impressions of sense we perceive our physical environment, so through rational and spiritual principles, sentiments and susceptibilities we perceive our spiritual environment, the universal and all-illuminating Reason, the absolute Spirit, and the system of personal and spiritual beings related to him. Man is conscious of God in a manner analogous to that in which he is conscious of the outward world.

A crude illustration is man's knowledge of malarial poison, through his conscious experience of its effects within him. He does not see it; he cannot lay hold of it, put it in a phial and analyze it. But he knows its presence and power by its effects which he miserably feels in his own body every day. The poison acts primarily on the body, and it is in this that its presence, power and peculiar action are experienced. But the action of the Spirit of God is primarily on and in the human spirit. His presence and influence are known in the spiritual experience, in the rousing of the spiritual powers and susceptibilities to action, in the quickening of spiritual life, in the transformation of spiritual character, in the growth of spiritual power, purity and blessedness. The man in whose spirit God thus acts, does not see him; God does not stand out in his consciousness in definite form; but the man knows his presence, his power and the nature of his influence by their effects which he experiences. So a material object, a tree for example, acts on the sensorium and causes sensations; through these sensations the mind reacting perceives the object. But the sensations are not the tree nor an image of the tree; and it is only through many sensations and perceptions through the different senses that the tree is fully known. And yet the tree is continually acting on the sensorium, and producing effects through which it presents itself in the consciousness of the percipient. God who besets us behind and before and lays his hand upon us, acts on our spiritual susceptibilities; in continual spiritual influences producing varied spiritual effects he reveals himself in our consciousness and we know him.—*"Self-Revelation of God," by Samuel Harris, pp. 30, 32, 39, 40.*

(2) **Organic Sensation.**—Owing to their lack of distinctive presentative character and to the fact that they are not the direct effects of the action of external objects but involve a change of condition in the part affected, the common or organic sensations give us no knowledge of the external world. They can no doubt inform us to some extent of the organism itself, and hence they have been described as the "barometer of our life—process."—*"Outlines of Psychology," by James Sully, new edition, 1893, p. 46.*

(3) **The View of L. F. Stearns.**—Now the Christian, in full conformity with the laws of the human mind, discovers in the great change of regeneration its true Cause namely, God. That Cause is revealed in and through the new life that is pulsating in his soul. The renewed will, the enlightened intellect, the quickened and purified sensibility, the quieted conscience, are effects that disclose a divine power. These modifications of consciousness are the instrument of what may be called (borrowing our terms from the sense-side of our mental nature) a spiritual perception. The possibility and actuality of such spiritual knowledge cannot be fairly denied.—*"The Evidence of Christian Experience," by L. F. Stearns, p. 215.*

(4) **The View of Newman Smyth.**—*Cf. Newman Smyth, "The Religious Feeling," pp 110, 112, 147.*

(5) **The View of H. Lotze.**—In contrast with this Pessimism, the more difficult problem is the firm confidence that, in spite of all that is incomprehensible to us, the striving after a supreme end is at all events present in the world. For this confidence takes upon itself the great and ever unavoidable task of always making renewed attempts to fill the gap which lies between this content of our faith and our actual experiences.

It we call every attempt of this sort in thought or action "religion," then "religion" is never exactly a demonstrable theorem, but the conviction of its truth is a *deed* that is to be accredited to character.—*"Grundzüge der Religionsphilosophie," by Hermann Lotze, p. 81.*

(6) **The View of W. James.**—And, after all, is not this duty of neutrality where only our inner interests would lead us to believe, the most ridiculous of commands? Is it not sheer dogmatic folly to say that our inner interests can have no real connection with the forces that the hidden world may contain? In other cases divinations based on inner interests have proved prophetic enough. Take science itself! Without an imperious inner demand on our part for ideal logical and mathematical harmonies, we should never have attained to proving that such harmonies lie hidden between all the chinks and interstices of the crude natural world. Hardly a law has been established in science, hardly a fact ascertained, which was not first sought after, often with sweat and blood, to gratify an inner need. Whence such needs come from we do not know; we find them in us, and biological psychology so far only classes them with Darwin's "accidental variations." But the inner need of believing that this world of nature is a sign of something more spiritual and eternal than itself is just as strong and authoritative in those who feel it, as the inner need of uniform laws of causation ever can be in a professionally scientific head. The toil of many generations has proved the latter need prophetic. Why *may* not the former one be prophetic, too? And if needs of ours outrun the visible universe, why *may* not that be a sign that an invisible universe is there? What, in short, has authority to debar us from

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trusting our religious demands? Science as such assuredly has no authority, for she can only say what is, not what is not; and the agnostic "thou shalt not believe without coercive sensible evidence" is simply an expression (free to any one to make) of private personal appetite for evidence of a certain peculiar kind.—*"The Will to Believe," by William James, pp. 55, 56.*

FOURTH WEEKLY REVIEW.

19. **LAWS OF DEVELOPMENT.**—Development. Humanities. Cultural schedule. Causes of cultural development. Traits of the same.
20. **HEREDITY WITH VARIATION. ENVIRONMENT.**—Heredity with variation. Environment of nature. Dependence and freedom. Environment of men. Environment as to cult. Traits of religions.
21. **INTERACTION AND INTERCOURSE.**—Industry. Knowledge. Art. Conduct. No nostrum. Personality. Mediation. Promotion. Reduction. Intercourse.
22. **TRAITS OF DEVELOPMENT.**—Continuity. Synthesis. Differentiation. Classification.
23. **PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.**—Inference. Knowing. Using. Admiring. Judging. Norms. Lotze.
24. **PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION (Concluded).**—S. Harris. L. F. Stearns. N. Smyth. H. Lotze. W. James.

QUESTIONS.

19. *Name the culturals with their environments. State the causes of cultural development. State its traits.*

20. *Specify some divine objects from each class in nature. State the various grounds of such deification. How did ancestor worship arise? Characterize some ethnic religions.*

21. *Specify occasions when knowledge has promoted the development of religion. Refute the panacea error. In what terms has religion developed? Refute the errors of Strauss and others.*

22. *Discuss continuity. Define synthesis and apply it to modality. Describe the two degrees of differentiation. State some marks for classification. Discuss the differences of the three universal religions. Why will religion never perish?*

23. *Define the knowledge of God by inference. State the four ways in which it can be won. To what in God and in man do these signs of the nature of God correspond? Discuss the view of Lotze.*

24. *Discuss malaria and a tree as illustrations of the religious object. What evidence do conversion and sanctification afford? Discuss mysticism. What part remains to choice?*

SUBJECTS FOR SPECIAL STUDY.

1. *Statements of development by Fiske, Ward, Rätzel, Tiele, etc.*
2. *The interaction of nature worship and ancestor worship.*
3. *Exemplify modification from the universal religions.*
4. *Study each sentence of the Lord's Prayer in the light of hierology.*
5. *Personality as the beginning and end of philosophy.*
6. *Man's concept of God the chief test of his character.*

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